TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE
(REVISED)

SUNDAY

9:00  EXPO-CUBA (in Student Union)
2:00  Registration
2:30  PANEL ("Crisis, Conflict, Change: An
      Overview of the Caribbean")
      Chrm:  Ron Bailey
             1. Armstrong, Guyana
             2. Hector, Antigua
             3. Remy, Haiti
             4. PSP, Puerto Rico
8:00  PANEL (ALSC and the Caribbean)
      Chrm:  Abdul
             1. Dawolu Gene Locke
             2. Owusu Sadukai
             3. Tim Hector

FRIDAY

9:00  Registration
9:30  PANEL ("The USA, Foreign Domination and the
      Caribbean")
      Chrm:  Joe Seward
             1. Elvis, Bauxite
             2. Bailey, Cuba
             3. Parris, Barbados
             4. (St. Pierre, Guyana)
2:00  PANEL ("Racism, Strategies for Change, and
       National Development")
      Chrm:  David
             1. Liverpool, Cooperatives
             2. Swan, Jamaica
             3. Abdul, Cuba
             4. (Nouvelle Optique, Haiti)
8:00  MAIN SPEAKER (Intro by Bailey)
      Trevor Munroe

RESPCISES
1. Swan
2. David

10:30  CARIBBE FEST
A CONFERENCE CALL
NOVEMBER 8th and 9th, 1973

sponsored by
AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee
U.S.A.
The Afro-American Studies Program at Fisk University is consciously struggling to be the catalyst for a cultural revolution. We are dedicated to change the fundamental world view of the Fisk curriculum and return to the Fisk years of social involvement, intellectual productivity, and educational innovation. In this spirit we welcome you to our first major conference: "Crisis, Conflict and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's."

We are proud to stand in the tradition of work on the Caribbean at Fisk by Charles S. Johnson, Mark Hanna Watkins, and Donald Pierson. We hope to raise issues similar to the basic course formerly taught on the area (1949–1961) "Social Economics of the Caribbean."

After some experimental programs were initiated in the period of the struggle around the Black University concept (1967–1970), Fisk formed the interdisciplinary program of Afro-American Studies. Fisk under the far-sighted leadership of James R. Lawson, (president), has acclaimed its special responsibility to Black people. The Afro-American Studies Program accepts the responsibility to implement programs to fulfill this responsibility.

We extend a warm welcome to everyone attending this conference. And we encourage you to use this as a time for intense intellectual and ideological struggle. We believe nothing positive can result if not from creative conflict, so let us proceed vigorously to the task at hand.

LONG LIVE UNITY OF AFRO-AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PEOPLES!
STOP THE BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA NOW!
INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!
SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF CARIBBEAN PEOPLES FOR PEACE, FREEDOM, AND DEVELOPMENT!
SCHEDULE OF CONFERENCE EVENTS

Thursday, November 8, 1973

9:00 am  EXPO CUBA: A Photo Exhibit (University Library)
2:00 pm  CONFERENCE REGISTRATION
2:30  CONFERENCE OVERVIEW
   Gerald McWorter, Director
   Afro-American Studies Program
   Fisk University

WELCOME

James R. Lawson
President, Fisk University

PANEL: “Crisis, Conflict and Change in the Caribbean”

8:00 MAIN SPEAKERS

Professor Trevor Munroe,
University of the West Indies

Brother Owusu Sadaukai
ALSC Executive Committee

Friday, November 9, 1973

9:00 am  CONFERENCE REGISTRATION
9:30  PANEL: “The USA, Foreign Domination, and the Caribbean”
2:00 pm  PANEL: “Racism, Strategies for Change, and National Development”
8:00  PANEL: “African Liberation Support Committee and the Caribbean”
10:30  CARIBBE FEST

All events will be in the Appleton Room, Jubilee Hall, unless otherwise noted.
Any understanding of the present situation in the Caribbean must of necessity begin with a historical analysis of the region. Many continents have been involved in shaping Caribbean history. In *Capitalism and Slavery*, Prime Minster Eric Williams of Trinidad-Tobago, demonstrated that Britain was the first of the European powers to achieve industrialization because of its dominance over the Triangular Trade of slavery which persisted from the middle of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th. The triangle involved Britain (and other parts of Europe), Africa, and the New World, mainly the Caribbean. Before the introduction of African labor, the indigenous Indians (including the Caribs from whom the region acquired its name) were tested as slave labor. They became virtually extinct through a combination of extermination and their inability to withstand the diseases introduced by the Europeans. West Indian labor preceded the introduction of Black labor from Africa, and East Indian labor was introduced into the region after the slave trade was abolished. When cotton became king, the Caribbean was used as a trans-shipment depot, and a breaking-in area for raw Black labor from Africa on its way to the plantations of Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, etc. Black labor from the Caribbean also found its way to the mines and plantations of South America. Thus most of the world’s continents were affected by and in turn have left their mark on the modern Caribbean. The diversity of these islands has, however, created a set of social and racial problems that each of the panelists will undoubtedly allude to in one form or another.

