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## Let Us March on Until Victory

William R. Tolbert

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**Tolbert Let Us March on Until Victory**  
 began between the Howard University Medical College and the John F. Kennedy Medical Center in Monrovia, by which Howard has donated a Cobalt-60 Radio-Therapy Unit for cancer control in Liberia and the West African area.

This renowned institution of learning has ventured nobly beyond its original mandate which was to educate the youth and the disadvantaged of America. It has contributed impressively to manpower development for Africa and the world. There are few countries in Africa where Howard University graduates cannot be found.

Only two decades of history separate the founding of the oldest Republic of Africa and this cosmopolitan center of learning for Black America.

We share a commonality of origin and outlook.

Launched alike upon the foundation of inherent pride and profound faith, both Howard and Liberia can symbolize today after more than a century, the soul's desire for unmitigated liberty, freedom and dignity, and for unlimited opportunity and achievement.

The world can appreciate today the throbbing vibrancy of this great land of blended peoples. It can appreciate America's diversity and its continuing solidarity. It must appreciate its anchor points and its paths of adventure. It must appreciate its enterprise and its maturity, its leadership and its legacy.

America stands at the pinnacle of industrial and economic power in the world. Superior technological advancement converges with the practical impulse, and educational excellence is constructed upon a solid fulcrum of moral purpose and commitment.

There is balance, and there is movement in America. And countless millions of the world's peoples are yearning to move in the direction of America, in the direction of a better quality of life.

Mankind's majority has grown weary with the old structures of rift and strife in our one world. Ever since the oil crisis of 1973, that majority has entered into the foray of the world with increasing demands for a more equitable system of human and economic exchange, a more responsive order of social justice, and broader horizons of real opportunity.

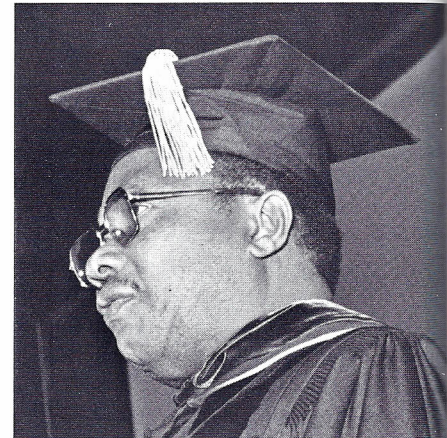
In a world of great abundance, peoples

of Third World nations, covering two-thirds of the citizens of this planet, are frustrated by crises of malnutrition, hunger, and grinding poverty.

In a world of bouyant economies, the majority of nations are facing crises of joblessness, of vice and of crime.

In a world of democratic traditions, peoples are being repressed by minority rule, oppressed by racist brutalities, depressed by international lawlessness. Three-tenths of the world's people receive seven-tenths of the world income, earning between \$75 and \$200 per year.

Primary producing nations—nations of the majority—must accept declining prices for their products, yet they must buy at rising prices their needs for existence and development. Their exports are borne by foreign ships, their imports arrive in similar manner. In the final analysis, they receive only a small fraction of the processed value of their products.



**Dr. William R. Tolbert**

Fifty per cent of the world's population produces only seven per cent of the manufactures of the world.

Transfer and adaptation of the world's growing technology to the needs of processing and economic diversification remain on the periphery of developing countries, serving mainly the grafted multinational corporations.

Subsistence labor and sub-standard living prevail.

Rural emptiness contrasts with urban crowdedness. Seven hundred million of the world's people live on fragmented farms under conditions of acute destitution. Two hundred million live in absolute poverty, suffering from malnutrition in urban areas, where water and other supplies are frequently absent and where housing needs are unmet.

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*The following is excerpted from the Convocation address of Dr. William R. Tolbert Jr., President of the Republic of Liberia. During the ceremony in Cramton Auditorium on September 24, 1976, the speaker was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. A small group of students staged an orderly protest outside the auditorium denouncing the Liberian leader and his administration. Ed.*

## 'Let Us March on Until Victory'

**By William R. Tolbert**  
 President, the Republic of Liberia

From this distinguished sanctuary of learning in the capital city of America, I extend warm and sincere greetings to all the people of America, and, indeed, to all members of academic communities across this nation. Our visit to this productive institution is a special and historic event.

It is historic because 98 years ago the leaders of Howard University were able to serve in forging diplomatic links between the United States and Liberia.

It is historic because of Howard's pioneering alignment with Pan Africanism, because of its dogged defense of disadvantaged and dispossessed peoples, particularly in Africa.

It is particularly special and historic because since 1873 a large number of Liberians have passed through these sacred portals, and are today making constructive contributions towards the greater destiny of Africa and our one world.

