

Letter to SAC, San Francisco
RE: "THE BLACK SCHOLAR"

NOTE:

"The Black Scholar," published monthly at San Francisco, appears to be militant in nature. Because of the size of the booklet and its limited distribution, making it difficult for the field to obtain an unlimited number of copies, the above instructions to San Francisco are believed necessary to insure it is properly reviewed and necessary dissemination made of pertinent articles.

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

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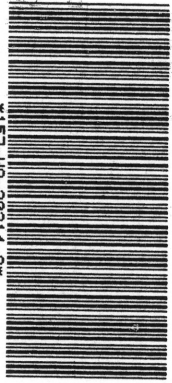
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SERIALS 33-



157-HQ-20214-2

SECTION 2

SECTION 2
SERIALS 33----

DO NOT
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Serial 39

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 3/26/76

FROM: ~~CHB~~ SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (C)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS)
EM

Remylet dated 12/2/75.

A review of this file reflects that the publisher, NATHAN HARE, resigned in February 1975, when he accused the board of directors of being made up, in the majority, of "black Marxists". This was denied by the Editorial Staff.

m. loc

In any event, the contributed works which appear in the publication do not appear to provide a basis under contemporary guidelines for a continuing investigation; nor does the publishing of these works appear to provide a basis for investigation of the publication itself.

In light of the above the investigation of The Black Scholar is being discontinued, UACB.

EX-115

REC-85

157-20214-53

24

MAR 30 1976

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- 1 - San Francisco
- KFM/sdc (S-2)
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FIVE



5010-110

57 APR 7 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 12/2/75

FROM : *WJH* SAC SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 6-23-89 BY SP1AG/ck

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS)

EM

OO: San Francisco

JHC

The June 1975 issue was received 8/4/75, and the July - August 1975 issue was received 8/20/75. Additional four copies of each issue of "The Black Scholar" (TBS) were obtained 9/5/75.

TBS is published by the Black World Foundation, 2658 Bridgeway, Post Office Box 908, Sausalito, California.

The additional copies of TBS were obtained from ROBERT SEIFERT, Business Manager, L & S Distributors, 1161 Post Street, San Francisco. At that time Mr. SEIFERT stated that LOU SWIFT, the former owner of L & S, had recently died and the company is in probate and there is some question as to the future of the company.

Four copies of each issue are enclosed for FBIHQ and one copy of each issue is being retained by San Francisco.

A delay in review of magazines and their submission to FBIHQ was necessitated due to case agent handling leads in the HEARNAP and MOOREFORD matters.

The June 1975 issue, Volume 6, No. 9, features black arts and literature and covers a "broad sampling of modern black poetry, short stories and commentary on literature and art."

The July - August 1975 issue, Volume 6, No. 10, features Black Psychology.

- 1 - 4072
- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 10) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco

OTV/sdc

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ENCLOSURE

REC-14

EX-115

157-20214-52

DEC 8 1975



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

55 JAN 8 1976

EX-115

SF 157-4615
OTV/sdc

It is noted that NATHAN HARE, the original publisher of TBS, is no longer associated with the magazine.

A review of the articles appearing in both issues reveal none which are believed sufficiently inflammatory or extremist to warrant special attention. However, an article which may be of interest to FBIHQ is found on Page 43 of the July - August 1975 issue and is entitled "New Evidence of FBI 'Disruption' Program" written by BAXTER SMITH. Two copies of this article are also being furnished FBIHQ.

San Francisco will continue to review issues of TBS.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-20214)

DATE: 6/17/75

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-4615) (P)

SUBJECT: THE BLACK SCHOLAR (TBS)
EM
OO: SF

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The April, 1975 issue of TBS was received 5/22/75.. This magazine is published by the Black World Foundation (BWF) at 2658 Bridgeway, P.O. Box 908, Sausalito, California.

Black Economics (III) is featured in this issue of the magazine.

Four copies of this issue are enclosed for FBIHQ and one copy is being retained by San Francisco.

Two photocopies of the following articles are being forwarded to the Bureau because of interest in the authors of the articles, or the extremist intent of the articles.

Page 15, entitled "Imperialism and the Third World Economy" by CLARENCE J. MUNFORD.

Page 27, entitled, "The Struggle of Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10" by ANGELA Y. DAVIS.

Page 36, entitled "Together We Struggle, Together We Win" by SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS.

Two photocopies of the article by SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS are being sent to Boston because of her employment at the University of Massachusetts, Amhurst. One copy of the article by ANGELA Y. DAVIS is being sent to Charlotte because of the subject matter of the Wilmington 10. One copy of the article by ANGELA Y. DAVIS is being routed to her SF file.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 10)
 - 2 - Boston (Enc. 2)
 - 1 - Charlotte (Enc. 1)
 - 4 - San Francisco
- (1 - 157-7334) (BWF) (1 - 100-64397) (ANGELA DAVIS)

JD/dlw
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ENCLOSURE

FIVE



7 JUL 24 1975

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For the information of Boston, the following is set forth:

TBS is a magazine first published in 1969, from 2658 Bridgeway, Box 908, Sausalito, California. The Magazine publishes militant, inflammatory and extremist material advocating racial violence, Pan-Afrikanism and radical prison reform. The magazine is published by the BWF. Printed material of BWF states that the BWF was formed ... to begin the shaping of a revolutionary black culture.

PART ONE OF TWO PARTS

IMPERIALISM AND THIRD WORLD ECONOMICS

by CLARENCE J. MUNFORD

MORE AND MORE, as Afro-Americans—locked in their own class struggle against U.S. monopoly capital and racism—look around the world, they are at once encouraged and baffled by the emergence of so many new states and great liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They feel drawn towards Africa, but do not know what to make of some of the regimes there. They hear much of the effect the general crisis of U.S. capitalism is supposed to be having on the “Third World,” but really have not made up their minds whether a “Third World” exists at all.

In the flood of rhetoric concerning the “Third World,” basic questions are left unanswered, questions, like the difference between colonialism and neo-colonialism, like whether a non-capitalist path of development is feasible in “Third World” countries, and whether non-capitalist is identical with socialist development. How does the political economy of raw materials work in developing countries? Exactly why and how does the imperialist world system go about exploiting and oppressing Africans, Asians and Latin Americans? What are the scientifically-verifiable prospects for improvements in the “Third World”?

CLARENCE J. MUNFORD, M.A., D.Ph., is Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Guelph in Canada. Dr. Munford spent five years in West Africa teaching at a Nigerian university. Before that he studied Marxism-Leninism at Karl-Marx-University in the German Democratic Republic, a socialist country.

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This essay will probe these and related questions, and suggest some answers.

WE MUST BEGIN by understanding what the term *imperialist colonial system* means. A product of history, the imperialist colonial system is the totality of colonies, semi-colonies, dependent countries, and neo-colonial states, oppressed and enslaved by the modern imperialist powers. At one time, this system enveloped most of the people on earth, today it is badly battered and much reduced, but still has notable vestiges and powerful capacities to assume new forms. Colonies are best defined as countries lacking political independence which belong to a monopoly-capitalist-dominated metropolis (an imperialist state). In the narrow sense, a colony is any inhabited territory whose sovereignty rests with a distant state.

In imperialism's current phase, the colonial system consists, in addition to full-fledged colonies, of various types of semi-colonies, dependencies and neo-colonial states. Dependencies are poorly developed, formally independent countries which have become the objects of colonial exploitation, and which are subject to imperialist economic and political control. A semi-colonial state is one in which pre-capitalist local ruling classes share the exploitation of the popular masses with the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. Neo-colonial states are formally independent countries still subject to colonial exploitation, but in which, owing

to the national liberation movement, the worsening crisis of capitalism, and the growing weight of the socialist world system, the imperialist masters are forced to resort to modernized and more sophisticated methods in order to hold on.

Colonial conquest and the establishment of great world empires by enslaving weaker peoples existed before imperialism dawned in the 1870s and 1880s, in fact, long before the appearance of capitalism. After all, Rome and the Hellenistic states—ancient slaveholding societies—were empires, and Genghis Khan, the Arab Caliphs and the Ottoman Turks ruled over military despotic empires. Western European commercial capitalism, which from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century created the world market and enslaved Africans, set up huge colonial empires in the Western hemisphere, India and Indonesia. However, as Lenin proved, colonies acquired new significance in the era of monopoly capital and imperialism.

The change in the role of colonies was caused by the ousting of free competition by monopoly domination in the advanced capitalist countries (ca. 1873-1895) which were just then in the process of subjugating colonies and semi-colonies. Exploitation of colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies became one of the most lucrative sources of superprofit for the emergent monopolies. Imperialist colonial policy was historically inseparable from the completion of the territorial division of the world among the imperialist powers and their struggle to divide it. In 1919, colonies and dependencies herded into the imperialist colonial system occupied 72 percent of the world's surface and contained over 69 percent of its population. The methods by which this empire was exploited included the export of capital, control of raw material sources, and competition between the monopolies for spheres of influence, economic regions and military bases.

AS IT OVERRAN the globe, capitalism thus brought to a culmination the tendency to integrate separate countries and regions economically. It tended to abolish national

isolation, gradually uniting huge territories in an integral whole. The method employed was unfeeling oppression and exploitation of colonial and dependent peoples by the metropolises. The so-called "Third World's" separate national economies—most of them pre-capitalist and with weakly-developed productive forces¹—were transformed into links in a connected chain called the "world economy." This "integration" actually split the world into a small group of imperialist powers which exploited and oppressed colonial and dependent countries, and the great majority of colonial and dependent countries whose inhabitants had to fight to free themselves from the imperialist yoke.

Imperialism condemned colonial and dependent peoples to economic and social backwardness, robbed of the prerequisites for progress, hundreds of millions fell victim to unparalleled cruelty, poverty and ignorance. Arbitrary imperialist disposal of the labour power and resources of the colonies for a long time froze productive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the majority of mankind lives. The colonies were drained of everything from the blood of humans to raw materials. In the First World War almost a million and a half blacks from the African colonies, cheap "cannon fodder," were mustered to fight as soldiers on the side of France. During both World Wars, the metropolises shifted a large part of the financial burden off on the colonies.

The extent to which British capitalists enriched themselves at the expense of their raw materials producing overseas colonies showed in the gap between the value of British imports and the value of exports. Taking the price of producers' goods in 1913 as a base index of 100, by 1920, following World War I, the increase of the export prices received by British imperialism had outstripped the import prices it paid by 61 percent. Colonial conquest also caused a tremendous growth of racial discrimination and national oppression. Thus from a historical standpoint, imperialist colonization is an enormity which cannot be overestimated. As Lenin noted, it transformed capitalism from the

liberator of (European and North American) nations it had been in the centuries of struggle against feudalism, into the greatest oppressor of nations and nationalities in modern history. It is the cause for the backwardness of the "Third World" today.

A striking feature of the general crisis of capitalism is the crisis and collapse of the colonial system we have witnessed over the last three decades. Of course we cannot fathom the crisis of the imperialist colonial system unless we first understand the general crisis of capitalism, the main features and tenets of which were revealed by Lenin.

LONG-AWAITED, capitalism's general crisis exploded on the scene in 1917. It is a comprehensive crisis of the capitalist world system, marked by imperialist and anti-imperialist wars and social revolutions, by the struggle between moribund capitalism and rising socialism on a world scale. The chief characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism is the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat first in one country, then the division of the world into two antagonistic social systems—the capitalist world system and the socialist world system.

Capitalism's general crisis encompasses all aspects of bourgeois (capitalist) society, economic and cultural as well as political, long term morbidity as well as crises of everyday living. One aspect means growing weakness for the capitalist world system in relation to emergent socialism, the other growing economic and political power for the countries which have broken away from capitalism. The general crisis began during the First World War and developed as the aftermath of Russia quitting the capitalist system. The first stage in capitalism's general crisis coincided with the inter-war years, 1917-1939. The second stage of the crisis opened with World War II and the subsequent revolt against the capitalist system of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia. The third (present) stage of the crisis began in the late 1950s and has featured the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese people's victory over U.S. aggression.

Against this background we can understand the crisis of the *imperialist colonial system* which appeared during the imperialist World War of 1914-1919, only to grow in scope and profundity thereafter, stimulated by the 1917 October Socialist Revolution. It is punctuated by terrible aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers on one side, and the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries on the other. A series of violent turning points, and critical collapses of one empire after the other, the crisis of the colonial system is manifested in the growth of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, culminating in independence, and in post-independence struggles against imperialism. The crisis of the colonial system is further caused by the development of industry and native capitalism in the colonies, a process which worsens the capitalist world's marketing problems and leads to the rise of an industrial proletariat in the colonies.

It was during the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism that the crisis of the colonial system reached its exploding point. World War II exposed the cancer of colonialism, it subjected the enslaved peoples to sore trials, yet by the same token destroyed the myth that the colonial masters were almighty. As the national liberation struggle revived and swelled in intensity after 1945, the colonial system disintegrated.

Lenin was the first to realize (August-September 1917) that, under imperialism, monopoly capitalism has a tendency to develop into state-monopoly capitalism and that this was bound to affect the mode of colonial exploitation. State-monopoly capitalism is imperialism's ultimate phase. Despite uneven development, today this process has gone so far that the bourgeois machinery of government is subordinate to the monopolies, and, as a glance at Washington, D.C. will tell us, big corporations merge with the state. The only article of faith worshipped by the state-monopoly capitalists is the extraction of the maximum super-profits. Though it deepens the main contradictions of the capitalist system, state-monopoly capitalists pursue their aim with an obstinacy

worthy of the damned. Exploitation of working people intensifies in all advanced capitalist countries.

What remains of the imperialist colonial system is transformed into an integral economic system consisting of a *center*—the imperialist powers—and a *periphery*—a belt of super-exploited underdeveloped countries. Territorial division of the non-socialist world between the imperialist powers and the struggle to redivide it now largely take the form of neo-colonialism. Basically neo-colonialism is a system of state-monopoly measures aiming at maintaining the economic positions and restoring the political privileges of imperialism in new forms in former colonies. Forcible suppression of national liberation movements has become a fundamental imperialist doctrine. The Musadiq government of Iran was overthrown for daring to clash with the international oil cartel, and the Arbenz government in Guatemala for facing up to the United Fruit monopoly. Israeli militarists were unleashed against progressive Arab regimes. Patrice Lumumba, the father of independent Zaire, was murdered, and Santo Domingo invaded by U.S. marines. Chile's President Salvador Allende was brutally assassinated for having exercised sovereignty against the profits of ITT, Anaconda and Kennecott. Protracted colonial wars rage everywhere.

Such is the history of the emergence and the content of the imperialist colonial system.

LET US SEEK to strengthen our theoretical grasp of the success of the national liberation movement.

