Groundings

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GROUNDINGS A PUBLICATION OF THE WALTER RODNEY FOUNDATION

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Cover Image: "Talking Drum" by Bruce Phillips 24" x 24", Mixed Media. Created in 2010.

The talking drum originates out of West Africa and the pitch of the drum can be regulated to mimic human speech. The drum was said to be a way of communicating before radios and phones: communicating history, communicating messages across distances, and a way for people to come together and settle disputes.

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Greetings!

1

We welcome you to this inaugural issue of *Groundings*, a publication of <u>The Walter Rodney Foundation</u>. We want to share with you news about the Foundation's activities and to provide a platform for discussion and engagement on issues related to the ideas of Walter Rodney.

Groundings takes its name from the title of Walter Rodney's book, *The Groundings with My Brothers*, published shortly after Walter Rodney's expulsion from Jamaica in 1968. As significantly, we also take the name from the process of grounding that Walter Rodney spoke about in that text. Grounding is a learning experience, a process of gaining real knowledge. The key is listening carefully to get the message; it requires having the humility to receive information from those that society considers inferior.

For Walter Rodney, groundings were not isolated events. "*Groundings* exemplified his approach to life; that of an integrated and inseparable academic and activist in pursuit of equality, justice and a common humanity. It was an organic practice that connected him with working class people in the Caribbean, Africa and throughout the world."¹

Grounding allows us to take account of the specifics of our respective histories, enables oppressed people and those fighting for social justice to share experiences and work together, irrespective of backgrounds, levels of education or the forms of power with which we are confronted. Grounding is an engaged political practice, a pedagogical tool, as well as a philosophical orientation.

The goal of *Groundings* is to support struggles for social justice and liberation in the global South, especially in Africa and the Caribbean. It aims to provide a safe space for discussions, reflections, engagement and the building of solidarity with those in struggle for a better world; for a common humanity.

We welcome contributions to *Groundings*. These should be short (no more than 3000 words), clearly written, with a minimal use of jargon. We welcome critical analyses but not profanity. Articles, book reviews, commentary, letters to the editors, poems and other forms of artistic expression should be sent to <u>GroundingsJournal@gmail.com</u>. It is not our intent to publish everything that is submitted.

In this inaugural issue, we report on the 10th Annual Walter Rodney Symposium, held in March 2013, and on the inaugural Walter Rodney Public Speakers Series held in Atlanta during the Spring of 2013.

Readers will recall the proposal by the Republic of South Africa to posthumously bestow the *Oliver Tambo Award* to Forbes Burnham, a former Guyanese president, under whose rule and it is said direction, Rodney was assassinated. A global campaign resulted in the decision being rescinded by the South African government. Our short review essay reflects on these events, suggesting that the issue may not yet be fully resolved.

We carry a report on the long overdue International Commission of Inquiry into the death of Walter Rodney, which is now formally underway. We feature an article by long-time Rodney family friend and comrade Eusi Kwayana. And to round out our issues, we will always pay homage to those who struggled alongside Rodney, or those who worked tirelessly for our common humanity, who have recently left us to join our ancestors.

Due to the production delays in getting this initial issue out, we are reporting on the now somewhat distant but nonetheless historically significant WRF events of 2013, with the intention of catching up on reportage of Spring 2014 events in a 2nd issue to follow soon. Please bear with us while we get caught up, and become more current moving forward. Ashe.

Jesse Benjamin Firoze Manji Aajay Murphy Asha T. Rodney

WALTER RODNEY SYMPOSIUM ---REPORT

The 10th Annual Walter Rodney Symposium

March 22nd - 23rd, 2013

"Reflections, Groundings and Advancing the Legacy"

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

The keynote speaker for the Tenth Annual Walter Rodney Symposium was *Howard Dodson*, former Director of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and current Director of Moorland-Spingarn Research Center and Howard University Libraries.

Dodson addressed the historical context in which Rodney's work is grounded, the importance of collecting, and preserving the Walter Rodney Papers and making the collection available for research, study and interpretation. He also addressed Walter Rodney's interactions with the Institute of the Black World.

HIGHLIGHTS

REMARKS from *Dr. The Honorable Ralph E. Gonsalves*, Prime Minister, St. Vincent and the Grenadines

CONVERSATIONS with *Dr. Patricia Rodney* and *Donald Rodney*, *Esq.* (Wife and Brother of Dr. Walter Rodney)

ACADEMIC PANEL

Dr. Ayanna Armstrong, Clark Atlanta University; Dr. Paget Henry, Brown University; Dr. Kurt Young, University of Central Florida; Dr. Geoffroy de Laforcade, Norfolk State University; Dr. Jesse Benjamin, Chair, African and African Diaspora Studies, Kennesaw State University

PANEL

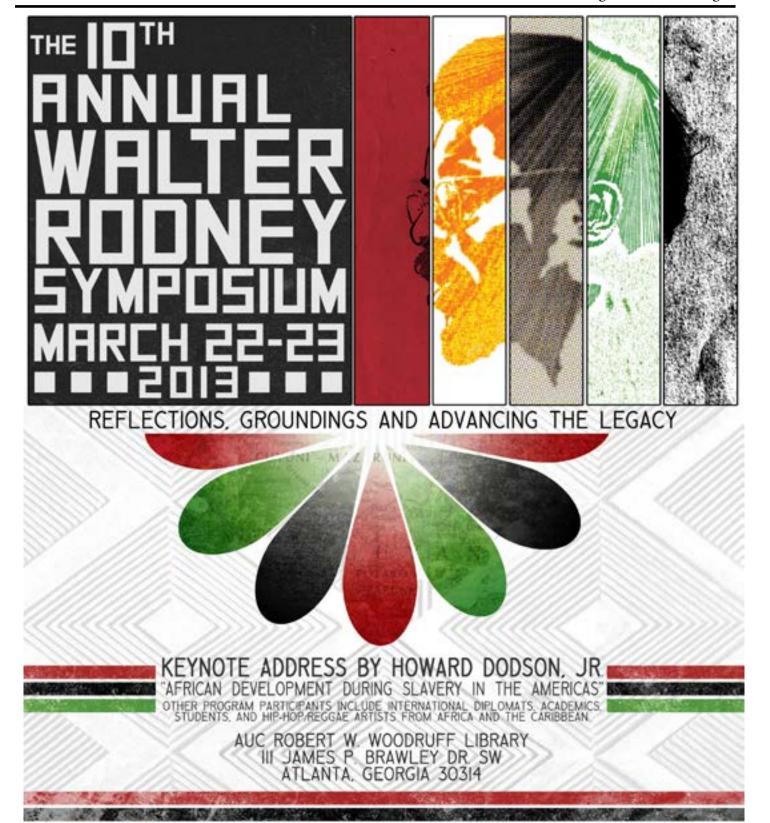
Ambassador Jesus "Chucho" Garcia, Venezuelan Ambassador to Angola; Ambassador Camillo Gonsalves, UN Ambassador, St. Vincent and the Grenadines; Dr. Norman Girvan, Professor Emeritus, University of the West Indies; Bassey Ewa Henshaw, Former Nigerian Senator & Immediate Past Pres. of The Parliamentarians for Global Action; Dr. Karim F. Hirji, Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Dr. Keith Jennings, Regional Director for Southern and East Africa, National Democratic Institute; Dr. Hashim Gibrill, former Chair of Political Science Department, Clark Atlanta University.

