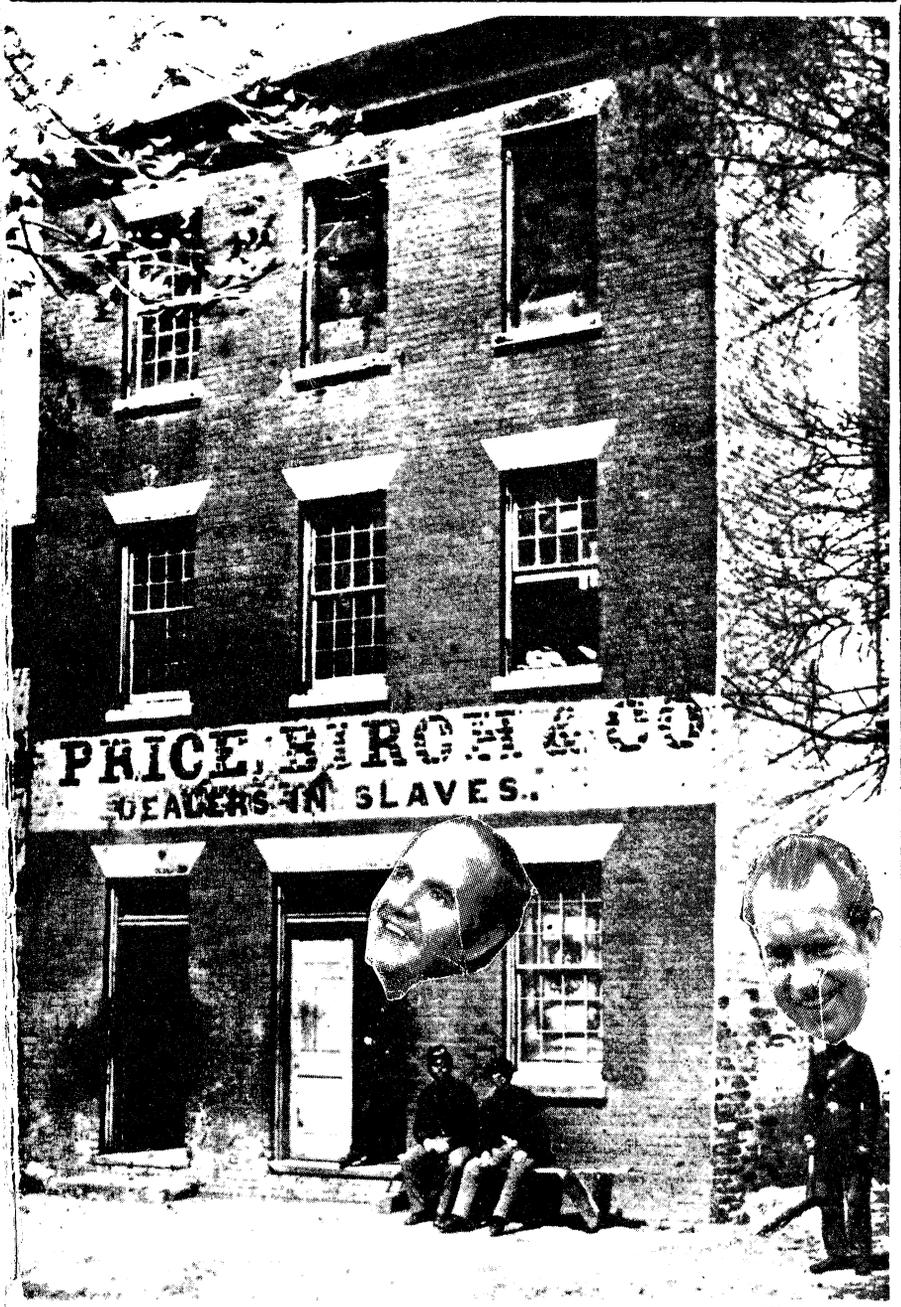


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This issue of SOULBOOK is officially dedicated to Max Stanford and H. Rap Brown, our only two national leaders who have continued to live in the revolutionary Africanamerican spirit of Nat Turner.