The colonial past, the neo-colonial present, and the prospects for a truly independent future will be another theme that will run throughout the papers to be presented, and the discussions that will follow. Oppression breeds conflict, and conflict breeds crisis. That the Caribbean is in a state of crisis is evidenced by the high and rising unemployment rates, and the persistent poverty of the masses of the people. The recurring conflict situations are evidenced by the massive strikes in Puerto Rico in July, and the labor stoppages amongst university workers in Jamaica in recent months.

The dependent nature of most Caribbean economies is manifested in the export of raw materials and the import of most industrial products consumed in the region. Capital goods imported in most of the regions of the Caribbean are a small part of total imports since very little progress is being made toward industrialization and modernization. The foreign exchange constraint on economic development is not as crucial as it is in many African countries. The major obstacle
to industrialization in the micro-states of the Caribbean would appear to be the smallness of the individual markets, and the lack of an effective planning mechanism in both industry and agriculture. Substantial amounts of foreign exchange are still being spent on food imports, which seems senseless in the case of countries that are still essentially composed of an agricultural peasantry. Increasing urban populations, many of whom are without any visible means of support, help to sharpen the contrast and conflict between the rich and the poor.

Foreign exploiters have supported a sizeable West Indian elite in most of the countries of the region but these elites will find their ability to govern seriously impaired without foreign military support unless they begin to address themselves to the solutions of the problems of poverty besetting the vast majority of their countrymen. The old exhaust values of migration to England and the United States have been shut off for most of the countries in the region, although Puerto Rico's peculiar situation as 'a self-governing commonwealth in union with the United States' keeps the safety valve open in this case, but anyone even remotely familiar with the conditions of the Puerto Rican ghetto of Harlem and the other barrios in the Eastern and Central cities of the United States would question whether out-migration is really a viable alternative. Foreign investment is certainly not improving the lot of the Caribbean masses, and it would appear that something has to give in the very near future.

The specific countries to be analyzed by the panelists offer contrasting patterns of economic, social, and political development, but the fundamental neo-colonial pattern of trade would appear to be almost universal. Differences there are, however. Compare the bauxite-exporting countries like Jamaica and Guyana with the sugar-exporting economies of Cuba and Barbados, the tourist economies of Barbados, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica, and the contrasting industrialization and modernization programs of Cuba and Puerto Rico! In terms of social and political development consider the contrasting situations of Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and the socialist revolution in Cuba.

An alternative to the existing imperialist, neo-colonialist exploitation, are highly visible to the Caribbean masses - Cuba. Whether the Cuban model can be attempted in the un-liberated countries of the Caribbean is perhaps a moot question. But, certainly the high literacy rates, low infant mortality rates, advances in workers' housing, and the other obvious increases in the welfare of the masses of the Cuban people is not without impact on the consciousness of the Caribbean's peoples.
Puerto Rican militancy and progressiveness is at a highly developed state. Here, American capital has combined with Puerto Rican capitalists to build much import—substituting, and export—oriented light industry. An enlarged industrial labor force has become increasingly politicized by the failure of real wages to rise fast enough to keep up with its rising aspirations. The Puerto Rican "miracle" has failed to provide high enough employment rates to keep down urban unrest. Our Brother from The Puerto Rican Socialist Party will enrich our knowledge of this dynamic Caribbean country, and I am sure we will gain some insight into the possibility of Puerto Rico providing the model for the other Caribbean progressives in their search for viable alternatives to the existing intolerable situation in their countries.

The United States has been involved in the Caribbean economically and politically (including militarily) since the Spanish American War and Manifest Destiny. Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Santo Domingo were the three most important areas of U.S. economic penetration, but the case of the Virgin Islands also deserves notice. U.S. tourism throughout the Caribbean has long been an important aspect of this feature of many Caribbean economies. The United States has also dominated the cultural life of many parts of the region. As with Mother Africa, many have vied for the resources and attractions of the Caribbean. England, France, Holland, Spain, and the North Americans have all participated in the scramble for the Caribbean. The scramble continues, which means that the struggle for true liberation continues.

Afro-Americans must link up throughout the Americas – Canada, U.S.A., Caribbean, Central and South American countries. We have planned this conference to include academic intellectuals and movement activists. Specifically, involving folks from Fisk, Vanderbilt, Meharry, Southern State University and the University of the West Indies, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the African Liberation Support Committee. We are holding this conference because we are committed to both scientifically understanding the world, and organizing progressive forces to do something about it. We hope everyone who participates will join us in walking on the two legs of analysis and action, theory and practice.
A SPECIAL THANKS TO THE

WORKERS

STUDENT COMMITTEE
THADDEUS GOVAN
DARLENE GORE
WANDRA MITCHELL
VALERIE THORPE
GREGORY GREEN

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

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YORUBA STUDY GROUP
TENNESSEE STATE

STAFF

Professor
JOSEPH SEWARD,
CONFERENCE CHAIRPERSON
Professor
RONALD BAILEY
Professor
GERALD McWORTER
Ms. JOCELYN HUNTER
PANEL I Thursday, November 8, 1973  2:30 pm