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS from *Nate Darcus* (Norfolk State University), *Khalfani Lawson* (KSU), *Aajay Murphy* (KSU), and *Silvia Trejo* (KSU)

POETRY by Budd Hall (Canada)

CULTURAL LINEUP featuring Buddha Blaze (Kenya), Humanist (Burkina Faso/France), and Waterflow (Senegal)

Held at the Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library, 111 James P. Brawley Dr. SW, Atlanta, GA.



FOR MORE INFORMATION: VISIT WWW.WALTERRODNEYFOUNDATION.ORG OR CALL (404) 978-2045

THE WALTER RODNEY FOUNDATION IN COLLABORATION WITH

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, ALTANTA UNIVERSTY CENTER ROBERT W. WOODRUFF LIBRARY, CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, AFRICAN AND AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES AT KENNESAW STATE UNIVERSITY AND THE WOMEN'S RESEARCH AND RESOURCE CENTER AT SPELMAN COLLEGE



The audience watches as Dr. Paget Henry presents "Hope and Struggle: Walter Rodney as I Knew Him." This is the main exhibition hall at the AUC's Robert W. Woodruff Library, where most of the Walter Rodney Symposia have been held each year, across from the RWWL's archives, where the Walter Rodney Papers are held.



From L to R: Shaka Rodney, Abena Krow-Rodney, Dr. Howard Dodson, Dr. Patricia Rodney,



Dr. Beverley Guy-Sheftall, Director of the Women's Research and Resource Center at Spelman College, delivers welcoming remarks on Friday, March 22.



Keynote Address: Dr. Howard Dodson, Director of Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, presenting "African Development During Slavery in the Americas."



Dr. The Honorable Ralph E. Gonsalves, Prime Minister, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, recalls his time with Dr. Rodney in Jamaica.



Student Panel: (from L to R) Moderator Dr. Jesse Benjamin, KSU; Khalfani Lawson, KSU; Aajay Murphy, KSU; Silvia Trejo, KSU; and Nate Darcus, Norfolk State Univ. Student.



Dr. Patricia Rodney, chair of the Walter Rodney Foundation.



The audience directs their attention to a question during the Q&A session.



Dr. Fragano Ledgister, Clark Atlanta University, Political Science, engages during Q&A.



Dr. Geoffroy de Laforcade, Norfolk State Univ.ersity interacts with students.



Kanini Z. Rodney-Phillips with neice, Asia, and Keith Jennings.



Dr. Jesse Benjamin, WRF board member.



Dr. Paget Henry, Professor of Africana Studies and Sociology, Interim Chair, Brown Univ.



The audience patiently waits between panels while Rawle Collins (far L.) provides music.

WALTER RODNEY SPEAKER'S SERIES ---REPORT

The 1st Annual Walter Rodney Speaker's Series *January - May, 2013* Thursdays, 5-7pm at the Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library

OVERVIEW

Professor Jesse Benjamin, with generous base-support from a Georgia Humanities Council Grant, the AUC Robert W. Woodruff Library, the Walter Rodney Foundation, Kennesaw State University, and Clark Atlanta University, established a (now annual) public lecture series that explores the life and work of Dr. Walter Rodney and his core contributions to Pan-Africanism, development theory, emancipatory pedagogy, and theories of race and class in the Caribbean, Africa and the rest of the world. This project seeks to keep Dr. Rodney's scholarship, perspectives and memory alive; to introduce or re-introduce a cross-section of the Georgia public to this great man; and to explore how his legacy remains relevant to the issues, struggles, and theories of the present day.

The concept was respectfully and "flagrantly" copied from the innovative pedagogic example of the late Dr. Vincent Harding (a former comrade of Dr. Rodney), who conducted a groundbreaking public lecture series and associated Morehouse College class around the life and work of Martin Luther King in 2012. Like that inspirational series, also held at the AUC's Robert W. Woodruff Library, the Walter Rodney Speakers Series combines a weekly public lecture or discussion panel with a cohort of Atlanta University Center and Kennesaw State University students who attend for college credit, do assigned readings, and stay for at least an extra hour of discussion and analysis. This emerging praxis seeks to emulate the models of Rodney and Harding in its delivery, while combining community members, high school students, college and graduate students, and senior scholars in complex dialogue about urgent contemporary social issues and theories.

READINGS

BOOKS:

Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1972 (rev'd in 1981); now published by Pambazuka Press.

Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks, Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990.

Walter Rodney, *Groundings with my Brothers*, London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1969 (and Chicago: Research Associates School Times Publications, 1990).

Walter Rodney, *History of the Guyanese Working People*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Aime Cesaire, Discourse on Colonialism, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1955, 2001.

Derrick E. White, *The Challenge of Blackness: The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

ARTICLES:

Walter Rodney, "Upper Guinea and the Significance of the Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World," *The Journal of Negro History* LIV(4), October 1969.

Anthony Bogues, "Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics: Walter Rodney and the Politics of The Groundings with My Brothers," *Boundary* 2, 36:1, 2009, pp. 127-147.

STUDENT RESPONSE

"The experiences granted to me through this class were remarkable and have shaped my perspective as a student and now activist immensely. From the first day driving down to the Woodruff to getting to meet interesting people and professors from around the globe who were passionate about what they were sharing with us, the whole experience of this class was unforgettable."