Long Live Max Stanford !!
Long Live H. Rap Brown !!
Long Live Nat Turner !!



CONTENTS

Editorial Review
Mamadou Lumumba

Ndugu Eusi Kwayana

Ndugu Eusi Kwayana

Did they Shift the Gears
into Reverse?

'Big Power' politics & the
Non-Aligned Group

Liberation

Moja

mbili

Did They Shift The Gears

Into

Reverse ?

by Mamadou Lumbumba

Within the last several months the Black world has witnessed a 'shifting of gears' so to speak of the big powers. When the right-wing cracker president Nixon of the U.S.A. visited the left wing Peoples Republic of China and talked intimately, and often confidentially, with the revolutionary Chou-En-Lai and the great guerilla leader of the 'long march' fame Mao Tse Tung there ensued a spectacularly unprecedented thaw in relations between the rulers of white America and its imperialist empire, the leading exponent of counterrevolutionary theory & practice, & the leaders of the Peoples Republic of China, the leading protagonist of revolutionary theory & practice.

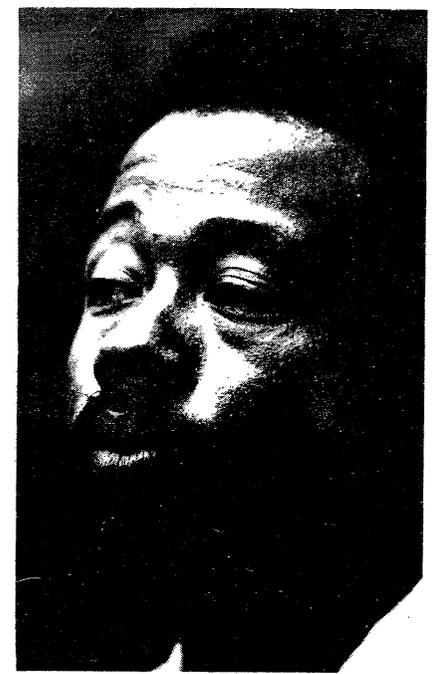
Does this coming together between these two immense adversaries aid the liberation of Black America? Puerto Rico, Belize, Mozambique, Azania (South Africa), Angola?

Why was Johnson Publications so elated about going to Russia to cover disarmament talks between the white giants of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. without being sure that the negotiations were in the interests of the Black race when no Blacks were involved in the negotiations--not even the spirit of Alexander Pushkin.

Since the name of the real international game is state power to even join the international community, nevertheless to win, it would behoove Afroamerica to start seeing how real power is wielded so we can clarify our strategy, objectives and tactics of our national liberation. It would be better to begin this now rather than wait for more beautiful Brothers & Sisters to courageously liberate more planes for a million dollars in order to further our legitimate revolution.

only to have the money returned to our colonial oppressors by a government who we have been led to believe possessed impeccable revolutionary credentials as well as a policy of supporting all activities that make revolution. After all it was not long ago that this nation's pre-independent provisional revolutionary government was pleading for Blacks to support its revolutionary struggle.

Brothers and Sisters: I am not taking it upon myself to chastise you-all. On the contrary, I am merely stating what all Africans colonized in the U.S. know: our struggle is at the crossroads; either we generate enough power to force powers in the world to

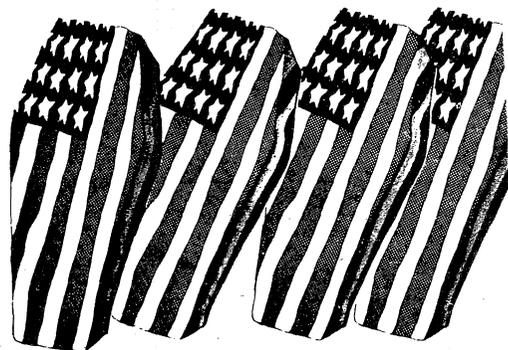


CLEAVER IN ALGIERS

respect and stand on the side of the African-american national liberation struggle, or we will continue to have episodes like the recent million dollar skyjacking tragedy, and Brothers like Mathews and Collete will continue to be punitively punished by white racists for Afroamerican athletes having played a key role in the Pan-African protest which brought about the banning of Rhodesia from the Olympics. Let us be very clear about this: This action was effectively taken against the Brothers not only because they are Black, but also because they/we have no government of their/our own to represent them/us!!