Following the defeat of fascist imperialism² in World War II, the struggle against imperialist colonialism proceeded in a new, favourable world-political environment. Consolidation of the socialist world system and the strengthening of the world's democratic forces promoted the national liberation movement globally. The expansion of socialism beyond the confines of a single country and the formation of a socialist world commonwealth radically altered the correla-

tion of class forces in the international arena. A situation was created propitious to the collapse of the imperialist colonial system. Thanks to the moral, political and material solidarity of the socialist states, the national liberation movement succeeded in holding its own and turning back the united counter-onslaught of the imperialist powers and international monopolies described above. As the bond between the national liberation movement and the struggle for socialism tightened, the progressive elements of the post-war world proved decisive for the disintegration of the colonial system in its traditional form. Imperialism was thrown on the defensive historically.

Hence no matter how limited and imperfect, political independence creates better conditions for colonized peoples to develop the class struggle and strengthen the anti-imperialist alliance. Merely for this reason, political sovereignty should never be underestimated; it is essential for the progress of "Third World" countries. Meanwhile factors like the rise of multinational corporations and the internationalization of production under the sponsorship of state-monopolies have accelerated the breakup of one of the colonial system's traditional features—"closed reserves," i.e. colonial territories protected by the flag of *one* specific imperialist power and reserved exclusively for its financial oligarchy to exploit.

Thus we see that it is the national liberation movement which draws the overwhelming majority of the world's population—oppressed by the financial oligarchy of a few large capitalist powers—into the historic struggle against imperialism. Without it, this majority, the third stream in the world revolutionary process,³ would stand apart from the international class struggle.

WE HAVE NOW laid the groundwork for an examination of present-day colonial economics and exploitation of the "Third World." Our next step will be to understand how the basic economic law of capitalism works under imperialism, and how monopoly

superprofits are extracted from imperialism's "Third World" periphery.

Monopoly superprofits include, in addition to average capitalist profit, a *surplus* profit which monopoly extracts in one or the other sphere of production or exchange because of its dominant position. A monopoly is a corporation or other business enterprise whose concentration of capital and production is large enough to enable it to make regular superprofits. The big corporations like Ford Motor Company, General Electric, United States Steel, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Exxon, etc., whose names are household words for us, are all monopolies. Now, although the main component of monopoly superprofits is the extra surplus value⁴ obtained at monopoly enterprises in the metropolis as a result of their higher rate of exploitation of workers, compared with non-monopoly enterprises (i.e. small- and medium-scale capitalist businesses), a lot of monopoly superprofit is extracted from the sale of commodities. Commodities owned by monopolies are, as a rule, *not* sold for their prices of production (cost price plus average profit), but rather for *higher* monopoly prices. *The monopoly price is equal to the cost price plus high monopoly profit.* Monopoly price lies above production price, and, as a rule, exceeds the value of the commodity. This is an essential phenomenon which determines the necessary, natural development of monopoly capitalist reproduction. Under imperialism, this derivative law of monopoly superprofit functions as a form and development of capitalism's *basic* economic law—the law of surplus value.

How does this affect the "Third World"? It affects it in the most brutal and physical manner because huge monopoly superprofits are obtained by appropriating much of the value created by the labour of "Third World" people. In colonial and neo-colonial countries the lion's share of the surplus value (along with part of the necessary product) produced by the agonizing, compulsory labour of hundreds of millions is seized by foreign monopolies, while most of the remainder is consumed unproductively by native ruling classes. In fact, the advanced

capitalist states achieved a large part of their high development of productive forces and their comparatively high standard of living through looting the economically backward countries. Proof that the "Third World" offers U.S. monopoly capitalists fabulous opportunities for profitable investment is the fact that the average profitability on direct investments of U.S. companies was 7.7 percent higher in the "Third World" from 1960 to 1970, than in developed capitalist countries.⁵

Governed by free competition, the export of commodities was typical for pre-monopoly capitalism. Imperialism shifts the emphasis to the export of capital. Capital is exported for one reason only—to bring monopoly superprofits back home to the capitalists. Capital is exported in two forms. In one variant, loans are granted to foreign governments, provincial authorities, municipalities, and banks. In the other, the capital shipped abroad establishes industrial, commercial and banking enterprises in foreign countries (direct investments), or it purchases concessions and constructs infrastructures like railways, port installations, airports and roads, or, in backward countries, it buys up already-existing enterprises at ridiculously low prices.

While most of the capital now exported from the U.S. goes to advanced capitalist countries (e.g. Canada, the Common Market), a lot still finds its way to backward, "Third World" countries where little capital is available, where wages are abominably low, raw materials cheap, and the price of land comparatively low. Kenya, Zaire, South Africa, and the West Indies, for example, fit this bill. There rivers of gold are sweated from the backs of superexploited workers and peasants. In 1964 the United States officially repatriated \$4,900,000,000 in profits from direct investments in the "Third World"; in 1966 it brought home \$5,800,000,000, and in 1971 \$8,820,000,000.⁶ Profits exported from Africa have almost trebled in recent years. In 1970 alone, profit on foreign investments transferred abroad from 19 African states exceeded one billion dollars. During 1970-1971, the Ivory Coast paid the im-

perialists \$36,000,000 in profits, Zambia \$38,000,000, Ghana \$42,000,000, Nigeria \$156,000,000, while \$346,000,000 were sucked from black workers in the apartheid Republic of South Africa.⁷ As of 1974, "Nigeria holds first place for the influx of private investments (about \$100 million); next come Morocco and Kenya, both at about the same level."⁸

THE EXPORT OF capital continues to be closely connected with the export of commodities. Once a country has fallen into their debt, the imperialists who export capital usually force their manufactured commodities on the debtor country at very disadvantageous rates for the debtor. The many puppet states who receive U.S. military "aid" are required by the Pentagon to purchase their military hardware exclusively from American arms manufacturers. In this way, tax monies deducted from the wages of U.S. workers, and delivered to such traitors as General Nguyen Van Thieu, end up in the pockets of American big businessmen. Directly invested capital also enables foreign monopolies to seize markets and sources of raw materials in backward countries. Thus while quickening the development of capitalism in the "Third World," the export of capital results in its allround subjugation and pillage by foreign monopolies. The export of capital provides the material basis for the division of the non-socialist world into a tight ring of profiteering imperialists and a large majority of peripheral debtor countries.

Clearly, "Third World" countries are subordinates in the international capitalist division of labour dominated by the monopolies. Here it is useful to distinguish between ordinary foreign monopolies which exploit the underdeveloped periphery and the giant multinational corporations which already control one-sixth of the aggregate gross national product of all the capitalist countries, and which have turned neo-colonialism into a nightmare for the peoples of the "Third World." They are now the most typical representatives of imperialism in the neo-colonial era. A United Nations study of these

new imperialist octopuses showed that the volume of direct foreign capital investment by U.S. multinational corporations in 1971 alone amounted to \$4,800,000,000, while they repatriated about \$9,000,000,000 in dividends, interest, and payments for managerial services, licences and patents.⁹ The annual turnover of ten of the biggest multinational corporations exceeds the national income of two-thirds of the member countries of the United Nations. Not only do they control more than half of the world trade in raw materials, multinationals are also the mainstay of colonialist and racist regimes. Before the recent democratic revolution in Portugal, they lavished handouts to the fascist Portuguese military administrations in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Lately three Austrian, West German and Swiss multinationals have undertaken to build an iron and steel works in Rhodesia to bolster its tottering white minority regime.

There are two kinds of multinational corporations—those controlled jointly by the financial oligarchies of different countries (e.g. an enterprise in which, say, U.S., British and West German capitalists all share the pie), and those which operate "transnationally" in various countries around the world (e.g. General Motors, IBM, Unilever).¹⁰ Today about a third of multinational subsidiaries and investments are located in the neo-colonial world. The sales of the major multinational corporations exceed the gross national product of any African country, and only India, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina in all of the "Third World" have a greater economic potential than the General Motors Corporation. The multinationals have a steel grip on the international marketing, transport and insurance network that "Third World" countries, dependent on foreign trade, must use in order to survive. The forced economic specialization imposed on individual countries and whole regions keeps wages low and enables the multinationals to draw ever larger batches of raw materials and foodstuffs from the periphery.

Multinational corporations preserve the colonial link by concentrating investments most in the extractive industry, plantations,

the services sector, as well as the preliminary processing of farm products for the markets. This is what makes "Third World" economies so one-sided or *monocultural*. Imperialism transforms them into raw material and agrarian appendages of the metropolises. Many dependent countries specialize in the production and exportation of just one or two products. Thus following World War II, coffee and cotton were more than 60 percent of Zambian exports, while 80 percent of Ghana's exports was cocoa beans. Today more than a third of Senegal's exports are peanuts and peanut oil, more than half of the exports of the Ivory Coast are coffee and cocoa, and nearly a third of Malawi's exports are tea and tobacco.

Monoculture teaches the colonial farm worker only a limited number of routine skills difficult to apply to other sectors of the economy, and it subjects the country as a whole to the arbitrary will of the multinational corporations who do the wholesale buying. "The result is that it is not the multinational corporation's enterprises that are 'integrated' into the national economy of the 'host' countries but rather the 'enclave' sectors of this economy are 'integrated' into the international production of the multinational corporations."¹¹

UNDER CAPITALISM nothing develops evenly, neither the economy nor political activity. The competition and anarchy of production which are inherent in capitalism endow "high growth-rate sectors" of the economy and certain lines of production with a fast tempo of development, while other lines and branches take a slow tempo, or even decline. The scientific and technological revolution enables individual capitalist countries and whole regions to play catch up, to leapfrog one another in stages of development and in the accumulation of capital. In the age of imperialism, this objective law of the uneven development of capitalist countries is a main cause for the export of capital, and thus one of the main forces conditioning the exploitation of the "Third World." Since capital is accumulated at different rates in different

countries, a relative "surplus" of free money begins to form in one country, say, the United States, faster than in rivaling countries, when the domestic market for a particular line has been saturated. Thirsting for profits, this "surplus" capital begins to look beyond its borders for investments with worthwhile returns. Evidently, different rates of profit cause uneven accumulation. Capital has a tendency towards partial non-reproduction in a market where the effective demand has already been satisfied, a tendency to lose its value (devaluation or devalorization), and this often happens, especially in the USA.

The appearance and export of "surplus" capital have profound negative consequences for the movement of productive forces, especially in the capital-importing countries. In social formations where the capitalist mode of production has made only superficial penetration (i.e. the "Third World"), where the spontaneous spread of capitalist relations was hindered by colonialism, and by outright destruction, the distortion of the human and material forces of production is monstrous. The U.S. financial oligarchy in particular, commanding huge sums of "surplus" investment capital, hurls the effects of the overall tendency of the average rate of profit to decline—the result of capital's tendency to lose value—off on the weaker nations subordinated to it by the whole network of dependency and "participation" woven by the export of capital. The most common form of imperialist pillage today is the *direct* exploitation of "Third World" workers made possible by foreign monopoly ownership of productive, commercial, financial, transport or other enterprises in capital-importing dependencies.

The capacity of the capitalist market is largely determined by the purchasing power of the two basic classes—the capitalists and the hired workers. In the less developed countries the part of the surplus value used by the foreign monopoly bourgeoisie does not add to the purchasing power on the national market. It goes to the metropolitan countries, where it is used to purchase commodities for the use of the monopolists and top executives. National capitalists also mainly buy means of produc-

tion abroad and the surplus value they use for personal consumption is often spent on foreign goods.¹²

Under-employment rules local labour markets in the "Third World," so labour-power is dirt cheap. The lack of jobs, combined with the surplus of hands created by agrarian "over-population," exposes the working masses to a tremendous rate of exploitation which, in turn, guarantees the high yield on capital invested in the neo-colonial world. Throughout the "Third World," particularly in sub-Saharan or Tropical Africa, the labour movement is rudimentary, trade unions just beginning. Super-exploitation is so rampant it results frequently in the physical deterioration and even destruction of labour-power—blacks are entombed in South Africa's mines every day. What is more, millions of "Third World" workers are imported from their native lands into the metropolises where they must perform heavy manual labour for starvation wages. U.S. monopolies import and deport Haitians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans like cattle. Hundreds of thousands of expatriate West Indians and Southern Asians work for piteous conditions in England. France draws a large proportion of its "temporary immigrant" workers from a "20th century slave trade" in Africans arranged by the puppet rulers of Senegal and the Ivory Coast who seek to relieve high domestic unemployment by exporting their people to the European capitalists.

Once they have set up in dependent countries, multinational corporations infiltrate the local markets so as to entrap the small producers in the towns and villages. They weave a network of relations with the local small and medium native capitalists, smothering the latter in a system of contracts. Partnerships, integrated banking and financial pressure are used to subvert and control "Third World" economies. There are all sorts of *indirect* forms of monopoly exploitation and domination into the boot—risky, parasitical methods of subsidiary accumulation: usury, speculation, middlemen rake-offs, and so forth. Petty though they may seem, these proce-

dures are necessary to squeeze out and realize every possible ounce of monopoly profit. Indirect exploitation puts brakes on productive accumulation—meaning that it prevents sorely-needed investment of money in the expansion and modernization of "Third World" production.

THE THIRD, current, stage of the general crisis of capitalism which features an increasingly uneven development of the world capitalist economy, and a worsening of all its internal contradictions, is about as old as the collapse of the colonial system. Its general effects are being felt presently in the underdeveloped countries which are following the path of capitalist development, and thus still suffering the pressure of imperialism. Only in the "Third World," capitalist crisis features appear in their most primitive forms, as caricatures of the original contradictions. Since it makes a travesty on and grotesquely exaggerates exploitive conditions in underdeveloped countries, direct foreign investment runs too great a risk of devaluation or confiscation. So, rather than increase productive investment, imperialist financiers seek first to get control of local agencies of capital accumulation. In this way, they are able to operate businesses in dependent countries with funds sucked from the dependent people themselves. To accomplish this, the imperialists work through the financial networks described above, and through alliances with local neo-colonialist regimes. International finance capital has come to rely a great deal on government financing and state intervention to extract monopoly superprofit.

To meet the needs of monopoly "business operations" (i.e. exploitation), roads, waterways, ports and other means of transport are laid out in "Third World" countries. Energy sources are readied. This "infrastructure" is funded, partially or totally, by the government. The monopolies make the "granting" of private capital investments dependent on the construction of infrastructures rigorously adapted to the extraction of monopoly superprofits. They are not the least bit interested in facilities which meet the needs of the

country's economic independence. They will insist, for instance, that railway lines run straight from the site of mines in the interior to port facilities designed to handle export freighters. The whole operation requires that the local neo-colonialist government raise the funds to construct these facilities from its own downtrodden people. While there are cases where foreign monopolies lay out infrastructures with monies provided by their own imperialist governments, most times the peripheral states themselves are forced to collect the funds by taxing their own people.