“CRISIS, CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN”

Chairman:
Professor
RONALD BAILEY, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:
Professor
AUBRY ARMSTRONG, GUYANA, Fisk University
“The Economic Crossroads of an Ex-Colony and Dependent Economy: Guyana”

Professor
RON PARRIS, BARBADOS, Vanderbilt University
“Inequality, Crisis and Change in Barbados”

Brother
TIM HECTOR, ANTIGUA, Chairman, Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement
“On the General Line of the Afro-Caribbean Unity Movement”

Professor
ANSELM REMY, HAITI, Fisk University
“The Duvalier Phenomenon: Recent Developments in Haiti”
A PHOTO-ESSAY PRESENTATION

The Afro-American Studies Program (in conjunction with sponsoring the Caribbean Conference), is hosting the main photo display from Expo-Cuba, a photo essay depicting the heroic struggle Cuba waged to set her people free.

The picture above is from the display on Puerto Rico, "the last classical colony of U.S. imperialism."
The exhibit is being shown at the Fisk University Library, November 8th and 9th, 1973.
"A PEOPLES COLLEGE — An experiment in adult education which attempts to work out educational procedures, taking into account cultural factors influencing the learning processes. In addition to a regular schedule at the center, decentralized classes of one or more persons are conducted in various homes in the community."

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
1939–40

"The PEOPLES COLLEGE is an independent educational program for Afro-American communities in the Americas. We are trying to develop an alternative to existing educational programs because most of them serve the interests of racism, imperialism, and colonialism.

Peoples College serves the interests of the people, and is based on anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-colonial ideology.

There is no fund raising. There is no Board of respectable liberals. We stand for independent development, self-reliance, and hard work.

The Peoples College has written a set of curriculum guides for collective study. These guides as well as Speaker – Consultants are available for all groups interested in starting programs similar to Peoples College."

PEOPLES COLLEGE — 1973
P.O. BOX 5747 • NASHVILLE, TN. 37208 • U.S.A.
MAIN SPEAKERS Thursday, November 8, 1973 8:00 pm

Professor
TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of West Indies

"The Politics of Decolonization in the Caribbean: An Overview"

Brother
OWUSU SADAUKAI, U.S.A., USA Southern Region, ALSC Executive Committee

"On the Present Stage of the Afro-American Liberation Struggle: The Caribbean Front"

Response: Professor Wilfred David
PANEL II  Friday, November 9, 1973  9:30 am

"THE U.S.A., FOREIGN DOMINATION, AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairman:
Professor
JOSEPH SEWARD, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:
Professor
DAWN ELVIS, GUYANA, Fisk University
"Nationalization and Economic Development: The Case of Bauxite in Guyana"

Professor
RONALD BAILEY,
"On Ending Underdevelopment in the Caribbean: The Cuban Model"

Senior
RAMON ARBONA, PUERTO RICO, First Secretary,
Puerto Rican Socialist Party
"On the General Line of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party"

Professor
MAURICE ST. PIERRE, GUYANA, University of the West Indies
"Social Relations in a Post Colonial Setting"
PANEL III  Friday, November 9, 1973  2:00 pm

"RACISM, STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE, AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

Chairman:
Professor
WILFRED DAVID, GUYANA,
Fisk University

Panelists:
Professor
PATRICK LIVERPOOL, GUYANA, Fisk University

"Cooperatives: A Strategy for National Development"

Professor
ALEX SWAN, JAMAICA, Fisk University

"Independence: Some Problems of a New Nation (Bahamas)"

Professor
ABDUL ALKALIMAT, U.S.A., Fisk University

"Racism and the National Question: The Cuban Case for Socialism"

Professor
TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the West Indies

"Racism and the Class Struggle in Jamaica"
PANEL IV  Friday, November 9, 1973  8:00 pm

"AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairman:
Professor
ABDUL ALKALIMAT, Research and Development,
ALSC Executive Committee

Panelists:
Dawolu
GENE LOCKE, U.S.A., International Chairperson,
African Liberation Support Committee
"Toward a General Line on the Caribbean"

Brother
TIM HECTOR, Caribbean Region,
ALSC Executive Committee
Timbuktu Bookstore and Market of New Africa is located at 1821 Jefferson Street, hours are 12:00 noon to 8:00 pm, Monday thru Friday, and 12 noon to 6:00 pm on Saturday. Timbuktu Bookstore plays a very special role in the Nashville Black community. It is our center for progressive education, information, and discussion of the problems we have in common as oppressed people. Timbuktu has everything relating to the progressive movement in general and our collective Black Liberation Struggle in particular.

In African history Timbuktu was a center of learning and progress. Timbuktu today represents a rebirth of African progress and independence everywhere in the African world. Our community market contains information concerning:

1. OUR HISTORY AND PAST STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM,
2. OUR TRADITIONAL CULTURE,
3. OUR HISTORY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPRESSION IN AMERICA,
4. OUR PRESENT CONDITION AND PROBLEMS AND HOW TO FIGHT THEM,
5. THE WORLD-WIDE PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL, COLONIAL, AND CLASS OPPRESSION BY THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR ALLIES, AND
6. BLACK WORKERS STRUGGLE, WOMEN, AND STUDENT STRUGGLE.