- Madyson Price, first year student at KSU





Dr. Akinyele Umoja, Georgia State University, presents "Groundings With My Brothers: 1968 and Black Power Worldwide" to a large audience of students and community members.



Dr. Hashim Gibrill, Clark Atlanta University, lectures on "Rodney's History of the Upper Guinea Coast: Rewriting History and the World."



Susan Ross, Dr. Derrick White, and Dr. Bill Strickland pose with Dr. Jesse Benjamin at the W.E.B. DuBois & the Wings of Atl. Conference (CAU) after a panel on Dr. Walter Rodney.



 $\label{thm:continuous} The Clark Atlanta University and Kennesaw State University student participants of the class-based aspect of the Speakers' Series pose with their professor, Dr. Jesse Benjamin.$



From L to R: Dr. Jesse Benjamin, Dr. Patricia Rodney, Dr. Mark Armstrong, community leader and State Representative "Able" Mable Thomas, and Dr. Nobel Maseru before Healthcare panel.



Kennesaw State professors lead a roundtable on the African diaspora in Latin America (from L to R): Dr. Neysa Figueroa, Dr. Ernesto Silva, Dr. Seneca Vaught, and Dr. Gabriel Soldatenko.



 $\label{thm:conditional} \mbox{Dr. Beverley Guy-Sheftall delivers "Gender in Pan-African Theory and Practice."}$



Post-Panel photo op (From L to R): Dr. Hashim Gibrill, Dr. Jesse Benjamin, Jesus "Chucho" Garcia, and Dr. Patricia Rodney.



Babacar MBow on "Reading Rodney Through the Lyrics of Fela Kuti."



Outspoken social commentator and rapper from Mexico City, BocaFloja, speaks to the "African Diaspora in Latin America: Hip-Hop as Social Movement."



The panel on Global Health featured (from L to R) Dr. Mark Armstrong, Dr. Patricia Rodney, and Dr. Nobel Maseru.



Dr. Patricia Rodney poses with Dr. Anani Dzidzienyo after his lecture on "The Significance of Walter Rodney for Continental and Diasporic Africans."



Jesus "Chucho" Garcia with translator José G. Pérez during the former's talk on current Venezualan politics.



The audience is engaged during Dr. Firoze Manji's presentation on "The Relevance of Walter Rodney to the Uprisings on the African Continent Today: The Importance of Memory," where, among other things, he explained that poverty is not a normal human condition, but instead we need to explain "processes of impoverishment."

SPECIAL ATTENTION

Reflections on the Rescinded Oliver R. Tambo Award to Guyana's Forbes Burnham

Patricia Rodney Asha Rodney Jesse Benjamin Aajay Murphy

BACKGROUND

The Order of the Companion of O. R. Tambo, an award inaugurated in 2002, is granted by the President of South Africa to foreign dignitaries who have "promoted South African interests and aspirations through cooperation, solidarity, and support." On April 18th, 2013 it was announced publicly by the Burnham family and in the Guyanese press that the award would be conferred on the late and former President Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham for his "integral part in supporting the boycott against South Africa during the apartheid era and support for the liberation movements and freedom fighters in South Africa."

Over the next few days, details and additional news about the intended award emerged across numerous Caribbean and South African sites, together with a sense of urgency in regard to protest, because the award was to be conferred on the 27th of April, only 9 days after breaking the news to the public.

Two petitions emerged and began to circulate widely: one at Change.org and another at Avaaz.org, both created on April 25th, 2013, and both rapidly reaching a worldwide audience through social media engagement and cross-linking between communities. Among other things, these petitions linked the Burnham government to gross violations of human rights, and the deaths of community leaders, including but not limited to the assassination of Dr. Walter Rodney.

Several published statements emerged, calling for the award to be rescinded. Horace Campbell's pointedly titled essay: "Is the ANC Rewarding Forbes Burnham for the Assassination of Walter Rodney?" circulated within African Studies circles starting April 21st and was published two days later by South Africa's Amandla, among other places. Private individuals sent letters of protest to the South African leadership. Many reporters around the world covered the story of the award and its responses.

The Rodney Family appealed directly to President Jacob Zuma, President of The Republic of South Africa, requesting that he intervene to withdraw or rescind the award. The family stated that it was the people of Guyana who made personal sacrifices to contribute to and stand in solidarity with the struggles of the South African people for their fight against apartheid, not the then President. The letter noted that though Burnham may have portrayed himself as a freedom fighter to the world, the reality and history of Guyana clearly shows that he was a dictator and leader of a brutal and murderous regime at home. The family reiterated that it was concerned and appalled that such a man could even be nominated for such a prestigious award.

On April 27, 2013, the date the award was to be given, and with Burnham's family members on South African soil to receive it, the South African Government announced that it had deferred the award indefinitely. A statement from the Board of Directors of the Walter Rodney Foundation soon followed, expressing "support [for] the action taken by the South African government to

¹ Stabroek Editor, "Burnham to be Honoured with Oliver Tambo Award," published at www.stabroeknews.com on April 18, 2013. Click here for full article.

indefinitely defer the award," and, further, joining "the call for cancellation of the Award to Forbes Burnham." To date, no further action has been announced by the South African government. However, it is important to remain attentive to this matter, as it has been reported that there have been attempts to reverse this decision and move forward with the award.

DICTATORS AND THE CLOAK OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

It is not uncommon for dictators to disguise their domestic actions with socialist rhetoric or progressive foreign policy actions on occasion, in the hope of confusing international criticism or garnering international support, or even to muddy the waters within their national territories. History is replete with examples of this kind, especially in the 20th and 21st centuries, so it came as a surprise that the family and/or supporters of Burnham were able to get as far in the award conferral process as they did. It has been reported that they lobbied for the Tambo award for Burnham soon after former Guyanese President Cheddi Jagan received the O. R. Tambo Award in 2005.

