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### African Agenda, October & November 1974

African American Solidarity Committee

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# AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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## Seven Months of Freedom in Portugal

The democratic revolution in Portugal is seven months old. It began on April 25, 1974 and within a few days the reactionary political regime which has oppressed and tortured the country for fifty years, was almost smashed without a shot being fired. Since then the changes that have taken place in the last seven months in Portugal and in Africa call for a summing up in terms of the following three issues: termination of the colonial wars, remoulding of the political structure and modernization of the national economic system.

The downfall of the fascist regime was in many respects predetermined and precipitated by the bankruptcy of its colonial imperialist policy. The abolition of Portugal's colonial empire was one of the most urgent and most difficult tasks facing the revolution. Its difficulty stemmed from the fact that there were differences within the ruling class and also interference from the powerful external political and economic forces acting from Washington, London, Salisbury and Pretoria, as well as from the headquarters of multinational companies. They sought to influence the Lisbon government in favor of half-hearted measures aimed at retaining some sort of neo-colonialist hold on the African territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

However, precisely because of the strength of the African liberation movements the Lisbon government was forced to give up its African colonial holdings. Portugal's agreement with Guinea-Bissau marked the first triumph of reason and justice. Portugal recognized the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign state on September 10, 1974. The problem of the Cape Verde Islands still awaits solution, but the newly free African state, which recently became a member of the United Nations has embarked on the path of progress and has begun to concentrate on peaceful construction first outlined

in a program over one year ago.

The next step was the agreement between Portugal and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). The agreement signed in Lusaka, Zambia, stipulated that independence of Mozambique would officially be declared on June 25, 1975. Until then the country will be administered by a provisional government consisting of two-thirds of the members of the newly-formed government, including the Premier, to be FRELIMO representatives, and one-third to be Portuguese officials.



In Angola colonialism is on its death bed. But the problems there are more difficult, since there are liberation movements in Angola that are not representative of the people. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the most popular and strongest of the liberation movements, faces a struggle with the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) and groups that claim to speak for the people but in fact represent very few if any forces in Angola.

The "Africanization" of the war, i.e., the employment of African soldiers by the colonialist to fight the Africa insurgents, has aggravated ethnic strife. Among the white population (roughly 500,000 of Angola's total population of 5 million) groups of armed extremists are active. They are trying to prevent things from taking the same course as in Mozambique. Already sections of the white community of Luanda, the capital of Angola, have attacked Africans and provoked fighting between white and Black groups. All this widens the possibilities of the reactionary forces favoring a neo-colonialist deal.

Also Angola is rich in oil, iron ore, diamonds, copper, and uranium and the U.S. and other imperialist powers have a large stake in safeguarding their positions. In assessing the situation in Angola it should be borne in mind that the Gulf Oil Corporation has an investment of over \$125 million in Cabinda, that country's northern "oil enclave" and are possibly backing white groups to disrupt any attempts to prevent the country from being ruled by the MPLA. But colonialism is on its death bed and though, in Angola, the process will probably take longer, independence will come soon.

Another cardinal task of the Portuguese revolution is to do away with the fascist political structures and practices and restore democracy. A great deal has already been done in this respect. The principal state and political institutions on which the dictatorship rested have been abolished. The National Assembly, the corporate unions, the fascist party, and the youth organizations have been disbanded. In the conditions created by the anti-fascist revolution and the political activity of the masses and the armed forces the first stages in the break with the old were passed relatively quickly and easily. However it is far more difficult to cleanse the state apparatus of those who are unwilling or

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# Inflation Is Kicking Our Ass

It is our purpose here to examine the causes of inflation in the world capitalist system and its impact on the Black, Asian, Native Americans, and Latino community in the bulwark of world reaction and imperialism—the United States of America.

What is inflation? It is generally assumed in the classical textbook definition of the word that inflation is "too much money chasing too few goods." What does this mean? The way it is interpreted in the capitalist press has been that the workers all of a sudden have become too greedy and want more money, consequently, the gains won in arbitrations and negotiations have resulted in too much money buying too few goods produced by the capitalists. In short, inflation is caused by the greed of those who work for a living—those who work for wages and salaries—the working class. It is they who cause inflation and they alone.

The percentage of Afro-Americans who work for wages and salaries in the United States is somewhere in the neighborhood of 95%. It therefore appears that Afro-Americans, as a substantial percentage of the working class as a whole, are one of the main causes of inflation. (Or as President Ford has said "public enemy number one). In short, Black people have become "public enemy number one" as working class people.