Timbuktu proudly announces its total support of the Caribbean Conference and the countries engaged in struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Our conference slogans are:

FREE PUERTO RICO!
STOP THE BLOCKADE OF CUBA!
LONG LIVE AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY:
CANADA, CARIBBEAN, U.S.A.!
CONFERANCE
BULLETIN

the crisis - conflict - change
CARIBBEAN
in the 1970's

A CONFERENCE HELD
NOVEMBER 8th and 9th, 1973

Sponsored by
AFRO - AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville, Tennessee U.S.A.
"CRISIS, CONFLICT, AND CHANGE: THE CARIBBEAN IN THE 1970's"

Afro-American Studies Program
Fisk University
Nashville, Tn. USA

PREFACE

The Fisk University Conference "Crisis, Conflict, and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's," was a tremendous success. The Afro-American Studies Program takes very seriously our responsibility to bring the insights of the conference to the attention of all those genuinely interested in improving the quality of life of the masses of the Caribbean people. A complete conference publication is now under preparation and will be available in the near future. As an interim step, however, we have prepared a summary of the key points raised during the conference. This will enable those who attended the conference as well as many who could not attend to more fully engage in a full and critical exploration of the events in the Caribbean. Further information concerning the conference publication can be obtained by writing the Afro-American Studies Program, Fisk University, Nashville, Tn. 37203, USA.

We can only reiterate and reconfirm the intentions which led us to convene the Fisk University Caribbean Conference as stated in the Conference Call:

"Our aim is to confront the problems of the Caribbean with the most relevant intellectual forces we can mobilize. Our goal is to develop a clear historical analysis of what is happening now and a basis for formulating policy. Our goal is to build an intellectually stimulating environment at Fisk University that serves the needs of Black people and the liberation of Man. As the West Indian revolutionary Frantz Fanon put it in Wretched of the Earth, 'For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.'"
SCHEDULE AND TITLES OF PANEL PRESENTATIONS

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8th

PANEL I: "CRISIS, CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:
Professor RONALD BAILEY, U.S.A.
Fisk University

Panelists:
Professor AUBRY ARMSTRONG, GUYANA, Fisk University
"The Economic Crossroads of an Ex-Colony and Dependent Economy: Guyana"

Professor RON PARRIS, BARBADOS, Vanderbilt University
"Inequality, Crisis, and Change in Barbados"

Brother TIM HECTOR, ANTIGUA, Chairperson, Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement
"On the General Line of the Afro-Caribbean Unity Movement"

Professor ANSELME REMY, HAITI, Fisk University
"The Duvalier Phenomenon: Recent Developments in Haiti"

MAIN SPEAKERS

Professor TREVOR MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the West Indies
"The Politics of Decolonization in the Caribbean: An Overview"

Brother OWUSU SADAUKAI, U.S.A., USA Southern Region, ALSC Executive Committee
"On the Present Stage of the Afro-American Liberation Struggle: The Caribbean Front"

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9th

PANEL II: "THE USA, FOREIGN DOMINATION, AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:
Professor JOSEPH SEWARD, USA, FISK UNIVERSITY

Panelists:
Professor DAWN ELVIS, GUYANA, Fisk University
"Nationalization and Economic Development: The Case of Bauxite in Guyana:

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"On the General Line of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party"

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"Social Relations in a Post Colonial Setting"
PANEL III: "RACISM, STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE, AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT"

Chairperson:
Professor WILFRED DAVID, GUYANA, Fisk University

Panelists:
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"Cooperatives: A Strategy for National Development"

Professor ABDUL ALKALIMAT, USA, Fisk University
"Racism and the National Question: The Cuban Case for Socialism"

Professor TREvor MUNROE, JAMAICA, University of the West Indies
"Racism and the Class Struggle in Jamaica"

PANEL IV: "AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE AND THE CARIBBEAN"

Chairperson:
Brother ABDUL ALKALIMAT, Research and Development, ALSC
Executive Committee

Panelists:
DAWOLU GENE LOCKE, USA, International Chairperson, African
Liberation Support Committee
"Toward a General Line on the Caribbean"

Brother TIM HECTOR, Caribbean Region, ALSC Executive Committee
NOVEMBER 8, 1973 (THURSDAY)

The Conference convened at 2:45 P.M., Thursday, Nov. 8th, and was greeted by Dr. James R. Lawson, President of Fisk University. Dr. Lawson expressed his support of the Afro-American Studies Program and the efforts put forth to convene the conference. He called for this to be an annual event, and pledged his continued support toward this end.