One of the above referenced petitions states that the government of Burnham was a "corrupt, brutal and murderous regime, replete with election rigging, illegal referendums, and an imposed Constitution in 1980. Internationally, it is also known that Burnham was an agent of imperialism, associated with the foreign policy goals of the US, France and other colonial powers. No amount of superficially progressive foreign policy rhetoric can be allowed to cover up, then or now, the violence of Burnham's domestic policies and their legacies. This award sets a dangerous precedent, whereby other dictators who cloaked themselves in external Pan-Africanist, anti-apartheid, or anti-colonial rhetoric, while pursuing their despotic practices at home, may now become eligible for such awards and honors."

One reason the Tambo Award to Burnham was resisted in South Africa and abroad was that it sullied the good names of Oliver Tambo and the ANC. Another was that it set a bad precedent for other dictators who would try to purchase good names for themselves internationally through occasional acts of solidarity or charity abroad, while maintaining power domestically through

human rights abuses and violence. As Walter Rodney himself pointed out, as did other Pan-African and anticolonial scholars, the era of colonial independence was rife with neo-colonial politics and leadership.

Many cases are well known, such as that of Jomo Kenyatta, who was cultivated by the British in prison because, among other things, he was willing to leave appropriated land in the hands of the white settlers of the colonial highlands around Nairobi. It is notable that Kenyatta nevertheless functioned as a 'liberator' and 'anti-colonial hero' in some African-American and international circles, due to his rhetoric and posturing, even while he functioned as a dictator, repressing dissent, and maintaining the erasure of Dedan Kimathi and other freedom fighters who paid with their lives during the "Mau Mau" struggles for Independence.

Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral and Walter Rodney were instrumental in developing a critique of neo-colonialism even while formal colonialism was still

OLIVER TAMBO BIOGRAPHY

In order for our readers to better understand the importance and stature of Oliver Tambo in the history of South Africa and the rise of the African National Congress, we provide this brief outline, with the caveat that such a short review cannot possibly do justice to the complexity and longevity of this lifelong comrade of the oppressed.

Oliver Reginald Kaizana Tambo entered the world on October 27th, 1917 in the village of Kantolo in the district of Mbizana, Mpondoland (Now Eastern Cape), South Africa. Born into a family of recent Christian converts, his schooling followed their faith: Ludeke Methodist Church at age seven, finishing primary education at the Holy Cross Mission, and high school at St. Peter's Secondary School in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. By matriculating at the top of his class, Tambo won a scholarship from the Transkei Bhunga to attend the University College of Fort Hare.

It was at Fort Hare that Tambo became involved in politics. After graduating with a Bachelor of Science in 1941, he led a student boycott demanding a democratically elected Student's Representative Council which ultimately led to his expulsion and inability to complete an honors degree. It was shortly thereafter that his political action...

--- TAMBO BIO CONT. ---

continued. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1943 while it was under Anton Lembede's leadership, and quickly organized with others, including Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Ashby Mda, Anton Lembede, Dr. William Nkomo, Dr. C. M. Majombozi and others, to build the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) as a way to bring the ANC message to the masses. It aimed to do so through the Programme of Action, which later became adopted by the ANC nationally.

The ANCYL was grounded in militant African nationalist discourse that centered on the principle of national selfdetermination. Its focus was on reaching students and the average working population, and Tambo excelled in connecting with his brothers and sisters. Because of his determination and hard work in the ANCYL, Tambo was elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC in 1948. With the Programme of Action as a national platform, the ANC shifted its social organizing from a casual method of politicking to grassroots activism that involved large-scale nonviolent resistance; Tambo was involved every step of the way. He rose in the ranks to Secretary General in 1955 after Sisulu was banned by the government under the Suppression of Communism Act. In 1955, the ANC collaborated with the South African Communist Party (SACP), South African Congress of Democrats (COD), Coloured People's Congress (CPC), South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), ...

in its final stages of downfall. They could see the beginnings of a neo-colonial period in which racial mystification, false solidarities, and claims of Left solidarity would be used to create confusion, divide the population along historically manipulated lines, and thereby extend their dictatorial rule. The racial confusion of having a dictator who looked like the oppressed mass of the population, was in some ways a new and improved version of colonial rule; since it took away the blatant apartheid manifestation of outside white rule by imperial powers. As Noam Chomsky put it in a recent interview discussing the case of Israel and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, the post-apartheid plan was engineered to: "keep the socioeconomic system and allow - [to] put it metaphorically - allow blacks some black faces in the limousines." But if the extractive and oppressive colonial relations remained the same, or intensified, as they did under Mobutu in Congo after the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, replete with CIA and Belgian patronage, no amount of Afro-centric garb should be able to cover up blatant neo-colonial policies. Like Kenyatta, Mobutu nonetheless managed to confuse some with his rhetoric, as was the case during his brilliantly

staged "Rumble in the Jungle" between Muhammad Ali and George Forman in 1974.

All too common in post-colonial African political practice, neo-colonialism can also be seen in the Caribbean context. One example from a recently published book is insightful. The authors note that in 1969, President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria convened the 1st Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers, on behalf of his government, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which he also headed at that time. Leaders and delegations from numerous independent African and Caribbean nations, and representatives of the Black Panther Party, convened at the former headquarters of the Algerian National Liberation Front, to discuss "the class character of the global liberation struggle." The representative from Haiti described a situation that has become all too familiar:

"I would like to say a few words about Duvalier who rules our country, who is Black, who has said that he is in favor of "Negritude" and is one of the worst oppressors that has been known. The experience with Duvalier shows clearly how "Negritude," which at one point of history, de-colonization, was effective and did achieve a certain amount of liberation and repersonalization of peoples, how this same concept of "Negritude" now turns back against people. And in the case of Duvalier proves that we have to wage a class struggle. And that in the context of this class struggle, we Black people - if we begin to depend on the power of money, on the power structure and money - we also then become tyrants, dictators, or tonton Macoutes as in the case of Haiti. And this is why one must destroy all the capitalist structures which create monsters, be they White, Black, or Yellow."²

Oliver Tambo was one of the great leaders of the African National Congress, and he always stood

² Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party, Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013, p. 317.

against superficial cover-ups of underlying oppression and injustices. This is one of the reasons he was such a prominent leader in building the international solidarity movement against South African apartheid. He was a sharp critic of neo-colonialism, racial manipulation, divide and conquer practices, and pervasive class exploitation. South Africa's naming of its highest award in his name makes great sense, and carries great weight in the world of freedom fighters and social justice advocates, but it also bears with it the responsibility of living up to his immense legacy of integrity and commitment, not to mention the historical redress of the whitewashing of history by the colonial and imperial victors of yesteryear.

