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AFRICAN AGENDA

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Africa's Principled Stand

An unprecedented wave of solidarity with the Arab peoples has swept the Israeli "presence" out of Africa. By mid-November all the independent African countries with the exception of three small states in the southern part of the continent which are economically dependent on the Republic of South Africa had condemned the aggressive policy of Tel Aviv and broken off diplomatic relations with it.

Early in November an Israeli general observed bitterly that as one after the other the Black African nations severed relations with it, Israel learnt how fragile its friendship with them had been. The only friend Israel had left on the continent, he said, was South Africa.

For many years Israeli diplomacy sought by means of meagre handouts and lavish promises to win over, or at any rate neutralize, Black Africa, in order to cut the Arab peoples off from the rest of the continent. Beginning with the late fifties, Tel Aviv concluded economic and cultural aid agreements and arrangements with 20 Tropical African countries, sending some 2,500 Israeli specialists to work in them and inviting scores of African delegations to Israel. True, the Africans were from the outset somewhat suspicious of the Zionist state's motives considering that it itself lived on donations from abroad. As time went on, its political objectives became obvious, for no sooner had the Israeli diplomats and advisers established a foothold in one or another African country than they began to interfere in its internal affairs and to sow distrust in the Arabs. At the time of the separatist movements in Nigeria and Sudan the world press carried no few reports of surreptitious Israeli material aid to these movements. In pursuance of its strategic objectives, Tel Aviv systematically sought to undermine African unity and set one country against the other. Its undisguised alliance with the South

African racists, the Portuguese colonialists and other enemies of the African peoples afforded ample grounds for President Marien Ngouabi of the People's Republic of Congo, in a statement made last summer, to describe Israel as "the spearhead of imperialism."

The Israeli aggression in June 1967 against Egypt, a member of the Organization of African Unity, and other Arab countries marked the beginning of a turn in Afro-Israeli relations. Their traditions of anti-imperialist solidarity, desire for peace, and hatred for foreign oppressors prompted Africans to denounce the aggressor, although at the outset not all African governments took an identical stand on the question. The more progressive countries, such as Guinea, Tanzania and Somalia, unequivocally condemned the aggression, but many governments refrained from doing so, and eight virtually exonerated Israel from blame.

This inconsistency was hardly due to a reluctance to lose Israeli aid. A far more important factor no doubt was the pressure exerted by imperialist powers, which had set their sights on overthrowing the progressive Arab regimes. Israel, by stubbornly refusing to accept a political settlement based on the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, exposed itself more and more in the eyes of the world, the African countries included, as a war-monger prepared to set off a conflagration of any dimensions for the sake of hanging on to the territories it had seized. As a result, the differences between the African countries' attitudes towards Israel began to vanish. Already in early 1968 the Ministerial Council of the OAU unanimously condemned Israel's unwillingness to abide by Security Council Resolution 242 and to withdraw from the occupied territories.

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Aspects of Independence in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau

The late anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist fighter, Amilcar Cabral, founder and leader of the P.A.I.G.C., was assassinated by Portuguese mercenaries one year ago on January 20, 1973. Since his death, P.A.I.G.C. has led the people to independence based upon the heroic work done by Amilcar Cabral. Luis Cabral, brother of Amilcar Cabral, was named the first President of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau; Francisco Mendes is Chairman of the Council of State; Joao Bernardo Viera will preside over the National People's Assembly, and Aristides Pereira will remain the Secretary General of P.A.I.G.C.

"Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic fighting for the complete liberation and unity of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and for the social progress of its people." With these words, extracted from the new Constitution, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed on September 24, 1973. The founding of the new republic was significant in many respects. Firstly, it marked another decisive defeat for the world colonial system, testifying again to the indisputable fact that the disintegration of the system of colonialism is a distinguishing feature of the general crisis of the capitalist mode of production. (The die-hard fascists in Portugal have deployed about 40,000 mercenaries in the area of Guinea-Bissau still under their control in an effort to frustrate and crush the revolution in that country. Their efforts are everyday proving fruitless.) Secondly, the dauntless military, social, economic, and political work of the African Party for Independence in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), along with the moral, financial and military support which progressive societies the world over have contributed to this struggle have already ensured victory over Portuguese colonialism.

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Africa's Principled Stand

A big role in clarifying the position of independent Africa was played by the mission of the "four wise men" — a delegation consisting of four African heads of state (Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon, Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria, and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire) — to Israel and Egypt in late 1971 to offer their services in bringing about a political settlement. Whereas in Cairo the delegation found a genuine desire for a just settlement, in Tel Aviv they came up against a frankly obstructionist attitude on the part of the ruling quarters, who refused to accept any opinion differing from their own.