The rate of surplus value, expressing the degree of exploitation of the wage worker by the capitalist, is extremely high in the "Third World." It has been shown that this is mainly because labour power is cheap and the working-day lengthy. Imperialists keep it this way by combining capitalist (i.e. purely economic) exploitation with pre-capitalist coercion (i.e. non-economic, physical constraint). When the imperialists invaded and took over pre-capitalist Asia and Africa late in the 19th century, they found common peoples who were variously subjected by local ruling classes to slavery, labour-rent, rent-in-kind, and tributary peasant communes. In some countries the colonialists retained the medieval *corvée* (forced labour) along with the payment of debts by manual labour—landless peasants were required to pay for leases and repay debts by working several days a week for the landowner. In Mozambique the Portuguese rounded up young Africans for compulsory gang labour on the roads or in the mines. Mercenary tribal chiefs helped ship contract-labour gangs to the South African mines. Grinding poverty forced peasants to become dependent on loansharks; there are records of peasants selling members of the family into slavery to pay debts. The imperialists made wide use of parasitical subleases in which, between the landowner and the poor peasant cultivating the soil, there stands a middleman who rakes off a large part of the harvest. Retention of these precapitalist forms of exploitation helped create the tremendous agrarian overpopulation which prevails in neo-colonies.

NOWHERE is the situation worse than in Africa. Imperialist monopolies appropriate about 45 percent of the gross social product of independent African countries. Foreign capital still dominates much of Tropical Africa's trade, industry, construction and services. In 1968, national-democratic progress having been reversed by the reactionary coup which toppled Nkrumah, foreign capital owned 46 percent of the "value added"¹³ in Ghanaian manufacturing. Mixed companies jointly owned by imperialist monopolies and the Ghanaian state contributed 30 percent of the new value, leaving a meagre 24 percent of the value added for industries belonging to Ghana's national bourgeoisie.¹⁴ Through its control of the market and its government connections, foreign monopoly capital is reducing peasants, urban and rural craftsmen, and other reputedly independent African small producers to the status of semi-wage earners. It is a ruthless leveller endlessly churning out poverty-stricken semi-proletarians who spend most of their time unemployed. Monopoly domination permits little more than the bare reproduction of the labour-power of these Africans.

An axiom of capitalism's general crisis is that the imperialist bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the same old way. Assailed by all three currents of the world revolutionary process, imperialism must trim its sails, tack and manoeuvre in the winds of change. So the structure of the commodity exchange between the imperialist metropolises and the "Third World" is beginning to take on a new aspect. The tasks assigned to the "Third World" in the capitalist world economy are as onerous as ever, only the emphasis is shifting in the commodity exchange polarity of "Third World" raw materials—imperialist manufactured goods to a new specialization exchanging the so-called "science-intensive" output from the advanced capitalist countries for the "labour-intensive" commodities of the underdeveloped world.

Actually there is little that is new in this relationship, for "science-intensive" are merely code words for managerial know-how, patents and goods produced with the

advanced technology of capital with a high organic composition¹⁵ and labour with high productivity. "Labour-intensive" denotes old-fashioned colonial commodities produced by super-exploited, low-productive colonial labour. That imperialism has switched in certain select neo-colonies (e.g. Republic of South Africa, Brazil, South Korea) from preserving economic backwardness to rearing a big native bourgeoisie is the other new wrinkle. This class of native capitalists is tailored to keep their countries within the world capitalist economy and link "Third World" capital with the multinational corporations. In this version, "modernization" of the "Third World" means capitalist assimilation.

Of course, neo-colonies and dependent countries continue in the old fashion to deliver the monopolies raw materials at rock-bottom prices. For example, gold, copper, lead, zinc, molybdenum, platinum and other rare strategic ores are obtainable in the Republic of South Africa from black labour power paid no more than one-twentieth (1/20) of white mining labour.¹⁶ Monopoly of the source of a new raw material gives a multinational giant a decisive advantage in the competitive struggle. Cheap raw materials enable industrial monopolies to dictate monopoly prices to the world market. For many years the imperialists used the development of synthetic materials and increased farm produce in the advanced capitalist countries to pressure the former colonies into selling their output at a low price. Bad weather three years ago and resulting crop disasters altered the picture somewhat. Raw material prices have always been particularly sensitive to changes in the business cycle, as a rule declining markedly as the outlook worsens and soaring when it improves—down during "recessions," up during booms. As for foodstuffs, demand here is only marginally dependent on change in the capitalist economic outlook, and fluctuations in the size of the crop are usually the most crucial factor, especially for the "Third World's" hungry millions. In 1972, the prices of many foodstuffs and basic cereals, particularly wheat, climbed as a result of lower production of the leading grain crops and wid-

ened demand on the world market. The "Third World's" food bill rose.

The imperialists also grow richer at the expense of the small raw materials producers of the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke. Since the imperialists are the sole buyers of their products, "Third World" producers must accept the price they are offered or none at all. The importance of colonies as market outlets grows during the age of imperialism. Internationalization of production and exchange combined with the aggravation of the domestic market problem prompted the monopolies to seize foreign markets. Before independence the imperialists employed fixed tariffs to cordon their colonial markets off from foreign competition. This enabled the monopolies to dump commodities in the colonies for insanely high prices, and also get rid of inferior wares unsaleable in any other market.

THE LATEST wrinkles in monopolistic price formation are much more subtle. The prime consideration is to avoid customs regulations and the prices for export and import goods officially fixed at the national borders by newly independent governments. The first step is to buy up existing facilities, or go into partnership with some local firm, in this way enabling a multinational subsidiary to get itself recognized legally as a locally-registered "naturalized" company. Lever Bros. manufactures soap, margarine, plastic products and detergents in Nigeria. Phillips Oil is now a "partner" in joint companies in Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria. In West Africa, some of these "naturalized" subsidiaries are actually headed by Western diplomats! Once within the borders, the monopoly buys up goods for export from dispersed and unorganized sellers at lower prices than those of the world market, and sells imported commodities at higher prices to the poor, disunited and ill-informed customers. Not only are high monopoly prices based on the fact of control over the local economy, but also frequently on the prestige of foreign trademarks boosted by advertising. Oftentimes "Third World" manufactures of better quality but

lesser reputation are neglected by local consumers.

Any landowner whose property is the site for the extraction of mineral resources collects absolute ground rent, irrespective of the quality of the deposits and their location. Now the monopolies sell oil and gas for a price determined by the most *unfavourable* conditions of production. Thus oil pumped under the extremely favourable conditions which obtain in the Middle East (rich deposits plus cheap labour power) is sold by the monopolies on the world market at the *same* price as the oil pumped under worse conditions in the United States (where both wages and other costs of production of a barrel of oil are much higher). Obviously the profit from the sale of Middle Eastern oil is much higher than from the sale of U.S.-pumped oil. This difference in profit forms a *differential rent* which is appropriated by the controllers of Middle Eastern oil. As yet, this enormous differential is still largely appropriated by U.S. and British oil magnates, with only a minor part accruing to Middle Eastern governments as concession payments.

According to Algerian President Houari Boumediene, between 1965 and 1970, multinational monopolies withdrew 25 billion dollars in profits from the "Third World." The "Third World" foreign debt is steadily growing and is now estimated at 80 billion dollars. It owes seven billion dollars just in interest. Multinational oil delivery speculation cost developing countries more than 800 million dollars in 1973/74 alone.

(Part 2 of this essay will be published in the May 1975 issue of THE BLACK SCHOLAR.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, small-scale commodity, and transitional and intermediate forms of these social formations, prevailed in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the time of the conquest. The *productive forces* in any society are the means of produc-

- tion and people equipped with production experience and work habits. The main productive force are the direct producers who constantly improve the instruments of labour and raise the productivity of labour. Normally, the productive forces undergo constant development, first of all the instruments of labour. The motor of history in class society is the antagonism which arises between people in the process of social production, exchange, and distribution of material wealth.
2. Fascist imperialism represents the overt terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, racist fraction of the financial oligarchy. Its most inhuman expression in the past was Hitlerite Germany. The establishment of a racist fascist dictatorship in the United States is the real danger right now.
 3. The socialist world system is the first stream in the world revolutionary process, the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, the second.
 4. Rooted in surplus labour, that is, the unpaid labour of hired workers, *surplus value* expresses the relations between the capitalist class and the working class, relations of the exploitation of hired labour by capital. The extraction of surplus value is the basic law of capitalist production. Profit is a changed form of surplus value.
 5. CIC Brief, *An Examination of the Multinational Corporations*, p. 36.
 6. International Monetary Fund, *Balance of Payments Yearbook*, 1970 and 1971.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. L. Alexandrovskaya, "Africa: Some Tendencies in Economic Development," in *International Affairs*, No. 7, 1974, p. 66.
 9. See United Nations Secretariat, *Multinational Corporations in World Development*, New York, 1973.
 10. See I. Ivanov, "International Corporations and the Third World," in *International Affairs*, No. 8, August 1974, pp. 31-42.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
 12. M. Ryndina and G. Chernikov, eds., *The Political Economy of Capitalism*, Moscow 1974, pp. 272-273.
 13. "Value added" refers to the new value created by workers in the course of a year, i.e. to $v + s$ (the value of the workers' wages + surplus value).
 14. See *Economic Bulletin of Ghana*, Accra, No. 3, 1971, p. 21.
 15. The organic composition of capital is the relationship between constant capital (production instruments, raw materials, fuel, etc.) and the wage fund (variable capital) determined by the ration of constant capital to living labour in the production process.
 16. In the gold mines, a white miner takes home an average 327 rand a month, but his African counterpart pockets only 16 rand (in 1972).

PART ONE OF TWO PARTS

IMPERIALISM AND THIRD WORLD ECONOMICS

by CLARENCE J. MUNFORD

MORE AND MORE, as Afro-Americans—locked in their own class struggle against U.S. monopoly capital and racism—look around the world, they are at once encouraged and baffled by the emergence of so many new states and great liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They feel drawn towards Africa, but do not know what to make of some of the regimes there. They hear much of the effect the general crisis of U.S. capitalism is supposed to be having on the “Third World,” but really have not made up their minds whether a “Third World” exists at all.

In the flood of rhetoric concerning the “Third World,” basic questions are left unanswered, questions, like the difference between colonialism and neo-colonialism, like whether a non-capitalist path of development is feasible in “Third World” countries, and whether non-capitalist is identical with socialist development. How does the political economy of raw materials work in developing countries? Exactly why and how does the imperialist world system go about exploiting and oppressing Africans, Asians and Latin Americans? What are the scientifically-verifiable prospects for improvements in the “Third World”?

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This essay will probe these and related questions, and suggest some answers.

WE MUST BEGIN by understanding what the term *imperialist colonial system* means. A product of history, the imperialist colonial system is the totality of colonies, semi-colonies, dependent countries, and neo-colonial states, oppressed and enslaved by the modern imperialist powers. At one time, this system enveloped most of the people on earth, today it is badly battered and much reduced, but still has notable vestiges and powerful capacities to assume new forms. Colonies are best defined as countries lacking political independence which belong to a monopoly-capitalist-dominated metropolis (an imperialist state). In the narrow sense, a colony is any inhabited territory whose sovereignty rests with a distant state.

In imperialism's current phase, the colonial system consists, in addition to full-fledged colonies, of various types of semi-colonies, dependencies and neo-colonial states. Dependencies are poorly developed, formally independent countries which have become the objects of colonial exploitation, and which are subject to imperialist economic and political control. A semi-colonial state is one in which pre-capitalist local ruling classes share the exploitation of the popular masses with the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. Neo-colonial states are formally independent countries still subject to colonial exploitation, but in which, owing

to the national liberation movement, the worsening crisis of capitalism, and the growing weight of the socialist world system, the imperialist masters are forced to resort to modernized and more sophisticated methods in order to hold on.

Colonial conquest and the establishment of great world empires by enslaving weaker peoples existed before imperialism dawned in the 1870s and 1880s, in fact, long before the appearance of capitalism. After all, Rome and the Hellenistic states—ancient slaveholding societies—were empires, and Genghis Khan, the Arab Caliphs and the Ottoman Turks ruled over military despotic empires. Western European commercial capitalism, which from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century created the world market and enslaved Africans, set up huge colonial empires in the Western hemisphere, India and Indonesia. However, as Lenin proved, colonies acquired new significance in the era of monopoly capital and imperialism.

The change in the role of colonies was caused by the ousting of free competition by monopoly domination in the advanced capitalist countries (ca. 1873-1895) which were just then in the process of subjugating colonies and semi-colonies. Exploitation of colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies became one of the most lucrative sources of superprofit for the emergent monopolies. Imperialist colonial policy was historically inseparable from the completion of the territorial division of the world among the imperialist powers and their struggle to redivide it. In 1919, colonies and dependencies herded into the imperialist colonial system occupied 72 percent of the world's surface and contained over 69 percent of its population. The methods by which this empire was exploited included the export of capital, control of raw material sources, and competition between the monopolies for spheres of influence, economic regions and military bases.

AS IT OVERRAN the globe, capitalism thus brought to a culmination the tendency to integrate separate countries and regions economically. It tended to abolish national

isolation, gradually uniting huge territories in an integral whole. The method employed was unfeeling oppression and exploitation of colonial and dependent peoples by the metropolises. The so-called "Third World's" separate national economies—most of them pre-capitalist and with weakly-developed productive forces¹—were transformed into links in a connected chain called the "world economy." This "integration" actually split the world into a small group of imperialist powers which exploited and oppressed colonial and dependent countries, and the great majority of colonial and dependent countries whose inhabitants had to fight to free themselves from the imperialist yoke.

Imperialism condemned colonial and dependent peoples to economic and social backwardness, robbed of the prerequisites for progress, hundreds of millions fell victim to unparalleled cruelty, poverty and ignorance. Arbitrary imperialist disposal of the labour power and resources of the colonies for a long time froze productive forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the majority of mankind lives. The colonies were drained of everything from the blood of humans to raw materials. In the First World War almost a million and a half blacks from the African colonies, cheap "cannon fodder," were mustered to fight as soldiers on the side of France. During both World Wars, the metropolises shifted a large part of the financial burden off on the colonies.

The extent to which British capitalists enriched themselves at the expense of their raw materials producing overseas colonies showed in the gap between the value of British imports and the value of exports. Taking the price of producers' goods in 1913 as a base index of 100, by 1920, following World War I, the increase of the export prices received by British imperialism had outstripped the import prices it paid by 61 percent. Colonial conquest also caused a tremendous growth of racial discrimination and national oppression. Thus from a historical standpoint, imperialist colonization is an enormity which cannot be overestimated. As Lenin noted, it transformed capitalism from the

liberator of (European and North American) nations it had been in the centuries of struggle against feudalism, into the greatest oppressor of nations and nationalities in modern history. It is the cause for the backwardness of the "Third World" today.

A striking feature of the general crisis of capitalism is the crisis and collapse of the colonial system we have witnessed over the last three decades. Of course we cannot fathom the crisis of the imperialist colonial system unless we first understand the general crisis of capitalism, the main features and tenets of which were revealed by Lenin.

