

The journal of

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Featuring:

Steel Pulse

James E. Dennis

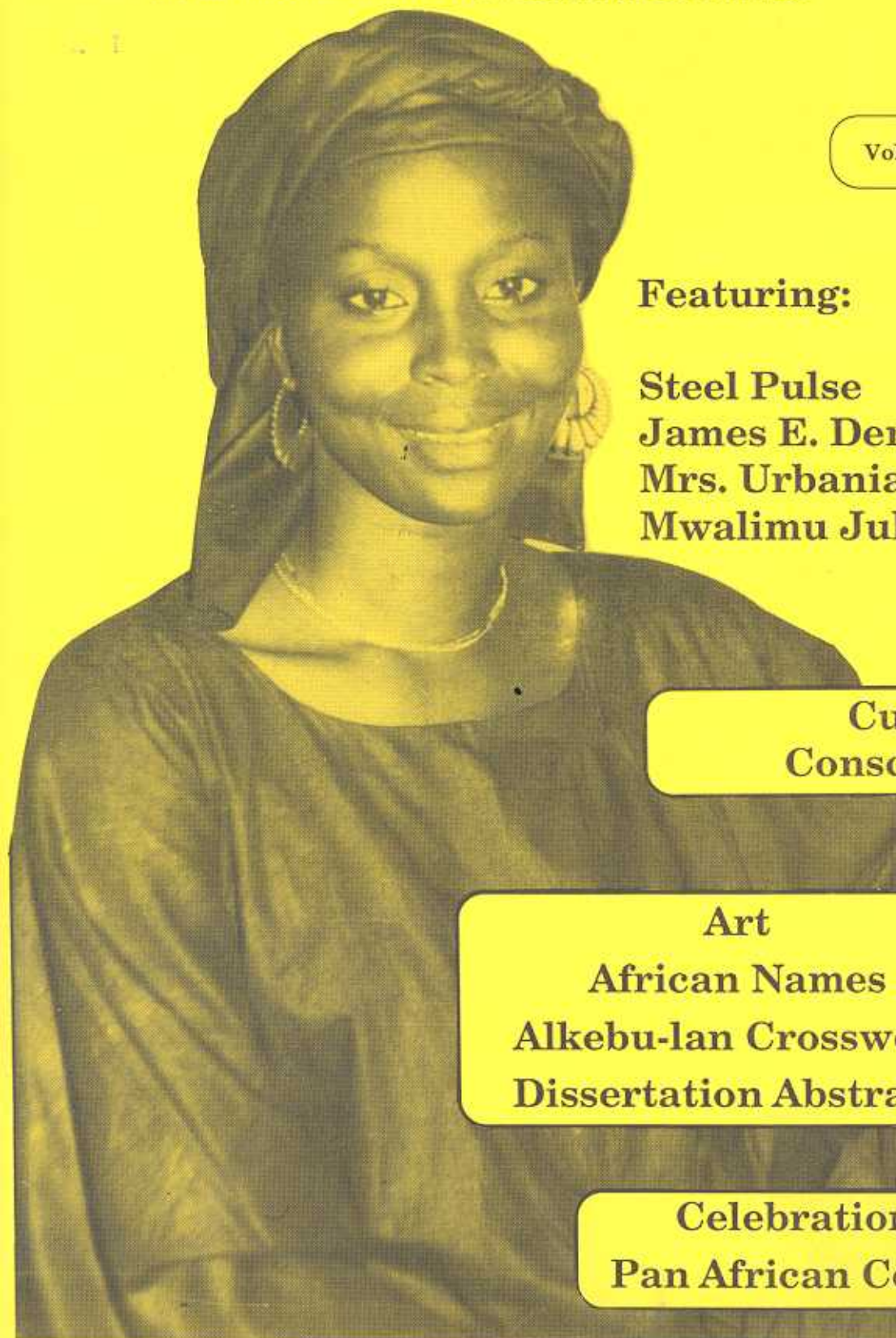
Mrs. Urbania Mothopeng

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

**Culture
Consciousness**

Art
African Names
Alkebu-lan Crossword
Dissertation Abstracts

Celebration Ideas
Pan African Consortium

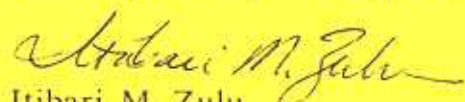


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STEEL PULSE: The Liberation Posse

It was in Handsworth Birmingham (England) around 1975 that six youth met every Sunday to rehearse and play their favorite music in an attic. Eleven years later, they have grown to become Steel Pulse, one of the finest reggae bands in the world today. Although there have been a few changes since those youthful days, the group has managed to retain most of its basic line-up.

It was in late 1976 that Steel Pulse made their vinyl debut with two songs titled Kibudu Mansetta and Abuku on

the now defunct Dip Records. Their first album Handsworth Revolution was released to great acclaim in 1978 during their association with English punk bands, Burning Spear and the legendary Bob Marley. In 1979, the band released Tribute to the Martyrs and began to headline their own tours in the U.K. and Europe, as a result, they gained a strong international following.

Recognizing the need to serve their international audience, the band performed at

Reggae Sunsplash in 1981 in Montego Bay, Jamaica with great success and returned in 1982 to establish their permanence on the reggae agenda with a successful album titled True Democracy. Notwithstanding, Steel Pulse is one of the first reggae bands to record a digitally recorded album Earth Crisis and their sixth and latest album Babylon the Bandit is the winner of the 1987 National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences (U.S.A.) Grammy Award for reggae recording.



PHOTO CREDIT: EBET ROBERTS/1985

SELWYN BROWN

PHONSO MARTIN

DAVID HINDS

STEVE NESBITT

STEEL PULSE

UJAMAA

The Basis of African Socialism

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

Socialism -- like democracy -- is an attitude of mind. In a socialist society it is the socialist attitude of mind, and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern, which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare.

The purpose of this paper is to examine that attitude. It is not intended to define the institutions which may be required to embody it in a modern society.

In the individual, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist. It has nothing to do with the possession or non-possession of wealth. Destitute people can be potential capitalists--exploiters of their fellow human beings. A millionaire can equally well be a socialist; he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the service of his fellow men. But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist. So is the

man who would if he could!

I have said that a millionaire can be a good socialist. But a socialist millionaire is a rare phenomenon. Indeed, he is almost a contradiction in terms.



Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

The appearance of millionaires in any society is no proof of its affluence; they can be produced by very poor countries like Tanganyika just as well as by rich countries like the United States of America. For it is not efficiency of production, nor the amount of wealth in a

country, which make millionaires; it is the uneven distribution of what is produced.

The basic difference between socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed. While, therefore, a millionaire could be a good socialist, he could hardly be the product of a socialist society.

Since the appearance of millionaires in a society does not depend on its affluence, sociologists may find it interesting to try and find out why our societies in Africa did not, in fact, produce any millionaires-- for we certainly had enough wealth to create a few. I think they would discover that it was because the organization of traditional African society-- its distribution of the wealth it produced -- was such that there was hardly any room for parasitism. They might also say, of course, that as a result of this, Africa could not produce a leisured

class of landowners, and therefore, there was nobody to produce the works of art or science which capitalist societies can boast. But works of art and the achievements of science are products of the intellect - which, like land, is one of God's gifts to man. And I cannot believe that God is so careless as to have made the use of one of His gifts depend on the *misuse* of another!

Defenders of capitalism claim that the millionaire's wealth is the just reward for his ability or enterprise. But this claim is not borne out by the facts. The wealth of the millionaire depends as little on the enterprise or abilities of the millionaire himself as the power of a feudal monarch depended on his own efforts, enterprise or brain. Both are users, exploiters, of the abilities and enterprise of other people. Even when you have an exceptionally intelligent and hard-working millionaire, the difference between his intelligence, his enterprise, his hard work, and those of other members of society, cannot possibly be proportionate to the difference between their 'rewards'. There must be something wrong in a

society where one man, however hard-working or clever he may be, can acquire as great a 'reward' as a thousand of his fellows can acquire between them.

Acquisitiveness for the purpose of gaining power and prestige is unsocialist. In an acquisitive society wealth tends to corrupt those who possess it. It tends to breed in them a desire to live more comfortably than their fellows, to dress better, and in every way to outdo them. They begin to feel they must climb as far above their neighbors as they can. The visible contrast between

One of the most socialist achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members, and the universal hospitality on which they could rely.

their own comfort and the comparative discomfort of the rest of society becomes almost essential to the enjoyment of their wealth, and this sets off the spiral of personal competition - which is then anti-social.

Apart from the anti-social effects of the accumulation of personal wealth, the very desire to accumulate it must be interpreted as a vote of 'no confidence' in the social system. For when a society is so organized that it cares about its individuals, then, provided he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow, or his orphans. This is exactly what the traditional African society succeeded in doing. Both the 'rich' and the 'poor' individual were completely secure in African society. Natural catastrophe brought famine, but it brought famine to everybody - 'poor' or 'rich'. Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That

was socialism. That *is* socialism. There can be no such thing as acquisitive socialism, for that would be another contradiction in terms. Socialism is essentially distributive. Its concern is to see that those who sow reap a fair share of what they sow.

The production of wealth, whether by primitive or modern methods, requires three things. First, land. God has given us the land, and it is from the land that we get the raw materials which we reshape to meet our needs. Secondly, tools. We have found by simple experience that tools do help! So we make the hoe, the axe, or the modern factory or tractor, to help us to produce wealth -- the goods we need. And, thirdly, human exertion -- or labor. We don't need to read Karl Marx or Adam Smith to find out that neither the land nor the hoe actually produces wealth. And we don't need to take degrees in Economics to know that neither the worker nor the landlord produces land. Land is God's gift to man -- it is always there. But we do know, still without degrees in Economics, that the axe and the plough were produced by the laborer. Some of our more sophisticated friends apparently have to undergo the most rigorous intellectual training simply in order to discover that stone axes were produced by that ancient gentleman 'Early Man' to make it easier for him to skin the impala he had just killed with a club, which he had also made for himself!



An Ujamaa Village in Tanzania: "There is no such thing as socialism without work".

In traditional African society *everybody* was a worker. There was no other way of earning a living for the community. Even the Elder, who appeared to be enjoying himself without doing any work and for whom everybody else appeared to be working, had, in fact, worked hard all his younger days. The wealth he now appeared to possess was not *his*, personally; it was only 'his' as the Elder of the group which had produced it. He was its guardian. The wealth itself gave him neither power nor prestige. The respect paid to him by the young was his because he was older than they, and had served his community longer; and the 'poor' Elder enjoyed as much respect in our society as the 'rich' Elder.

When I say that in traditional African society everybody was a worker, I do not use the word 'worker' simply as opposed to 'employer' but also as opposed to 'loiterer' or 'idler'.

One of the most socialistic achievements of our society was the sense of security it gave to its members, and the universal hospitality on which they could rely. But it is too often forgotten, nowadays, that the basis of this great socialistic achievement was this: that it was taken for granted that every member of society -- barring only the children and the infirm -- contributed his fair share of effort towards the production of its wealth. Not only was the capitalist, or the landed exploiter,

unknown to traditional African society, but we did not have that other form of modern parasite – the loiterer, or idler, who accepts the hospitality of society as his 'right' but gives nothing in return! Capitalistic exploitation was impossible. Loitering was an unthinkable disgrace.

Those of us who talk about the African way of life and, quite rightly, take a pride in maintaining the tradition of hospitality which is so great a part of it, might do well to remember the Swahili saying: *Mgeni siku mbili, siku ya tatu mpe jembe'* – or in English, "Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!" In actual fact, the guest was likely to ask for the hoe even before his host had to give him one – for he knew what was expected of him, and would have been ashamed to remain idle any longer. Thus, working was part and parcel, was indeed the very basis and justification of this socialist achievement of which we are so justly proud.

There is no such thing as socialism without work. A society which fails to give its individuals the means to work, or, having given them the means to work, prevents them

from getting a fair share of the products of their own sweat and toil, needs putting right. Similarly, an individual who can work – and is provided by society with the means to work – but does not do so, is equally wrong. He has no right to expect anything from society because he contributes nothing to society.

The other use of the word 'worker', in its specialized sense of 'employee' as opposed to 'employer', reflects a capitalist attitude of mind which was introduced into Africa with the coming of colonialism and is totally foreign to our own way of thinking. In the old days the African had never aspired to the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellow. He had never had laborers or 'factory hands' to do his work for him. But then came the foreign capitalists. They were wealthy. They were powerful. And the African naturally started wanting to be wealthy too. There is nothing wrong in our wanting to be wealthy; nor is it a bad thing for us to want to acquire the power which wealth brings with it. But it most certainly is wrong if we want the wealth and the power so that we can dominate somebody else.