It is the failure of the African peace mission and not "blackmail by oil kings," as Zionist propaganda claims, that caused the rapid cooling of African-Israeli relations, and set off a chain of diplomatic ruptures with Tel Aviv. From the spring of 1972 to the outbreak of war in October 1973 the governments of Uganda, Chad, the People's Republic of Congo, Niger, and, finally, Mali, Burundi and Togo recalled their embassies from Israel and expelled all Israeli citizens from their respective countries.

In May 1973 the Tenth Assembly of the OAU held at head of state and government level unanimously condemned the Israeli aggression and demanded that Tel Aviv carry out Resolution 242 fully and unconditionally. The Assembly called on all members of the OAU to take political, economic and other measures against Israel.

The African states displayed solidarity with the Arab peoples also at the Fourth Non-Aligned Nations' Summit Conference held in Algiers in September this year. Thus, the severance of relations with Israel by twenty Tropical African countries in October-November was by no means unexpected.

In their official statements on the break with Israel the African governments qualified its actions as aggressive and prejudicial to peace and the security of the nations, and pointed to its stubborn refusal to observe the standards of international law.

African opinion on the Middle East conflict was summed up by the *Times of Zambia* when it wrote that Israel's arrogant disregard for the feelings of the Arabs (and, to a great extent, of Africans throughout the continent) had made it the villain in the eyes of the peoples. And the Mauritanian *Nouakchott-Information* observed that Africa no longer believed in fairy tales about "the Zionist lamb and the Arab wolf."

The radical turn on the part of the newly-free African countries towards support of the victims of aggression is not only an emotional reaction to the brazen behaviour of the Israeli military or to the danger presented to their own security by the possibility of the conflict spreading. It is the natural result of the crystallization of common foreign policy principles.

The basic principles proclaimed by the independent African states are: *anti-colonialism*, as an expression of a desire to complete the national liberation revolution on the continent; *unity*, designed to protect the African community against imperialist intervention and to serve as an instrument of peaceful settlement of continental problems, and *non-alignment*, which is called upon to guarantee the independent positions of the newly-emerged states on the international arena. It is on these principles that the Organization of African Unity is built.



These principles have passed the test of time. They underlie African diplomatic activity to combat racism, colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism; they determine its constructive role in the non-aligned movement (three of the four conferences of the non-aligned countries held to date met in Africa — in Cairo in 1964, Lusaka in 1970 and Algiers in 1973), and they provide the basis for the successful solution of inter-African conflicts. Lastly, following these principles, the African countries are developing co-operation with the socialist states.

But even if the various African countries recognize these principles, this does not mean that they all pursue an identical "African" foreign policy. Born of the liberation revolution, these prin-

ciples by and large reflect the national interests of all the independent African countries, but are interpreted variously by governments of different orientation. They are most consistently upheld and applied in practice by such countries as Algeria, Egypt, Somalia, Guinea, Tanzania and Congo, which have advanced farther than others along the road of social decolonization and are most active of all on the international arena.

The logic of the foreign policy actions of the newly-free African countries is beyond the grasp of the bourgeois critics who talk about the "excessive emotionality," "impracticality" and even "immaturity" of the African political leaders. It might be recalled that this now familiar keynote was struck as far back as 1960 by Golda Meir when she said that the Africans were totally unprepared for independent development.

As leaders of this type see it, "independent development" implies approximation to the American-European pattern and preserving the "traditional" links with the former colonial rulers. They ignore the fact that the basic trends of the newly-free African states' foreign policy were shaped in the course of the national liberation revolution, which is still far from having achieved all of its objectives. The progress of the African countries should be measured in terms of the extent to which they have decolonialized their internal socio-economic life and foreign relations.

The wholesale break with Israel is a striking manifestation of the independence and consistency of the foreign policy of the newly-independent states of Africa.

In mid-November an extraordinary session of the Ministerial Council of the OAU, convened on the initiative of Algeria to examine the Middle East crisis and its impact on Africa, was held in Addis Abbaba. After three days of debates, it decided to render every assistance to Egypt and to co-ordinate the activities of the OAU with those of the Arab League. The decisions of the session declare that Africa will not resume diplomatic relations with Israel and will exert growing political and economic pressure on it until it withdraws from all the occupied Arab territories. The OAU Ministerial Council urged the United States and other countries to refrain from supplying arms to Israel and rendering it any political, economic or financial support.