But the world should be reminded, in no uncertain and in unapolegetic terms, that if Black America is not given the necessary support to achieve our liberation objectives, - just as the Palestinians have been neglected (and even worse), - then the world will force Black Americans--however regrettable-- to the same level of desperate violence as recently manifested in the so-called Olympic 'massacre.' If the world is genuinely concerned about so-called terrorism then it must eradicate the causes of this so-called terrorism. Common sense would tell anyone (except the sympathizers and followers of Zionism and white imperialism) that if the Palestinians would have regained their land and achieved their rightful place as a sovereign state in the nations of the world then there would have been no Munich 'massacre'. Given the world's present balance of power we people who are resolved to practice our right of self-determination are being forced to resort to desperate acts that marshall all of our courage and creativity.

Thus we present the 2 essays by Ndugu Eusi Kwayana: Big Power Politics and the Non-Aligned Group & Liberation! More than



most analysis in the Black World, Brother Kwayana gives the underlying causes of so-called peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist systems in a world still requiring peoples' warfare to liberate the Wretched of Earth. But Kwayana gets much closer to home; he deals with the material basis and the solutions for the recent experiment in mini-peaceful coexistence: certain African nations' dialogue with the racist South African regime.

You-all are probably wondering what qualifies the author of these essays, Eusi Kwayana, to write on such sensitive subjects? This Brother has been involved as a Black revolutionary and as a scientific socialist in the struggles against colonialism and imperialism for over 20 years. He was a Minister of Communications in 'British' Guiana's famous 1953 'Marxist' government which was overthrown by the British Colonial Govt. during the height of the McCarthyite era. Most observers of the Guyanese political scene attribute his efforts and expertise with having created the organizational base of the 2 major parties of Guyana (P.P.P., led by Cheddi Jagan and the P.N.C. led by Forbes Burnham). His 1956 debates with Cheddi Jagan over Guyana's road to socialism, the nationalities question and the relation of the Guyanese national liberation movement to Caribbean nationalism and Caribbean integration are still considered as classical theoretical statements of scientific socialist thought in a "non-white" developing country. Today he is the Coordinating Elder (ASCRIA), a leading Pan Africanist organization in the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

So he has been around long enough and has been involved sufficiently to understand all the dynamic ups and downs of the anti-imperialist movements as well as the relationships of these struggles to 'peaceful-coexistence'.

Thus, if we are serious about 'internationalizing' the Afroamerican struggle (and this assumes that Afroamerican liberation is a national question) then we must recognize the

Page 5

inadequacy of these old style tactics of trekking to Moscow and paying homage to the Kremlin for the sake of 'peace' and then meeting with that 'important' Soviet Asian citizen which the world only sees in the press when the white Russians want the U.S.S.R. to put on its Afro-Asian token topcoat. Nor can we feel we can follow Nixon's footprints to Peking to refurbish our individual leadership images. No, what we must realize is that for Pan Africanism to work: (1) We must become enlightened-- rather than fantasized-- to the political economic processes of all Governments with a progressive reputation; Ndugu Kwayana's articles immeasurably will aid us in understanding the Pan African political world, nonaligned nations and the socialist blocs. When we have done this we will be able to establish serious & beautiful fraternal relationships based on power realities rather than escapist fairy tales. (2) We must carefully strengthen relations with all peoples movements that are fighting against the last enclaves of colonialism and for the eradication of neo-colonialism in the 'Third' World. National liberation movements are at different stages of development in Belize, Puerto Rico, Cayenne, Guadeloupe, Surinam, Azania, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissao, Rhodesia, Comoro Islands, Australia, Papua-New Guinea, Palestine and many other territories. Afroamerica must have close effective relations with all these movements and vice versa. One of the jewels of the article Liberation! is that Kwayana clarifies what are the reasons why Africans should increase financial aid to the African liberation movements in Africa. He also writes of how Guinea and Tanzania have demonstrated how to resolve the contradiction between economic development of their respective countries and support for military efforts of the African liberation movements and the constant threat of attack and subversion from South Africa. His points on this latter issue are particularly instructive to Afroamericans because it was Kwayana thru the Pan-African Se-