Unfortunately there are some of us who have already learnt to covet wealth for that purpose – and who would like to use the methods which the capitalist uses in acquiring it. That is to say, some of us would like to use, or exploit, our brothers for the purpose of building up our own personal power and prestige. This is completely foreign to us, and it is incompatible with the socialist society we want to build here.

Our first step, therefore, must be to re-

We must, as I have said, regain our former attitude of mind—our traditional African socialism—and apply it to the new societies we are building today.

educate ourselves; to regain our former attitude of mind. In our traditional African society, we were individuals within a community. We took care of the community, and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men.

And in rejecting the capitalist attitude of mind which colonialism brought into Africa, we must reject also the capitalist methods which go with it. One of these is the individual ownership of land. To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community. Each individual within our society had a right to the use of land, because otherwise he could not earn his living and one cannot have the right to life without also having the right to some means of maintaining life. But the African's right to land was simply the right to use it; he had no other right to it, nor did it occur to him to try and claim one.

The foreigner introduced a completely different concept -- the concept of land as a marketable commodity. According to this system, a person could claim a piece of land as his own private property whether he intended to use it or not. I could take a few square miles of land, call them 'mine', and then go off to the moon. All I had to do to gain a living from 'my' land was to charge a rent to the people who wanted to use it. If this piece of land was in an urban area, I had no need to develop it at all; I could leave it to the

fools who were prepared to develop all the other pieces of land surrounding 'my' piece, and in doing so automatically to raise the market value of mine. Then I could come down from the moon and demand that these fools pay me through their noses for the high value of 'my' land -- a value which they themselves had created for me while I was enjoying myself on the moon! Such a system is not only foreign to us, it is completely wrong. Landlords, in a society which recognizes individual ownership of land, can be, and usually are, in the same class as the loiterers I was talking about; the class of parasites.

We must not allow the growth of parasites here in Tanganyika. The TANU Government must go back to the traditional African custom of land-holding. That is to say a member of society will be entitled to a piece of land *on condition that he uses it*. Unconditional, or 'freehold', ownership of land (which leads to speculation and parasitism) must be abolished. We must, as I have said, regain our former attitude of mind -- our traditional African socialism -- and apply it to the new societies we are building today.

TANU has pledged itself to make socialism the basis of its policy in every field. The people of Tanganyika have given us their mandate to carry out that policy, by electing a TANU Government to lead them. So the Government can be relied upon to introduce only legislation which is in harmony with socialist principles.

The basic difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed.

But, as I said at the beginning, true socialism is an attitude of mind. It is therefore up to the people of Tanganyika -- the peasants, the wage-earners, the students, the leaders, all of us -- to make sure that this socialist attitude of mind is not lost through the temptations to personal gain (or to the abuse of positions of authority) which may come our way as individuals, or through the temptation to look on the good of the whole community as of secondary importance to the interests of our own particular group.

Just as the Elder, in our former society, was respected for his age and his service to the community, so, in our modern society, this respect for age service will be preserved. And in the same way as the 'rich' Elder's apparent wealth was really only held by him in trust for his people, so, today, the apparent extra wealth which certain positions of leadership may bring to the individuals who fill them, can be theirs only in so far as it is a necessary aid to the carrying out of their duties. It is a 'tool' entrusted to them for the benefit of the people they serve. It is not 'theirs' personally; and they may not use any part of it as a means of accumulating more for their own benefit, nor as an 'insurance' against the day when they no longer hold the same positions. That would be to betray the people who entrusted it to them. If they serve the community while they can, the community must look after them when they are no longer able to do so.

In tribal society, the individuals or the families within a tribe were 'rich' or 'poor' according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. If the tribe prospered, all the members of the tribe

shared in its prosperity. Tanganyika, today, is a poor country. The standard of living of the masses of our people is shamefully low. But if every man and woman in the country takes up the challenge and works to the limit of his or her ability for the good of the whole society, Tanganyika will prosper; and that prosperity will be shared by all her people.

But it must be shared. The true socialist may not exploit his fellows. So that if the members of any group within our society are going to argue that, because they happen to be contributing more to the national income than some other groups, they must therefore take for themselves a greater share of the profits of their own industry than they actually need; and if they insist on this in spite of the fact that it would mean reducing their group's contribution to the general income and thus slowing down the rate at which the whole community can benefit, then that group is exploiting (or trying to exploit) its fellow human beings. It is displaying a capitalist attitude of mind.

There are bound to be certain groups which,

by virtue of the 'market value' of their particular industry's products, will contribute more to the nation's income than others. But the others may actually be producing goods or services which are of equal, or greater, intrinsic value although they do not happen to command such a high artificial value. For example, the food produced by the peasant farmer is of greater social value than the diamonds mined at Mwadui. But the mine-workers of Mwadui could claim, quite correctly, that their labor was yielding greater financial profits to the community than that of the farmers. If, however, they went on to demand that they should therefore be given most of that extra profit for themselves, and that no share of it should be spent on helping the farmers, they would be potential capitalists!

The foundation, and the objective, of African socialism is the extended family.

This is exactly where the attitude of mind comes in. It is one of the purposes of trade unions to ensure for the workers a fair

share of the profits of their labor. But a 'fair' share must be fair in relation to the whole society. If it is greater than the country can afford without having to penalize some other section of society, then it is not a fair share. Trade union leaders and their followers, as long as they are true socialists, will not need to be coerced by the Government into keeping their demands within the limits imposed by the needs of society as a whole. Only if there are potential capitalists amongst them will the socialist government have to step in and prevent them from putting their capitalist ideas into practice!

As with groups, so with individuals. There are certain skills, certain qualifications, which, for good reasons, command a higher rate of salary for their possessors than others. But, here again, the true socialist will demand only that return for this skilled work which he knows to be a fair one in proportion to the wealth or poverty of the whole society to which he belongs. He will not, unless he is a would-be capitalist, attempt to blackmail the community by demanding a salary equal to that paid to his counterpart in some far wealthier society.

European socialism was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed it. The former created the 'landed' and the 'landless' classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and the industrial proletariat.

These two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society, and not only was European socialism born of that conflict, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into a philosophy. Civil war was no longer looked upon as something evil, or something unfortunate, but as something good and necessary. As prayer is to Christianity or to Islam, so civil war (which they call 'class war') is to the European version of socialism - a means inseparable from the end. Each becomes the basis of a whole way of life. The European socialist cannot think of his socialism without its father - capitalism!