Independent Africa thus stands firmly by the just cause of the Arab peoples, and this cannot but have an important bearing on the prospects of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.



An Interview With FRELIMO

On December 2, 1973, the African-American Solidarity Committee and the Cook County Black Student Nurses Association cosponsored a community forum in Chicago about the struggle in Mozambique. Sharfud-dine Khan, the United Nations Representative from the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), was the guest speaker. The film "A Luta Continua" (The Struggle Continues) was also shown. The following article is part of an informal interview that was granted by Mr. Khan after the forum.

AASC: What about the African American Affairs Association (AAA) memo concerning recruiting Afro-Americans, to work on the Cabora Bassa Dam Project in Mozambique? Was it an intra-organizational memo?

Comment: Yes, it was inside of the AAA. It was talking about the recruitment of specifically Afro-Americans to work on the Cabora Bassa Dam Project as one way that they would try to use to cut off some of the pressure being exerted on the construction of the dam here in this country.

KHAN: My reaction to the memo is this. . . I see it as an *insulting* document to the dignity of Black men in this country — to mobilize him on those grounds which the government mentioned — because it says the best way to avoid FRELIMO blasting the dam is to bring Blacks to work out there, because (the U.S. government says) FRELIMO is also applying racist policy. It's against whites. Therefore, once Blacks are working there, FRELIMO will feel bound not to blast the dam.

Second, they say if the Blacks in this country are supporting FRELIMO, it's because they have not been given the opportunity to work side by side with the whites. The U.S. government insinuates that the people here are supporting FRELIMO because you feel you are being discriminated against by the corporations that are building there; they're taking white technicians and not black technicians. And, therefore, once the Blacks here are mobilized (to work in Mozambique), there will be no more grounds for you to stand and support FRELIMO. It's criminal, these ideas, since it has been criminal to force the brothers, and sisters, even, to go to Vietnam. Some of them resisted because it was a criminal war. There was no justification for that war. Why should they now mobilize the Blacks here to go to Mozambique to build that dam, a criminal construction, which we call an *economic aggression*. Why should they have to use Blacks? Because the U.S. government does not indicate that their suggestion comes from the fact that they appreciate the quality and the grade of skill of the Black man and so on, capa-

ble of doing a good job. No. They say it simply as an element to avoid something which they feel may come out as a result. The Black man is going to be used as a buffer or as a defense for *their* interests. There is no *minimum* contemplation of respect for the Black man as such, none.

Unfortunately, of course, some of the brothers who are apolitical, they may be hired — they don't know, probably just apolitical, in general — they may be sent, who knows.

Comment: And now, it might even be more serious, in terms of brothers, for instance, down at the Caterpillar plant in Peoria, Illinois. Caterpillar supplies the heavy earth-moving equipment (for the dam project). If brothers were offered jobs there (in Mozambique) because they're laying off brothers here, then that would be the chance to suck brothers into that.

Another thing that is disturbing, Prof. Gwendolyn Carter announced at Northwestern University that last summer, a group of Black American businessmen met in *South Africa*. That kind of development in the context of the move by Rev. Ralph Abernathy to accept the \$50,000 from Gulf Oil indicates that we have a mammoth job of political education. Abernathy said that we can't worry about Mozambique, we have to worry about *our* people. That whole mentality is a serious thing that the Gulf and Cabora Bassa forces are going to play off of.

AASC: It seems that the South Africans (the government) have implied that they might accept investment in the bantustans (barren areas where Blacks are forced to live) from sources other than whites. They might let Blacks from the U.S. invest in the bantustans to "help raise South African Blacks by their bootstraps".

Comment: This is very much the line that Chief Buthelez (Paramount Chief of the Zulus) is pushing.

KAHN: Yes, but Buthelezi got hung up with one question. In one of the workshops (African American Institute Conference held in Addis Abbaba last year) he was asked by a brother whether he believed that the corporations he was inviting to invest in South Africa — on the grounds that this would help and give jobs to the brothers and sisters there — whether he *believed* that this would benefit his people since they're *not* benefiting Black people here in this country. He couldn't answer. It was a really good question. He is representing himself and his ethnic group. I am contending that Buthelezi should not only represent the Zulu people. He should represent — if he wants to be a leader — South Africa as a whole, a nation of 21 million people. If he is trying to break away from that and follow Vorster's plans of dividing the nation into small portions for the people for *further* domination by the whites, then it's against our policy; we cannot stand for it. That is why I wrote a telegram to

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Mr. Khan accepting forum donation from AASC members.