Page 6

cretariat who successfully initiated African Liberation Day in 1971 in response to requests by African liberation movements and heads of African states to encourage Africans in the Americas to give effective support to Pan Africanism. It is interesting to note that the 1972 African Liberation Day Committee has never publicly acknowledged their indebtedness to A.S.C.R.I.A. nor the Pan African Secretariat. In fact, certain leaders of the 1972 effort have gone as far as to claim -quite erroneously- that they were the first to mobilize African-americans in a day of solidarity with the African liberation movements. Since African Liberation Day is designed to increase Black unity it would be of significant benefit for us all to heal this unfortunate breach.



In this light we must examine closely what happened to past attempts to ally Afroamerica with other anti-colonial struggles. E.G.: In 1967 Stokely Carmichael, acting as de facto "Prime Minister" of Afroamerica, announced a coalition between SNCC and the leading Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI). This was all well and good, but why hasn't Afroamerica ever received an up-to-date report on the status of this important move between two of the major U.S. colonized subject nations? If Afroamerica is good enough to receive much fan-fare about treaties signed in our behalf we have a right to know what has happened about the implementation of them.

But it seems we are now threatened with a more ominous situation with regard to our leaders and our organizations derailing the international rights and duties of the African nation colonized in and by the U.S.A. If a people are recognized by the international community as a people in themselves then they have a right to have their grievances listened to and adjudicated on that basis. This is why Washington D.C.'s puppet Puerto Rican clique spend so much time in seeing that

Saba 7

the U.N. does not recognize this right of the Puerto Rican people to be heard as a problem of decolonization at the U.N. If you deny you are a colonized nation, but are still subjugated, then you are in effect denying your rights to exist as equals in the world community. Therefore by this line of reasoning Puerto Rico continues to be an internal problem of the U.S. and therefore the ruling clique is able to permanently maintain its managerial privileges. But now we have the Black Panthers taking essentially the same position as the overseers of Puerto Rico. They reject the colonized nation-state category for Black America and relegate us to that stupid hippiesque dream of "intercommunalism" and therefore reject our rights to exist internationally as a nation of people equal to anyother.

Kwayana deals with the contemporary reality of international relations (not the psycho-delic, gay intercommunal world) and how it affects people who are primarily victims of imperialist exploitation and especially those that are struggling against their victimization. Furthermore he makes it as clear as an African woman that those who do not help in the liberation and self-determination of the African American nation in the U.S.A. are not really serious about fighting the major enemy of all the oppressed nations of the world: yankee imperialism.
Right on Ndugu Kwayana!
Its Nation-time!
Umoja!
We will Conquer without a Doubt!

*African Mothers
Gave us life
Gave us care
Gave us a Nation
Proud, strong infinite creation.*

Nat Turner
Black Liberation Army
Attica 8
max stanford
UMOJA
Revolutionary
KWAME
NKRUMAH
UNIVERSAL BLACK FORCE

Since the non-aligned summit in Lusaka (Zambia) in 1970 international relations have become clearer to the peoples of the world.

'Big power' politics and the Non-Aligned group

South Africa
Angola
Pan-Africa
rap brown

One issue that played over the heads of the delegates at Lusaka was the conflict between the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Today that conflict has led to a new relationship among the big powers. This new relationship among the big powers spells hell-fire for the unliberated peoples.

BY
EUSI KWAYANA

The new relationship is simply this:

The old contradiction or conflict between socialist society and capitalist society as represented by the USSR and the USA is now no big thing.