Howard's humane concern has long been manifested in Liberia through the contributions of alumni Hildrus Poindexter and Flemmie Kittrell in tropical medicine and nutrition. More recently, through the fruitful efforts of Dr. Marion Mann, Dr. Ulrich Henschke, and Dr. Lasalle Jeffell, a new kind of



Disease, illiteracy, high infant mortality and low life expectancy comprise the balance of bleakest prospects.

For the first time in the history of the world, these issues of affluence and impoverishment, of growth and exploitation, of resentment and revolt have been clearly articulated in the councils of the world. Nations have recognized the fact of global interdependence among nations and peoples, large and small, rich and poor. They have proposed a new system of economic rights and responsibilities, endorsed an action program for widespread development, and are already involved in the intricate process of molding a new, implementable structure of socio-economic reform.

Already, a conscience for international dignity and development has emerged.

Dialogue between rich and poor, industrialized and developing economies are in process. Raw material producers are reaching for more equitable terms of trade at present levels of production.

Developing nations realize that the progress of their economies will soon require a more relevant application of science and technology to their mode of production. Poor countries are contending that a compensatory linkage be created between prices of raw materials and prices of manufactures, to balance the effects of virulent inflation in the developed countries.

Following three decades of systematic disadvantage, they are encouraged that their appeal can be reasonably heard for rearrangement of their prohibitive debt obligations. And developing countries can take profound hope in the fact that developed countries are providing and promising to provide even more funds for agricultural production, for food availabilities, for technological transfer, for rural productivity, and for housing and health facilities for the urban poor.

None other than that of sincere leadership and moral commitment can confront today the imminent threat to international economic reconciliation and reform. That threat is contained in the lingering issue of whether or not minorities or majorities of the world, Black or white, will decisively undo the heavy burdens of racism and systematic human discrimination, and let the oppressed and repressed of the world become free.

It is most regrettable that in Southern Africa the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are viciously, flagrantly, and violently denied their God-given rights, their inalienable and imprescriptible entitlement to human dignity, liberty, freedom and opportunity.

In the face of international resolutions, bilateral humanitarian dialogue, and international court decisions, South Africa will not permit free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision.

The racist minority regime of Zimbabwe would rather in defiance and with intransigence perpetuate itself in power than prevent the intensification of violence.

In South Africa itself, the heinous system of apartheid has brewed brutal spurts of atrocities and has challenged a courageously noble people who lack arms. Yet these proud and heroic sons of Africa must revolt defenselessly against their permanent separation and possible annihilation.

All African states must remain united against the defiance and intransigence of Ian Smith and John Vorster.

In this historic Bicentennial year of the founding of this great Republic, it is significant that the United States has taken up the gauntlet for international social justice and prosperity. What is even more momentous is the fact that her entrance into the third century of independence has again found her unremittingly engaged in the pursuit of liberty and dignity for other nations and peoples, particularly upon the African Continent.

The global posture is necessary to defuse the growing momentum for cleavages, alliances and counter-monopolies. This is the reality which is so indispensable to the celebration and continuity of liberty in this our one world.

Thus, for the people of the United States of America, as part of an indivisible human family of nations, this THIRD CENTURY must be a period of celebration and of reconstruction. They can celebrate an inescapable inward focus of the American global conscience of renewal and reform.

Americans can rejoice with mankind that the enlightening torch of wisdom at Howard could brighten during a century and a decade the way for distinctive Black education and human upliftment throughout the world.

Americans can rejoice for its spiritual fountains from which spring the vibrant monuments of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy; of W. E. B. Dubois and Martin Luther King, Jr.; of Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X.

Americans and Third World nations can certainly rejoice for the immortal soul of Howard's former and late President, Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, who for a quarter of a century stood courageously in the vanguard, and became the prophet of total African emancipation, championing the age of moral leadership and responsibility of free world nations.

Let THIRD CENTURY Americans celebrate the coming of a new age when co-alliances will replace cleavages, prosperity eliminate unemployment, under-employment and poverty, when greater security and tender care will embrace the disadvantaged and the less fortunate, when harmonious human interrelationships will displace the scourge of rampant racism.

Having fought so selflessly for freedom, Americans then must struggle for fullness—fullness of joy, of motivation, of achievement. Americans can reconstruct the collective bridges of solid cooperation and greater accomplishment. They can regenerate their forces against all forms of exploitation and oppression. And they can sharpen their proficiency and preparedness for a more positive role in the process of technological challenge and change.

Until every last outpost and vestige of misery and tyranny shall shake off the shackles of indignity and shall respond resoundingly to the throbbing rhythms of a new triumphant international order to the ages, let us lift every muscle, bestir every emotion, mobilize and rearm every mind.

Let Howard University continually pursue her responsibility in this great crusade, rejoining in the harmonies of dignity, fraternity and prosperity.

*Let us march on, indeed, 'til earth and heaven shall ring with victory, that must be achieved.* □