Special Role of Labor in an Anti-Imperialist Front Workshop

Presented by Sam Jordan

The following resolutions from the workshop on Labor that were accepted at the National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation held on Oct. 19-21, 1973 in Chicago are printed below. For the other results from the Conference and the workshops see the Oct.-Nov. 1973 issue of the African Agenda.—Ed.

Hands Off Of South Africa

WHEREAS: U.S. based multi-national corporations are the foundation of world-wide imperialism, which prohibits the most natural, rational drives of the masses of the world's people to develop systems of ownership, production, and distribution necessary to their well-being; and

WHEREAS: The continued operation of these multi-national corporations seek to concentrate in even smaller circles of racist, capitalist oppressors, the natural wealth and labor product of toiling people, particularly Black people of the U.S. and southern Africa; and

WHEREAS: This continued operation is therefore the principal obstacle to the realization of the aims of the liberation movements of Black people in the United States and South Africa, resulting in untold misery, loss of life, disease, ignorance, poverty, and disenfranchisement. This continued exploitation by U.S. owned corporations attempts to obstruct the unification of the South Africa Liberation Movements and their natural allies, the toilers of all lands, in particular, Black people of the U.S.; and and

WHEREAS: The Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation is a timely, working expression of the common interests of Black people in the United States and Africa, recognizing the great responsibility of our people.

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation demand the complete withdrawal of U.S. owned corporations from the white settler regimes of Southern Africa including Namibia, Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique and especially the Republic of South Africa.

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation calls for all Black workers, and the total working class of the U.S. to demand an end to the material and diplomatic support given by the United States government, U.S. corporations and U.S. trade union to the white settler regimes of south-

ern Africa, whether in the form of investments, capital, equipment, military material, military personnel, or diplomatic support in national and international forms.

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation, demand a halt to any operating or proposed programs to lure skilled and unskilled workers to southern Africa, and we are especially opposed to the recruitment of Black workers from the U.S. to work in South Africa in the service of the U.S., or in the service of U.S. owned corporations.

International Labor Movement

WHEREAS: The achievement of unity and solidarity of working people, particularly Black working people, is the greatest assurance of ultimate anti-imperialist victory;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation call on all local, national and international Black labor formations to join forces with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which is now banned because of its organizing activities among Black workers in South Africa. Such unity will force the world-wide recognition of the struggle of Black workers of southern Africa and give voice to the legitimate representative of these workers chosen by the workers themselves.



WHEREAS: The anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation seeks to organize the forces of Black workers in the U.S. and call upon all workers to ally themselves with the aims of the conference:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT WE:

1. Refuse to unload South African Products.
2. Fight to end all run-away shops—especially to South Africa.

3. Work for the organization of all workers in the U.S., especially in the South.
4. Pressure all U.S. corporations to end all racist discrimination in all their mills, shops, plants, and offices in the U.S. and all foreign affiliates and subsidiaries.
5. Demand that the AFL-CIO support the United Nation's sanctions against apartheid in South Africa.
6. That we conduct an Educational and Action Campaign around Anti-Imperialist Solidarity with Africa that reaches into every community, every shop, every local union, and every international union.
7. That we encourage the building of rank and file committees in all unions and shops to work with all supporters and allies toward implementation of the above program.

Women's Rights

WHEREAS: Women comprise 53% of the population of the United States and hold virtually no positions of leadership and suffer the greatest forms of economic and psychological discrimination; and

WHEREAS: Nowhere is this discrimination more evident than in the labor market where more than 33 million women are in the force, constituting 40% of all workers, including 4 million minority women (the median income of women has dropped during the past decade to less than 3/5 that of men); and

WHEREAS: Economic discrimination is greatest when salaries are compared by race, as the median income for black women is less than \$3,000.00 as compared to almost \$4,000.00 for white women, over \$4,000.00 for black men and almost \$7,000.00 for white men; and

WHEREAS: Most women work out of economic need to supplement family incomes and support themselves, child day care is a necessity and the administration cutbacks in social services will greatly limit availability of day care for working mothers; and

WHEREAS: Unemployment rates are consistently higher for women than for men, for teenagers than for adults, for Blacks than for whites; and

WHEREAS: 40% of all workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act are women, and 57% of all black women workers are not included under FLSA coverage; and

WHEREAS: The median wage of full-time year-round private household

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News Briefs

NEW YORK — Congresswoman Chisholm (N.Y.) and Congressman Dellums (California) were the only Blacks in the U.S. Congress who did not support H.R. 11088, a bill offering \$2.2 billion in military aid to Israel. All the other Black Congressional Representatives supported the bill. The voting in favor of the bill is in sharp contrast to the opinion held by the majority of Black people. Joe Walker, the New York editor for *Muhammad Speaks*, reported on Nov. 23, 1973 that in a poll of 3,200 Afro-Americans, 71% identified with the Arab struggle and 74% were opposed to U.S. support for Israel.