Each country now regards the social system of the other as its personal business. They have both formally and openly agreed to work together for what they are pleased to call "peace". Peace means the security of the USA and the USSR from attack.

The treaty between the USSR and the USA is only a formal stage in a kind of thinking that has been abroad for at least ten years. Kennedy was the instrument of American capitalism which started this trend early in the Sixties.

What is a little more surprising is the new relationship between the Chinese People's Republic and the same USA.

After years of secret talks in Europe between officials of the two countries, Nixon visited China. Since then there has been much cooperation between China and the USA.

China secured the promise that the USA would follow 'the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all US troops and military installations from Taiwan.'

So the split in the world socialist camp has drawn each of the two giants, the USSR and China, to seek a direct open separate and serious alliance with the USA.

The official Communist movement throughout the world has been singing the praises of this new peaceful co-existence with the USA, the bastion of world imperialism.

The capitalists in the USA fully support it, because it means bigger markets in which to compete. The United Nations officially welcomes it as a relaxation of international tension.

We in the developing world must ask ourselves what this new harmony between the USA and Soviet Union and between the USA and the People's Republic of China means for us.

Has the new harmony caused the USA to be any more decent in its attitude to the non-liberated peoples of the world?

Has it caused the USA to be more responsible in its attitude to South Africa and the Smith regime?

Has the new harmony caused the USA to be more decent in its attitude to the Vietnam war?

Has the new harmony dampened the revolutionary temper of China?

Has it further softened the USSR in relation to subject and oppressed peoples?

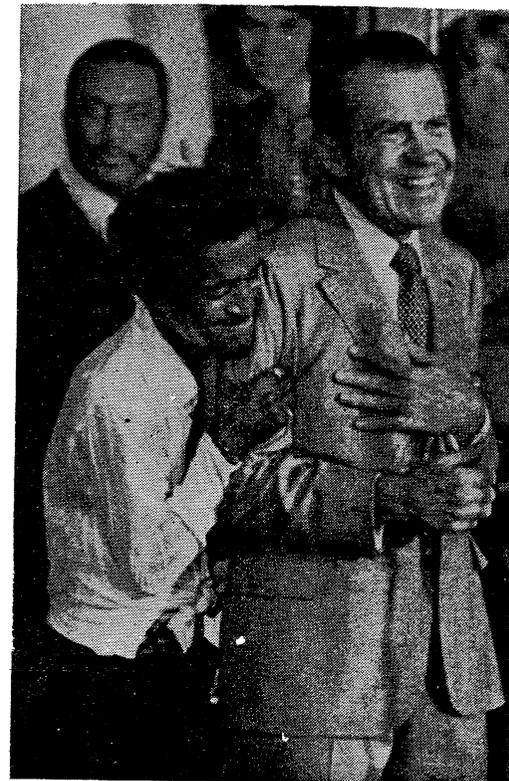
Have countries like South Africa and Portugal, allies of the USA, become less brazen than before?

And if the oppressed peoples have not gained then what is this new kissing-up for?

The USA has not changed its position. The period between Nixon's visit to China and his visit to China and his visit to the USSR was also a period of increased barbarity in the American offensive against North Vietnam. Yet neither the USSR nor China responded suitably.

In the 3 weeks following Nixon's visit to the USSR, BBC commentators on at least 3 occasions said that the USSR and China would not react to the atrocities against North Vietnam.

They said that the 2 socialist lions valued their 'peace' with the USA as highly as that.



All kinds of folk are kissing up to Nixon

Kumi na moja II

One commentator went as far as to say that neither Socialist giant would risk its neck over Vietnam.

It seems then, that while the imperialist world still has a base, the anti-imperialist revolution is without a base.

In Africa the white racist regimes, South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal have all seized the chance to increase their murderous attacks on the African population.

South African pilots have conducted chemical warfare against the people of Mozambique. Tanzania has been attacked from the air by the white racists.

The USSR has failed promised weapons to the UAR. The USA has refused to keep UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

The lesson of Vietnam as a re-occupied country is very dramatic. It shows that the USA has found new ways of intervention in national liberation movements.