LONG-AWAITED, capitalism's general crisis exploded on the scene in 1917. It is a comprehensive crisis of the capitalist world system, marked by imperialist and anti-imperialist wars and social revolutions, by the struggle between moribund capitalism and rising socialism on a world scale. The chief characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism is the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat first in one country, then the division of the world into two antagonistic social systems—the capitalist world system and the socialist world system.

Capitalism's general crisis encompasses all aspects of bourgeois (capitalist) society, economic and cultural as well as political, long term morbidity as well as crises of everyday living. One aspect means growing weakness for the capitalist world system in relation to emergent socialism, the other growing economic and political power for the countries which have broken away from capitalism. The general crisis began during the First World War and developed as the aftermath of Russia quitting the capitalist system. The first stage in capitalism's general crisis coincided with the inter-war years, 1917-1939. The second stage of the crisis opened with World War II and the subsequent revolt against the capitalist system of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia. The third (present) stage of the crisis began in the late 1950s and has featured the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese people's victory over U.S. aggression.

Against this background we can understand the crisis of the *imperialist colonial system* which appeared during the imperialist World War of 1914-1919, only to grow in scope and profundity thereafter, stimulated by the 1917 October Socialist Revolution. It is punctuated by terrible aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist powers on one side, and the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries on the other. A series of violent turning points, and critical collapses of one empire after the other, the crisis of the colonial system is manifested in the growth of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, culminating in independence, and in post-independence struggles against imperialism. The crisis of the colonial system is further caused by the development of industry and native capitalism in the colonies, a process which worsens the capitalist world's marketing problems and leads to the rise of an industrial proletariat in the colonies.

It was during the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism that the crisis of the colonial system reached its exploding point. World War II exposed the cancer of colonialism, it subjected the enslaved peoples to sore trials, yet by the same token destroyed the myth that the colonial masters were almighty. As the national liberation struggle revived and swelled in intensity after 1945, the colonial system disintegrated.

Lenin was the first to realize (August-September 1917) that, under imperialism, monopoly capitalism has a tendency to develop into state-monopoly capitalism and that this was bound to affect the mode of colonial exploitation. State-monopoly capitalism is imperialism's ultimate phase. Despite uneven development, today this process has gone so far that the bourgeois machinery of government is subordinate to the monopolies, and, as a glance at Washington, D.C. will tell us, big corporations merge with the state. The only article of faith worshipped by the state-monopoly capitalists is the extraction of the maximum super-profits. Though it deepens the main contradictions of the capitalist system, state-monopoly capitalists pursue their aim with an obstinacy

worthy of the damned. Exploitation of working people intensifies in all advanced capitalist countries.

What remains of the imperialist colonial system is transformed into an integral economic system consisting of a *center*—the imperialist powers—and a *periphery*—a belt of super-exploited underdeveloped countries. Territorial division of the non-socialist world between the imperialist powers and the struggle to redivide it now largely take the form of neo-colonialism. Basically neo-colonialism is a system of state-monopoly measures aiming at maintaining the economic positions and restoring the political privileges of imperialism in new forms in former colonies. Forcible suppression of national liberation movements has become a fundamental imperialist doctrine. The Mus-sadiq government of Iran was overthrown for daring to clash with the international oil cartel, and the Arbenz government in Guatemala for facing up to the United Fruit monopoly. Israeli militarists were unleashed against progressive Arab regimes. Patrice Lumumba, the father of independent Zaire, was murdered, and Santo Domingo invaded by U.S. marines. Chile's President Salvador Allende was brutally assassinated for having exercised sovereignty against the profits of ITT, Anaconda and Kennecott. Protracted colonial wars rage everywhere.

Such is the history of the emergence and the content of the imperialist colonial system.

LET US SEEK to strengthen our theoretical grasp of the success of the national liberation movement.

Following the defeat of fascist imperialism² in World War II, the struggle against imperialist colonialism proceeded in a new, favourable world-political environment. Consolidation of the socialist world system and the strengthening of the world's democratic forces promoted the national liberation movement globally. The expansion of socialism beyond the confines of a single country and the formation of a socialist world commonwealth radically altered the correla-

tion of class forces in the international arena. A situation was created propitious to the collapse of the imperialist colonial system. Thanks to the moral, political and material solidarity of the socialist states, the national liberation movement succeeded in holding its own and turning back the united counter-onslaught of the imperialist powers and international monopolies described above. As the bond between the national liberation movement and the struggle for socialism tightened, the progressive elements of the post-war world proved decisive for the disintegration of the colonial system in its traditional form. Imperialism was thrown on the defensive historically.

Hence no matter how limited and imperfect, political independence creates better conditions for colonized peoples to develop the class struggle and strengthen the anti-imperialist alliance. Merely for this reason, political sovereignty should never be underestimated; it is essential for the progress of "Third World" countries. Meanwhile factors like the rise of multinational corporations and the internationalization of production under the sponsorship of state-monopolies have accelerated the breakup of one of the colonial system's traditional features—"closed reserves," i.e. colonial territories protected by the flag of *one* specific imperialist power and reserved exclusively for its financial oligarchy to exploit.

Thus we see that it is the national liberation movement which draws the overwhelming majority of the world's population—oppressed by the financial oligarchy of a few large capitalist powers—into the historic struggle against imperialism. Without it, this majority, the third stream in the world revolutionary process,³ would stand apart from the international class struggle.

WE HAVE NOW laid the groundwork for an examination of present-day colonial economics and exploitation of the "Third World." Our next step will be to understand how the basic economic law of capitalism works under imperialism, and how monopoly

superprofits are extracted from imperialism's "Third World" periphery.

Monopoly superprofits include, in addition to average capitalist profit, a *surplus* profit which monopoly extracts in one or the other sphere of production or exchange because of its dominant position. A monopoly is a corporation or other business enterprise whose concentration of capital and production is large enough to enable it to make regular superprofits. The big corporations like Ford Motor Company, General Electric, United States Steel, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Exxon, etc., whose names are household words for us, are all monopolies. Now, although the main component of monopoly superprofits is the extra surplus value⁴ obtained at monopoly enterprises in the metropolis as a result of their higher rate of exploitation of workers, compared with non-monopoly enterprises (i.e. small- and medium-scale capitalist businesses), a lot of monopoly superprofit is extracted from the sale of commodities. Commodities owned by monopolies are, as a rule, *not* sold for their prices of production (cost price plus average profit), but rather for *higher* monopoly prices. *The monopoly price is equal to the cost price plus high monopoly profit.* Monopoly price lies above production price, and, as a rule, exceeds the value of the commodity. This is an essential phenomenon which determines the necessary, natural development of monopoly capitalist reproduction. Under imperialism, this derivative law of monopoly superprofit functions as a form and development of capitalism's *basic economic law*—the law of surplus value.

How does this affect the "Third World"? It affects it in the most brutal and physical manner because huge monopoly superprofits are obtained by appropriating much of the value created by the labour of "Third World" people. In colonial and neo-colonial countries the lion's share of the surplus value (along with part of the necessary product) produced by the agonizing, compulsory labour of hundreds of millions is seized by foreign monopolies, while most of the remainder is consumed unproductively by native ruling classes. In fact, the advanced

capitalist states achieved a large part of their high development of productive forces and their comparatively high standard of living through looting the economically backward countries. Proof that the "Third World" offers U.S. monopoly capitalists fabulous opportunities for profitable investment is the fact that the average profitability on direct investments of U.S. companies was 7.7 per cent higher in the "Third World" from 1960 to 1970, than in developed capitalist countries.⁵

Governed by free competition, the export of commodities was typical for pre-monopoly capitalism. Imperialism shifts the emphasis to the export of capital. Capital is exported for one reason only—to bring monopoly superprofits back home to the capitalists. Capital is exported in two forms. In one variant, loans are granted to foreign governments, provincial authorities, municipalities, and banks. In the other, the capital shipped abroad establishes industrial, commercial and banking enterprises in foreign countries (direct investments), or it purchases concessions and constructs infrastructures like railways, port installations, airports and roads, or, in backward countries, it buys up already-existing enterprises at ridiculously low prices.

While most of the capital now exported from the U.S. goes to advanced capitalist countries (e.g. Canada, the Common Market), a lot still finds its way to backward, "Third World" countries where little capital is available, where wages are abominably low, raw materials cheap, and the price of land comparatively low. Kenya, Zaire, South Africa, and the West Indies, for example, fit this bill. There rivers of gold are sweated from the backs of superexploited workers and peasants. In 1964 the United States officially repatriated \$4,900,000,000 in profits from direct investments in the "Third World"; in 1966 it brought home \$5,800,000,000, and in 1971 \$8,820,000,000.⁶ Profits exported from Africa have almost trebled in recent years. In 1970 alone, profit on foreign investments transferred abroad from 19 African states exceeded one billion dollars. During 1970-1971, the Ivory Coast paid the im-

perialists \$36,000,000 in profits, Zambia \$38,000,000, Ghana \$42,000,000. Nigeria \$156,000,000, while \$346,000,000 were sucked from black workers in the apartheid Republic of South Africa.⁷ As of 1974, "Nigeria holds first place for the influx of private investments (about \$100 million); next come Morocco and Kenya, both at about the same level."⁸

THE EXPORT OF capital continues to be closely connected with the export of commodities. Once a country has fallen into their debt, the imperialists who export capital usually force their manufactured commodities on the debtor country at very disadvantageous rates for the debtor. The many puppet states who receive U.S. military "aid" are required by the Pentagon to purchase their military hardware exclusively from American arms manufacturers. In this way, tax monies deducted from the wages of U.S. workers, and delivered to such traitors as General Nguyen Van Thieu, end up in the pockets of American big businessmen. Directly invested capital also enables foreign monopolies to seize markets and sources of raw materials in backward countries. Thus while quickening the development of capitalism in the "Third World," the export of capital results in its allround subjugation and pillage by foreign monopolies. The export of capital provides the material basis for the division of the non-socialist world into a tight ring of profiteering imperialists and a large majority of peripheral debtor countries.

Clearly, "Third World" countries are subordinates in the international capitalist division of labour dominated by the monopolies. Here it is useful to distinguish between ordinary foreign monopolies which exploit the underdeveloped periphery and the giant multinational corporations which already control one-sixth of the aggregate gross national product of all the capitalist countries, and which have turned neo-colonialism into a nightmare for the peoples of the "Third World." They are now the most typical representatives of imperialism in the neo-colonial era. A United Nations study of these

new imperialist octopuses showed that the volume of direct foreign capital investment by U.S. multinational corporations in 1971 alone amounted to \$4,800,000,000, while they repatriated about \$9,000,000,000 in dividends, interest, and payments for managerial services, licences and patents.⁹ The annual turnover of ten of the biggest multinational corporations exceeds the national income of two-thirds of the member countries of the United Nations. Not only do they control more than half of the world trade in raw materials, multinationals are also the mainstay of colonialist and racist regimes. Before the recent democratic revolution in Portugal, they lavished handouts to the fascist Portuguese military administrations in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Lately three Austrian, West German and Swiss multinationals have undertaken to build an iron and steel works in Rhodesia to bolster its tottering white minority regime.

There are two kinds of multinational corporations—those controlled jointly by the financial oligarchies of different countries (e.g. an enterprise in which, say, U.S., British and West German capitalists all share the pie), and those which operate "transnationally" in various countries around the world (e.g. General Motors, IBM, Unilever).¹⁰ Today about a third of multinational subsidiaries and investments are located in the neo-colonial world. The sales of the major multinational corporations exceed the gross national product of any African country, and only India, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina in all of the "Third World" have a greater economic potential than the General Motors Corporation. The multinationals have a steel grip on the international marketing, transport and insurance network that "Third World" countries, dependent on foreign trade, must use in order to survive. The forced economic specialization imposed on individual countries and whole regions keeps wages low and enables the multinationals to draw ever larger batches of raw materials and foodstuffs from the periphery.

Multinational corporations preserve the colonial link by concentrating investments most in the extractive industry, plantations,

the services sector, as well as the preliminary processing of farm products for the markets. This is what makes "Third World" economies so one-sided or *monocultural*. Imperialism transforms them into raw material and agrarian appendages of the metropolises. Many dependent countries specialize in the production and exportation of just one or two products. Thus following World War II, coffee and cotton were more than 60 percent of Zambian exports, while 80 percent of Ghana's exports was cocoa beans. Today more than a third of Senegal's exports are peanuts and peanut oil, more than half of the exports of the Ivory Coast are coffee and cocoa, and nearly a third of Malawi's exports are tea and tobacco.

Monoculture teaches the colonial farm worker only a limited number of routine skills difficult to apply to other sectors of the economy, and it subjects the country as a whole to the arbitrary will of the multinational corporations who do the wholesale buying. "The result is that it is not the multinational corporation's enterprises that are 'integrated' into the national economy of the 'host' countries but rather the 'enclave' sectors of this economy are 'integrated' into the international production of the multinational corporations."¹¹

UNDER CAPITALISM nothing develops evenly, neither the economy nor political activity. The competition and anarchy of production which are inherent in capitalism endow "high growth-rate sectors" of the economy and certain lines of production with a fast tempo of development, while other lines and branches take a slow tempo, or even decline. The scientific and technological revolution enables individual capitalist countries and whole regions to play catch up, to leapfrog one another in stages of development and in the accumulation of capital. In the age of imperialism, this objective law of the uneven development of capitalist countries is a main cause for the export of capital, and thus one of the main forces conditioning the exploitation of the "Third World." Since capital is accumulated at different rates in different

countries, a relative "surplus" of free money begins to form in one country, say, the United States, faster than in rivaling countries, when the domestic market for a particular line has been saturated. Thirsting for profits, this "surplus" capital begins to look beyond its borders for investments with worthwhile returns. Evidently, different rates of profit cause uneven accumulation. Capital has a tendency towards partial non-reproduction in a market where the effective demand has already been satisfied, a tendency to lose its value (devaluation or devalorization), and this often happens, especially in the USA.

The appearance and export of "surplus" capital have profound negative consequences for the movement of productive forces, especially in the capital-importing countries. In social formations where the capitalist mode of production has made only superficial penetration (i.e. the "Third World"), where the spontaneous spread of capitalist relations was hindered by colonialism, and by outright destruction, the distortion of the human and material forces of production is monstrous. The U.S. financial oligarchy in particular, commanding huge sums of "surplus" investment capital, hurls the effects of the overall tendency of the average rate of profit to decline—the result of capital's tendency to lose value—off on the weaker nations subordinated to it by the whole network of dependency and "participation" woven by the export of capital. The most common form of imperialist pillage today is the *direct* exploitation of "Third World" workers made possible by foreign monopoly ownership of productive, commercial, financial, transport or other enterprises in capital-importing dependencies.