There is another view of inflation that has been broadcast in the recent period, in this country: That is *excessive government spending*, especially in the area of health, education and welfare. Hence, the excessive spending for health, education and welfare over the last ten or fifteen years has meant that Black and poor people have been imposing too again, they are a cause of the current inflationary spiral in the United States. This is a view that is widespread among rightwing and certain 'liberal' quarters in this country.

But there is another view not shared by the capitalist press in this country nor the shrinking minority capitalist class. And that view is simply that inflation is caused by the increased demand of the capitalist class for greater profits. It is true that the average rate of profit of the capitalist class has been declining in the last fifteen years substantially. It is true, that despite the pump priming of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the early and latter half of the '60s, during the war in South East Asia, we witnessed for the first time a decline in industrial production in 1967-68 in the midst of a war.

And isn't it strange that the same quarters who complain about govern-

ment spending for health, education and welfare hardly ever mention the military budgets of the past fifteen years, which have continued to grow and double over that period of time?

Now the question becomes not only what but *who* causes inflation? Given the framework of the capitalist system—of the world capitalist system, because the system is not just limited to the United States of America, it is a system that comprises two-thirds of the world's population.

But there is another one-third of the world's population that does not experience inflation, unemployment, break-up of families and disintegration of schools systems etc. in short, all the evils of the capitalist system. That system is known as the world Socialist system, which is more and more, as testified by the votes in the United Nations, comprising a great part of what was up until now the world capitalist system, the 'Third world' i.e. countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are breaking off one by one and heading East towards the world socialist system. But the shrinking capitalist minority of the U.S. does not appreciate this fact and had rather blame their difficulties on their largest minority, the Afro-American people.



In conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, when the economy is dominated by fewer and fewer huge corporations it becomes necessary for these corporations to fix artificially high prices in order to maintain their accustomed rates of profits. This is especially true in the countries that have strong and well-organized labor unions. Those companies that cannot do this are subject to merger or worse—bankruptcy, as we have seen in the cases of Penn-Central, Lockheed etc. These corporations work

collectively to accomplish this end through their control of the state regulatory apparatus.

Many U.S. industries in the post-war period, because of U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world have been able to suck the blood of other developed capitalist nations where the cost of labor was cheaper, by investing in or buying out foreign corporations or simply building their own plants there. They have done this as well in the "Third World" or developing nations. This has enabled them to reap an increasingly large share of their profits from overseas.

With the growth of the national liberation movement in the "Third World" and nationalism in the developed capitalist countries in recent years, this has become increasingly difficult.

It is in the area of military spending that one finds the main cause of inflation. The huge military-space appropriations of the last decade and a half, during the Vietnam period, which were not covered by sufficient tax revenue, must be singled out as an immediate cause of galloping inflation that we are presently experiencing. These appropriations had to be paid for by printing large quantities of *fiat* money. Military spending is inherently inflationary because labor is paid for not producing use-values (useful rather than destructive goods) which would benefit society as a whole.

With the huge military budget constantly eating away at the civilian economy, with reduced profits coming in from overseas, the monopoly-capitalists of the U.S.A. are faced with an enormous problem. These are those who would increase prices and hold down wages. This was tried in August 1971 by the Nixon administration. This resulted in greater profits for some large monopolies and ruination for others. It also resulted in a reduced standard of life and reduced purchasing power for masses of U.S. workers, especially Afro-American and other oppressed nationalities. The gap between the average white and black family grew by 2 points.

Now there are voices, using inflation as a ruse, who are calling for *deflation*, which will mean recession, unemployment, tighter money and all the misery which that entails. Again, Black workers will be the first to feel the terrible effects of such a policy, i.e. the first to be fired. It has been historically true, for over one-hundred odd years that the Afro-American has borne the brunt of the economic crises of U.S. capitalism. Yet at this stage of the general crisis of the capitalist system there is a far, far greater percentage of Afro-Americans in the U.S. workforce.



# The Real Voice of South Africa

Mr. Duma Nokwe, Director of Political Affairs of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa recently led the ANC delegation in the United Nations in opposing the racist government of South Africa sitting in the U.N. Mr. Nokwe played an important role in mobilizing support to oust South Africa from the U.N. The following interview was conducted while Mr. Nokwe was making a tour of the United States after the vote in the U.N.