It cannot penetrate the Viet Cong. It cannot penetrate North Vietnam. But it has effectively through friendship with North Vietnam's allies, cut down the weight of the Soviet and Chinese response to the USA's new crimes.

The economic base of the new harmony between the Socialist countries and the USA is a dual one. First, they seek security from the destruction of war on their own soil. Next, there is the commodity imbalance between the camps. They seek to 'correct' this commodity imbalance as a means to a higher standard of living for their peoples.

It is the USA that seems to gain most politically at first from the new harmony. It can confuse its own radical anti-war movement. It can put on a peaceful mask while continuing to aid South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.

It can continue its humiliation and oppression of the Afro-American nation within its own borders and still escape the treatment given to Portugal and the colonial powers.

If the non-aligned movement falls into the trap of thinking that the USA needs to be pressured

12 Kumi na mbili

only on its involvement in Vietnam it will be making an historic mistake.

If it does not see the Black question in the USA as essentially a colonial question, the continued domination of the slaveowners over slaves after emancipation, then it will not be a liberation movement.

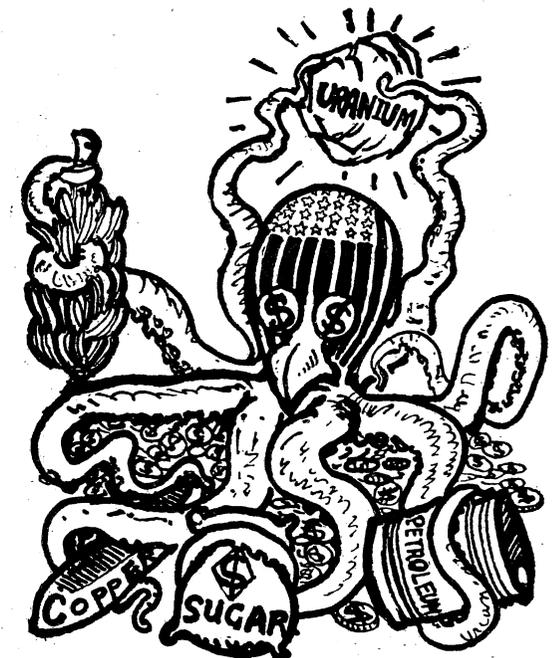
The test of the anti-imperialist movement in the 2nd half of the 20th century is to see the Afro-American problem as a colonial question, as the question of an oppressed nation and to discuss it in those terms in the various world assemblies.

Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guiner Bissau, Cayenne and the Caribbean with the Black nation in the USA, these are the main remaining colonial peoples of the world.

There was a time when Marxists in the USSR held the view that the Afro-american question was a national question. Today they seem to be fighting hard to recognize the Blacks in the USA as permanently integrated second class citizens of that country.

The present thrust of non-aligned countries is taking place in an altered atmosphere. One of the architects of non-alignment, Jawaharlal Nehru, once declared: "The white domination of the world can no longer be tolerated."

The position of the USA in regard to China & the USSR are aimed at securing the continued domination by white imperialism of the same world.





As fewer colonies remain to be freed, there is a tendency to forget the colonial question, or to underplay it. Even where there is a lot of talk about it, concrete aid to the colonized people may be absent.

BY EUSI KWAYANA

Liberation!

Some countries capable of aiding a national liberation movement do not aid it because they are afraid to offend the oppressor nation. Some countries, because they grow prosperous, and want to get more prosperous, tend to spare less and less of their resources for the liberation of others. These attitudes, mean of course, active support for imperialism.

If the imperialists can spread so much sophistication (taste for high living), that we feel that we cannot afford to help the oppressed out of our resources, then we are making imperialism more secure, prolonging the agony of the sufferers.

In Africa, at least one ruler, Nkrumah, understood from the first that the freedom of Africa, was one single continental question. On Independence night he said, "The Independence of Ghana, is meaningless unless it is linked with total liberation and unity of Africa."

These words echoed around the continent and renewed the energies of the nationalists in every country. Nkrumah did not stop at the declaration.