WHY RODNEY AND TAMBO'S LEGACY WERE INTEGRAL TO THE RESCINDING OF THE AWARD

Dr. Walter Rodney, a leading political activist and international scholar, was assassinated in Guyana by the Burnham regime on June 13, 1980. Rodney's murder was preceded by killings of members of the Working Peoples Alliance and others who were vocal of government injustices, election rigging, the illegal 1978 referendum and the still problematic 1980 Constitution. Rodney had just returned from the Zimbabwe independence celebrations at the invitation of the President Mugabe when he was killed.

In addition to his academic work at the University, Rodney was a strong supporter of several liberation movements, including the African National Congress (ANC), Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), The Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Walter Rodney lived and worked at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania during the periods 1966-1967 and 1969-1974. Rodney was instrumental in what became known as the Dar-es-Salaam 'school' of social theory and praxis directed toward Tanzanian 'socialism'. He

wrote critical pieces on Tanzanian *Ujamaa*, imperialism, underdevelopment, and the problems of state and class formation in Africa. Many of Rodney's articles that were written in Tanzania appeared in *Maji Maji*, the discussion journal of the TANU Youth League at the University. In addition to his work on campus, Rodney was a significant contributor to *Cheche*, the magazine of the University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF); conducted lectures in the USARF self-education classes; worked in cooperative villages and student-run farms; attended symposia, demonstrations and exhibitions about the war in Vietnam and against Portuguese colonial rule and apartheid South Africa, and participated with West African colleagues on the UNESCO African History Project.

Rodney traveled within the continent and was deeply committed to many African liberation struggles, including those in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. From Tanzania to Uganda to Nairobi, Walter lectured, debated and addressed gatherings on liberation struggles. It was this involvement with liberation struggles that informed

--- TAMBO BIO CONT. ---

South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and the Federation of South African Women under the moniker "The Congress Alliance." The Freedom Charter was ratified at the Congress of the People, a mass rally held at Kliptown, Soweto in June 1955.

A year later, Tambo, Mandela and 154 others involved in the Congress Alliance were arrested in a raid under the suspicion of treason. Tambo was released shortly thereafter because of a lack of evidence, and then took up residence in exile in Lusaka, Zambia. His comrades, however, were forced into a five-year trial, which came to be known as the 1956 Treason Trial, that ended in March of 1961 with a not guilty verdict.

In 1958, Tambo officially accepted the titled of Deputy President of the ANC. In the two years leading up to the Sharpeville Massacre, Tambo revised the ANC's constitution so extensively that it became known as the Tambo Constitution. Changes included more constitutional recognition of the ANCYL and the ANC's Women's League, endorsement of non-racialism, the Freedom Charter, and more.

Two years into his deputy presidency, Tambo went into exile again, but all the while remained focused on the task at hand: the end of apartheid. He traveled extensively during his exile, fostering relationships with government officials from a multitude of countries, including Denmark, Tanzania, Sweden, the USSR, and China. ...

--- TAMBO BIO CONT. ---

The apartheid government began to fear the power and momentum of the ANC and frequently acted out violently against the congress. To combat increasing government intervention, the ANC established Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), or "Spear of the Nation," in 1961 as a military wing that sought to prevent harassment of the ANC and to sabotage the South African government's racist apartheid-driven regime. Military camps were established throughout neighboring countries after MK was forced out by the government, and the military wing's efforts continued throughout the 1980s.

A number of contributing factors during the 1970s left apartheid in South Africa on shaky ground. Tambo relentlessly travelled to build regional and international support; colonialism was under full attack on the continent; Black Power gained support in the United States; news coverage expanded, and; the Soweto Uprising all penetrated the walls of apartheid. Struggle on the ground in South Africa intensified, while the boycott/divestment/sanctions campaign gained international momentum and force.

The 1980s were a period of continued globetrotting for Tambo. He delivered talks in London, Germany, Lusaka, New York, Harare, and Glasgow and to the United Nations. His ability to build momentum for the cause was unrivaled. Then, after nearly thirty years in exile, Tambo finally returned home to South Africa, newly free from apartheid, in December, 1990. Shortly thereafter, he was installed as Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare and remained in that position until his death in Johannesburg on April 24th, 1993.

much of his work in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

In its outcry regarding the planned Tambo award to Burnham, the Rodney family urged that it was critical to examine the historical basis for this national award, the legacy of Oliver Tambo, and whether history would seek to document his name with that of Forbes Burnham. The Rodney family stated that to place the name of Forbes Burnham alongside that of such an illustrious man as Tambo is reprehensible and disturbing in any level of discourse.

Between 1998 and 2002, the Presidential Advisory Council on National Orders revised the orders to reflect the spirit of a non-racial, non-sexist democracy where a culture of human rights prevails. It is uncontroverted that the late Oliver Reginald Tambo dedicated his life to overthrowing the Apartheid regime by relentlessly mobilizing fellow citizens and world opinion against the Apartheid ideology and regime. Tambo was known in the liberation movement for his gentle character and compassionate qualities. It is said that his benevolence and personal concern for the plight of freedom fighters and their conditions in the field endeared him to thousands of liberation fighters.

The conduct and character of the Burnham government appear in stark contrast to the reasons the award was established. Burnham and his regime

promoted inherently racist policies and blatantly ignored human and civil rights; racial inequity and dichotomy amongst Indians and Africans were promoted in his own homeland, while superficially spouting anti-apartheid rhetoric overseas. Burnham imposed and exacted compliance through threats of job loss and social exclusion and sanctioned the detention, prosecution and killing of those that opposed his rule. This was a dictatorship and a brutally malevolent regime.

The family and the global community expresses gratitude to the government and the people of South Africa for rescinding and denouncing the planned award that would have sullied and discredited the record of South Africa's National Orders, the ANC legacy and the legacy of Oliver Tambo, but that also would have been a gross insult to all who fought and gave their lives for the freedom of South Africa, for freedom in Guyana and the African Diaspora.