The capacity of the capitalist market is largely determined by the purchasing power of the two basic classes—the capitalists and the hired workers. In the less developed countries the part of the surplus value used by the foreign monopoly bourgeoisie does not add to the purchasing power on the national market. It goes to the metropolitan countries, where it is used to purchase commodities for the use of the monopolists and top executives. National capitalists also mainly buy means of produc-

tion abroad and the surplus value they use for personal consumption is often spent on foreign goods.¹²

Under-employment rules local labour markets in the "Third World," so labour-power is dirt cheap. The lack of jobs, combined with the surplus of hands created by agrarian "over-population," exposes the working masses to a tremendous rate of exploitation which, in turn, guarantees the high yield on capital invested in the neo-colonial world. Throughout the "Third World," particularly in sub-Saharan or Tropical Africa, the labour movement is rudimentary, trade unions just beginning. Super-exploitation is so rampant it results frequently in the physical deterioration and even destruction of labour-power—blacks are entombed in South Africa's mines every day. What is more, millions of "Third World" workers are imported from their native lands into the metropolises where they must perform heavy manual labour for starvation wages. U.S. monopolies import and deport Haitians, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans like cattle. Hundreds of thousands of expatriate West Indians and Southern Asians work for pittance in England. France draws a large proportion of its "temporary immigrant" workers from a "20th century slave trade" in Africans arranged by the puppet rulers of Senegal and the Ivory Coast who seek to relieve high domestic unemployment by exporting their people to the European capitalists.

Once they have set up in dependent countries, multinational corporations infiltrate the local markets so as to entrap the small producers in the towns and villages. They weave a network of relations with the local small and medium native capitalists, smothering the latter in a system of contracts. Partnerships, integrated banking and financial pressure are used to subvert and control "Third World" economies. There are all sorts of *indirect* forms of monopoly exploitation and domination into the boot—risky, parasitical methods of subsidiary accumulation: usury, speculation, middlemen rake-offs, and so forth. Petty though they may seem, these proce-

dures are necessary to squeeze out and realize every possible ounce of monopoly profit. Indirect exploitation puts brakes on productive accumulation—meaning that it prevents sorely-needed investment of money in the expansion and modernization of "Third World" production.

THE THIRD, current, stage of the general crisis of capitalism which features an increasingly uneven development of the world capitalist economy, and a worsening of all its internal contradictions, is about as old as the collapse of the colonial system. Its general effects are being felt presently in the underdeveloped countries which are following the path of capitalist development, and thus still suffering the pressure of imperialism. Only in the "Third World," capitalist crisis features appear in their most primitive forms, as caricatures of the original contradictions. Since it makes a travesty on and grotesquely exaggerates exploitive conditions in underdeveloped countries, direct foreign investment runs too great a risk of devaluation or confiscation. So, rather than increase productive investment, imperialist financiers seek first to get control of local agencies of capital accumulation. In this way, they are able to operate businesses in dependent countries with funds sucked from the dependent people themselves. To accomplish this, the imperialists work through the financial networks described above, and through alliances with local neo-colonialist regimes. International finance capital has come to rely a great deal on government financing and state intervention to extract monopoly superprofit.

To meet the needs of monopoly "business operations" (i.e. exploitation), roads, waterways, ports and other means of transport are laid out in "Third World" countries. Energy sources are readied. This "infrastructure" is funded, partially or totally, by the government. The monopolies make the "granting" of private capital investments dependent on the construction of infrastructures rigorously adapted to the extraction of monopoly superprofits. They are not the least bit interested in facilities which meet the needs of the

country's economic independence. They will insist, for instance, that railway lines run straight from the site of mines in the interior to port facilities designed to handle export freighters. The whole operation requires that the local neo-colonialist government raise the funds to construct these facilities from its own downtrodden people. While there are cases where foreign monopolies lay out infrastructures with monies provided by their own imperialist governments, most times the peripheral states themselves are forced to collect the funds by taxing their own people.

The rate of surplus value, expressing the degree of exploitation of the wage worker by the capitalist, is extremely high in the "Third World." It has been shown that this is mainly because labour power is cheap and the working-day lengthy. Imperialists keep it this way by combining capitalist (i.e. purely economic) exploitation with pre-capitalist coercion (i.e. non-economic, physical constraint). When the imperialists invaded and took over pre-capitalist Asia and Africa late in the 19th century, they found common people who were variously subjected by local ruling classes to slavery, labour-rent, rent-in-kind, and tributary peasant communes. In some countries the colonialists retained the medieval *corvée* (forced labour) along with the payment of debts by manual labour—landless peasants were required to pay for leases and repay debts by working several days a week for the landowner. In Mozambique the Portuguese rounded up young Africans for compulsory gang labour on the roads or in the mines. Mercenary tribal chiefs helped ship contract-labour gangs to the South African mines. Grinding poverty forced peasants to become dependent on loansharks; there are records of peasants selling members of the family into slavery to pay debts. The imperialists made wide use of parasitical subleases in which, between the landowner and the poor peasant cultivating the soil, there stands a middleman who rakes off a large part of the harvest. Retention of these precapitalist forms of exploitation helped create the tremendous agrarian overpopulation which prevails in neo-colonies.

NOWHERE is the situation worse than in Africa. Imperialist monopolies appropriate about 45 percent of the gross social product of independent African countries. Foreign capital still dominates much of Tropical Africa's trade, industry, construction and services. In 1968, national-democratic progress having been reversed by the reactionary coup which toppled Nkrumah, foreign capital owned 46 percent of the "value added"¹³ in Ghanaian manufacturing. Mixed companies jointly owned by imperialist monopolies and the Ghanaian state contributed 30 percent of the new value, leaving a meagre 24 percent of the value added for industries belonging to Ghana's national bourgeoisie.¹⁴ Through its control of the market and its government connections, foreign monopoly capital is reducing peasants, urban and rural craftsmen, and other reputedly independent African small producers to the status of semi-wage earners. It is a ruthless leveller endlessly churning out poverty-stricken semi-proletarians who spend most of their time unemployed. Monopoly domination permits little more than the bare reproduction of the labour-power of these Africans.

An axiom of capitalism's general crisis is that the imperialist bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the same old way. Assailed by all three currents of the world revolutionary process, imperialism must trim its sails, tack and manoeuvre in the winds of change. So the structure of the commodity exchange between the imperialist metropolises and the "Third World" is beginning to take on a new aspect. The tasks assigned to the "Third World" in the capitalist world economy are as onerous as ever, only the emphasis is shifting in the commodity exchange polarity of "Third World" raw materials—imperialist manufactured goods to a new specialization exchanging the so-called "science-intensive" output from the advanced capitalist countries for the "labour-intensive" commodities of the underdeveloped world.

Actually there is little that is new in this relationship, for "science-intensive" are merely code words for managerial know-how, patents and goods produced with the

advanced technology of capital with a high organic composition¹⁵ and labour with high productivity. "Labour-intensive" denotes old-fashioned colonial commodities produced by super-exploited, low-productive colonial labour. That imperialism has switched in certain select neo-colonies (e.g. Republic of South Africa, Brazil, South Korea) from preserving economic backwardness to rearing a big native bourgeoisie is the other new wrinkle. This class of native capitalists is tailored to keep their countries within the world capitalist economy and link "Third World" capital with the multinational corporations. In this version, "modernization" of the "Third World" means capitalist assimilation.

Of course, neo-colonies and dependent countries continue in the old fashion to deliver the monopolies raw materials at rock-bottom prices. For example, gold, copper, lead, zinc, molybdenum, platinum and other rare strategic ores are obtainable in the Republic of South Africa from black labour power paid no more than one-twentieth (1/20) of white mining labour.¹⁶ Monopoly of the source of a new raw material gives a multinational giant a decisive advantage in the competitive struggle. Cheap raw materials enable industrial monopolies to dictate monopoly prices to the world market. For many years the imperialists used the development of synthetic materials and increased farm produce in the advanced capitalist countries to pressure the former colonies into selling their output at a low price. Bad weather three years ago and resulting crop disasters altered the picture somewhat. Raw material prices have always been particularly sensitive to changes in the business cycle, as a rule declining markedly as the outlook worsens and soaring when it improves—down during "recessions," up during booms. As for foodstuffs, demand here is only marginally dependent on change in the capitalist economic outlook, and fluctuations in the size of the crop are usually the most crucial factor, especially for the "Third World's" hungry millions. In 1972, the prices of many foodstuffs and basic cereals, particularly wheat, climbed as a result of lower production of the leading grain crops and wid-

ened demand on the world market. The "Third World's" food bill rose.

The imperialists also grow richer at the expense of the small raw materials producers of the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke. Since the imperialists are the sole buyers of their products, "Third World" producers must accept the price they are offered or none at all. The importance of colonies as market outlets grows during the age of imperialism. Internationalization of production and exchange combined with the aggravation of the domestic market problem prompted the monopolies to seize foreign markets. Before independence the imperialists employed fixed tariffs to cordon their colonial markets off from foreign competition. This enabled the monopolies to dump commodities in the colonies for insanely high prices, and also get rid of inferior wares unsaleable in any other market.

THE LATEST wrinkles in monopolistic price formation are much more subtle. The prime consideration is to avoid customs regulations and the prices for export and import goods officially fixed at the national borders by newly independent governments. The first step is to buy up existing facilities, or go into partnership with some local firm, in this way enabling a multinational subsidiary to get itself recognized legally as a locally-registered "naturalized" company. Lever Bros. manufactures soap, margarine, plastic products and detergents in Nigeria. Phillips Oil is now a "partner" in joint companies in Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria. In West Africa, some of these "naturalized" subsidiaries are actually headed by Western diplomats! Once within the borders, the monopoly buys up goods for export from dispersed and unorganized sellers at lower prices than those of the world market, and sells imported commodities at higher prices to the poor, disunited and ill-informed customers. Not only are high monopoly prices based on the fact of control over the local economy, but also frequently on the prestige of foreign trademarks boosted by advertising. Oftentimes "Third World" manufactures of better quality but

lesser reputation are neglected by local consumers.

Any landowner whose property is the site for the extraction of mineral resources collects absolute ground rent, irrespective of the quality of the deposits and their location. Now the monopolies sell oil and gas for a price determined by the most *unfavourable* conditions of production. Thus oil pumped under the extremely favourable conditions which obtain in the Middle East (rich deposits plus cheap labour power) is sold by the monopolies on the world market at the *same* price as the oil pumped under worse conditions in the United States (where both wages and other costs of production of a barrel of oil are much higher). Obviously the profit from the sale of Middle Eastern oil is much higher than from the sale of U.S.-pumped oil. This difference in profit forms a *differential rent* which is appropriated by the controllers of Middle Eastern oil. As yet, this enormous differential is still largely appropriated by U.S. and British oil magnates, with only a minor part accruing to Middle Eastern governments as concession payments.

According to Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, between 1965 and 1970, multinational monopolies withdrew 25 billion dollars in profits from the "Third World." The "Third World" foreign debt is steadily growing and is now estimated at 80 billion dollars. It owes seven billion dollars just in interest. Multinational oil delivery speculation cost developing countries more than 800 million dollars in 1973/74 alone.

(Part 2 of this essay will be published in the May 1975 issue of THE BLACK SCHOLAR.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, small-scale commodity, and transitional and intermediate forms of these social formations, prevailed in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the time of the conquest. The *productive forces* in any society are the means of produc-

tion and people equipped with production experience and work habits. The main productive force are the direct producers who constantly improve the instruments of labour and raise the productivity of labour. Normally, the productive forces undergo constant development, first of all the instruments of labour. The motor of history in class society is the antagonism which arises between people in the process of social production, exchange, and distribution of material wealth.

2. Fascist imperialism represents the overt terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, racist fraction of the financial oligarchy. Its most inhuman expression in the past was Hitlerite Germany. The establishment of a racist fascist dictatorship in the United States is the real danger right now.
3. The socialist world system is the first stream in the world revolutionary process, the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, the second.
4. Rooted in surplus labour, that is, the unpaid labour of hired workers, *surplus value* expresses the relations between the capitalist class and the working class, relations of the exploitation of hired labour by capital. The extraction of surplus value is the basic law of capitalist production. Profit is a changed form of surplus value.
5. CIC Brief, *An Examination of the Multinational Corporations*, p. 36.
6. International Monetary Fund, *Balance of Payments Yearbook*, 1970 and 1971.
7. *Ibid.*
8. L. Alexandrovskaya, "Africa: Some Tendencies in Economic Development," in *International Affairs*, No. 7, 1974, p. 66.
9. See United Nations Secretariat, *Multinational Corporations in World Development*, New York, 1973.
10. See I. Ivanov, "International Corporations and the Third World," in *International Affairs*, No. 8, August 1974, pp. 31-42.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
12. M. Ryndina and G. Chernikov, eds., *The Political Economy of Capitalism*, Moscow 1974, pp. 272-273.
13. "Value added" refers to the new value created by workers in the course of a year, i.e. to $v + s$ (the value of the workers' wages + surplus value).
14. See *Economic Bulletin of Ghana*, Accra, No. 3, 1971, p. 21.
15. The organic composition of capital is the relationship between constant capital (production instruments, raw materials, fuel, etc.) and the wage fund (variable capital) determined by the ration of constant capital to living labour in the production process.
16. In the gold mines, a white miner takes home an average 327 rand a month, but his African counterpart pockets only 16 rand (in 1972).

THE STRUGGLE OF BEN CHAVIS AND THE WILMINGTON 10

by ANGELA Y. DAVIS

ON DECEMBER 3, 1971, convicted Watergate criminal Robert C. Mardian sent a confidential memo, as Assistant Attorney General to John Mitchell, to the U.S. Marshalls Service. "It is anticipated," Mardian wrote, "that Walter David Washington and Theodore Alfred Hood will be key witnesses in the trial of James Earl Grant, Jr. and Benjamin Franklin Chavis, known black militants, after evidence secured by the investigating agents has been presented to a Federal Grand Jury to be convened in the Eastern District of North Carolina the week of December 6, 1971." Subsequently, \$6,522.22 was paid to Walter Washington and \$7,314.77 to Alfred Hood.

Many people are now insisting that Hood and Washington are two small cogs in a secret, government-sponsored plan to put Ben Chavis behind bars for the rest of his life.