The Convention Peoples Party, advised by George Padmore of Trinidad, set up a system for practising solidarity with African freedom fighters.

The Bureau of African Affairs was set up. Militants from almost every colonial area in Africa were trained in Ghana for combat and for political activity.

But the present crisis shows that even Ghana did not, perhaps could not, devote the resources necessary for ending the shame of Africa -- the South African system.

While the fascist regime lasts in South Africa, the freedom of Africa is like the safety of a mouse in



one corner of a room transfixed by gaze of cat at the end of the diagonal.

The liberation of the African nations has a political economy of its own. Not only the subject countries need to be liberated. The free nations need to be liberated from the constant threat of attack and subversion from South Africa.

Those African nation that called for dialogue with South Africa did not really think that conversations would liberate the Africans of Southern Africa. They were seeking to liberate their own necks from the fear of South Africa.

It was the counter revolutionary way of solving the contradiction between their freedom and the existence of the aggressive Union of South Africa.

This presence of South Africa is the ultimate guarantee of the white regimes on the continent of Africa.

Another reserve of the colonial powers is the lack of seriousness of those countries which, when it suits them, put on the costume of non-alignment at conferences, such as the one just

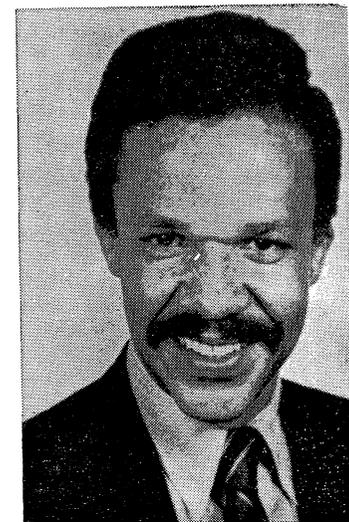


completed in Georgetown, Guyana. They dance the latest steps, sing the latest non-aligned top tunes, but they ignore all pleas for aid to the African liberation movement. They have no interest in transforming the world!

We in the Caribbean with our negotiated independence will not easily understand how a war of liberation effects economic development. Our freedom wars were not fought in this century & not by generations now living. In Africa, many countries with negotiated independence are neighbors to countries in which wars of liberation are being fought. They had all been colonized originally as a result of the same economic developments. Most of them suffered the ravages of the slave trade and painfully endured the racial arrogance of the occupying nations. It will be both treacherous and short-sighted for the independent nations to turn a blind eye on the freedom struggles. So long as a single African nation remains oppressed they know that the historical phase of their enslavement is not over.

Like most nations that won their independence the African nations put a priority on economic development and a raising of the standards of living. The basic confusion in their position lay in the fact that the resources spent on economic development cannot at the same time he spent on war, just as resources spent on war cannot also the spent on peaceful economic development.

The white regimes in Africa are powerfully armed but even so they receive the support of manpower and material from South Africa. But the independent countries of Africa are following the road of peaceful development and sparing very little of



U.S.A.'s nigger diplomat in South Africa

Kumi na saba 17

their resources for African freedom.

In 1965, when Portugal made a cowardly attack on the Republic of Guinea, Nkrumah made the famous declaration: "The armed forces of Ghana are at the disposal of any sister African country that is attacked."

It is possible that much of the rest of the money received by the African liberation movement from within the continent comes from Algeria and the former UAR (Egypt). The bulk of the arms and financial support comes from the European socialist countries and from the Peoples' Republic of China. When Guyana made her historic contribution and pledge during the Lusaka Summit, several African countries whose contributions were some 5 years in arrears were inspired to pay up. The Guyana contribution had an impact that cannot be denied and set an example now followed by Dominica and Jamaica in the Caribbean.

The trouble is that the aid received by the African liberation movement both from Africa and from the outside is not enough to win the war quickly. Whereas the imperialists give bold support to their allies, those able to give decisive aid to Africa are merely giving token aid for the record.