The first panel discussed "Crisis, Conflict, and Change in the Caribbean," with special emphasis on Barbados, Guyana, Antigua, and Haiti. The main points raised by the panelists were:

1. The problems of nationalization of foreign, imperialistic enterprises in Guyana and other areas of the Caribbean were fully discussed. Ultimately the question was raised as to whether nationalization should really be the objective, or whether the real question was who should own the means of production if the needs of the masses of the Caribbean's peoples were to be met.

2. One of the panelists defined development in terms of reducing the inequality in the international distribution of income and welfare. This raised the question of intra-national distribution of income, thus referring to the growing conflict between the Caribbean elites and the Caribbean masses.

3. The phenomenon of Duvalier in Haiti was thoroughly dissected. The conclusion that emerged from the analysis was that Duvalier, while professing a Black (as opposed to Mulatto) revolution, really supported the interests of the Mulatto elite. President J.F. Kennedy was seen as having "misunderstood" Duvalier, and let racism get in the way of economic interests, since Duvalier was more than willing to play the neo-colonialist game.

4. Finally, the question of organizing the West Indian peasantry for meaningful political action was aired. The peasantry, it was concluded, has a good understanding of the fundamental issues affecting their everyday life, but is justly suspicious of the urbanized elites who attempt to organize them. In both Antigua and Haiti, the peasantry is fully aware that they have been "sold out" by the Black nationalist elites in the past, and can best be organized by patient demonstration of sincere dedication on the part of those who demand their loyalty.

Following a reception held in the Honors Center, the evening session convened at 8:15 P.M. Professor Trevor Munroe from the Department of Government, University of the West Indies, and Brother Owusu Sadakai, former Mwalimu of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., and now Southern Regional Chairperson of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), were the featured speakers. Professor Munroe made the following points:

1. Imperialist areas of penetration in the Caribbean have increased since independence and the three main areas of penetration are banking and finance; industry - especially mining, assembly plants, and tourism; and agriculture.
2. The workers struggle is largely defensive at this point, but their economic demands for better wages and working conditions, housing, health care, and the rising cost of living, is expected to be transformed into political demands in the near future.
3. Middle strata, neo-colonial elites, have also been hurt by the rising costs of living, but the imperialists and their Black supporters in West Indian governments have so far managed to keep the middle strata and the working class from uniting in effective anti-imperialist struggle.

4. Government suppression of the legitimate demands of the workers has become more overt as labor discontent increases, thus heightening the contradiction between the classes in West Indian societies.

5. Youthful members of the intelligentsia are being drawn into the struggle on the side of the oppressed masses.

6. Sizeable concessions of land to the bauxite mining interests in Jamaica have alienated peasants, workers, and the middle strata.

7. Malnutrition, illiteracy, high crime rates, and an upsurge in racism as manifested in employment discrimination, and in discrimination in the enjoyment of social and recreational facilities has been the result of imperialist expansion in the area.

Owusu Sadaukai defined revolution to mean fundamental change in the political-economic system, the transformation of capitalism into socialism, and the changing of the ownership of the means of production from a handful of foreign exploiters to the masses of the Caribbean peoples, with a democratic State apparatus as the intermediary. Imperialism, or the highest stage of capitalism, and the profit motive were also defined, and their relationship to the misery suffered by most of the Caribbean's peoples outlined.

A lively discussion, with much contribution from the floor, revolved around the question of what constitutes a Black revolutionary, and how Black revolutionaries from the Caribbean and elsewhere could best participate in the struggle for Black liberation now being waged in the area. Owusu urged our Caribbean brothers and sisters whose skills and ideas are needed to return home because, "the revolution in Grenada will not be fought in Toronto, New York, or Nashville, but will be fought in Grenada."

Much clarification was given to the question of internationalization of the struggle, and the relationship between the struggles for Black liberation in the United States, the Caribbean, and in Africa. This question was further pursued in Friday night's session, when the African Liberation Support Committee and the Caribbean was discussed.

In summary, the first day of the conference ended with great enthusiasm and much interest in the many questions which were raised. The second day was to be an even more exciting and insightful session bringing much clarity to strengthening Afro-American unity in the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States.
The second day of the Fisk conference on the Caribbean reconvened at 9:45 A.M. The morning panel entitled "The USA, Foreign Domination, and the Caribbean," was opened with a penetrating analysis of the "Economic Effects of the Bauxite Industry." The main points raised were:

1. Bauxite earns some 40 per cent of Guyana's foreign exchange and provides ten per cent of the Guyanese government's revenue, but of the $1 billion worth of bauxite exported over a 50-year period (1917-1969) from Guyana, only 1.6 per cent of the proceeds accrued to the coffers of the Guyanese government or those of the pre-independence government of British Guiana. The government's share was the result of taxes paid by the foreign companies which until recently were responsible for the mining and the processing of the ore into alumina. One of the companies was nationalized by the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's government in 1971. The equipment and the other inputs needed to mine and process the bauxite are imported, so very little in the way of backward linkages are provided to further stimulate the Guyanese economy.