CONCLUSION

The affront to the work, life and legacy of Walter Rodney has been recognized by the world and addressed with expediency by the South African government. What ensued was a recognition of a flaw in the process that has led the people of South Africa and its leadership to dialogue about its internal policies surrounding protocol and participation in the process for accepting nominees and selecting awardees of their nation's highest awards. Vigilance is necessary on two fronts. First, to ensure that this planned award to Burnham is never awarded. Second, to ensure that nominees of national awards of this type are fully vetted and investigated, such that the whitewashing or rewriting of history does not happen on our watch.

International Commission of Inquiry into the Death of Dr. Walter Rodney

On June 13, 1980, Walter Anthony Rodney was killed by a bomb blast in Georgetown, Guyana. His death has been called an assassination committed by the then ruling People's National Congress, based on the known facts and circumstances surrounding his death. On June 13, 2013, the Government of the Republic of Guyana, following a direct request from the Rodney Family, announced that it approved the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry (Rodney COI) into the assassination of Dr. Walter Rodney.

The Commission is a Presidential Commission - the Act issuing the Commission, including its Terms of Reference, was published in the Official Gazette of Guyana on February 8, 2014. The Commission is investigating the years 1978-1980, including the context and environment of the time, up to and including Dr. Rodney's assassination to determine why Rodney was killed and by whom.

Sir Richard Cheltenham, K.A., Q.C, Ph.D, Chairman (Barbados), Mrs. Jaqueline Samuels-Brown, Q.C. (Jamaica) and Mr. Seenath Jairam, S.C. (Guyana/Trinidad) comprise the Commission. The work of the Commission is in progress.

Several past investigations have been conducted, but none with the resources, authority, scope, magnitude or mandate of the Rodney COI. The number of witnesses is expected to reach 100 - some witnesses have requested that they remain anonymous, due to the sensitive nature of their testimony. All witnesses have been granted immunity.

There has been both support and opposition to the Rodney COI. Those opposed cite the cost, remoteness in time, the terms of reference, the appointment of one of the judges, the poisoning of the political environment and the potential of opening a so-called "Pandora's Box". Those in support herald the COI as long overdue, worth the investment of time and resources, the timeliness with respect to the dwindling number of living witnesses, the possibility of finally discovering the truth and the potential for healing

The Rodney COI is committed to transparency, impartiality and integrity – all of the hearings are public. The first session was held on April 28 - May 2, 2014. The Rodney Commission is in its second session of hearings, May 27 – June 6. During its sitting sessions, the Rodney COI is generally from 9-1:30 pm, subject to specific scheduling updates. The proceedings can be viewed online at http://www.ncnguyana.com/home/, and Demerara Waves is carrying the audio live at (http://www.caribnewsdesk.com/).

The public is invited to provide any and all leads, records, articles, statements, reports, publications, testimony and/or information. All information, questions or concerns should be directed to the Secretariat, as follows:

WALTER RODNEY COMMISSION of INQUIRY
Top Floor, Supreme Court Library Building, Supreme Court
Avenue of the Republic & Charlotte Street
Georgetown, Demerara
GUYANA

Guyana's President Visits Atlanta



His Excellency Donald Ramotar viewing documents in the Walter Rodney Papers collection.

The President of the Republic of Guyana, His Excellency Donald Ramotar, visited the Archives and Special Collections of the Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library (AUC RWWL) in Atlanta, GA, in September 2013. This was the first visit of a sitting President to the AUC RWWL and the first President of Guyana to view the Walter Rodney Papers.

The Walter Rodney Papers are housed at the AUC RWWL and were donated by the Rodney Family in 2004. It is the largest and most comprehensive collection of writings, speeches, correspondence, photographs, audiotapes and documents created by and about Walter Rodney anywhere in the world.

The President was accompanied by Bayney Karran, Ambassador of Guyana to the US and to the Organisation of American States. The visit was organized in part by Dr. Keith Jennings and was facilitated by Andrea Jackson, Head of Archives Research Center.



From L-to-R: Bayney Karran, Andrea Jackson and President Ramotar at the AUC RWWI

WALTER RODNEY REMEMBERED

BENIN: Dr. Walter Rodney is Memorialized in Bronze



Jesus "Chucho" Garcia, WRF Advisory Council Member and Venezuelan Ambassador to Mali and Burkina Faso, poses with the statue of Dr. Walter Rodney in Benin. The sculpture was created by Dr. Honaret Aguessy, the Director of the Research Center in Ouidah (alternately Whydah), Benin, in front of the Library.

GUYANA: Inaugural Tapeball Competition to Honor Dr. Rodney



In June of 2013, the Progressive Youth Organization launched the PYO Championship League cricket competition in memory of Dr. Walter Rodney. The $Guyana\ Times$ covered the event with great detail.

Walter Rodney's Removal: Thirty-Three Years After

Eusi Kwayana

Thirty-three years after his violent and uninvestigated removal from this planet and from the company of his family, friends, students, and compatriots, his comrades and the world community that embraced him, Walter Rodney continues to make history. Apart from the fact that institutions of learning find his written works and ideas highly relevant in the twenty -first century, and necessary to the understanding of the Global human experience, The Walter Rodney Foundation inspired and created by his widow Dr Patricia Rodney, has been tireless in making sure that his contribution to social thought in a short life span of thirty-eight years is continually available to the new generations that seek a distant dialogue with human understanding.

The Walter Rodney Foundation's website has announced that last September Dr. Patricia, Chair and CEO accepted an invitation to the People's Republic of China and held conversations with Ms. Gao Mingxiu, Vice Director of the Global and Regional Issues Publications Center, and Dr. Li Anshan, the highly placed and erudite Chinese international academic, and discussed an existing agreement to translate *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* into Mandarin Chinese, and to publish it in China. Dr. Li who heads the School of Social Sciences of Peking University and has wide African and international experience is charged with the translation. More information appears on the popular website (www.walterrodneyfoundation.org). The site omits reference to Dr Patricia Rodney's well received presentation in Beijing. These notes make some historic connections touching the exciting project.

Rodney comes in the trail of a few eminent African with non-governmental status from the Western Hemisphere who have been warmly embraced by the Chinese at official, academic and popular levels. The celebrated Paul Robeson was a household name in China especially as he sang in Chinese and English the national song of China (Chi Lai!), introducing it with the explanation: "This is a song born in the struggle of the brave Chinese people. It begins, "Chi Lai! Arise you who refuse to be bond slaves, and ends 'Chen Jing'-March on".