Brought up in tribal socialism, I must say I find this contradiction quite intolerable. It gives capitalism a philosophical status which capitalism neither claims nor deserves. For it virtually says, 'Without capitalism, and the conflict which capitalism creates within society, there can be no socialism!'

This glorification of capitalism by the doctrinaire European socialists, I repeat, I find intolerable.

African socialism, on the other hand, did not have the 'benefit' of the Agrarian Revolution or the Industrial Revolution. It did not start from the existence of conflicting 'classes' in society. Indeed, I doubt if the equivalent for the word 'class' exists in any indigenous African language; for language describes the ideas of those who speak it, and the idea of 'class' or 'caste' was non-existent in African society.

The foundation, and the objective, of African socialism is the extended family. The true African socialist does not look on one class of men as his brethren and another as his natural enemies. He does not form an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren'. He rather regards *all* men as his brethren - as members of his ever extending family. That is why the first article of TANU's Creed is: '*Binadamu wote ni ndugu zangu, na Afrika ni moja*'. If this had been originally put in English, it could have been: 'I believe in Human Brotherhood and the Unity of Africa'.

"Ujamaa", then, or "Familyhood", describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.

We, in Africa, have no more need of being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught' democracy. Both are rooted in our own past -- in the traditional society which produced us. Modern African socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of 'society' as an extension of the basic family unit. But it can no longer confine the idea of the social family within the limits of the tribe, nor, indeed, of the nation. For no true African socialist can look at a line drawn on a map and say, "The people on this side of that line are my brothers, but those who happen to live on the other side of it can have no claim on me"; every individual on this continent is his brother.

It was in the struggle to break the grip of colonialism that we learnt the need for



Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and Milton Obote at East African Community founding, 1967

unity. We came to recognize that the same socialist attitude of mind which, in the tribal days, gave to every individual the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family, must be preserved within the still wider society of the nation. But we should not stop there.

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Ujamaa--The Basis of African Socialism was written and published in 1962 as a TANU pamphlet to "...describe the attitudes of socialism" which preceded the Arusha Declaration

Our recognition of the family to which we all belong must be extended yet further -- beyond the tribe, the community, the nation, or even the continent -- to embrace the whole society of mankind. This is the only logical conclusion for true socialism.

(1967), the document which is now the basic policy making guide for the Tanzanian Party and Government.

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ALKEBU-LAN CROSSWORD

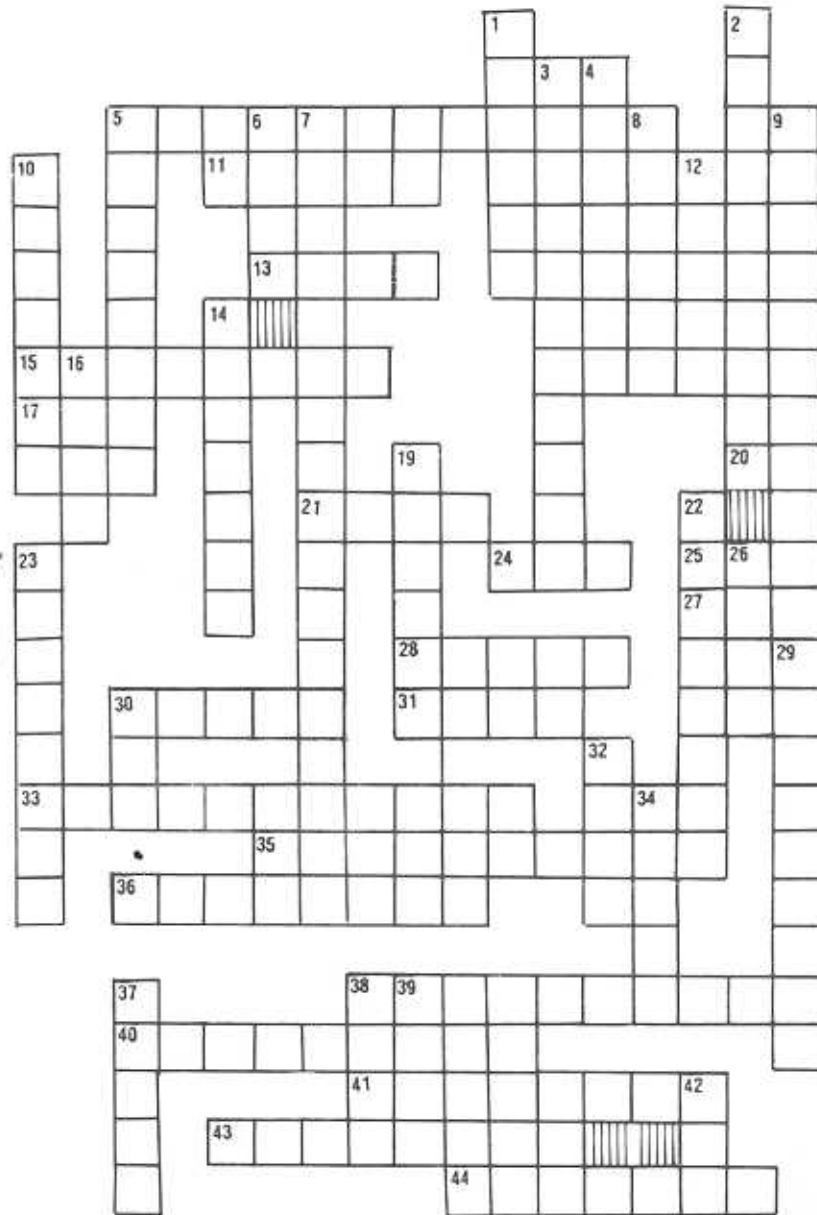
Across

5. Many of the myths about Africa originated with _____
11. _____ artist made combs, spoons and other art from ivory
13. In 8th century B.C. the _____ kingdom invaded Egypt
15. Famous city of west Africa known as an education center
17. A metal-bearing mineral or rock
18. A straight, slender stick of wood
20. South Africa (abbrev.)
21. An ancient kingdom, known today as Ethiopia
24. A civilization in Nigeria 300 B.C. to 200 B.C.
25. Holy city of bronze sculpture in Nigeria
27. Middle East (abbrev.)
28. Trans-Sahara _____ was destroyed by slavery
30. An ancient west African kingdom founded in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.
31. African hairstyle
33. The healthiest and _____ young people were removed from Africa through slavery
35. In the 16th century _____ pirates destroyed major East African trading cities
36. Most African families are known for being _____ families
38. An east African empire that prospered for about 300 years, and built the "Great Zimbabwe"
40. African religion involves communication with the _____
41. Slavery slowed the _____ of Africa
43. The main reason Europeans came to Africa (15th century)
44. For a long time many Europeans though Africa had no _____ because they couldn't find written historical records