2. The relationship between ownership and national development is such that only incidentally do the goals and interests of the local economy get served by the foreign owner, whose interests diverge sharply from those of Guyana. The potential benefits of nationalization to the Guyanese economy include the possible development of industrial linkages, both forward and backward; the utilization of the surplus (i.e. profits) for investments and expansion within the Guyanese economy and employment training and the development of skills among the Guyanese labor force. It was also pointed out that community services as compared to the lack of expenditures in this important area by foreign owned companies.

4. A diagram distributed to the participants of the conference showed in graphic form that the interests of the Alcan Aluminum Ltd., (a joint U.S.-Canadian corporation) are, by contrast, large profits for the shareholders, the expansion, growth, and efficient operation of the multi-national corporation, and the minimization of revenues paid to the Guyanese and other governments in which the multi-national corporation operates.

5. Guyana's bauxite could potentially make a contribution of some $200 million annually to the Guyanese economy, since that is the approximate value added in the three processes of mining, alumina processing, and aluminum smelting of bauxite presently being taken from Guyana each year. The total value added in the smelting stage alone for bauxite exported from the Caribbean (including Jamaica, Guyana, Surinam, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic) is $911 million annually, but the smelting is done in North America and in other parts of the world by the same large multi-national corporations which not only extract the bauxite, but process it and produce aluminum. Nationalization, potentially, might mean that the smelting process would occur in Guyana. (There was some disagreement over whether nationalization was an effective method to bring the benefits of bauxite to the Guyanese people.

The second panelist spoke on the "Social Effects of Bauxite on the Guyanese Economy." Four main points were discussed:

1. With the establishment of the bauxite industry in Guyana, new towns had to be created by the companies, including physical in-
frastructure such as houses, roads, hospitals, schools, etc. A company introduced segregated housing patterns in McKenzie with 1.8% of the total population being white in 1946 when the industry was established, and 5% white by 1960. This white population was housed in splendor in South McKenzie and the Black labor force was housed in North McKenzie, the two sections of the town being separated by a bridge manned by guards who did not permit the Black workers to enter South McKenzie except by permission.

2. The labor force is 98% Black, and only 38% of the Blacks were born in the surrounding area, thus it is largely a migrant labor force. Inadequate company housing forced this migrant labor force to leave their families at home in many cases thus weakening the family structure of these workers.

3. Segregated seating on boats, in cinemas, and the restricted entry into the white residential area generated strains in the Black community and helped lead to organization among Black workers. As the company attempted to co-opt the workers' organization by establishing company-controlled unions, the workers became more politicized.

4. An eight-week strike in 1947, union recognition in 1951, company infiltration of the workers' organization, corruption within the union, and wildcat strike activity in the period 1962-1970 (when 48 such strikes occurred) trace the history of industrial conflict in the bauxite region in Guyana. In 1965, 1,993 workers struck at the expense of $105,715 in lost wages. Most of the wildcat activity was over working conditions and general living conditions, including the residential and other segregation. This industrial and social conflict led to the nationalization of one of the firms in the industry in 1971, but it was argued that the Black managers are pursuing the same elitist policies vis-a-vis the workers as did the white managers who preceded them. Thus conflict and social strife continue.

The third panelist departed from the form of previous presentations and made remarks on "Puerto Rico: The Struggle Today," outlining the principle fronts of struggle among Puerto Ricans on the Island and inside the United States. The sharpest front of struggle inside Puerto Rico is around the question of the "super port"—a massive oil refinery complex being pushed by U.S. oil corporations such as Gulf, Shell, and Western. The "super port" is one of five which must be developed by 1980 if the energy needs of the U.S. are to be met. The construction of the port has been shown to have a potentially destructive impact on the natural environment of Puerto Rico (deep ports, pipelines, pollution, oil spills, etc.), and will cause a forced migration of people from the island.

Another front is the mass labor struggles occurring with increasing intensity over the last five years. They culminated last July in a firemen and electrical workers strike which paralyzed the island and forced the calling of the National Guard, the first time this has happened in over 20 years. Over one thousand workers met in the Congress of Socialist Workers and passed a series of resolutions calling for independence of Puerto Rico and other progressive measures.

A third front of struggle is represented by the struggles of Puerto Ricans in the United States who were mainly forced to leave Puerto Rico and come to the United States as a result of the intervention of U.S. capital transformation of the economy of Puerto Rico from sugar to light industry after World War II. Inside the U.S.,
Puerto Ricans represent a tremendous ally to the struggle for the national liberation of Puerto Rico. In addition to supporting this struggle for the liberation of the island, Puerto Ricans are taking an active lead in the struggle to liberate the United States through socialism.

The struggle around the Puerto Rican question in the United Nations and the recent upsurge of the struggles of militant students in Puerto Rico were also mentioned. The final front of struggle was in the area of ideological struggle. Formal independence and nationalization has not meant very much for countries in the Caribbean. They have been dead-end roads and cannot lead to any real long term change and development of the Puerto Rican economy. The question of what direction the change in Puerto Rico will take—what will national liberation mean—is a very significant one. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party believes that the victory of the ideological struggle "must point to the application of the world view of Marxism-Leninism to every nation, every people struggling for national liberation."

