

RHODESIA WOOS NKOMO

[AN] While internal settlement talks proceed in Salisbury, Rhodesian officials are putting out the word through various sources that Prime Minister Smith wants nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo to return and participate in the negotiations.

Nkomo, a co-leader of the Patriotic Front guerrilla movement, conducted negotiations with Smith in 1976. Nkomo is regarded by some whites as the most capable and reasonable of the nationalist politicians.

According to some observers, Smith's late October meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a staunch Nkomo backer, was intended to give the appearance of a possible deal with Nkomo, thus forcing Nkomo rivals inside Rhodesia, such as Bishop Muzorewa, to the bargaining table.

Now that talks involving Muzorewa, Nkomo, Njabini Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau are under way, analysts say Smith might be persisting in his suggestions of a role for Nkomo out of a desire to break the unity of the Patriotic Front, which has rejected the internal negotiations.

ANGOLA'S MPLA HOLDS FIRST PARTY CONGRESS

[AN] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) held its first national party congress this month and decided to develop itself as a "working people's vanguard party." Led by Marxist-Leninist ideology, the congress assessed the country's poor economic performance over the past year, the ruling party affirmed the importance of the state sector in revitalizing and transforming the economy. The congress also approved a general plan for economic and social development in the period 1977-1980, calling for further nationalization of industry and the creation of more peasant cooperatives in the agricultural sector.

Angolan leaders consider agriculture the basis for economic recovery, providing not only food but a large part of the raw materials for both local industry and export. Gains in industrial production, however, must also be scored if Angola is to generate the resources needed to meet its goals in the current three-year plan. These include an end to unemployment, the provision of basic food and clothing needs for the population, universal free education and health care, and the extension of women's rights.

Because many Angolan leaders were killed in the abortive coup attempt this past May 27, the election of new leadership was a major task of the MPLA congress. According to a report from Sara Rodrigues of the *Guardian* (US), following intense debate over leadership qualifications and related matters, the gathering decided to limit Central Committee membership to those with at least eight years service as an MPLA militant (active member).

HARD ROAD AHEAD FOR GUINEA-BISSAU, CAPE VERDE

[AN] The third congress of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the first since the independence of the two countries, met in Bissau from November 15-20 in a mixed atmosphere of celebration and sober planning for a still difficult future.

The PAIGC, which is the ruling party in both countries fought a decade-long war for independence from Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and maintained clandestine opposition to Portuguese colonial rule over the Cape Verde Islands. In 1974, Portugal accepted the independence of Guinea-

Bissau, declared the previous year, and in 1975 Cape Verde also gained its independence.

Reaffirming the revolutionary tradition of the war years—economic development involving and benefiting the masses—the PAIGC has defined itself as a national liberation movement in power, seeking broad national unity to confront the two countries' legacy of underdevelopment.

Both are among those countries categorized by the United Nations as "hard core least developed."

Guinea-Bissau has little but the most rudimentary agricultural exports, although in areas of the countryside liberated during the war years there is a tradition of self reliance in food production. The Cape Verde Islands, devastated by persistent drought, must import almost all their needs, including most food, relying on income from Cape Verdean immigrants in the U.S. and elsewhere, as well as on the fees paid by aircraft in transit.

During the colonial period such problems as illiteracy in Guinea-Bissau and recurrent drought in Cape Verde met with neglect. Since independence, resources to carry out the new governments' development plans are scarce, and international aid has been slow in trickling in.

The PAIGC's plans for revolutionary transformation are therefore tempered with realism. Such measures as the development of people's courts, partial nationalization of trade, literacy efforts, and support of liberation struggles elsewhere in Africa have been accompanied by efforts to keep up good relations with Western countries and with the more conservative French speaking nations of West Africa.

And the distinct problems faced by each state have also dictated caution on the move to complete the unification of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Major remains a goal, the congress affirmed, but it must be achieved step by step, through concrete projects of cooperation such as the joint maritime transport company already established.

To lead the party in the new phase, the congress re-elected Aristides Pereira, President of Cape Verde, and Luis Cabral, President of the Guinea-Bissau Council of State, as PAIGC Secretary General and Assistant Secretary General, respectively.