**AASC:** Would you discuss the meaning and the importance of the recent vote on South Africa's participation in the United Nations?

**Nokwe:** I think it is a very important thing. Our assessment is that from the time that we challenged the credentials or in fact when the majority of the U.N. Credentials Committee challenged South Africa's right to represent the majority of South Africans, it was clear that the United States had set itself in a position where it was going to defend South Africa to the hilt. As a matter of fact, Mr. Scali head of the U.S. delegation in the Credentials Committee was sometimes mistaken for the South African delegation. It was during a challenge by the Philippine delegation within the Committee that Scali was assumed to be a representative of South Africa. He made it most clear that the U.S. veto would be used in the Security Council if there was an attempt to expel South Africa.

In the General Assembly, of course, it was clear that the overwhelming majority of the people and delegates supported the rejection of the credentials of South Africa. They did so, quite correctly, because they characterized it as a crime against humanity, as a regime that does not represent the people of South Africa. In the Security Council, there was another massive attack on South Africa for its crimes against humanity. We were not surprised that all three so-called big powers, imperialist powers, rallied around South Africa because of their economic, political and military stake in South Africa and in the Indian Ocean.

**AASC:** Could you explain the effects of the recent events in Portugal and the independent governments coming about in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique on the struggle in South Africa?

**Nokwe:** We should perhaps start by saying that the qualitative changes really started with the historic victory of the Vietnamese people against United States intervention and atrocities. They set a tremendous pace for the struggle for national liberation. Of course the changes took place because of the massive armed assault by the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola on the colonialist army. Spínola's statement that Portugal could no longer rule in the old way by controlling its colonies by armed force was in a way a correct



DUMA NOKWE

assessment. Portugal has exhausted itself.

The collapse of fascism in Portugal was really due primarily to the heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, but also to the important contribution and struggle of the progressive forces inside Portugal itself and the progressive forces throughout the whole world. The changes made a qualitative change in Africa. For the first time perhaps since Algeria, new states emerged which had won their independence through armed struggle. The impact was tremendous, because South Africa was known to be in an unholy alliance with Portugal. The collapse of fascism in Portugal heralded very clearly the collapse of fascism in South Africa. It was no wonder then that the Commander of the armed forces in South Africa should rush to the Pentagon to find consolation and perhaps reassurances of future assistance to bolster up its own regime. We believe that victory of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau boosted the morale of our people to an unprecedented degree.

It also threw confusion in the enemy ranks. And we feel that this victory, and the fact that there is a new African state emerging immediately around the fascist state of South Africa is shortening the length of the life of that regime. Our people will take fuller advantage of this situation.

**AASC:** How do you think the spirit of detente between the Soviet Union and the imperialist countries will aid the liberation movement in South Africa?

**Nokwe:** We have always been of the view that a world war never helps the revolutionaries. There are, of course, those who have got adventurist view that revolution can be advanced through having international chaos. We believe the opposite, that in the atmosphere of world war, it is the oppressed

who suffer more atrocities and oppression. And the revolution is retarded. Given international peace, the relaxation of tension, the national liberation movements like the African National Congress, and the other revolutionary organizations have the opportunity of developing their struggle against their own enemies, and the international enemies of peace, and the imperialist forces in the world in a more favorable atmosphere. We believe detente is an important element for the advancement of the revolutionary struggle at this stage.

**AASC:** What roles do women play in the national liberation movement in South Africa led by the ANC?

**Nokwe:** As far as women are concerned, from the very inception of our organization, they played a very important role. You will recall that the first woman to serve on the Executive from the very inception of the ANC was a Mrs. Charlotte Maxeke who was trained here in the United States and who came back with her husband to come and raise funds by singing all over in order that our movement could have funds. In 1913, one year after the formation of the ANC, the racist minority regime tried to impose their obnoxious passes on the women. The women came out throughout the whole country in a powerful resistance against this. That resistance was so successful that it was only in the late 1950's that any government tried to impose passes on the women again. In 1957, the women again carried the passes and burned them.

We've got and had, when we were still legal, a Women's League. And, you will recall, that one of the heroic women leaders among the Africans is Lillian Ngoyi whose name has become virtually legendary. We've got Helen Joseph whose name has also become legendary because she was confined under house arrest for virtually ten years. There are many such women. We have always regarded women as one of the most powerful forces and partners in the revolutionary movement against apartheid and racism.