The fourth panelist discussed Cuba from the approach of "On Ending Underdevelopment in the Caribbean: The Cuban Model." The main points are summarized below:

1. It is important to develop a clear understanding of the Cuban revolution especially given the intense efforts of the U.S.-inspired economic and information blockade to prevent the Cuban model from succeeding and from being studied and adapted elsewhere in the Caribbean, in Latin America, and in the world.

2. The fact that Cuba represents the first socialist revolution in which Black people have played an important role and the fact that Cuba is gaining in popularity among the masses in other Caribbean countries, points to how the Caribbean peoples are relating to Cuba as a model for ending underdevelopment.

3. We find that before the 1959 revolution, Cuba was very much an underdeveloped and dependent economy almost identical to the present state of other Caribbean countries. U.S. firms controlled 50 per cent of the public services, 40 per cent of the raw sugar production, 25 per cent of all bank deposits, and 90 per cent of all telephone and electric services. In addition, land-ownership was highly concentrated with 8 per cent of all the farms comprising 71 per cent of all the arable land, with U.S. firms dominating this eight per cent.

4. Exports and imports reflected the domination of U.S. corporations over the pre-Revolutionary Cuban economy. In 1957, only two years before the victory of the Revolution, 58 per cent of the exports were to the United States. Between 1902 and 1957, 72 percent of Cuba's exports went to the U.S. Cuba was a one-crop economy operating as a colonial appendage of the U.S. providing the U.S. with sugar, which comprised 82 per cent of Cuba's exports over this period. Cuba also served as an important market for U.S. produced goods, with 72 per cent of Cuba's imports coming from the U.S. Twenty-two per cent of all food consumed in Cuba was imported from the U.S. while U.S. corporations allowed only 21 percent of Cuba's land to be under any type of cultivation preventing the growing of fresh crops. The move here was to make the Cubans dependent, and to create a labor force for the cane
fields. The object of all of this domination was to drain Cuba's resources into the pockets of U.S. corporations.

5. The socialist revolution in 1959 altered the structure of the Cuban economy by almost completely socializing the means of production and put Cuba on the path of social and economic reconstruction and development. The revolution took control of the Cuban economy out of the hands of a few foreign imperialists and their native Cuban lackeys and into the hands of the Cuban masses.

6. As a model for ending underdevelopment in the Caribbean, Cuba must be viewed in terms of its impact on improving the concrete material and social life of the Cuban people. This is important because the masses of people will only struggle around concrete improvements in the quality of their lives and not over abstract ideas in the heads of intellectuals or spokesmen. Cuba represents a most viable path in this regard. For example, outlay for social security, health, and education rose from $214 million to $850 million between 1958 and 1960. Between 1958 and 1968, there was a 100 per cent increase in land under cultivation, a 500 per cent increase in the number of tractors imported, a 200 per cent increase in the quality of nickel processed, and a 300 per cent increase in the number of hospital clinics. The infant mortality rate of 37.7 per 1000 in 1966 was the lowest in Latin America (the rate for nonwhites in the U.S. in 1966 was 36.7).

The Friday afternoon panel entitled "Racism, Strategies for Change, and National Development," involved these presentations. The first presentation concerned "Cooperatives--A Strategy for National Development." The main points follow:

1. The alternatives faced by Caribbean countries are threefold: development under capitalist auspices, which invariably means foreign domination; development under public ownership of the means of production; and development with cooperative institutions. The panelist argued the case for cooperatives.

2. Guyana declared itself a cooperative republic on February 23, 1970. The declaration was based on the historical identification of the peoples of Guyana with the cooperative ideal from the Amerindians to the freed slaves who, after emancipation in 1833, purchased and organized villages around the cooperative principle.

3. Self-help movements in contemporary Guyanese society also exhibit a high degree of cooperation, and the cooperative movement in Guyana is an attempt to mobilize and articulate this spirit of cooperation thereby directing it towards the goal of economic and social development.

4. The distributive system is capitalistically motivated, and one obvious place for the introduction of the cooperative principle would be in the distributive trades. Other sectors where the cooperative movement has gained a foothold is in the financial sector, where a Cooperative Bank has already been established in competition with the foreign private banks, and in the agricultural sector, where producers' cooperatives already exist to some degree.
5. There are problems inherent in cooperative organizations, such as the tendency for a few experts to dominate the internal management of the coop, and a partial answer to this and other problems such as the limited time horizon of the people would be to establish a cooperative college which would communicate the psychological and ideological intent of the movement while training managers and other personnel to serve in the cooperative organizations.

The Cuban experience represents the vanguard experiment in the Americas in the fight against the ills of racism. This is due to the fact that Cuba has broken the bonds of imperialist control, and has begun the historical task of socialist reconstruction. The Cuban historical experience was summarized into four stages:

1. 1510-1800 - The Spanish conquest, and colonial rule. During this period the racist genocide of the Carib and Arawak Indians (Amerindians) occurred and Black workers (slaves) from Africa were introduced.