THE FEAR IS GONE: AND INTERVIEW WITH STEVE BIKO (Part III)

[AN] The final installment of a series excerpted from the interview Steve Biko gave European Journalist Edmund Wolff early this year.

Q: You speak of an egalitarian society. Do you mean a socialist one?

BIKO: Yes, I think there is no running away from the fact now that in South Africa there is such an ill distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom that does not touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless. The whites have locked up within a small minority of themselves the greater proportion of the country's wealth. If we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor and you will get a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie. Our society will be run almost as yesterday. So for meaningful change to appear there needs to be an attempt at reorganizing the whole economic pattern and economic policies.

BPC [Black People's Convention] believes in a judicious blending of private enterprise, which is highly diminished, and state participation in industry and commerce, especially in industries like mining (gold, diamonds, asbestos), like forestry, and of course complete ownership of the land. Now in that kind of judicious blending of the two systems we hope to arrive at a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Q: Do you see a country in which black and white can live amicably on equal terms together?

BIKO: That is correct. We see a completely non-racial society. We don't believe in the so-called guarantees for minority rights because guaranteeing minority rights implies the recognition of portions of the community on a race basis. We believe that in our country there shall be no minority, just the people. And those people will have the same status before the law and they will have the same political rights before the law.

Q: But will the vast majority of blacks after all their experiences be able to live their life without giving vent to feelings of revenge?

BIKO: We believe it is the duty of the vanguard political movement which brings change to educate people's outlook. Blacks have never lived in a socialist economic system. They've got to learn to live in one. In the same way, they've always lived in a racially divided society. They've got to learn to live in a non-racial society. They have go many things to learn.

[P]eople are not necessarily revengeful, nor are they sadistic in outlook. The black man has no ill intentions for the white man. The black man is only incen-

ed that [the white man] wants to entrench himself in a position of power to exploit the black man. But beyond that, nothing more.

Q: Do you think of a one man, one vote franchise?

BIKO: One man, one vote. No qualification whatsoever except the normal ones you find throughout the world. . . . The irony is that when the white government negotiates so-called independence for the so-called Transkei, they don't speak in terms of a qualified franchise. In the Transkei, every Transkeian votes. . . . But somehow, when it comes to the broader country, the blacks may not vote because they do not understand the sophisticated economic patterns out here. They understand nothing. . . . This is all nonsense. It is meant to entrench the white man in the position in which he finds himself today. We will do away with it altogether. There will be a completely non-racial franchise.

Q: As a visitor, my feeling is that this is bound to be a very long and probably very bloody road.

BIKO: There is that possibility. As I said earlier it will be dictated purely by the response of the Nationalist Party. If they have been able to see that in Rhodesia, Smith must negotiate with the leaders of the black people of Rhodesia. I think conflict is unavoidable, given the predictable response from the present system. And this conflict can be pretty generalized and extensive and protracted. My worst fears are that, working with the present analysis, conflict can only be generalized between black and white. We don't have sufficient groups of whites who can form coalitions with blacks at the present moment. The more such groups which come up, the better to minimize that conflict.

AFL-CIO FOR PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA

[AN] Delegates at last week's AFL-CIO convention adopted a resolution calling for "maximum political pressure on South Africa and Rhodesia." The resolution said that U.S. Corporations in southern Africa should "recognize bona fide trade unions regardless of their racial composition."



Every year the earth travels 600 million miles through space.

Ministers Say Easter Boycott Needed To Free Wilmington 10

RALEIGH — A group of ministers, including several from Durham who met with Governor James Hunt Monday, said that they are considering an Easter boycott of North Carolina merchants, a means they feel would pressure Governor James Hunt to pardon the Wilmington 10. Hunt told the ministers, including Rev. James Barnett, who had walked 185 miles from Charlotte to Raleigh, that he would not intervene in the seven year old case until the courts have had "reasonable opportunity" to settle the case. Several Durham residents walked part of the way to Raleigh with Barnett on Saturday.