Down

1. The "medicine man" in African society are _____ doctors
2. Slavery destroyed _____ African economics
3. 19,565 feet above sea level (a geographical feature in East Africa)
4. Slavery deprived Africa of future _____
5. A king of Songhai (last name)
6. To try to find or discover
7. Profits from slavery by Europeans created the _____ of Europe and capitalist development in America
8. The world's largest desert
9. Africa is the _____ of mankind
10. The _____ runs thru the middle of Africa
12. Crops were burned and entire communities were destroyed during slave _____
14. African law and _____ weakened as a result of slavery
16. 2,000 years ago African people along the Nile River made _____ tools and weapons
19. An East African King who build the Monomotapa Empire
22. An advanced civilization existed in _____ that had 30 feet high walls (20 ft. thick)
23. Slavery created _____ among African nations
26. Insecurity and _____ was created by the slave trade
29. Many _____ are spoken in Africa
32. Many African people _____ or were killed during slavery
34. A religion born in the 7th century that spread to Africa
37. A famous ruler of Mali (first name)
39. A metal or plastic wind instrument
42. A respectful or formal term of address for a man

Alkebu-lan Crossword



*According to Dr. Yosef ben-Jochannon of the Alkebu-lan Foundation, Inc. (209 w. 125th St. N.Y., N.Y.) Alkebu-lan is the correct name for the continent now know as Africa (see his book *Black Man of the Nile*, 1972.)

CHALLENGE

Identify three words and nine word abbreviations (six across, six down).

See next issue for solution

AFRICAN NAMES

Name	Meaning	Gender	Origin
Adande	The challenger	Female	Dahomey
Adiaha	First female child	Female	Ibibio/Nigeria
Akili	Wisdom	Female	Tanzania
Akpan	First male child	Male	Ibibio/Nigeria
Alpha	Leader	Male	Guinea
Amira	Queen	Female	Sudan
Aziza	Precious	Female	Kiswahili/E. Africa
Bongani	Sing happily	Male	Xhosa/Azania
Dioumah	Tuesday (born Tuesday)	Male	Guinea
Hakim	Wise	Male	Sudan
Hasina	Good	Female	Kiswahili/E. Africa
Juma	Friday (born Friday)	Male	Tanzania
Ife	Love	Female	Yoruba/Nigeria
Jamal	Beauty	Male	Sudan
Jamila	Beautiful	Female	Kiswahili/E. Africa
Maha	Beautiful eyes	Female	Sudan
Maraka	Planting season	Male	Abaluyia/Kenya
Mawasi	In God's hands	Female	Ewe/Ghana
Mazwi	Words with a message	Male	ZeZuru/Zimbabwe
Mukasa	God's chief minister	Male	Lugada/Uganda
Mulongo	Second twin	Male/Female	Abaluyia/Kenya
Nangila	Born while parents traveled	Female	Abaluyia/Kenya
Nozipho	Gift	Female	Xhosa/Azania
Okon	Born at night	Male	Ibibio/Nigeria
Rufaro	Happiness	Female	ZeZuru/Zimbabwe
Sekou	Learned	Male	Guinea
Simba	Lion (strength)	Male	Tanzania
Thandiwe	Beloved	Male/Female	Xhosa/Azania
Uzoma	The right way	Male/Female	Ibibio/Nigeria
Vulindlela	Pave the way	Male	Xhosa/Azania
Zano	Idea/plan	Male	ZeZuru/Zimbabwe

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

Mrs. Urbania Mothopeng

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Ambassadors,
Respected Representatives,
Comrades and Friends:

At the outset allow me to most sincerely thank the Special Committee Against Apartheid for extending this kind invitation to me to attend today's observance of the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. At the same time we also wish to commend the Special Committee Against Apartheid for annually observing this day, and thereby, highlighting the plight of political prisoners in apartheid South Africa.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, I speak here both as one who has been detained and whose husband has been in and out of South African prisons since the early 1950's for opposing the apartheid system.

I was detained following the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings. I was arrested in October 1976 and kept in solitary confinement until March 1978.

During that period the racist authorities attempted to cajole me into implicating

Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, and also my husband. Comrade Zephania Mothopeng was accused number one in the



Bethal 18 Secret Trial, the only political trial in our country held in total secrecy. The 18 accused were formally charged for organizing the 1976 Soweto Uprisings. Morality, conscience and my African upbringing and commitment served me well during those days of solitary confinement and I steadfastly refused to testify against my husband or any of his colleagues.

Mr. Chairman, although his trial was in secret, the facts surrounding the trial have come to the fore. Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, was accused number one in the trial, received a total prison sentence of 30 years. However, he will serve 15 years as he received 15 years each on two counts and it will run concurrently.

Although arrested again on August 6,

1976, he was only sentenced after a marathon trial in 1979. He is now 73 years old and currently held in the Johannesburg New Prison in Diepkloof.

Comrade Zephania Mothopeng was offered a so-called amnesty by the racist authorities last year if he renounced his commitment to the struggle in Azania for genuine liberation. He rejected the offer with the contempt it deserved.

Comrade Zephania Mothopeng has committed his life to the just cause of his people since the late 1940's.

He was in the Africanist movement with such men as Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, John Nyati Pokela and A.P. Mda. As President of the Transvaal African Teachers Association, he led the campaign against the introduction of 'Bantu Education' and was consequently dismissed from the teaching profession in 1952. I may add here that I was also a school teacher and resigned under protest.

Comrade Zephania was one of the founder members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in April 1959. In keeping with the PAC slogan that leaders must be in front, he participated in the March 21, 1960 anti-pass campaign which culminated in the Massacre of Sharpeville. He was arrested and sentenced. On his release in 1962, he was immediately rearrested under the then notorious 90-day detention law. This law was then extended to 180 days. Comrade Zeph served a full 90 days and a full 180 days. On his release, he was served with a banning order and banished to a so-called homeland in Qwaqwa. During this period, he sued that racist police for torturing him and after 6 months of banishment he returned to Soweto.