It is important to note that all of the African states have severed their diplomatic relations with Israel and its aggressive policies, except for the South Africa-controlled states such as Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. In return for the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist support given by the African countries, the Arab oil-producing states have cut off oil to Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia. Portugal uses 6.5 million tons of crude oil annually and had purchased about 90% of that oil from the Middle East. South Africa uses 7.4 million tons of crude oil and is reported to have purchased it from the Middle East.

SOUTH AFRICA — The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* recently reported new deliveries of Rhodesian chrome to the People's Republic of China. Other publications such as the *Afrique Nouvelle* have reported that the PRC purchases of chrome from Rhodesia amount to 70,000 tons a year. The metal is delivered through umpire states like Mozambique and Hong Kong. Last April the South African *Rand Daily Mail* mentioned the display of goods from the PRC that were at the annual Witwatersrand agricultural exhibition in Johannesburg. Recently the PRC has increased its trade with Portugal for illegal drugs.

Israel — South Africa is developing a nuclear capability in consultation with Israel and West German Scientists. South Africa continues to try to cement an alliance with Argentina and Brazil (The proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organization, SATO), to "save Christian civilization in Africa". Moreover, the Director-General of the Israeli War Industry Board, I. Itshak said the Republic of South Africa heads the list of buyers of Israeli arms. In 1971 it bought \$75 million worth. The purchases are paid for mostly in diamonds, which, after cutting, are profitably placed by Israeli dealers on the world market.

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workers is less than \$2,000.00 annually and most domestic employees are protected by almost no legislation; and

WHEREAS: As Black trade unionists we have a special awareness of the problems caused by discrimination and a responsibility to work for the establishment of full rights for women.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT: This conference call for the following steps to be taken to insure equal rights for women:

1. That all local unions be encouraged to include clauses barring sex discrimination in all contracts;
2. That contracts also include clauses providing that maternity leave be considered as sick leave so women do not lose seniority rights and accumulated job benefits;
3. That contracts include clauses providing for job training and career development programs to enable women to move out of deadend low paying jobs;
4. That provisions be made for real enforcement of the Equal Pay Act, Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,

and Executive Order 11246 to insure that women receive equal pay for equal work, including provisions for suits, strong enforcement mechanisms and affirmative action programs;

5. That the Fair Labor Standards Act be amended to provide full minimum wage and overtime protection for millions of women workers not covered, including farm workers, government employees and private household employees, and this conference endorses and supports all efforts to organize domestic employees currently not organized, to obtain better working conditions and a living wage;
6. That this conference deplores the efforts of the Nixon administration to cut back needed day care centers and facilities and urges the Congress to pass legislation to correct the gross inequities being perpetrated by this administration.

Resolution on Black Workers In South Africa

WHEREAS: Having examined the material on apartheid in the Republic

of South Africa and other southern African states, especially in regard to the situation of African workers and U.S. companies in southern Africa; and

WHEREAS: After studying the United Nations reports on trade activity in southern Africa and the report of The International Labor Organization of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS: There is an urgent need to uplift the trade union rights of African workers in southern African countries in order to increase their material condition.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. We of the National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation support the International Labor Organization (58th session of the International Labor Conference, June 1973 in Geneva) for a World Trade Union Conference against Apartheid.
2. We support the right of black South Africans to form trade unions of their choice, to elect their leaders and to bargain collectively and strike.
3. We encourage all workers to refuse to handle goods for and from South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Mozambique, and Angola. (The International Longshoremens Association AFL-CIO, has set a good example in this regard by refusing to unload Rhodesian chrome ships in certain cities of the U.S.).
4. We urge and demand immediate U.S. recognition of the newly proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau.
5. We call upon all workers to organize boycotts against U.S. companies and trade unions that have investments in South Africa, and U.S. companies that are moving to South Africa, until the South African government changes its apartheid policies.
6. We encourage all trade unionists to boycott the products of Gulf Oil Company which is supporting oppression in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola by paying \$50 million in fees and royalties to the Portuguese government for developing its oil resources.
7. We are against technicians or any skilled man power going to South Africa.
8. We are opposed to the Byrd Amendment which allows the U.S. to import Rhodesian chrome and other strategic materials, and we totally support the use of sanctions by the UN against Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa.