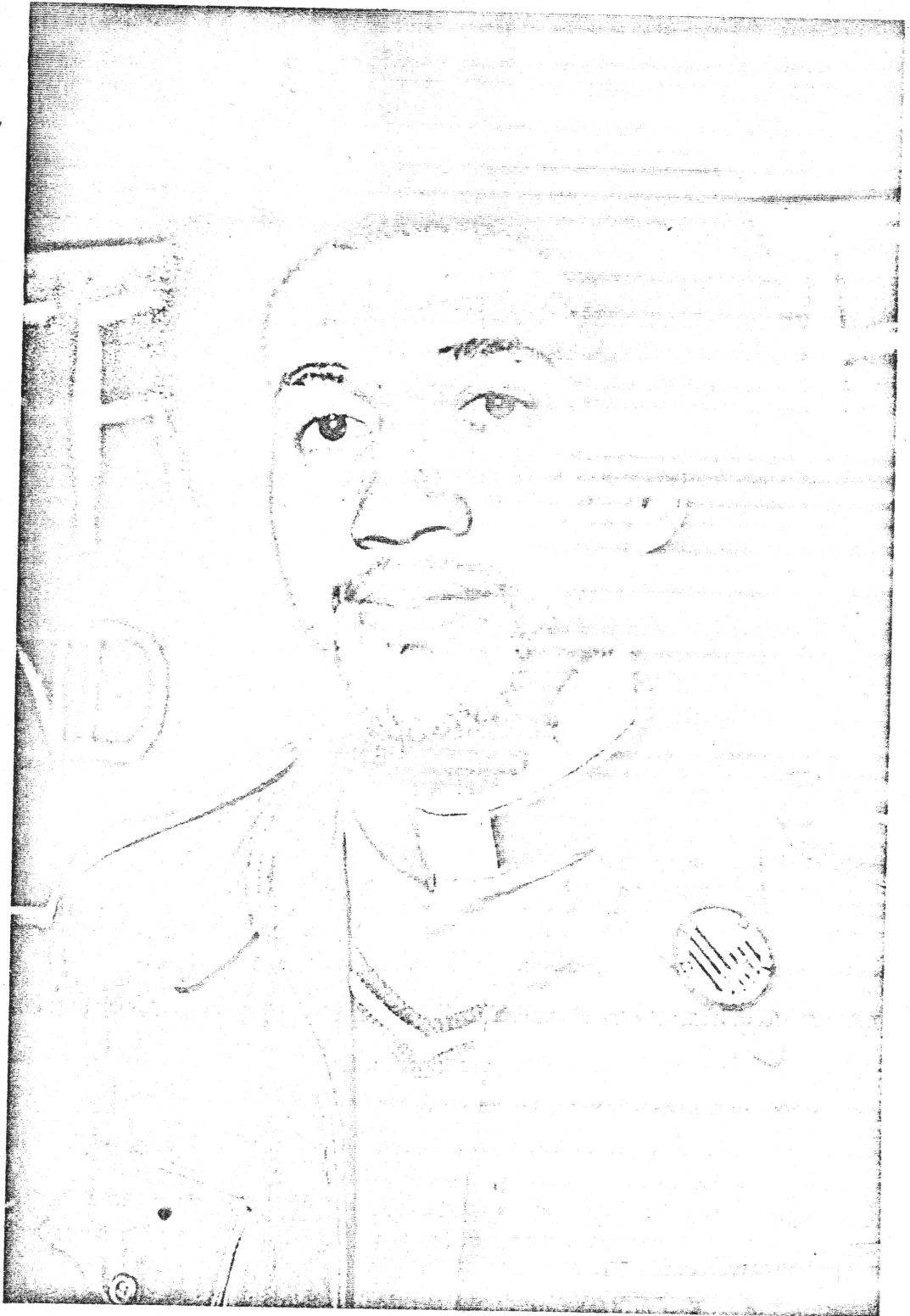
IF YOU SHOULD ever meet Ben Chavis—he will probably be wearing the black shirt and white clerical collar of his calling—you will undoubtedly be shocked to learn that this is the man who is one of the most wanted 'criminals' in the state of North Carolina. Slight in build, he is warm and softspoken. His manner is gentle, yet intense. An ordained minister of the United Church of Christ, Ben Chavis is one of those rare persons who believes in devoting every single moment of his life to working toward justice and equality for all people. His Christian beliefs are, for him, an imperative to social action—action against racist discrimination, needless poverty and all the prevailing inequities in our society.

He has fought for quality education. He has protested the casual and conciliatory attitudes of southern governments toward the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups. He has organized people to speak out against U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. As long as he pastored his own church, his was a congregation of activist members, people who moved to translate their beliefs into constructive social activities.

Over the last years, tens of thousands of people in audiences from North Carolina to California have responded to Rev. Chavis' appeals—to support the Native Ameri-

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Rev. BEN CHAVIS

can victims of the siege at Wounded Knee, the eleven defendants in the Republic of New Africa case, Ruchell Magee, the Farmworkers, the Puerto Rican Nationalists, the San Quentin Six and countless others. For a man of twenty-eight years, he has built a long record of outstanding contributions to progressive causes in this country.

I first met Rev. Chavis several months after my own acquittal. It was only days after he had been released on bail from the state prison in Raleigh, pending the appeal of a recent conviction. He had come up to New York to join us in a conference designed to unite the efforts of many groups who were demanding justice for various political prisoners in the New York area. Ben's intense presentation before the assembly revealed to all of us a compassionate and selfless human being. It was as if his deep concern for all the imprisoned men and women we were discussing rendered him oblivious to the dangers he himself was facing.

ALREADY CONVICTED on charges of conspiracy and arson, Ben has spent many months behind bars—both awaiting trial and serving the thirty-four-year sentence he had received. Enough unlitigated charges remained for the state to threaten him with the absurd prospect of a prison term of more than two hundred years.

The thirty-four-year sentence had come at the conclusion of a September, 1972 trial involving him and nine others—eight young black men and a white woman community worker. He, and later all the others, were released after the United Church of Christ posted their bond. It amounted to an exorbitant \$500,000.

Two years after their conviction, the appeal was heard by the North Carolina courts. On December 18, 1974, despite the well-documented and brilliantly presented argument that there had been blatant miscarriages of justice, the North Carolina Court of Appeals refused to grant them a new trial.

In June, 1975, the North Carolina Supreme Court will review the case. Many of us who know Rev. Chavis and the Wilmington Ten are afraid that, barring a people's intervention, they may all be reimprisoned. And we are truly frightened that an attempt may then be made on Brother Chavis' life.

IN 1971, REV. CHAVIS was a field organizer, based in the Raleigh-Durham area, for the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice. Around the beginning of February, he received a call from the white minister of a black Congregational Church in Wilmington, North Carolina. His assistance was needed, Rev. Templeton said, in resolving the explosive situation which had brewed around a recently de-segregated high school in that city.

Using Gregory Congregational Church as their meeting place, black students from New Hanover High School had decided to communicate their grievances to the Board of Education. They were disturbed about the suspension without cause of black students; the bias of the principal who, they felt, ignored the black students' side whenever there were black-white conflicts; and the failure to investigate an incident during which a young black woman was injured.

Moreover, the students decided to make several requests, including the recognition of Martin Luther King's contributions by declaring his birthday a day of mourning; and the establishment of a Black Studies Program at their high school.

Consistent with their previous conduct, the Board of Education all but ignored the students' grievances. So, on January 28, the students issued a call from the church for a boycott of the schools.

THIS GESTURE provoked violent responses from white vigilante organizations, with the local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in the forefront. Fires were set in the black community. Roving bands of whites wielding automatic weapons shot indiscriminately into the homes of black people.

It was at this juncture that Rev. Templeton, together with black community leaders, appealed to Ben Chavis for assistance. Shortly after Brother Chavis' arrival in Wilmington, he led an entirely peaceful march, fifteen hundred strong, on the Board of Education. Together with the demands relating to the school, the marchers called for an end to the vigilante attacks and asked the mayor to declare a curfew.

Immediately following the march, the racists' threats began to focus on Gregory Church, which the students still maintained as their headquarters. Vigilantes began to fire on the church. The police did nothing to prevent the attacks.

Since the Mayor of Wilmington refused to declare a curfew and the police made it abundantly clear they were not going to protect the black students, the sisters and brothers inside the church democratically decided to defend Gregory Congregational themselves. The Board of Trustees of the church voted two to one to support the students.

The night following these decisions, several fires were set in the immediate neighborhood of the church. When several brothers attempted to extinguish them, police fired on them. Stevenson G. Mitchell, 18, was shot dead. The police chief's only comment on the killing was that it was "justifiable."

The next morning—February 7—a white man drove his red pickup through the barrier erected by the students. He began to approach the church. Shots rang out. The church was under fire. The students shot back. The white man fell.

While the killing of Steve Mitchell by police had evoked little more than a passing response, the death of the white man became the occasion for a huge mobilization of national guardsmen. But by the time the guardsmen tried to clear out the church, all the students had already left.

A MONTH AFTER the vigilante siege of the church, John M. Walker, a district judge in Wilmington, remarked from his bench: "Maybe we should have brought Lieutenant Calley to go in and clean up the place." If he had been Chief of Police, he said, "I'd have led my men over there and I'd have cleaned out that church." (*Wilmington Morning Star News*, March 15, 1971)

Seven white people were charged with "going around armed to terrorize the population." When all of them received suspended sentences, the R.O.W.P. (a paramilitary organization called Rights of White People), immediately stepped up their activity in the Wilmington area.

Amid bomb and murder threats, Rev. Templeton and his wife were forced to leave town.

It was not until a year later—in March, 1972—that a Grand Jury returned indictments against Rev. Chavis and the nine others. They were charged with arson, conspiracy to assault emergency personnel and criminal responsibility for the damages resulting from the vigilante attack on them.

These and most of the other indictments against Ben Chavis, Jim Grant and other participants in North Carolina's progressive movements were returned within a period of four months (from December to March, 1972)—despite the fact that some of the alleged incident dated back to 1968. This fact alone would seem to point to a pattern of conspiracy. It appears as if there has been a conscious effort to rid North Carolina of Ben Chavis and Jim Grant by any possible means.

THE FIRST TRIAL of the Wilmington Ten was scheduled for June, 1972. The jury was selected. It consisted of ten black people and two whites. On the opening day of the trial, the prosecutor suddenly and mysteriously developed a stomach pain, which prompted the judge to declare a mistrial.

In September, when the jury selection took place once more, the prosecutor made certain that virtually all the black prospective jurors were disqualified. At the same time, the judge consistently refused to eliminate even those white people who were known to be members of the Ku Klux Klan. At the end of this voir dire, the jury consisted of ten white people and two blacks.

After the second longest trial in the history of North Carolina jurisprudence, the prosecutor made his closing statement, declaring the defendants to be "dangerous animals who should be put away for the rest of their lives." All ten of them were found guilty. Ann Shephard, the white woman community worker, was sentenced to ten years; the eight black students received twenty-nine years apiece; Rev. Ben Chavis was sentenced to thirty-four years in prison.

The North Carolina Court of Appeals has refused to grant the Wilmington Ten a new trial. Presently, the defense attorneys are preparing to take the case before the Supreme Court of that state. Those of us who are familiar with the systematic violations of civil and human rights by the North Carolina courts—the most recent example of which is the Joanne Little case—are afraid that the appeal will once more be turned down.

IN SO MANY instances already, Ben Chavis has been a target of North Carolina and federal courts alike. Others, such as Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, Charles Parker, the Tuscarora Indians, Marie Hill and Joanne Little have also been victimized by the courts of this state. Moreover, North Carolina has sentenced more people to death than any other state and it can claim one of the worst prison systems in the country.

The Watergate investigations and trials have already revealed the myriad ways in which justice has been obstructed and subverted by those who were sworn to protect the rights of all people. In light of these revelations, it should not be difficult to believe that Rev. Ben Chavis is being persecuted as a result of similar machinations.

We have little hope that the courts will be willing to renounce their past repressive role and grant Brother Chavis the justice he deserves. But we do have hope that people in this country—people of all colors who are honest and concerned—can force the courts to cease their attacks on Ben Chavis.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, of which Rev. Chavis is a vice chairperson, is presently attempting to organize emergency committees throughout the country to defend the Wilmington Ten. We are trying to bring pressure on North Carolina's new Attorney General, Rufus Edmisten, who served as Senator Sam Ervin's main aide in the Watergate hearings. Since he was so willing to unearth the corruption and crimes of government officials involved in the Watergate burglary, he should also be prepared to take similar action in order to break the conspiracy against Rev. Ben Chavis.

WE ASK YOU to write Atty. Gen. Edmisten in Raleigh, North Carolina, demanding that the persecution of Rev. Chavis and the Wilmington Ten be halted. We appeal to you to join local Wilmington Ten Defense Committees—and if there is none in your area, write the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (150-Fifth

Avenue, Room 804, New York 10011) for information on how to initiate a committee.

All of us must work diligently and vigorously as we organize ourselves into a massive, united, people's campaign. Only in this way can we hope to make justice for the Wilmington Ten a reality.



SAVE THE WILMINGTON (N.C.) TEN

End racist injustice and government conspiracy

**DEMONSTRATE SATURDAY, MAY 31, 11:00 A.M. IN
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Assemble at the Elipse (Constitution Ave. and 15th Street, N.W. March route; Elipse to Justice Department (Constitution and 9th) to Treasury Department (15th and New York Ave.) to Lafayette Park.

For local march headquarters nearest you, write: National Alliance, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 804, New York, NY 10011. (212) 243-8555.

THE STRUGGLE OF BEN CHAVIS AND THE WILMINGTON 10

by ANGELA Y. DAVIS

ON DECEMBER 3, 1971, convicted Watergate criminal Robert C. Mardian sent a confidential memo, as Assistant Attorney General to John Mitchell, to the U.S. Marshalls Service. "It is anticipated," Mardian wrote, "that Walter David Washington and Theodore Alfred Hood will be key witnesses in the trial of James Earl Grant, Jr. and Benjamin Franklin Chavis, known black militants, after evidence secured by the investigating agents has been presented to a Federal Grand Jury to be convened in the Eastern District of North Carolina the week of December 6, 1971." Subsequently, \$6,522.22 was paid to Walter Washington and \$7,314.77 to Alfred Hood.

Many people are now insisting that Hood and Washington are two small cogs in a secret, government-sponsored plan to put Ben Chavis behind bars for the rest of his life.

IF YOU SHOULD ever meet Ben Chavis—he will probably be wearing the black shirt and white clerical collar of his calling—you will undoubtedly be shocked to learn that this is the man who is one of the most wanted 'criminals' in the state of North Carolina. Slight in build, he is warm and softspoken. His manner is gentle, yet intense. An ordained minister of the United Church of Christ, Ben Chavis is one of those rare persons who believes in devoting every single moment of his life to working toward justice and equality for all people. His Christian beliefs are, for him, an imperative to social action—action against racist discrimination, needless poverty and all the prevailing inequities in our society.

He has fought for quality education. He has protested the casual and conciliatory attitudes of southern governments toward the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups. He has organized people to speak out against U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. As long as he pastored his own church, his was a congregation of activist members, people who moved to translate their beliefs into constructive social activities.

Over the last years, tens of thousands of people in audiences from North Carolina to California have responded to Rev. Chavis' appeals—to support the Native Ameri-

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Rev. BEN CHAVIS

can victims of the siege at Wounded Knee, the eleven defendants in the Republic of New Africa case, Ruchell Magee, the Farmworkers, the Puerto Rican Nationalists, the San Quentin Six and countless others. For a man of twenty-eight years, he has built a long record of outstanding contributions to progressive causes in this country.