Until his arrest in August of 1976, he played an active role in organizing the community in all respects, including engaging in self reliance projects.

Among the Azanian people, he is popularly known as uncle Zeph precisely because he, throughout his active life, identified himself with their concerns, problems, welfare and genuine aspirations.

**Every patriot
imprisoned is
sacrificing for a
just and noble
cause and must
be accorded his
deserved respect.**

Mr. Chairman, in April this year Comrade Zephania Mothopeng was operated upon by the regime. He was taken to the hospital and operated upon without his or my consent and this is in total violation of prison regulations, let alone common practice. However, he is recovering but one can never tell given the harsh prison conditions and the consistent attitude adopted by the regime towards political prisoners of the Azanian trend.

Mr. Chairmen and distinguished delegates, a person is sent to prison for long terms in apartheid South Africa because of his pigmentation and for demanding what the international community has come to declare as inalienable rights of all peoples to live as free and dignified people in the land of their forefathers. It is the rights enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the inalienable right of self-determination, that the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania are demanding and struggling for. It is because these are legitimate demands that the international community has come to recognize and support our just struggle. It is to realize these inalienable rights that PAC members John Nkosi and Jeff Masekela are the longest serving life political prisoners on Robben Island; it is to demand these rights that Comrade Zephania Mothopeng has gone to prison for the third time; it is to live in a free society that Comrades Mandela and Sisulu have spent over 20 years in prison; and it is for these rights that our children are striving for in their schools and in the streets!

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, allow me to sincerely state here that Azanian political prisoners are greatly encouraged by the campaign waged by this committee and other such organizations for their immediate and unconditional release. Every patriot imprisoned is sacrificing for a just and noble cause and must be accorded his deserved respect.

The regime in apartheid South Africa is discriminatory. Even when they operated upon Comrade Zephania, Mothopeng they practiced discrimination. I was never informed.

We sincerely hope that international institutions opposing discrimination will not, inadvertently, be engaging in such practices themselves. Families of political prisoners, moreover, are assisted but here to I can speak authoritatively that stipends are dependent on which political trend one is committed to. We urge the international community to end this discriminatory practice.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, your consistent and principle demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political



Eve Arnold/Magnum

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- Black workers earn as little as \$30 per month, and unemployment is over 25 percent.
- Blacks are denied basic rights such as voting and deciding where to live.

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prisoners is a great source of encouragement to all our people and we urge you to intensify this campaign and call. We are conf-

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ident that those political prisoners languishing in apartheid prisons will be free in their lifetime!

PAN AFRICAN DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BRAZIL

Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The African Muslim Uprising in Bahia, 1835. Joao Jose Reis. University of Minnesota, 1983. 401 pp.(DAI Order No. 8314144).

A study of the 1835 African Muslim rebellion in Bahia, Brazil based on extensive court and police records that provided information on the rebellion, and the many facets of the African community in Bahia.

The study shows how the structure of Bahian slave society and the economic system during the first half of the nineteenth century aided social unrest, and how decolonization and independence fit into a historical context that led to the 1835 Pan African (Yoruba, non-Muslim and other African freedom fighters participated) slave rebellion.

PANAMA

The Congo Ritual of Northeastern Panama: An Afro-American Expressive Structure of Cultural Adaptation. Patricia Lund Drolet. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1980. 296 pp. (DAI Order No. 8026482).

The Congo of northeastern Panama represents a large-scale ritual performed by Spanish speaking Black people who inhabit eight small maritime-forest oriented towns comprising the area called Costa Arriba. The ritual has a long tradition, reflecting tropical forest and coastal adaptations by Black people in northeastern Panama that form a distinctive African continuity.

Discussion of the setting, ethnohistory, and contemporary town life of people of African descent in the region provide a base for placing Congo ritual in a ecological, historical, and social context.

As a sacred and secular society based on an ideology of balanced reciprocity, the Congo also serve as a primary means for Black unity, interaction and exchange on a local and regional scale.

PERU

The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru. (Volume I and II) William David Tompkins. University of California, Los Angeles, 1981. 594 pp. (DAI Order No. 8206083).

An ethnomusicological examination of the traditions of Black people in coastal Peru that updates previous studies, expands existing knowledge, review theories and problems in African-Peruvian research and shows the diversity of African music genres within the context of history. Juxtaposed by descriptions and analyses of major musical instruments with a socio-cultural discussion of the musical elements of syncretization in African-Peruvian music tradition, and a

UNITED STATES

African Students and Their Attitudes Toward Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness in the United States.
Ekanem Ita Ekanem. University of Kentucky, 1972. 272 pp. (DAI Order No. 73-7342).

The purpose of this study was to achieve an understanding of the social environmental forces in the United States that shape African students (from Africa) attitudes toward Pan-Africanism and Black consciousness. Students were chosen as subjects because of their potential leadership roles in the direction which Africa and African people must travel.

The methodology of this study consisted of drawing a random sample of 208 African students (from Africa) studying in the U.S. Data was gathered by means of mailed questionnaires composed largely of biographical information and multiple-choice items to measure the degree of Pan-African attitude and consciousness.

In general, the data revealed that African students (the overwhelming majority) have a good understanding of Pan-Africanism and Black consciousness and that the state of the social environment in the U.S. is not a crucial factor in determining the attitudes of African students toward Pan-Africanism and Black consciousness.

An Examination of African Retentions in the Folk Culture of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands.

Mary Arnold Twining. Indiana University, 1977. 468 pp. (DAI Order No. 77-22, 678, 468).

African retentions in the folk culture of the people of the Sea Islands in the U.S. in this study show a continuum of African cultural traits that stretch from Africa to North America, the Caribbean and South America via the collection of relevant data on oral folklore and folklife (material culture) of the islands.

Oyotunji Village: The Yoruba Movement in America.

Carl Monroe Hunt. West Virginia University, 1977. 168 pp. (DAI Order No. 7808734).

Oyotunji Village, the Yoruba movement in America, is a history of the life of Oseijeman Adefunmi, and the Yoruba movement he founded after developing an African consciousness, organizing a Yoruba Temple in New York (Harlem), and building the Oyotunji Village in 1973 near Sheldon, South Carolina based on the customs of the Yoruba people of Nigeria.