The USA which a Tanzanian writer calls, "the arch enemy of the African people colonised and

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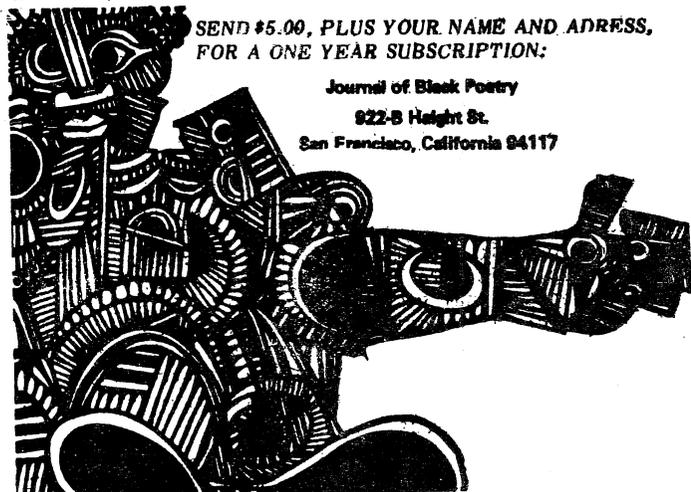
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18 Kumi na name



NORTH VIET NAM'S DEFENSE MINISTER VO NGUYEN GIAP IN HANOI

freed" gave Portugal \$400m each year since 1959 in "aid under the name of NATO".

Portugal is said to be spending \$1m a day on military activities. In December, 1971, the USA "gave Portugal \$436.5m for the continued use of the Azores base by the American and NATO militaries. About 50% of Portugal's budget is allocated to suppressing the liberation wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau (The Afro-Asian Journalist).

People fighting at home in their own countries do not need that kind of money to win a war of liberation. Their spirit is a fire that cannot be quenched. They can count on various community resources and supports. But just consider the way the USA has prolonged the war in Vietnam --by using its superior technology to change the nature of the battle.

The guerrillas won to a finality in Cuba because when the moment came there was no foreign intervention. This is not the experience of the war of liberation in Africa. As we have seen intervention is the order of the day.

In answer to the oppressive administration of South Africa and Portugal. Guinea and recently Tanzania have developed the people's militia. As the TANU resolution of February 1971 said in part:

"The people of Tanzania value very much their material independence. This is where our emancipation and that of the African continent begin.

"For this reason it is our historic duty to take steps that will enable us to safeguard our independence so as to advance our revolution and make our country an impregnable base of the African revolution".

This kind of democratic militarisation is one of the answers that African nations can give to the menace of aggressive armed European occupation. It shows a serious grasp of the situation in Africa. Where it has not been done, the parties in power are yet to come to a serious grasp of the situation in Africa.

It is my argument that although the Vietnamese people are supported by the USSR and China the support given by those countries lacks the finishing touches for a quick decisive victory in the face of US power. People interested in peace must also be interested in shortening wars.

Secondly, we must agree that in not one of the battle grounds in occupied Africa does the liberation movement army attract the kind of support given to Vietnam; or to the nationalists in Bangladesh by India.

It is also true that most of the African nations, although understanding the situation, are not taking realistic decisions in relation to Southern Africa. On the same question, the socialist nations of Europe, while giving limited aid, are very optimistic and fail, from their

own profession, to give decisive aid.

The reason why the liberation of South Africa Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau is so long stretched out is to be found in the political economy of Africa -- in the fact that the independent African nations have placed their economies on a peaceful footing and in the fact that the socialist powers fear war more than they hate imperialism.



*They're gonna fight
They'll make things right
They'll give their babies
Black stories to tell
About brothers, brothers
Everywhere,
And not a one for sale.*

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R. Arisday



And The Oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting
triggers against each other, will be extremely skillful
in that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weak-
-nesses of the Lumpen-Proletariat.

The enemy is aware of ideological weaknesses, for he
analyses the forces of rebellion and studies more and
more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes
up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual
instability of certain layers of the population.

Frantz Fanon

There is no force, however
formidable, that a united
people cannot overcome.

Kwame Nkrumah

R. Arisday, jr./1969

HOUSE OF UMOJA



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