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Zionism, Israel and the Republic of South Africa

By Yuri Guk

From the first days of the existence of the South African Union (formed in 1910), its government established contacts with leaders of the World Zionist Organization. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, who later became first president of Israel, was a close friend of Field Marshal Smuts, a zealous advocate and ideologist of racialism. Smuts said many times that the formation of a Zionist state was in the interests of South Africa. He stressed that Israel was the gateway to Africa and it was only to Zionism that South Africa could entrust the control of this gateway.

The South African Union recognized Israel in 1948, immediately after the Nationalist Party came into power in the country. Many prominent leaders of the party said that the formation of Israel was a victory of the Jews over the Arabs, that is the victory of the white over the non-white.

Other steps followed the diplomatic recognition of Israel by the South African Union. To ensure the support for the policies of the ruling Nationalist Party by the Jewish population of the country and by Israel on the international arena, the then South African Prime Minister Malan went so far as to allow South African citizens of the Jewish nationality to serve in the Israeli armed forces, which was against the Constitution, and was himself the first head of a foreign state to be given the red carpet welcome in Israel in 1953.

Since Malan's visit and to our time, the Jewish community in South Africa has been sending more money per capita to Israel than any other Jewish community in the world. In reply to the South African government's support for Israel, the Jewish community declared its full support for the policies of the Nationalist Party.

The governments of Strijdom, Verwoerd, and later the Voster government continued consolidating relations with the Jewish Zionist community, and gave a number of responsive posts in the state apparatus to Zionists. Thus, President of the Zionist organization of South Africa S. Kofer was then given the post of chief judge in Transvaal and holds the post to this day. A leader of the South African Zionists F. Jomer is assistant attorney general in Transvaal. He particularly "distinguished" himself during the notorious 1964 trial of Nelson Mandela, W. Sisulu and other fighters against apartheid and racial inequality.

Despite a strict control on the flux of currency out of the Republic of South

Africa, the Jewish community obtained a permission to remit 700,000 dollars to Israel every year. During the tripartite Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, Pretoria made no secret of its sympathies for Israel. The leaders of the racist regime were fully aware that the penetration of the African continent by Israel will weaken the national liberation movement of the African peoples. It was openly stated in Pretoria that Israel and the Republic of South Africa had "identical goals" in Africa and the Middle East.

After the Israeli aggression against Arab countries in 1967, the Tel Aviv hawks began vigorously promoting the closer relations between the Republic of South Africa and Israel. Tel Aviv hastily reorganized the Israeli-South African committee set up some time before. Economist Chlomo Pier, who formerly lived in South Africa, was placed at the head of the committee. His immediate assistant was Col. Efraim Shuhrer, who was demobilized from the Israeli armed forces to become a representative of the Israeli "El Al" airlines in South Africa.

The committee worked intensively to widen and strengthen all-round relations between Israel and the Republic of South Africa. In September, 1967, Commander-in-Chief of the Israeli Air Force Mordehai Hoda visited the Republic of South Africa to share combat experience and establish contacts with representatives of the South African military.

Playing the role of imperialism's "Trojan horse" in Africa, and seeking an alliance with another enemy of free Africa, the RSA, Israel has provided a broad economic, financial and political basis for development of relations with the racist state, whose Jewish population hold prominent positions in trade, industry and culture in the Republic of South Africa. Business ties between the two countries are being also promoted by Zionists reared in the RSA and now holding high posts in the Israeli government. Among them are Foreign Minister Abba Eban, chairman of the Jewish agency; Louis Pinkus, former Israeli representative in the United Nations Michael Komei and others.

It should be noted, however, that the clearly expressed sympathies in the RSA for Israel, actively encouraged from abroad, are displayed not only by the South African Zionists. A report in the newspaper *Star* said that the "Brotherhood", a secret fascist organization, which is ruling in the Nationalist Party, has made a large contribution to the

fund of aid to Israel. Over a very short period, it raised and remitted to Israel over 10 million pounds sterling.