The complete text of the above dissertations can be obtained in microform or paper form from University Microfilms International, (800-521-3042) P.O. Box 1764 Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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THE JOURNAL OF PAN AFRICAN STUDIES



James E. Dennis

PAN AFRICAN STUDIES IN ACADEMIA:

An Interview with
James E. Dennis

Itibari M. Zulu

- Q: What do you attribute the success of this department to?
- A: The students who put together our program had the vision and the foresight to get us placed into the General Education package, right from the beginning. Hence, we have had a very stable department in terms of our full-time student enrollment over the years. And even though we have fluctuated in terms of majors, we have offered enough G.E. courses to keep our students coming. So, our full-time enrollment (FTE) has always been between two-hundred and fifty and three-hundred for years.
- Q: As a result, we can say that the success of the department is in part due to the amount of G. E. courses offered?
- A: Yes. It has sustained us through it all. And I may add -- what makes a good department and what makes a department grow when there is no general university growth is based on who is on your staff. You can have the best program in the world, but if people don't know of the program or what it is about, and you don't show them what the benefits of the program are, you don't have a program. Especially in a black and white world where you have students who will attend college and never take notice of your program. And some will flunk out of school because they don't know of your program or rather flunk out than take a class in our department. So what we have to do is recruit some students.

The other strong area of our program is our writing program -- we have an excellent writing program, and of course, we have student organizations working with us.

At one time our student organization saw itself as being a watchdog of us, to prevent us from becoming too bourgeois. But in about 1982, the Black Student Union (BSU) leadership changed, and since then we have been working together and as a result, there has been much more unity among students, student organizations and the department. So we have a strong BSU, and in the early days we had a Pan African Union (PAU), it was strong but a little disfocused and they became so doctrinaire until they kind of ran everybody away and then students broke off into organizations based on their particular disciplines. So we have the Black Business Association, a Black medical society et cetera -- the BSU didn't draw across-the-board support and since about 1981 they are still into their individual groups, but we have much more cooperation and coordination of activities now than we had before.

Q: How do you define Pan African Studies?

A: In Pan African Studies we define it as the study of the experience of African people wherever they are, so we study Africa, the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-America primarily. We haven't really gotten into the Canadians, the Aborigines of Australia and other places insofar as the Black inhabitants. There is some body of literature and some folks who have movements in all of those areas. However, we try to deal with the triangular -- the Caribbean, U.S. and Africa. So we study Black people, African people, and our intent is to study Black people

wherever they are, but we haven't began to focus in on it (the other areas), but we do review those areas through our study of the triangular experience.

Now in terms of Pan Africanism, I define it as the commonality and the joining of African people wherever they are. In the school, that is our definition and we don't tell ourselves in a sense that as some people do who talk about spiritual Pan Africanism (as they put it), meaning that they can be in America and be just as good of an Pan Africanist as if I was at home (Africa). Also, I am not going to argue that one can't be a good Pan Africanist and stay here, but I do argue that if a Pan Africanist lays out an excuse for not going to Africa, I think he or she has fudged his or her Pan Africanism -- a little bit. I may never go to Africa again. Garvey didn't go to Africa, in fact he never set foot on Africa, but his goals, ideas and aspirations were to at some point to go to Africa and do some liberating and building. And then you have those who want to stay in America but want to 'play around' with Pan Africanism. That is the kind of distinctions I am making in my definition.

Q: In regards to the study of places like Australia, the South Pacific, Britain and other places, do you see that as being more of a graduate focus rather than an undergraduate focus?

A: Well, if we ever get into it, we will probably have to start at that level -- the graduate level. But as for now its difficult to create enough interest in the Caribbean and Africa among our students because of the seemingly low level of consciousness among some students. But, as more students take Pan African Studies courses their appreciation for the courses will increase and then we can move into those areas of study. At this time, we don't have a graduate program, but it has been my long time goal to have one. We have been pushing hard; there are a number of ways to do a graduate program, however, there is one at UCLA and I think we will have one in the future. Our problem in the past has been that we haven't had a hundred majors, and one of the first requirements is that a department have a hundred majors. As for now, we have between sixty-five and seventy majors and, by the end of the year, I expect to have a hundred majors.

Q: What link does the department have to the Black community?

A: Through the Continuing Education Program at this University we were asking permission to support a Community Education Opportunity Program with sites in Los Angeles, Pacoima and Pasadena in which we planned to offer University level classes to people who may never thought about or wanted to go to college, but didn't want to drive out to Northridge, Cal State L.A. or down to California State University,

Dominguez Hills. Whereas, with this program, a student can drive around the corner and attend University level classes. And there are people who may feel a bit intimidated by the campus (CSUN) itself, but may feel at ease in his or her community where he or she can take twenty-four transferable units before he or she has to make a solid decision to attend our campus. Also, we wanted to offer our students who dropped out a chance to return. Because we have some former students who only have a few units to complete their degree program, and, with this program, they can meet their graduation requirements and thus graduate. And we hope to expand from that into a master degree program designed for the hundreds of bachelor degree holders who wouldn't mind attending graduate school in their respective communities.

Q: What other projects are you working on?

A: I am working on a youth development project with the Baptist Church and with the faculty of our department to organize a 'Family Institute' to address some of the problems and solutions that face the Black family. And I am also working on organizing a west coast campus for Atlanta University of Atlanta, Georgia; they are accredited, they have a masters degree program in Afro-American Studies and a number of fine Ph.D. programs. So if we can get them established out here, its possible that many folks can go on and get their advanced degrees.

Q: What has been some of the problems in the development of the department?

A: I will have to say, I don't see the University as a community holding us back -- that much. And I say that after completing six years as chair. I attribute that to the most sensitive and understanding Whites on this campus, being the ones who are the most active leadership (the liberals) and we haven't had any problems of them shouting their racism on points either here or there, although we have had administrators that some people have felt were very overtly racist at some point or another. And we have all the types of symptoms that other campuses have. But the people who make most of the decisions, and this is generally changing now, but in the past, this was a faculty governed campus -- the faculty would help make policy. As a result, the faculty has never tried to keep us out of the G.E. package, because we were part of it from the start, and when the system required that it be changed around 1980, this campus didn't try to kick us out of the package, because by simply reviewing it they had the opportunity to do so. So once again, they demonstrated their leadership skill. However, some of my colleagues tend to think some people here are Ku Klux Klan people. But I've done too much travel and I know too much about what's going on in other parts of this state not to know that we have a better environment and support system. So I am appreciative of that, although it is nowhere near what I can say I would be satisfied with, but given the nature of academe and this system, I can give it a good grade.