Closer to the forthcoming publication of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* in the most populated country on earth, and Dr. Patricia Rodney's warm reception in Beijing, is the formal dinner held in Beijing on February 21, 1959 in honor of the venerable W.E.B. Du Bois, to celebrate with W.E.B. Du Bois, the scholars' scholar, peace and liberation warrior, brother of all the oppressed, acclaimed world figure and victim of U.S. oppression his 91st birthday. During that same day Du Bois addressed in a speech to a thousand students and faculty at the University of Peking, his last message directed to the peoples of China and Africa. The speech was reported in the *New York Times*.

Born in the United States of America and in Guyana respectively, a quarter of a century apart, Du Bois and Rodney were different persons of different generations. One came out of the struggle against Dr. Modibo Kadalie's "classical" colonialism. The younger man came out of the struggle of the beguiling, Cold War period after World War Two. Kagalie styles this "post-colonial imperialism". One endured to become a venerable veteran world figure and celebrity. The other, rising in stature and in works, had barely seen his 38th year when he was cut off. Yet because oppression and injustice persisted their missions coincided in many areas though varying in others, showing that indeed for the majority of the world's peoples, overcoming oppression and its effects

has not been as rapid as sometimes supposed.

They were both educators, teaching in institutions of higher learning and also in social movements; both were activists committed to a redistribution of political power in the world and to revolutionary social change, as well as actors in its painful and costly processes. Neither ever held office in the State nor aspired to governmental power. They both encountered State repression in their countries. They both at timely junctures produced path-breaking historic theses helping to break the silence and dispel ignorance of the history of Africa and how foreign penetration disrupted its overall development. They both sparked new interest in the continent of Africa, thus breaking the all-round isolation designed for Africa on account of the slave trade and the Berlin Conference. W.E.B. Du Bois published in 1946 *The World and Africa*. Walter Rodney published in 1972 *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Each in its time shook the conscience of the world, dispelling prevailing ignorance.

Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and Rodney's *Groundings with My Brothers* (1968) are works directed at different audiences, in the first place, but in the hearing of the world The first was directed at the growing number of literate African Americans and the rest of concerned humanity. *Groundings* was directed at the growing number of literate and non-literate but intelligent Caribbean people and the rest of concerned humanity. Both served a high purpose, later or sooner articulated by Martin Carter, of revealing "the histories of men and the lives of the peoples" - a purpose, a necessary task the teaching historian, like the educated Griot of old cannot escape. Both works were revisionary and visionary. Both dealt with a people's psyche, and led on to sweeping reorientations of social thought and attitudes. There are other unintended parallels, but these will serve the present purpose.

One important difference comes to mind: Du Bois was impatient with Garvey. I suspect not for any trivial reason, but because he knew the pain it cost him to break through the barriers to deep knowledge of the community that bred him and knowledge of its complexities. He saw this rash newcomer taking things head -on with no opportunity for scholarly appreciation, like his, of the inner life. Rodney saw the virtues of Garvey, as curious enough to be self-educated, as not hesitant to undertake tasks presented on a world-wide scale and undertaking them with the sense of continuing the struggles of a Jamaican plantation society; as ready to take on empires and build independent self-governing communities based on self-made economy, as the ancients and the maroons had done.

They shared, at such a distance of time and location, strong views of the potential role of those who by gift or effort, or both, had achieved a certain elevation in relation to the generally deprived majority community. Du Bois wrote hopefully of the *Talented Tenth*. Rodney expressed this same hope in his own idiom suitable to the political economy of his environment. He called on middle class academics to realise that their future lay with the working people and their struggles.

Much more to the point, the spirit of the African-Asian Conference at Bandung (1955) seemed to be part of the intellectual concerns of the two scholar-activists in their separate missions to undo the effects of what Kadalie insists are two regimes of colonialism, the classical, and the "post-colonial" Imperialisms. During the celebration in his honor in Beijing in 1959, W.E.B. Du Bois, in the spirit of Bandung of 1955 declared the Chinese a colored people and appealed for their common political purpose to be embraced and pursued to the avoidance of European domination. Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* rested on the need for severance from the system designed and controlled by imperialism. If, as supposed by some, in Guyana Rodney had been pursuing some narrow African resurgence and was not concerned with the creation

of an empowering polity of African and Asian descendants with the indigenous people and other elements of the population, he would not have been martyred.

The part of Dr. Patricia Rodney, the Rodney family and the Walter Rodney Foundation members in reaching agreement for the translation of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* into Chinese and its imminent publication in China and the interest and support of the Chinese academic community to begin with are leaps into the future. This decision of the Chinese academy, 41 years after its publication by Bogle L'Overture must be at least new vindication of the author's scholarship and global vision.

FOUNDATION NEWS

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BEIJING, CHINA TRIP: Translation of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* into Mandarin

Patricia Rodney

In December 2012, I was approached by the Social Science Academic Press (SSAP) in Beijing, China, which expressed interest in translating "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa," a seminal text by Dr. Walter Rodney, into Chinese (Mandarin). A contractual agreement was signed with the Press in May 2013, such that the publication will be completed within two (2) years.

SSAP is the publishing wing of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). SSAP is known for its commitment to excellence and experience in producing classics of broad and long-lasting influence. The best-known and most highly-acclaimed of SSAP's serial publications is the Yearbooks Series, or annual reports on the state of the nation, which provide a comprehensive overview of China's latest developments including economy, society, education, environment, culture, law, governance and international relations.

During by recent visit to Beijing in September, I met to discuss the publication with Ms. Gao Mingxiu, Vice Director of Global and Regional Issue Publishing Center, Social Science Academic Press (CASS/SSAP) and Dr. Li Anshan, a renowned professor of International Studies, who has been commissioned to translate the text. Dr. Li's research focuses on Sino-African relations, African studies and the history of Chinese Overseas in Africa.

Dr. Li is currently a Professor of History, at the School of International Studies and Director of the Center for African Studies at Peking University. He is also Vice President of the Chinese Society of African Historical Studies and Vice President of the Chinese Society of World Ethnic Studies. He earned his PhD at the University of Toronto, Canada. Dr. Li has completed several studies in African countries, including Ghana, Madagascar, Uganda, Zambia and Mozambique. Dr. Li has been a visiting lecturer at Stanford University, the University of Washington and the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. Dr. Li has published articles and papers in Chinese journals and in international academic journals, such as the Journal of Contemporary African Studies (Cambridge University) and the International Journal of African History Studies (Boston University) and has authored several books on Africa. Dr. Li will begin his Sabbatical in January 2014 to work on the Translation.