**AASC:** Would you give some general comments on your thoughts about the Sixth Pan-African Conference and what it accomplished and did not accomplish?

**Nokwe:** Well, in the first place, I was a little baffled by the convocation of the Sixth Pan-African Congress this year when the fifth one was in 1945, and when so many other things had been done by Nkrumah, by the OAU, when international anti-imperialist bodies

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The following article was written before the recent events in Ethiopia.

## Ethiopia in Transition

On September 13, 1974, the fifty-eight year reign of Emperor Haile Selassie came to an end. However, the end of Emperor Selassie's regime is more than just a change of political rulers; it is a change in the social nature of the regime. This change in the social nature of the regime began last spring as a result of a series of political actions by workers, peasants, students, and most importantly in terms of immediate power, of the military. It is, indeed, appropriate to characterize this change as a particular variety of a bourgeois (capitalist) revolution, an anti-feudal revolution in the last quarter of the twentieth century. However, this revolution will not approximate the classical bourgeois revolutions in England and France, and the United States in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor will main trends in this revolution approximate the belated bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe and Japan in the nineteenth century where historic compromises were consummated between the burgeoning capitalist class and the less reactionary feudal lords.

Why is this so? Firstly, we are no longer in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Twentieth century Ethiopia is a semi-feudal country where land was not capitalized or nationalized and the wage labor class (the proletariat) was relatively insignificant in numbers, 100,000 organized workers in a country of 26 million and, thus the national bourgeoisie was also relatively small. Neither class could thus have a hegemonial role in the political transformation, although the organized workers' role in the political transformation was much greater than its numerical composition. This was graphically illustrated by the role that the general strike of workers in March, 1974, led by the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, whose leaders were pressured by the rank and file workers, played in accelerating the revolutionary process. These rank and file workers also supported the demands of the peasants by raising the slogan, "Land to the Tillers."

The semi-feudal character of the Ethiopian state was also expressed in the fact that rent in kind paid by the serfs was transformed into money rent, though both types of surplus appropriation co-existed. Most of the money rent was paid to the newly emerging lords connected with the state rather than the traditional aristocracy. These lords were the leading class substance of Emperor Selassie's absolutist state. Emperor Selassie, himself, had inadvertently initiated the socio-economic processes for his own political demise

by the many economic reforms he initiated to consolidate his centralized state. The most important being the beginning of the transformation of agriculture into production for a market, especially foreign markets, a necessary policy in view of the inevitable limitedness of a home market in a country with a small wage earning class.

Ethiopia was developing capitalist-like relations in the Age of Imperialism resulting in a distortion of its development, viz., over-dependence on international markets before the development of national markets, which is a neo-colonialist socioeconomic policy. In this situation, the role of the military grew disproportionate and became a leading factor in the political superstructure. We have seen a proliferation of such military regimes in the Third World. The history of post-colonial Latin America in the twentieth century should be given serious attention in Africa and Asia with its multitudinous regimes.

It is not inevitable that all military regimes will be reactionary in the twentieth century. Reactionary Bonapartism and progressive Nasserism are two alternatives facing all newly independent countries, the former leads to a military bureaucratic state, the latter to national democratic regime. One of the leading political questions facing Ethiopia is whether or not the military administration will remain patriotic since a military, bureaucratic regime will abort national reconstruction in the multinational state of Ethiopia and lead to strife among nationalities and ethnic groups. As with all precapitalist societies, Ethiopia is not a socially homogeneous state. Different nationalities emerged as a result of increasing monetary exchanges over the last 70 years. U.S. neocolonialists, in intimate connection with the most reactionary sections of the military, would like to transform Ethiopia into a gendarme state to be used as a battering ram against the national liberation movement in East Africa, a role that the armed forces coordinating committee has rejected thus far.

It was the armed forces that recognized that the old feudal regime in Ethiopia was in a serious crises characterized by chronic underutilization of the agricultural lands—only 20% of the arable land was under cultivation. In addition, most of the cotton, sugar, and other export crops were now being planted on plantations controlled by Europeans, especially Dutch and English. Much of the land controlled by foreign planters was the most fertile, due to the massive diversion of waters to these lands and away from the nom-

adic herdsmen. That is why there was starvation in Ethiopia despite its fertile soil. These peasants and herdsmen rose up in revolt four years ago, burning crops and houses of absentee landlords. The publication "New Times" (Moscow) estimated that, with appropriate agrarian reforms, it would be possible to harvest two or three crops a year. The neocolonialist policy of the foreign and domestic landlords has resulted in an artificial shrinkage of agricultural production to maintain high prices. These peasants revolts prompted the military officers to begin planning for a revolution from above since a revolution was forthcoming anyway.



EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE

The military regime in April, 1974 promised to implement a land reform program, setting limits to the amount of land that can be owned by one person or family. Land reform is the key socio-economic question in a bourgeois democratic or national democratic revolution. The social content of this land reform will determine whether or not the Ethiopian regime consistently completes the democratic revolution or reverts to semi-feudal type relations in the countryside, as was the case in democratic revolutions in South America. The South American course would lead to emergence of latifundia-type agricultural ownership, producing for a foreign market with the replacement of the traditional feudal aristocracy by a new neocolonialist oligarchy. Moreover, such an undemocratic reform would lead to the aggravation of the contradictions among the different nationalities in Ethiopia. The class substance of the national question in Ethiopia is the question of super exploited peasants, as was the predominant substance of the national question in the Afro-American community prior to World War II.

Since close to 80% of the Ethiopian population resides in the countryside, an agrarian reform, democratically implemented by the peasants themselves, under the leadership of progressive military leaders, is most urgently needed at this juncture of the revolution and has become a central feature of the comprehensive program of the armed forces movement.

The land is apportioned in the following fashion: 20% owned by the Coptic Church, 15% owned by the royal family and 45% by the aristocracy and government officials. One-third to one-half of the peasants crops are appropriated to meet their rent obligation. Since the neo-colonialists have tied Ethiopian agriculture into the nexus of the international commodity market, the worldwide inflation has reduced the standard of living of Ethiopian peasants by over 50% in the past year.

The Ethiopian democratic revolution has been called in some quarters a "creeping coup" since the armed forces committee did not attack all elements of the old power structure at once. The first element of the old power structure to be removed were the government officials who emerged in the twentieth century. After the weakening of this strata, the armed forces coordinating committee attacked the political institutions of the traditional aristocracy. This was followed by the separation of the church from the state over the opposition of Archbishop Theophilus, but with the support of the poor priests who had already organized a strike earlier in the year demanding higher pay. These poor priests supported the new regime.

By the time the Emperor was deposed in September and replaced by his son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, who will serve as a constitutional monarchy, all power rested in the hands of the armed forces committee. This committee had already put before the nation draft proposals for a new constitution with civil rights guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, the right to form political organizations, and the institution of a progressive income tax. The right to private property became an indefeasible right, although the government reserves the right to nationalize property in the public interest. The voting age was reduced from 21 years to 18 years. This constitution is not yet the law of the land. As Lt. General Aman Michael Andam said: "when we have the aristocracy totally under our control, we shall restore all civil rights." (New York Times, Sept. 21, 1974.)

The process of democratization of the state is as vital as agrarian reform in ensuring the completion of the national democratic revolution at this stage. The judicious policy of a stage by stage approach to political and economic re-

forms is a guarantee of the consolidation of social progress in Ethiopia. Of course, the best political instrumentality for such a process of extending democracy is a revolutionary democratic party. However, political parties are not well developed in Ethiopia, preventing the emergence of the ideal instrumentality for a national democratic revolution. There has been successful national democratic revolutions under the aegis of military regime, most notably, Burma, where the Army relinquished power to the Burmese workers party after the consolidation of the regime and in the Arab Republic of Egypt where, fitfully, the political role of the military has been constantly contracting relative to the Arab Socialist Union over twenty years.

It is elementary Leninism to note the intimacy of the interconnection between foreign policy and domestic policy. A consistent peace policy is the hallmark of a progressive regime seeking to advance democracy in its country. That is why the question of Ethiopia's colonial policy toward Eritrea, a formerly independent country that was annexed in 1962 and the question of the boundary dispute with Somalia, a progressive national democratic regime, will be an augury of whether neo-colonialist elements or progressive elements have gained control of the broad armed forces coordinating committee. Eritrea has waged an armed struggle against Ethiopia for over 13 years.