- Q: What is your opinion of the lack of name consistency in the academic units of the California State University and College system concerned with the study of African people?
- A: What happened with these departments in the state and the nation is that we are products of our plantations, and whatever plantation we were founded on, and whoever our masters are, that is how our programs are. So, there is no consistency to the system. We're Pan African Studies, Cal State L.A. is Pan African Studies, Sacramento has a Pan African Studies program within Ethnic Studies, San Diego is Afro-American Studies and Fullerton is Afro-Ethnic Studies.
- Q: What are some of the issues or trends you see happening in this department and similar departments?
- A: The major issues for us as a department is one of re-socializing the students we get -- we get oreos here. So, we have to take off the outside, at least one side of it and take off all of that white and replace it with a chocolate mix (some deep chocolate) just to get to the black -- its an evolutionary process with the goal in mind to have students who will return to their respective communities and make some contribution -- some change. I am not talking about someone leading a group of juveniles in a graffiti clean. I am talking about them making quality change in the life of people in the community.

BOOK REVIEWERS

The Journal of Pan African Studies is looking for people to review the following books (and others) for forthcoming issues.

Women in Africa and the African Diaspora edited by Rosalyn Turborg-Penn (Howard University Press), Dynamics of the African/Afro-American Connection: From Dependency to Self Reliance edited by Adelaide Cromwell (Howard University Press), Pan Africanism and the Black Diaspora by Ronald Walters (Flame International), Global Dimension of the African Diaspora edited by Joseph E. Harris (Howard University Press), Les Mouvements Negres En France by Philippe Dewitte (Editions L'Harmattan, Paris), The Pan African Connection: From Garvey and Beyond by Tony Martin (The Majority Press), The Political Legacy of Malcolm X by Oba T'Shaka (Third World Press), Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change by Molefi Kete Asante (Amulefi Publishing Company), Earthquakes and Sun Rise Missions by Haki R. Madhubuti (Third World Press), Black Manhood by Tarharka (Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, Afro-American Research Center, Annapolis, MD), Introduction to Black Studies by Maulana Karenga (Kawaida Publications), Samora Machel: An African Revolutionary edited by Barry Munslow (Zed Books Ltd.), Race, Class and Power in Brazil edited by Perre-Michel Fontaine (UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies), The Urban Plantation: Racism and Colonialism in the Post Civil Rights Era by Robert Staples (The Black Scholar Press), Decolonising the Mind by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Heinemann), Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney by Horace Campbell (Africa World Press), Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain by Peter Fryer (Humanities Press, G.B.), African Libraries: Western Tradition and Colonial Brainwashing by Adolphe O. Amadi (Scarecrow Press), the Black Triangle: The People of the African Diaspora by Armet Francis (Seed Publications, U.K.).

CONTRIBUTORS

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere is the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania (1964 - 1985), Chairman of Chuma cha Mapinduzi (The Revolutionary Party) and Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam. He was born in March, 1922 in Butiama, Tanzania (Tanganyika); educated at Musoma Middle School, Tabora Government School, Makerere University College (diploma in education), Edinburgh University (B.A., M.A.) and has received honorary degrees from Duquesne University (Doctor of Law), Edinburgh University (Doctor of Law), University of Cairo (Doctor of Philosophy) and Howard University (Doctor of Humanities). Notwithstanding, he is the chief architect of Ujamaa (African socialism) in Tanzania, a family man, teacher and author of the Arusha Declaration (1967), Uhuru na Ujamaa (Freedom and Socialism, 1967), Uhuru na Umoja (Freedom and Unity, 1966), Freedom and Development (1968), Man and Development, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism (1969) and Crusade for Liberation (1978), and has translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and The Merchant of Venice into Swahili.

Mrs. Urbania Mothopeng presented the above dissertation at the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid on the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, October 10, 1986 in New York.

James E. Dennis is an eighteen year veteran of Pan African Studies in Academia and a professor of Pan African Studies at California State University, Northridge.

CELEBRATION IDEAS

1. Sponsor a Pan African food festival
2. Invite local artists to participate in art show related to event
3. Host a lecture; follow with a reception and display (books, kits, video, records)
4. Serve a cake in honor of African hero/heroine birthday, have children make cards and gifts
5. Tell African folktales, play games and music
6. Sponsor a film-lecture series
7. Host an African heroine/hero look-alike contest
8. Create a skit to dramatize theme of event
9. Sponsor an 'awareness day' before the main event (give a sample of activity)
10. Make buttons, balloons, flags, etc. to promote event
11. Inform media of event
12. Organize an essay contest
13. Organize a simulated interview of a heroine or hero (record interview)
14. Organize a simulated debate (Booker T. Washington vs W.E.B. Du Bois)
15. Design a crossword puzzle related to event for publication
16. Create a computer program/demonstration related to event/theme
17. Sponsor a poetry reading session related to event/ theme
18. Organize a bibliography (print and non-print media) related to event/theme...

CQ

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY

Editor: Prof. the Hon. Rex Nettleford, O.M.

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY concerns itself with Caribbean culture in all its ramifications. It is an outlet for the publication of the results of research into and considered views on matters Caribbean. Normally an issue contains six to eight articles of original thought, preferably as first publication, as well as of general interest and relevance to the Caribbean islands and neighbouring mainland of Central and South America. The journal comprises prose, essays, poetry and drama criticism and reviews of works by local sculptors, painters, and performing artists (dancers, musicians, dramatists). An overall picture emerges of life in one of the oldest settled parts of the Western Hemisphere in articles devoted to the history, literature, industry, education, sociology, agriculture, ethnology, religion, the creative arts, etc., of the entire group of island states and territories bounded by the Caribbean sea. The journal appears quarterly in March, June, September and December.

Recent articles include

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Kenneth M. Bilby

"Ef Me Naa Bin Come Me Naa Been Know": Informal Social Control and the Afro-Guyanese Wake, 1900-1948
Brackette Williams

Women and Crime in Late Nineteenth Century Trinidad
David V. Trotman

Labour and Emancipation in Dominica: Contribution to a Debate
Michel-Rolph Trouillot

Country Preferences of School Children in Seven Caribbean Territories
Mike Morrissey

Public Opinion Perspectives on the University of the West Indies
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