The release of the Chinese edition is scheduled for Fall 2014. Updates about the availability of the text will be posted on the WRF website.

BOARD ACCOMPLISHMENTS

KENNESAW, GA: Georgia State's Intercultural Unit Recognizes Dr. Jesse Benjamin's Work on Public Lecture Series

Georgia State University's Office of Intercultural Relations awarded Kennesaw State University professor Jesse Benjamin its annual Hosea Williams Award for Community Activism, recognizing his role in organizing a public lecture series last year on noted international rights activist Walter Rodney.

The award was one of two – one to an individual and one to an organization – named in honor of Hosea Williams, the famed civil rights activist and close associate of Martin Luther King Jr. It was presented in January during Georgia State's 31st anniversary MLK convocation.



Dr. Benjamin with Barbara Emerson, daughter of Hosea Williams

"This award is a huge honor, a kind of career milestone," said Benjamin, coordinator of African and African Diaspora Studies at Kennesaw State and associate professor of sociology. "The award is named specifically for one of Dr. King's most brilliant and committed lieutenants, so just to briefly be mentioned in the company of these giants is deeply humbling."

Benjamin was the primary organizer of a groundbreaking 13-week lecture series focused on Walter Rodney, the noted Pan-Africanist, revolutionary scholar and author whose ideas fueled Black Power, human rights and workers' rights movements in the Caribbean and across North America during the 1960s and '70s. The series was presented in collaboration with the Atlanta University Center's Robert W. Woodruff Library. Students at Kennesaw State, Georgia State and the AU Center earned academic credit for attending the lectures.

"The fact that I designed the series in emulation of historian and educator Vincent Harding, another of King's legendary advisors, is just a sort of full circle moment for something I am deeply committed to," Benjamin said. "It could never have happened without the support of students, colleagues and the exceptional administration at KSU, so I consider the award to be a collective award, reflecting on AADS and KSU as a whole."

(This article was originally published by Kennesaw State University, it can be found at http://web.kennesaw.edu/news/stories/kennesaw-state-professor-receives-hosea-williams-award-community-activism)

REMEMBRANCES

AMIRI BARAKA

October 1934 - January 2014

The revolutionary poet will forever be remembered as a brilliant mind who saw no value in scholarship without art. A dramatist, novelist and poet, Amiri Baraka is one of the most respected and widely published African-American writers around the Civil Rights Movements and as a weapon against racism. Amiri was especially close to the Rodney Family and the WRF because was a comrade of Walter's --- they met in the early 1970s in Dar es Salaam during Nyerere's implementation of Ujamaa --- and Baraka was the keynote speaker at the 3rd Annual Walter Rodney Symposium in 2006.



CHOKWE LUMUMBA

August 1947 - February 2014

Having a politically active upbringing, Chokwe Lumumba's radicalism took form in college where he formed the Black United Front to fight for Black Studies in Midwestern higher educational institutions, and it continued until his passing. His landslide victory as Mayor of Jackson, MS in 2013 was unprecedented. Chokwe's legacy will remain as a reminder to be educated, ever vigilant, and committed to the struggle. Board member Dr. Noble Maseru and Advisory Council Member Howard Dodson were both close personal friends of Chokwe.



NORMAN GIRVAN

1941 - April 2014

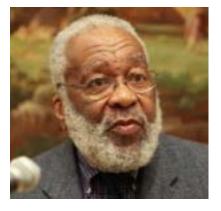
Professor Girvan will forever be an extremely important international figure in Caribbean political economy. Girvan's activism and intellectualism lives on through the 1804CaribVoices that he founded. One of his main tenets, he began to speak toward unifying the Caribbean as a "community of culture." Norman and Walter were students at UWI, Mona Jamaica and in London in the 1960s. Both were members of the CLR James study group. Dr. Girvan appeared via Skype at the 10th Annual Walter Rodney Symposium in 2013.



VINCENT HARDING

1931 - May 2014

Much can be written about the legacy of Dr. Vincent Harding and his importance to the world as a scholar and leader. He was a champion of black rights and history around the world who embodied scholar/activism. Among his wealth of work, he is known for penning Dr. King's famous anti-Vietnam speech, "A Time to Break Silence" and the introduction to the 2009 edition of Dr. Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dr. Harding was a close friend and colleague of Walter Rodney when they were at the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta, GA in the 1970s. Vincent served on the Advisory Council of the WRF and participated in several of the Annual Walter Rodney Symposia.



THE WALTER RODNEY PAPERS

The Walter Rodney Papers are available for viewing and research in the Archives and Special Collections of the Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library.

In 2003, the Walter Rodney Papers were donated by the Rodney family to the Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center. The Collection is the largest and most comprehensive collection of writings, speeches, correspondence, photographs and documents created by or about Walter Rodney anywhere in the world.

The Walter Rodney Foundation also maintains an up-to-date bibliography of all books, papers, journals and articles written by and about Walter Rodney.

The Walter Rodney Papers span the years 1960–1987, with the bulk of the collection from the period 1970-1979. The collection provides insight into Walter Rodney's life as a scholar and an activist, primarily revealed though his writings and teaching.

Included are:

- Scholarly achievements of Walter Rodney,
- Published and unpublished speeches, lectures, journal articles, book reviews, chapters in books, and drafts of books he authored,
- Employment papers, syllabi, reports, exams, student papers, and other teaching materials,
- Lectures, including "Historians and Revolutions," "Black People in the Americas," and "West African History in the 19th Century",
- Letters written to Walter Rodney from students, colleagues, community and political activists, publishers and editors, members of cultural and political organizations, community and labor groups, and educational associations,
- Speaking Invitations/Engagements that demonstrate Walter Rodney's popularity as a speaker and the international audience that embraced him,
- Walter Rodney's involvement in the WPA and the WPA's political positions and organizational structure during its formative years, and
- Audio recordings of Walter Rodney lecturing at universities, conferences and rallies, including his last public speech given at a rally.

To schedule an appointment, contact 404-978-2052 or archives@auctr.edu.



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