This colonizing effort by Ethiopia has drained the national budget of 30% to 40% of its revenue. The continuance of such an annexationist policy would preclude the allocation of considerable revenues for national and social reconstruction. V. I. Lenin taught us that the only solution to the national question (which in this instance, has merged with the colonial question) is consistency democracy. Hence, the movement of Eritrea toward national autonomy within a multinational state can only be realized by an advanced democratic program of national and social reconstruction.

It goes without saying that the U.S. neocolonialists have tried to promote tensions in the area by promoting antagonism between Eritrea and Ethiopia, labeling the strife as a struggle between oppressed Muslims and Christians oppressors. A palpable untruth, in view of the fact that 40% of the soldiers in the Eritrean Liberation Front are Christians. The anti-Muslim feeling among some reactionary Black nationalists in this country does not contribute to the resolution of these historic problems bequeathed to the Ethiopian peoples by moribund feudalism.

Given the fact that Somalia, a neighbor of Ethiopia is one of the most pro-

gressive states in Africa, western neocolonialists' policy has been to promote the boundary question as a divisive question between these sister republics. The mediatory role of the Organization of African Unity has debilitated the efforts of would-be neocolonialists. Couple this regional history with General Aman's recent policy statements calling for a peaceful solution to the Eritrean question and a collary policy of non alignment and peaceful relations with neighboring states, the consolidation of peace, democracy, and social progress has received a tremendous boost in East Africa as a result of the Ethiopian revolution.

## Imagine Vorster Wearing An Afro

The South African racists are trembling with fear and concealing it behind a stockade of bayonets along their border with Mozambique. There is a reason behind this fear that has made the racists take up guns. The former colonies are finally getting independence.

Even now Pretoria could start performing a funeral service for its administrative and ideological product—apartheid. This state system of racial oppression, which does the duty of constitution in South Africa, is not likely to survive the decolonization of the Portuguese territories. It is hard to believe that 16 million black South Africans will obediently wait for "progress through the separate development of races," while their neighbors in Mozambique begin moving toward true democracy in social life.

It is these thoughts that dishearten the man with the small wrinkled hands which he likes to join together in a peculiar gesture. This gesture, resembling the click of handcuffs, belongs to 58-year-old John Vorster, the South African Premier. He and his brain trust have been hastily modifying in recent months the theory and practice of apartheid, adapting it to new African realities.

Without changing its essence, apartheid is changing its outward appearance. Remaining a state policy which protects the notorious supremacy of the white race, it claims more insistently than ever before the role of God's gift to the blacks. The racist ideologists themselves are putting on Afro wigs.

Isn't the bell tolling for apartheid? Quite the contrary, it is Vorster who is putting on the optimism act. He is trying to prove that events in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau only confirm the rightness of the "policy of the separate development of races." According to

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Vorster, the disturbances in the colonies are rooted in Portugal's policy of assimilation, the territories were part of Portugal instead of being independent, and this, he says, did not work.

Thus, the modern apostle of racism adorns himself with the laurels of a fighter against colonialism. Moreover, Vorster makes it sound as though self-governing African states are being mass-produced on a conveyor belt. "We are leading our black homelands to independence," he exclaims.

Pretoria is eager to place its Africans in the goat pens of homeland reservations, which occupy only 13 percent of the country. And not only to camouflage the racist essence of the regime. Plans seem to be to turn the homelands into a buffer zone like the one which has crumbled with the decolonization of Mozambique and will disappear completely after the self-determination of Angola. The puppet-ruled African "states" are called upon to fence off the citadel of racism from the national liberation movements of the African south.

This will happen in the next ten years, Vorster predicts. A black policeman who was not permitted to rise above sergeant but now wears the rank of captain, is pointed out by the South African Premier as a symbol of the "unlimited possibilities" opening up before the Africans. Yet 70 per cent of the Black African population of South Africa, who have not been lucky enough to become policemen, are still living somewhere below the official "poverty line." The black worker there continues to earn one-fifteenth to one-twentieth of what the white worker earns.

The economic slump in South Africa, closely tied to the forcible alienation of blacks from skilled jobs, is giving the racist regimes about the same fears as the process of decolonization: Apartheid is under threat. It dictates approximately the same conclusion: Apartheid needs a face-lift.

This way of thinking is now practiced even by South African financial tycoons of the Harry Oppenheimer type. The diamond magnate is convinced that the country cannot realize its economic potential as long as labor productivity and earnings of the Africans are "artificially restrained," to put it mildly, by inadequate training and legal bans.