I first met Rev. Chavis several months after my own acquittal. It was only days after he had been released on bail from the state prison in Raleigh, pending the appeal of a recent conviction. He had come up to New York to join us in a conference designed to unite the efforts of many groups who were demanding justice for various political prisoners in the New York area. Ben's intense presentation before the assembly revealed to all of us a compassionate and selfless human being. It was as if his deep concern for all the imprisoned men and women we were discussing rendered him oblivious to the dangers he himself was facing.

ALREADY CONVICTED on charges of conspiracy and arson, Ben has spent many months behind bars—both awaiting trial and serving the thirty-four-year sentence he had received. Enough unlitigated charges remained for the state to threaten him with the absurd prospect of a prison term of more than two hundred years.

The thirty-four-year sentence had come at the conclusion of a September, 1972 trial involving him and nine others—eight young black men and a white woman community worker. He, and later all the others, were released after the United Church of Christ posted their bond. It amounted to an exorbitant \$500,000.

Two years after their conviction, the appeal was heard by the North Carolina courts. On December 18, 1974, despite the well-documented and brilliantly presented argument that there had been blatant miscarriages of justice, the North Carolina Court of Appeals refused to grant them a new trial.

In June, 1975, the North Carolina Supreme Court will review the case. Many of us who know Rev. Chavis and the Wilmington Ten are afraid that, barring a people's intervention, they may all be reimprisoned. And we are truly frightened that an attempt may then be made on Brother Chavis' life.

IN 1971, REV. CHAVIS was a field organizer, based in the Raleigh-Durham area, for the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice. Around the beginning of February, he received a call from the white minister of a black Congregational Church in Wilmington, North Carolina. His assistance was needed, Rev. Templeton said, in resolving the explosive situation which had brewed around a recently de-segregated high school in that city.

Using Gregory Congregational Church as their meeting place, black students from New Hanover High School had decided to communicate their grievances to the Board of Education. They were disturbed about the suspension without cause of black students; the bias of the principal who, they felt, ignored the black students' side whenever there were black-white conflicts; and the failure to investigate an incident during which a young black woman was injured.

Moreover, the students decided to make several requests, including the recognition of Martin Luther King's contributions by declaring his birthday a day of mourning; and the establishment of a Black Studies Program at their high school.

Consistent with their previous conduct, the Board of Education all but ignored the students' grievances. So, on January 28, the students issued a call from the church for a boycott of the schools.

THIS GESTURE provoked violent responses from white vigilante organizations, with the local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in the forefront. Fires were set in the black community. Roving bands of whites wielding automatic weapons shot indiscriminately into the homes of black people.

It was at this juncture that Rev. Templeton, together with black community leaders, appealed to Ben Chavis for assistance. Shortly after Brother Chavis' arrival in Wilmington, he led an entirely peaceful march, fifteen hundred strong, on the Board of Education. Together with the demands relating to the school, the marchers called for an end to the vigilante attacks and asked the mayor to declare a curfew.

Immediately following the march, the racists' threats began to focus on Gregory Church, which the students still maintained as their headquarters. Vigilantes began to fire on the church. The police did nothing to prevent the attacks.

Since the Mayor of Wilmington refused to declare a curfew and the police made it abundantly clear they were not going to protect the black students, the sisters and brothers inside the church democratically decided to defend Gregory Congregational themselves. The Board of Trustees of the church voted two to one to support the students.

The night following these decisions, several fires were set in the immediate neighborhood of the church. When several brothers attempted to extinguish them, police fired on them. Stevenson G. Mitchell, 18, was shot dead. The police chief's only comment on the killing was that it was "justifiable."

The next morning—February 7—a white man drove his red pickup through the barrier erected by the students. He began to approach the church. Shots rang out. The church was under fire. The students shot back. The white man fell.

While the killing of Steve Mitchell by police had evoked little more than a passing response, the death of the white man became the occasion for a huge mobilization of national guardsmen. But by the time the guardsmen tried to clear out the church, all the students had already left.

A MONTH AFTER the vigilante siege of the church, John M. Walker, a district judge in Wilmington, remarked from his bench: "Maybe we should have brought Lieutenant Calley to go in and clean up the place." If he had been Chief of Police, he said, "I'd have led my men over there and I'd have cleaned out that church." (*Wilmington Morning Star News*, March 15, 1971)

Seven white people were charged with "going around armed to terrorize the population." When all of them received suspended sentences, the R.O.W.P. (a paramilitary organization called Rights of White People), immediately stepped up their activity in the Wilmington area.

Amid bomb and murder threats, Rev. Templeton and his wife were forced to leave town.

It was not until a year later—in March, 1972—that a Grand Jury returned indictments against Rev. Chavis and the nine others. They were charged with arson, conspiracy to assault emergency personnel and criminal responsibility for the damages resulting from the vigilante attack on them.

These and most of the other indictments against Ben Chavis, Jim Grant and other participants in North Carolina's progressive movements were returned within a period of four months (from December to March, 1972)—despite the fact that some of the alleged incident dated back to 1968. This fact alone would seem to point to a pattern of conspiracy. It appears as if there has been a conscious effort to rid North Carolina of Ben Chavis and Jim Grant by any possible means.

THE FIRST TRIAL of the Wilmington Ten was scheduled for June, 1972. The jury was selected. It consisted of ten black people and two whites. On the opening day of the trial, the prosecutor suddenly and mysteriously developed a stomach pain, which prompted the judge to declare a mistrial.

In September, when the jury selection took place once more, the prosecutor made certain that virtually all the black prospective jurors were disqualified. At the same time, the judge consistently refused to eliminate even those white people who were known to be members of the Ku Klux Klan. At the end of this voir dire, the jury consisted of ten white people and two blacks.

After the second longest trial in the history of North Carolina jurisprudence, the prosecutor made his closing statement, declaring the defendants to be "dangerous animals who should be put away for the rest of their lives." All ten of them were found guilty. Ann Shephard, the white woman community worker, was sentenced to ten years; the eight black students received twenty-nine years apiece; Rev. Ben Chavis was sentenced to thirty-four years in prison.

The North Carolina Court of Appeals has refused to grant the Wilmington Ten a new trial. Presently, the defense attorneys are preparing to take the case before the Supreme Court of that state. Those of us who are familiar with the systematic violations of civil and human rights by the North Carolina courts—the most recent example of which is the Joanne Little case—are afraid that the appeal will once more be turned down.

IN SO MANY instances already, Ben Chavis has been a target of North Carolina and federal courts alike. Others, such as Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy, Charles Parker, the Tuscarora Indians, Marie Hill and Joanne Little have also been victimized by the courts of this state. Moreover, North Carolina has sentenced more people to death than any other state and it can claim one of the worst prison systems in the country.

The Watergate investigations and trials have already revealed the myriad ways in which justice has been obstructed and subverted by those who were sworn to protect the rights of all people. In light of these revelations, it should not be difficult to believe that Rev. Ben Chavis is being persecuted as a result of similar machinations.

We have little hope that the courts will be willing to renounce their past repressive role and grant Brother Chavis the justice he deserves. But we do have hope that people in this country—people of all colors who are honest and concerned—can force the courts to cease their attacks on Ben Chavis.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, of which Rev. Chavis is a vice chairperson, is presently attempting to organize emergency committees throughout the country to defend the Wilmington Ten. We are trying to bring pressure on North Carolina's new Attorney General, Rufus Edmisten, who served as Senator Sam Ervin's main aide in the Watergate hearings. Since he was so willing to unearth the corruption and crimes of government officials involved in the Watergate burglary, he should also be prepared to take similar action in order to break the conspiracy against Rev. Ben Chavis.

WE ASK YOU to write Atty. Gen. Edmisten in Raleigh, North Carolina, demanding that the persecution of Rev. Chavis and the Wilmington Ten be halted. We appeal to you to join local Wilmington Ten Defense Committees—and if there is none in your area, write the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (150-Fifth

Avenue, Room 804, New York 10011) for information on how to initiate a committee.

All of us must work diligently and vigorously as we organize ourselves into a massive, united, people's campaign. Only in this way can we hope to make justice for the Wilmington Ten a reality.



SAVE THE WILMINGTON (N.C.) TEN

End racist injustice and government conspiracy

**DEMONSTRATE SATURDAY, MAY 31, 11:00 A.M. IN
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Assemble at the Elipse (Constitution Ave. and 15th Street, N.W. March route; Elipse to Justice Department (Constitution and 9th) to Treasury Department (15th and New York Ave.) to Lafayette Park.

For local march headquarters nearest you, write: National Alliance, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 804, New York, NY 10011. (212) 243-8555.

TOGETHER WE STRUGGLE; TOGETHER WE WIN

ONCE MORE I have returned from the vast, bountiful cradle of black peoples; from the land of our forefathers; the land of sunshine and wide, deep rivers, a land of fertile planes and rich mineral deposits—a land of peoples in motion. I am glad I can be here this evening attending this beautiful birthday party—an evening when we come together to extend Happy Birthday Greetings to THE BLACK SCHOLAR, to its founding Publisher, its editors and all those members of the staff which for five years have labored so valiantly, so unselfishly, so tirelessly to produce this excellent magazine. I am deeply moved that you have commemorated my husband by naming THE BLACK SCHOLAR's Essay Awards after him and I do sincerely congratulate the three young scholars who are the award winners this year.

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"Your *Black Scholar* articles on 'Egypt being Africa' caused quite a stir on this campus. Students and faculty argued and wrote on it offering evidence for and against that thesis. When it was announced that the author of those articles was going to speak here all of us wanted to hear how you would answer questions on that controversial idea!"

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THE BLACK SCHOLAR

APRIL, 1975

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SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS is author of several biographies and histories for children and the widow of the distinguished scholar, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. A resident of Cairo, Egypt, Mrs. Du Bois is an authority on the Middle East and African Liberation struggles. Many of her essays on these topics have been published in previous issues of THE BLACK SCHOLAR. Her biography of W.E.B. Du Bois, *His Day is Marching On*, was

published in 1971. Her most recent biography is *Gamal Abdel Nasser: Son of the Nile*. Presently she is teaching creative writing in the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. This article is the full text of her speech at the Fifth Anniversary Celebration of THE BLACK SCHOLAR, March 29, 1975.

by SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS

the thousands; demonstrating students, black and white, were clubbed and kicked by police from Columbia University in New York and University of Massachusetts in New England, across the country to the university campuses in California; students were killed at Kent College in Ohio and police in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles went on a rampage of killing blacks!

Then came the 1970's and Richard Nixon was reelected to the White House by the biggest majority ever seen in this country. Only one, small state—Massachusetts—did not give him its votes! The then Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller was absolved from all blame for the Attica Massacre and Henry Kissinger accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for having brought peace in Vietnam! By this time folks in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia were asking "What in God's name has happened to the people of the United States?" Then came Watergate—and to many, Watergate answered and explained everything that did or did not happen here.

But readers of THE BLACK SCHOLAR know that Watergate does not explain everything—explanations are not that simple. Times have changed—the sun is setting on economic empires; world imperialism is threatened because the balance of power is shifting and those who for so long have dominated the world are fighting back—subtly, shrewdly—using old and well-tried methods—but using them in new ways. For now they know that if they do not "divide," they are lost!

When I spoke to you several years ago I

pointed out a monumental mistake we had made in Africa: *our best leaders had talked too much*. I referred to the Founding Convention of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa in May, 1963, of the introduction there of President Kwame Nkrumah's book *Africa Must Unite*; I told how the Heads of States announced from that rostrum how they intended to unite Africa—and what it would mean to Africans when they took over their continent, with all its rich products. These things were explicitly spelled out before the eyes and ears of everybody. Results, of course, were catastrophic! Coup after coup swept over the continent removing those leaders who would unite and who insisted that Africans should enjoy the produce of their lands.

Mao Tse-tung advises that we need not waste time grieving over mistakes made, but should strive to learn from them. And Africans have learned much since May, 1963. Tonight, therefore, I can point to certain developments worthy of note.

FROM THE 16th century on, Portugal, has been the most relentless, most audacious and unrepentant exploiter of Africa in the world. But within recent months Portugal has undergone changes in government and policies which increasingly alarm the West. Portugal is getting out of Africa, and former Portuguese colonies are becoming African nations under their own rule.

It is important to know that revolution in Portugal did not occur because oppressed and exploited workers in that country rose to

throw off their oppressors and take over the means of production. No, indeed! Portugal changed its course because black men and women, black boys and girls kept coming on against them. Many Africans died in the most brutal ways, but the guerrilla fighters continued their determined harassment. The courageous, continual struggle, embracing all native peoples in the colonies, went on until Portugal was faced with the fact of its imminent extinction unless the government stopped sending the country's young men to die in Africa and impoverishing the already poor country for weapons and ammunition which was failing to stop the Freedom Fighters!

Guinea-Bissau, a small, largely jungle enclave on the northwest coast, was first to throw off colonial rule. After nearly two decades of armed struggle, the people succeeded in driving the Portuguese colonial army of occupation into the few urban centers, there isolating them. With most of the country under guerrilla control, they cleared land and planted crops; a government of the Liberated Area of Guinea-Bissau was set up. And while Third World countries went about recognizing this government as the legitimate government of Guinea-Bissau and presenting it to the United Nations, the Portuguese colonial armies, cut off from supplies—surrounded by hostility, water and food giving out—had no alternative but to surrender. And Lisbon did not consider it worthwhile to try to send additional troops which would have to battle their way through lines of determined insurgents.

For by this time, on the other side of the continent, the forces of FRELIMO, in the larger and more important colony of Mozambique, were seizing more and more territory and were demanding independence. FRELIMO had been set up by Eduardo Mondlane, a brilliant native of Mozambique. After making a reputation for himself as a scholar, he resigned a lucrative post at the University of Syracuse and from various "advisory committees" at the United Nations, declaring that he must return to Mozambique. There he began organizing his people for armed struggle against their oppressors. For a while

we heard nothing about him. I met him in the Sudan—clear-eyed, resolute—an inspiring speaker. He was killed in East Africa in 1971, but FRELIMO kept "marching on."

When I was in the United States in 1972 some young brothers here told me that FRELIMO would never amount to much because it had whites in it. I had never heard this criticism in Africa. Later I visited a FRELIMO Camp in East Africa and everything I saw indicated that everybody there meant business.

A few months ago an amazed, incredulous world saw belted and helmeted black FRELIMO soldiers together with white Portuguese soldiers putting down an incipient rebellion of white settlers in Mozambique who were protesting the independence which Portugal has announced for the country.