2. 1800-1895 - Gradually, over the 19th century, the Cuban national bourgeoisie arose, and bourgeois democracy in the form of abolitionist sentiment made itself manifest. Jose Marti and Antonio Maceo were revolutionary democrats, who struggled in the Ten Years War (1868-1878) and succeeded in the Revolutionary War of Independence, (1896), well before American intervention in Cuban affairs in 1899.

3. 1895-1953 - This period saw the rise of a comprador bourgeoisie, U.S. intervention, the entrenchment of racism, and the consequent rise of Black nationalist groups.

4. 1953-1973 - The workers and peasants rose up in revolutionary armed struggle and seized State power, with which they began the task of constructing a socialist society. Racism was destroyed and social ideas were transformed.

The struggle against racism after the 1959 seizure of State power by the popular forces of the July 26th Movement was waged on four major fronts: (1) in the work fronts, (2) in the schools and through the mass media, (3) in cultural activities including museums and via the Cuban Folkloric Troupe, (4) in practical political work demonstrating the philosophic position of proletarian internationalism.

Cuba has not created a society without problems. But it has moved to a qualitatively higher level than all other societies in the Americas. This is true because Cuba has managed to alter social relationships in a fundamental way. Cuba has liberated the working class and the peasantry in such a way that these formerly oppressed groups have risen in unity to defeat racism, the ideological tool of monopoly capitalism. Cuba is the vanguard nation!
In Friday night's session, the anti-imperialist, anti-racist Black United Front position of the African Liberation Support Committee was presented by Brothers Gene Locke, international chairperson of ALSC, Tim Hector, ALSC representative to the Caribbean region, and Abdul Alkalimat, chairperson of the research and development committee of ALSC. The ALSC position is summarized in its slogan - Black Workers Take the Lead. Much evidence was given of the fact that in the Caribbean, Black workers have done just that.

Brother Hector gave a detailed, concrete analysis of the struggle against monopoly capitalism in his native Antigua and showed how Black workers have taken the lead there. The Caribbean was described as an important area in the struggle against colonialism, and its more subtle manifestation, neo-colonialism.

Each of the speakers referred to the striking contrast between U.S. imperialism and socialist Cuba, which represent the two extremes in the Caribbean. The Cuban case demonstrates what can happen when the State represents the aspirations of its people. Cuba has gained increasing recognition in the Caribbean and Prime Ministers Manley (Jamaica) and Burnham (Guyana), in response to the desires of the masses of their peoples have extended formal recognition to the government of Fidel Castro despite heavy opposition from the U.S. government.

Dawolu Gene Locke, the international chairperson of ALSC, strongly condemned the attitudes of many Blacks in the U.S. toward the Caribbean as a place for rest, recuperation and "par-dee-ing." He reiterated the anti-imperialist character of ALSC and the attempts of the organization to support anti-imperialist struggle anywhere it occurs. Locke suggested that the struggle against multi-national corporations, particularly those based in the U.S. which exploit our people all over the world, including the Caribbean, will assume a much higher priority in ALSC and called on the Caribbean Conference to begin the research and investigation needed to develop a sound ALSC strategy. "We support the right of the Puerto Rican people to be independent," Locke said, and called for more discussions between ALSC and the leaders of revolutionary movements in Puerto Rico and leaders of the anti-imperialist movement in Puerto Rican communities in the United States.

Locke said that ALSC viewed Cuba as a leading anti-imperialist force and stated because of our direct link with Cuba through the number of African people there, we have a direct responsibility and obligation to maintain the development of socialism in Cuba. He also indicated that the national executive committee will be studying the Caribbean situation even more intensely as a result of the Fisk Conference, and that a study trip is planned for the very near future. The purpose of the study trip is to gather concrete information with a view toward formulating a definitive ALSC position regarding the various problems existing in the Caribbean.

The final session endorsed the following resolution put forth by the Nashville African Liberation Committee:

"That this conference, "Crisis, Conflict, and Change: The Caribbean in the 1970's" support the program laid out by Dawolu Gene Locke by building ALSC in Nashville an in areas where others of us are from; and that we support the struggles in the Caribbean in general and the particular movements in Antigua, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico."
Capsule Report of Registration:

163 people were officially registered at the conference. (This figure does not include approximately 75 Fisk University students that attended the conference at some point.)

Aside from the Nashville community other cities represented included:
Pittsburgh, Pa.  Santa Barbara, Calif.
Wilberforce, Ohio  Princeton, New Jersey
Grambling, La.  Kingston, Jamaica
Houston, Texas  St. John's Antigua
Atlanta, Ga.
Washington, D.C.
Kansas City, Mo.
Jackson, Miss.
New York, N.Y.

Of the 163 registered participants approximately 25% were either from the Caribbean or had traveled to the Caribbean.

Part of the purpose of this conference can be summed up in the following slogans:

BUILD AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE!

FREE PUERTO RICO!

VIVA CUBA!

BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD TO TRANSFORM THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT INTO AN EVEN MORE VITAL PART OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT THE WORLD OVER!
AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

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