"WHITES ONLY" signs on benches in South African cities were painted over early this year. There are now places where blacks are not spit upon when they enter an art gallery or a restaurant. But even on an improved bench a black South African citizen will not get an equal opportunity. His only chance is the success of African national liberation forces.

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

## The Real Voice

*(continued from page 3.)*

had been formed such as the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization. Thus it was difficult to see precisely where this body would fit in. Particularly when the call made very little or no mention at all of an anti-imperialist character, but characterized the 20th century as the Century of Black Power. To us this looked as if it was a bit of misreading of what the 20th century is.

However, the conference was held and we did attend it and realized that there were some sharp differences. Apparently, our Afro-American brothers and sisters were looking at the world from a different perspective. The result was a sharp confrontation of ideas. On the question of the class struggles for instance which was naturally considered, I must say that most of our Afro-Asian colleagues who came as delegates were very good while our brothers from Britain and the United States, thought in terms of Black consciousness, something that didn't quite make sense. The speeches of President Nyerere (Tanzania), Sekou Toure (Republic of Guinea) and other leaders of the liberation movements made it clear that it seems as if we are not on the same wave length. The objectives of the conference which were defined by the organizers were dubious. The objectives of the conference looked to us a little unclear. And so, in the end and apart from certain declarations which were won by fierce debate, we ended up by not having a structure for the continuation of the conference. And this was by the express desire of the president of the country (Nyerere), who was the host of the conference, who thought that this matter should be referred to the OAU. The OAU never had the opportunity to participate fully in this venture. Had the preparations been made more carefully with the cooperation of all the progressive forces, of the anti-imperialist forces, in the United States and in Africa, there might have been more profitable results.

**AASC:** Because of these changes, do you think that there is now more of a possibility of another Vietnam in South Africa; that is, American intervention?

**Nokwe:** I fear that must be regarded as a real possibility, because, as I say, of the economic, political and military stake that the United States and the Pentagon has got in that area. South Africa is a strategic point for them in their crazy and mad theory of "defending" the Indian Ocean. Their investments, of course, the investments of the multinational companies and also their plans against Africa in general are in great danger. Any victory of the libera-

tion movement in South Africa would threaten this stake that they've got.

I should also say that the withdrawal of the United States from South Africa (by United States, I mean the United States government) would virtually mean a total collapse or the writing on the wall of the total collapse of imperialism in the United States itself.



**AASC:** What can Americans in this country do to aid the struggle of the African National Congress? In particular, how do you feel about the petition campaign that is being launched by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation?

**Nokwe:** We must look at the struggle against the imperialists as a struggle against their *global* strategy. They are united in a conspiracy to oppress not only the peoples of the United States itself and of South Africa, but they are joining their efforts in a concerted effort to suppress all of the working class throughout the areas where they exist. Therefore, the most important contribution is for the people of the United States to consolidate their own front in the United States and to fight our common enemy where they are. We will do the same. However, we will need to coordinate our efforts. Every blow given to the enemy where ever we are is an important blow in the chain of reaction.

However, there are specific issues that must be taken up on behalf of different sectors, and this requires concerted action. One of them is this issue of the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. This is an important issue. It is an issue which faced humanity and particularly the people of the United States during the period of the second World War when they rose and joined the peoples of the world in crushing fascism. One of the important things today is the complete destruction of fascism and apartheid.

The expulsion of South Africa is an urgent issue. It doesn't really mean expelling them from their seat, but it means preparing the world to take the appropriate steps to try the international criminals in terms of the Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, something which is similar to what

*(continued on page 8)*



# Frelimo's Answer to Black Power

The following edited speech by Mr. Marcelino Dos Santos, Vice President of FRELIMO, was given at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 29, 1964.

On behalf of the leadership of FRELIMO, the fighters and the Mozambican people we extend our fraternal greetings to all the participants at the VI Pan-African Congress.

Unlike the five previous Congresses, the present Congress is taking place at an extremely favourable time for the African struggle for independence and the establishment of people's power the indispensable basis for true African Unity at the service of broad masses.

The struggle for African liberation today is characterised by the great advances which have affected the very foundations of imperialist domination on our continent.

Thus, in Mozambique, Angola and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the armed combat of our people is defeating the colonial power and has brought about the fall of the fascist regime in Portugal.

In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and the other territories still subjected to colonial and racist domination, there has been an indisputably great upsurge in the armed and social struggle aimed at achieving national liberation.