Despite the United Nations' decision to boycott trade with the Republic of South Africa, Israel's exports to that country increased from 1.4 million to 4 million dollars from 1961 to 1967, while its imports from the Republic of South Africa reached 3.3 million dollars by 1967. By 1971 the trade between the two countries exceeded 30 million dollars.

In view of this, the question arises: what are the reasons for mutual sympathies of the South African racials and the Zionists? What can explain the fact that over 25 years not a single Zionist organization or its press organ came out with open denunciation of the man-hating policy of apartheid? Even when the whole world was staggered by the massacre at Sharpeville, not one Zionist press organ and not one organization or synagogue reacted to this crime in any way at all.

By and large this is understandable. Prompted by her growing international isolation, Israel seeks closer ties with racials thus forming a united front with out-and-out reactionaries in the African continent. The Pretoria government, in turn, tries to break through the ring of international isolation in which it found itself because of the way it treats the country's native population. From this stems the growing military alliance between the Republic of South Africa and Israel. For example, Tel Aviv's order for heavy tanks is under consideration in Pretoria now.

There is also another important factor — the ideological and political affinity between racials and Zionists. One of the ideologists of racialism, Verwoerd wrote in his time "The Jews took Israel from the Arabs, who had inhabited that country for more than one thousand years. And I agree with the Jews. Israel, like South Africa, is a state of apartheid. If Jewish organisations attack the policy of segregated development, people might ask why this policy is just for Israel. One cannot say that segregation out of religious or national consideration (which is what Israel wants) differs from segregation out of racial considerations. If segregation is wrong for one reason, it is also wrong for another."

Thus, it becomes quite obvious that with the connivance of the Western imperialist powers, the Republic of South Africa and Israel in the north of Africa have formed a close unholy alliance spearheaded against free Africa. ★

Western Civilization

Tin sheets nailed to poles
fixed in the earth
make a house

Rags complete
the intimate landscape

The sun penetrating cracks
awaken each occupant

Afterward twelve hours of slaving work

Break stone
cart stone
in the sun
in the rain
break stone
cart stone

old age comes early
a coarse mat in the dark nights
suffices for him to die
grateful
and of hunger

Liberty in our eyes
this sound in our ears
of avid hands upon the skin of
the drum

in the accelerated and clear rhythm
from the congos Kalahari mountain light
infinite red bonfires our violated fields
spiritual harmony of the tam-tam voices
in the clear rhythm of Africa

Thus

The way of the stars
along the agile curve of the gazelle's
throat
for the harmony of the world.

Agostinho Neto
(President of the People's Movement
for the Liberation of Angla-MPLA)

continued from page 1)

Guinea-Bissau

The people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau have already undertaken tasks of national reconstruction. AIGC has begun implementation of the general-democratic programme, i.e., the political and social reorganization of the republic along anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-feudal lines, along with the organization of the material base of society to ensure a transition to socialism in the future.

A brief analysis of the political structure of the newly-proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau testifies to the fact that its people have chosen to pursue the path of social progress. According to Luis Cabral, president of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the following are some of the measures which have been taken by the new state:

Suffrage has been granted to all those 15 years of age and over;

IN MEMORIAL Amilcar Cabral

Assassinated January 20, 1973

Leader and Founder of the P.A.I.G.C.

"There is no force capable of preventing the complete liberation of my people and the attainment of national independence by my country. Nothing can destroy the unity of the African people of Guinea and Cape Verde and our unshakable determination to free the entire national territory from the Portuguese colonial yoke and military occupation."

"How is it that we, a people deprived of everything, living in dire straits, manage to wage our struggle and win successes? Our answer is: this is because Lenin existed, because he fulfilled his duty as a man, a revolutionary and a patriot. Lenin was and continues to be, the greatest champion of the national liberation of the peoples."



2. The right to hold public office has been extended to those 18 years and older;
3. Women have been given equal rights with men;
4. Racial and tribal privileges and discrimination have been outlawed;
5. Representation of all of the nation's ethnic and tribal groups in the National People's Assembly has been guaranteed;
6. The right to work and the right to be educated has been guaranteed for all people;
7. Representation of all social strata in the National People's Assembly has been guaranteed.

These are all characteristics of the national-democratic revolution, which seeks to unite all the nation's people and social strata in the struggle for national independence and social progress. The broad social and class base of the PAIGC and the active participation of the broad masses of people in political life will safeguard the people's gains against the encroachments of imperialists and internal reaction.