The ministers made their comments after the meeting with Hunt. Rev. Z. D. Harris, pastor of Oak Grove Free Will Baptist Church, said a boycott would force businessmen to speak to Hunt on the Wilmington 10 case. "If we can get the opportunity to start to hitting the big man in his pocket, he will come to the Governor instead of us."

Bishop F. Yelverton, minister of Mount Calvary Holy Church, concurred that a boycott could be an effective means of pressuring Governor Hunt to pardon the Wilmington 10, said "that would be one of the greatest things that we could do now to show that we are interested in the pardon of the Wilmington 10."

The boycott idea was first brought up by the ministers at a mass meeting at Russell Memorial C. M. E. Church when Rev. L. H. Wheelchel said to the audience "Black folk's religion is in their hands and feet, but white folk's religion is in their pocketbook", as he outlined the need for a boycott, indicating that all blacks would have to sacrifice to get the Wilmington 10 pardoned.

When Hunt was questioned at his weekly press conference about discussions of a boycott, he advised "that would be very counterproductive, very counterproductive. . . . You see, anything which happens to polarize the situation, I think, makes it far more difficult."

Hunt continued, saying, "I would hope that nobody would do anything now that would put this thing in such a posture as to make it more difficult." Rev. James Barnett questioned Hunt at the Monday meeting as to what he meant



HOUSING AUTHORITY HONOREES — Last week the Durham Housing Authority took time out to recognize the tremendous service of its employees at a banquet held at the Downtowner Motor Inn. Left to right are: Mrs. Norma Burton, Mrs. Winnie Martin, Mrs. Kittie Dempson, Mrs. Alma Steele, Mrs. Rena Mason, Mrs. Sadie Jacobs, Mrs. Etta Vinson, Mrs. Inez Gooch, Jesse Ferrell, Mrs. Gertrude Cheek, Mrs. Teresa Canty and Mrs. Euna Brandon. (Photo by Kelvin A. Bell).

by acting on the case within a reasonable time? Hunt did not respond to Barnett except to say he had said all that he would say on the matter. Hunt responded to a reporter that he did not know how long a reasonable time would be.

Durham ministers gave a warm reception for Rev. Barnett Friday, December 16, with several making rousing statements at a mass meeting. Rev. Percy High told the people that "we are all in prison together" as he explained how the Wilmington 10 case relates to the average man. High, President of the Durham Chapter NAACP, said that those of us out of prison have "psychological bars that control us."

Atty. Irv Joyner, Director of the Criminal Justice Program of the United Church of Christ, described the Wilmington 10 situation as "in sort of a holding action" between the state and federal courts which are pondering appeals and Governor Hunt and President Carter who have been asked to pardon the '10'. Joyner related that Justice Department officials have said that the courts are stymied with the issues raised in the case and that both Carter and Hunt avoid tackling the case.

On the question of a boycott, some Durham businessmen and civic leaders are not as sure of the strategy as the ministers. J. H. Wheeler, president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank and chairman of the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, said that he was in support of the Wilmington 10 but had not given any thought to an Easter boycott. A similar response came from Durham County's representative to the General Assembly, A. J. Howard Clement III, who added that he believes a meeting in early January should be called to discuss and plan a strategy that would put "economic, political, and cultural pressure on the Governor."

Whether the citizenry of Durham would support a mass boycott of merchants to free the Wilmington 10 is anybody's guess. One woman at the mass meeting characterized the expressions of many when she showed a strong preference to use political clout. "Anybody who would vote for Hunt in 1980, the way he has done the Wilmington 10, has got to have sawdust in their heads."

where the trial Judge Robert Martin is now a judge. Other appeals are in the federal courts.

People's Yen to Save Is Slipping a Bit

The idea of saving for the future appeals to most Americans but not as much as it used to, the American Council of Life Insurance reports.

Given three choices about savings, 72 percent of respondents in a 1977 Council Survey said they preferred to save regularly, compared to 82 percent in 1968.

About 16 percent in 1977 wanted to "spend now," compared to 8 percent in 1968. Eleven percent in 1977 agreed with the third choice—there's less reason to save because government and employers are providing more financial security—which was the preference of 7 percent in 1968.

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