WE IN THE Third World rejoiced, but it was widely said that things would be different in Angola, largest and richest of Portugal's colonies. Angola has been under Portugal's control for the last five hundred years and was the main economic support of that country. For Angola, with its productive, fertile land is rich in minerals, oil and natural gas. Giant corporations, European and American, have reaped fortunes in Angola. Gulf Oil has a 150 million dollar investment in Angola. For these capitalists black rule in Angola was unthinkable. They took comfort in the fact that unlike Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, Angola had *three* Liberation Movements—so different in methods and ideologies that they spent much time disputing among themselves. For this reason, so *they* said, blacks would not be able to present a unified front to Portugal, and no independence could be considered.

There was basis for this point of view. The three liberation groups were indeed very far apart:

First and oldest was the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by Holden Roberto, whose brother-in-law is President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Their headquarters was in Zaire. As far back as the

First All African Peoples Conference, when in 1958 I met Mr. Roberto, the FNLA was considered an anachronistic tribal organization—not in step with the nationalist-progressive movements generally advocated in that Conference. It was said that the years had changed the FNLA into a broad-based nationalist movement.

Second, was The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, an established Marxist intellectual. Their base was in Congo Brazzaville and is generally thought to be pro-Mao.

Third, was The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. It is headed by Jonas Savimbi and is basically a moderate organization advocating multiracialism for Angola. This group is supported by liberal Angolan whites.

With three such dissident groups talking independence, it was thought that black control of Angola could easily be pushed off into the undefinable future. However, black folks are no more stupid than folks anywhere else!

Shortly before I left Cairo last January the three heads of Angola's Liberation Movements met in Nairobi, Kenya. In a closed room, with several members of the Organization of African Unity, they sat down and *talked together*. They may have quarreled. But nobody outside was the wiser. Not one word of that conference "leaked out." The press did not know such a meeting was to be held until it was in process. And so they hung around that closed door and finally saw Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and Agostinho Neto come out arm in arm. Then the world press was informed that the three had drawn up a plan for Angola's independence which together they would present to the Portuguese government in Lisbon. Together they flew to Lisbon; together they faced Portugal's ruling body; together they submitted their proposals.

And the new Portuguese Government accepted the Proposals and scheduled Independence Day in Angola for November 11, 1975.

We have here the triumph of common sense, understanding and vision. There will be difficulties in Angola, but determined,

fearless and honest people will overcome their difficulties. Let us look at another aspect: Some in these three groups were undoubtedly wiser than others, some undoubtedly had more knowledge than others. And we have said that knowledge is power. But no one group here had *all the knowledge*, therefore no one group had all the power. Had the heads of these three liberation movements not realized this fact, they would not have united their efforts and faced the Portuguese together.

IN THE VITAL struggles which face us today *we need each other*. When an individual or a group considers that it has all the knowledge, mistakes are made which can be fateful. Let me tell you a story:

Now Moses had successfully led the Children of Israel across the Red Sea and out into the desert. He told them they were on the way to Canaan, but where that was or what it was they did not know. Day by day the desert sun seemed hotter, and hour by hour the thick sands dragged at their feet. Food they had brought from Egypt became stale and hard; they could find no fresh water and were warned to conserve what water they had. Moses was an old man and the journey was hard enough without having to listen to complaints and grumbling. But he plodded on.

When they reached the foot of Mt. Sinai, God told Moses to let the people rest and for him to come up onto the mountain top. Moses climbed the heights—glad to get away. After he rested a while and perhaps ate some of the food of Heaven, God gave Moses the Ten Commandments which Moses wrote on two slabs of stone. And afterwards he lay down for a long and peaceful sleep.

Meanwhile on the plains below, native people of the surrounding land had come to see the mass of strangers who had evidently come from far away. Maybe they were Hittites or Cannanites, I don't know. But they were not hostile, only curious. It did not take them long to see that the strangers were foot-sore, had no fresh water and were short on food. So they brought food and cool water

and wine, grapes and fruit such as the Children of Israel had never seen. You may imagine how happy the weary travelers were—how glad they were to meet up with such kind people. Then out from their village came the Hittites with musical instruments and dancing girls—and somebody bore on their shoulders a Golden Calf at which the Children of Israel stared in astonishment. And when their new friends began dancing and singing around the Golden Calf the Children of Israel joined right in and soon everybody was dancing and singing together. And just then Moses came down from the mountain!

He didn't come all the way down and he didn't ask any questions, he just blew up with rage. He hurled down the tablets upon which he had written the Ten Commandments, breaking them into many pieces; he shouted and consigned all the people to perdition. The Hittites were confounded to see and hear the Old Man. The Children of Israel, who had had their first good meal, with cool wine in many a day, were embarrassed before their new friends. And they were dumb before old Moses' wrath.

And then God spoke and he said:

"Moses, how dare you break the tablets with those Commandments for my people! How dare you shout at them like this!"

"But God," said Moses, "don't you see what these wicked, ungrateful people are doing. They are all drunk with wine. They worship a Golden Calf. They have broken all the Commandments."

"How can the people break Commandments before they have them," inquired God. "I can see the people and I will judge them. I did not tell you to judge them. For this wrong thing that you do, you Moses shall never enter the Promised Land!"

At these words Moses was stricken with grief. And God spoke gently:

"All right, Moses, you have been a faithful servant. Come back up to the mountain top and I will once more give you the Commandments. And you will teach them to my people. And finally you shall lead them to Canaan, and I shall take you to a high place, where you will be able to look into the Prom-

ised Land—but you may never enter it." Poor Moses! A severe punishment for hasty judgment, arrogance and impatient anger. Let us ponder on Moses' predicament. Our times are far more crucial. For imperialism is employing every device to deceive, to trap, to divide us one from the other. Imperialism, with its exploitation, oppression and aggression is a badly wounded Beast—while Humanity is rising in strength throughout the world. Open your eyes and see. Being ignorant will not save you, and standing alone leaves you naked and defenseless. That old Spiritual . . .

*Walk together, chillun
Don't you get weary*

has more meaning now than ever before.

LIFT UP YOUR heads and look beyond narrow confines! We, the people, have much cause to rejoice. Black people have cause to celebrate; the Third World, the World of Color, no longer slumbers. Everywhere there is movement, everywhere is the sound of marching feet—coming on—coming on!

*Stony the road we have trod
Bitter the chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had
died;*

*Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers
sighed;*

*We have come over a way that with tears
has been watered;*

*We have come treading our path through
the blood of the slaughtered,*

Out from the gloomy past,

Will now we stand at last

*Where the white gleam of our bright star is
cast.*

And from the hut deep in the Congo jungle were smuggled the last words of Patrice Lumumba:

*The Dawn is here, My brothers! Dawn!
A new morning breaks in old Africa
Lift up your eyes
And see!*

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published in 1971. Her most recent biography is *Gamal Abdel Nasser: Son of the Nile*. Presently she is teaching creative writing in the W. E. B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. This article is the full text of her speech at the Fifth Anniversary Celebration of THE BLACK SCHOLAR, March 29, 1975.

by SHIRLEY GRAHAM DU BOIS

the thousands; demonstrating students, black and white, were clubbed and kicked by police from Columbia University in New York and University of Massachusetts in New England, across the country to the university campuses in California; students were killed at Kent College in Ohio and police in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles went on a rampage of killing blacks!

Then came the 1970's and Richard Nixon was reelected to the White House by the biggest majority ever seen in this country. Only one, small state—Massachusetts—did not give him its votes! The then Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller was absolved from all blame for the Attica Massacre and Henry Kissinger accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for having brought peace in Vietnam! By this time folks in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia were asking "What in God's name has happened to the people of the United States?" Then came Watergate—and to many, Watergate answered and explained everything that did or did not happen here.

But readers of THE BLACK SCHOLAR know that Watergate does not explain everything—explanations are not that simple. Times have changed—the sun is setting on economic empires; world imperialism is threatened because the balance of power is shifting and those who for so long have dominated the world are fighting back—subtly, shrewdly—using old and well-tried methods—but using them in new ways. For now they know that if they do not "divide," they are lost!

When I spoke to you several years ago I

pointed out a monumental mistake we had made in Africa: *our best leaders had talked too much*. I referred to the Founding Convention of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa in May, 1963, of the introduction there of President Kwame Nkrumah's book *Africa Must Unite*; I told how the Heads of States announced from that rostrum how they intended to unite Africa—and what it would mean to Africans when they took over their continent, with all its rich products. These things were explicitly spelled out before the eyes and ears of everybody. Results, of course, were catastrophic! Coup after coup swept over the continent removing those leaders who would unite and who insisted that Africans should enjoy the produce of their lands.

Mao Tse-tung advises that we need not waste time grieving over mistakes made, but should strive to learn from them. And Africans have learned much since May, 1963. Tonight, therefore, I can point to certain developments worthy of note.

FROM THE 16th century on, Portugal, has been the most relentless, most audacious and unrepentent exploiter of Africa in the world. But within recent months Portugal has undergone changes in government and policies which increasingly alarm the West. Portugal is getting out of Africa, and former Portuguese colonies are becoming African nations under their own rule.

It is important to know that revolution in Portugal did not occur because oppressed and exploited workers in that country rose to

throw off their oppressors and take over the means of production. No, indeed! Portugal changed its course because black men and women, black boys and girls kept coming on against them. Many Africans died in the most brutal ways, but the guerrilla fighters continued their determined harassment. The courageous, continual struggle, embracing all native peoples in the colonies, went on until Portugal was faced with the fact of its imminent extinction unless the government stopped sending the country's young men to die in Africa and impoverishing the already poor country for weapons and ammunition which was failing to stop the Freedom Fighters!

Guinea-Bissau, a small, largely jungle enclave on the northwest coast, was first to throw off colonial rule. After nearly two decades of armed struggle, the people succeeded in driving the Portuguese colonial army of occupation into the few urban centers, there isolating them. With most of the country under guerrilla control, they cleared land and planted crops; a government of the Liberated Area of Guinea-Bissau was set up. And while Third World countries went about recognizing this government as the legitimate government of Guinea-Bissau and presenting it to the United Nations, the Portuguese colonial armies, cut off from supplies—surrounded by hostility, water and food giving out—had no alternative but to surrender. And Lisbon did not consider it worthwhile to try to send additional troops which would have to battle their way through lines of determined insurgents.

For by this time, on the other side of the continent, the forces of FRELIMO, in the larger and more important colony of Mozambique, were seizing more and more territory and were demanding independence. FRELIMO had been set up by Eduardo Mondlane, a brilliant native of Mozambique. After making a reputation for himself as a scholar, he resigned a lucrative post at the University of Syracuse and from various "advisory committees" at the United Nations, declaring that he must return to Mozambique. There he began organizing his people for armed struggle against their oppressors. For a while

we heard nothing about him. I met him in the Sudan—clear-eyed, resolute—an inspiring speaker. He was killed in East Africa in 1971, but FRELIMO kept "marching on."

When I was in the United States in 1972 some young brothers here told me that FRELIMO would never amount to much because it had whites in it. I had never heard this criticism in Africa. Later I visited a FRELIMO Camp in East Africa and everything I saw indicated that everybody there meant business.

A few months ago an amazed, incredulous world saw belted and helmeted black FRELIMO soldiers together with white Portuguese soldiers putting down an incipient rebellion of white settlers in Mozambique who were protesting the independence which Portugal has announced for the country.

WE IN THE Third World rejoiced, but it was widely said that things would be different in Angola, largest and richest of Portugal's colonies. Angola has been under Portugal's control for the last five hundred years and was the main economic support of that country. For Angola, with its productive, fertile land is rich in minerals, oil and natural gas. Giant corporations, European and American, have reaped fortunes in Angola. Gulf Oil has a 150 million dollar investment in Angola. For these capitalists black rule in Angola was unthinkable. They took comfort in the fact that unlike Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, Angola had *three* Liberation Movements—so different in methods and ideologies that they spent much time disputing among themselves. For this reason, so *they* said, blacks would not be able to present a unified front to Portugal, and no independence could be considered.

There was basis for this point of view. The three liberation groups were indeed very far apart:

First and oldest was the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by Holden Roberto, whose brother-in-law is President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Their headquarters was in Zaire. As far back as the

First All African Peoples Conference, when in 1958 I met Mr. Roberto, the FNLA was considered an anachronistic tribal organization—not in step with the nationalist-progressive movements generally advocated in that Conference. It was said that the years had changed the FNLA into a broad-based nationalist movement.

Second, was The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, an established Marxist intellectual. Their base was in Congo Brazzaville and is generally thought to be pro-Mao.

Third, was The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. It is headed by Jonas Savimbi and is basically a moderate organization advocating multiracialism for Angola. This group is supported by liberal Angolan whites.

With three such dissident groups talking independence, it was thought that black control of Angola could easily be pushed off into the undefinable future. However, black folks are no more stupid than folks anywhere else!

Shortly before I left Cairo last January the three heads of Angola's Liberation Movements met in Nairobi, Kenya. In a closed room, with several members of the Organization of African Unity, they sat down and *talked together*. They may have quarreled. But nobody outside was the wiser. Not one word of that conference "leaked out." The press did not know such a meeting was to be held until it was in process. And so they hung around that closed door and finally saw Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and Agostinho Neto come out arm in arm. Then the world press was informed that the three had drawn up a plan for Angola's independence which together they would present to the Portuguese government in Lisbon. Together they flew to Lisbon; together they faced Portugal's ruling body; together they submitted their proposals.

And the new Portuguese Government accepted the Proposals and scheduled Independence Day in Angola for November 11, 1975.

We have here the triumph of common sense, understanding and vision. There will be difficulties in Angola, but determined,

fearless and honest people will overcome their difficulties. Let us look at another aspect: Some in these three groups were undoubtedly wiser than others, some undoubtedly had more knowledge than others. And we have said that knowledge is power. But no one group here had *all the knowledge*, therefore no one group had all the power. Had the heads of these three liberation movements not realized this fact, they would not have united their efforts and faced the Portuguese together.

IN THE VITAL struggles which face us today *we need each other*. When an individual or a group considers that it has all the knowledge, mistakes are made which can be fateful. Let me tell you a story:

Now Moses had successfully led the Children of Israel across the Red Sea and out into the desert. He told them they were on the way to Canaan, but where that was or what it was they did not know. Day by day the desert sun seemed hotter, and hour by hour the thick sands dragged at their feet. Food they had brought from Egypt became stale and hard; they could find no fresh water and were warned to conserve what water they had. Moses was an old man and the journey was hard enough without having to listen to complaints and grumbling. But he plodded on.

When they reached the foot of Mt. Sinai, God told Moses to let the people rest and for him to come up onto the mountain top. Moses climbed the heights—glad to get away. After he rested a while and perhaps ate some of the food of Heaven, God gave Moses the Ten Commandments which Moses wrote on two slabs of stone. And afterwards he lay down for a long and peaceful sleep.

Meanwhile on the plains below, native people of the surrounding land had come to see the mass of strangers who had evidently come from far away. Maybe they were Hittites or Cannanites, I don't know. But they were not hostile, only curious. It did not take them long to see that the strangers were foot-sore, had no fresh water and were short on food. So they brought food and cool water