In its foreign policy, the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau has allied itself with the world working-class movement and the world socialist system, headed by

the Soviet Union who continue to render invaluable material aid to the people of Guinea-Bissau. This feature of the new republic is extremely significant, since, like its domestic policy, it is in keeping with the world anti-imperialist movement.

Already, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau has been recognized by over 60 states through the world, including over 30 African nations, the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Guinea-Bissau has established relations with a number of independent African states, including Tanzania and Guinea, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has allocated funds to assist the republic.

The people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands continue to fight on, for all of their lands and people have not yet been liberated from Portuguese colonialists. Yet, the people in the liberated lands will never relinquish the gains for which they have fought so hard and long. And these victories cannot help but strengthen the resolve of the people in the Portuguese-occupied territories to be rid of colonialism. The days of Portuguese colonialism are, indeed, numbered.



Recommended Books

1. *Sechaba*. Official organ of the African National Congress (South Africa). Monthly. Imported Publications, Chicago.
2. *W. E. B. DuBois Speaks*, by Philip Foner. A two volume collection of the speeches and addresses of the great Dr. DuBois. Pathfinder Press, New York.
3. *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*, by Alex La Guma. An important work for the understanding of racism in South Africa and in the U.S. International Publishers, New York.
4. *Tijerina and the Land Grants*, by P. Blawis. A good account of the Chicano struggles in the south-western part of the U.S. International Publishers, New York.
5. *Angola in Arms*, Information organ of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). MPLA, P.O.B. 1595, Lusaka, Zambia.

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Harold S. Rogers Editor

(continued from page 3) **FRELIMO**

inform AAI (African-American Institute) that FRELIMO is not going to participate in the Addis Abbaba conference, because of the fact that Buthelezi has been invited (to represent South Africa).

AASC: Which conference is this in Addis Abbaba?

KHAN: It is a conference starting on December 4th or 6th (1973) in Addis Abbaba on "Afro-American Dialogue" sponsored by the Afro-American Institute. They invited us to attend. We stand with ANC (the African National Congress of South Africa). ANC is not going to be there. ZANU, PAIGC, MPLA are not attending on the same grounds.

AASC: It seems as if the South Africans are more and more having to rush to the assistance of the Portuguese and Rhodesians. Are the military forces of South Africa very much prominent in Mozambique?

KAHN: Yes. Mainly in August and September, they were very active inside of Mozambique. That's why our President couldn't attend the National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation in October. He had to be inside of the country. Some of the South Africans come in Rhodesian uniforms, but they participate directly inside of the country.

But they were the first also to report how capable and skillful are the FRELIMO militants. Their papers really say this clearly, that the Portuguese are unable to cope with FRELIMO. Well, it is obvious taking into consideration the fact that the South African and Rhodesian soldiers are much more soldiers than the Portuguese, and well-trained and quite familiar with the conditions of the area — who have to send not children, but send veterans, people well and entirely disciplined and trained with a good background of experience. They have even affirmed that FRELIMO is using rockets from the Soviet Union, but this is not so. But you will see bazookas becoming used *like* rockets, it's true, when they are managed by someone who really knows them.

But this process I think you all know, how guerilla warfare is processed. Whenever a new area is opened, it's not opened by . . . inexperienced people. It's opened by people not only experienced, but mature *politically*. We send conscious people and absolutely mature in terms of politics. Because it is there that we find the secret of success. It resulted, of course, in these brutal massacres and activities of the Portuguese upon the innocent people in our country. We can't avoid that. ★

Correction

In the October-November issue of the African Agenda the rest of the resolutions to the workshops on "Education" and the "U.S. Role in the World-Wide Support of African People and the Role of the U.N." were not printed on page eight. We are sorry for the mistake and the rest of the resolutions are printed below.

Education — continued from page 8 of the October-November, 1973 issue.

- 10) Resolve that churches be prevailed upon to desist from their aid to reactionary African regimes, and insist to develop international programs with the aid of Afro-Americans;

U.S. Role In The World-Wide Support of African People And The Role Of The U.N. — continued from page 8 of the October-November, 1973 issue.

- 1) Resolve to support the fundamental right of workers in southern Africa, especially South Africa, to form trade unions;
- 2) Resolve that the conference research and expose public officials, especially Black public officials, who through their actions impede the course of the African struggle for liberation from all forms of exploitation;
- 3) Resolve that the conference urge selective boycotts of Western imperialist corporations; for example: Gulf Oil, Pinto Ford cars, Firestone, and others with the realization that the ultimate returns may be political success rather than economic success;

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