In the independent countries we witness the growth and consolidation of foreign bases and the elimination of the many links of dependence of the former colonial metropolises.

The progress of the people's liberation wars against the bastions of colonialism and racism and the intensification of the fight for the consolidation of the independence of the Africa states are two poles of the same African struggle for independence and unity. Every positive development in the one creates more favourable conditions for the strengthening of the other.

Almost 10 years ago, on 25th September 1964, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the united Mozambican people launched a general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, to win the total and complete independence of Mozambique.

Over these years we have been able to transform the liberation war into a peoples war, enriching and deepening the contents of the national liberation struggle so as to transform the armed struggle for national liberation into a Revolution.

The victories achieved today are shown by the great defeats suffered by the colonial aggressor troops, the expansion of the armed struggle to more than half of our country and by the liberation of areas covering about one

third of Mozambique, that is a little more than 250,000 sq. kms. of our national territory. In these zones about 1.5 million Mozambicans are already living in freedom. At the same time in the zones still under enemy occupation there is constant clandestine work for the mobilisation and political organisation of the people, with the consistent aim of creating the conditions for expanding the armed struggle.

Without any distinction, Mozambicans of all races, ethnic groups, religious beliefs and social origins, young and old, women and men, are demanding national independence and asserting their total identification with FRELIMO's principles and programme.

This unity, the decisive factor for our victory, stems from a correct political line.

The liberation struggle, and even more so the people's liberation war, is not a technical process but an eminently political act.

A people's war is essentially to create conditions for involving the broad masses in the total struggle against the oppressor. Thus the destruction of the enemy's forces is intended to liberate land and people and to create the material conditions to engage fully and freely in the political, cultural, economic and social fight with the aim of destroying the foundations of the exploitative society and to establish a new power base.

A liberated zone is not defined by the physical presence or absence of the enemy. In many liberated areas the physical presence of the enemy has not yet completely disappeared. It makes itself felt by the bombing raids and sometimes even by the invasion of heliported troops. Moreover, in certain regions of our country, especially in Niassa Province, there was not any real physical presence of colonialism, foreign domination being exerted there indirectly through the local feudal authorities. But this does not mean that these were liberated areas.

There are therefore areas where economical and social practice and the structures of power have been profoundly changed. The old social order of capitalist-colonial or feudalistic traditional origin has been demolished and in its place a new social order has been established, based on the power of the working masses destroying the system of exploitation.

So the new Mozambican society which is being built on the ruins of the old society gradually distinguished itself from the colonial-capitalist society through practice in the various social fields. The negative aspects of traditional society were rejected and the posi-

tive aspects were developed as long as they were against the exploitation and oppression inherent in capitalism and feudalism.

It is not therefore a question of abstract or theoretical problems. A tough struggle had to be waged within our organisation against reactionary attitudes and tendencies resulting from the scars left by colonial and traditional education, which became major obstacles to the development of the revolutionary process.

With the improved living conditions and the coming into being of forms of economic development, there arose a tendency among certain elements to try to restore economic practices of a capitalist type—based on the colonial model—for their own personal benefit. This was particularly apparent in the organising of trade.

Whether through lack of political awareness or out of ambition, in their relations with the people these elements started to copy the practices of the traditional chiefs or, much worse, of the Portuguese administrators who had been driven out. Although in some cases such imitation could have been due to their ignorance of any form of organisation other than the colonial one, the main significance of this trend was the putting into effect of a concept of the liberation struggle which meant merely replacing whites by blacks.

Owing to the popular character of the war, there could be only one outcome to this confrontation: the one which safeguarded the interests of the masses and opposed the resurgence of exploitation in our areas. Through a hard struggle the popular and revolutionary contents of our movement and our political line were thereby safeguarded, ensuring the continued support of the masses and the pursuit of the armed struggle.

Another particularly important aspect of the national liberation struggle is the emancipation of women. This also requires an ideological struggle aimed at liberating women.

The fight for the emancipation of women is a necessity in the revolutionary process, a guarantee of its continuity and a pre-condition for its success. Indeed, it is inconceivable to destroy only a part of the old order, since from the surviving roots the system of exploitation will re-emerge.

continued in next issue

**EXPULS SOUTH AFRICA from the U.N.**

## Recommended Books

1. *U.S. Neo Colonialism in Africa* by Steward Smith, International Publishers, N.Y., \$2.95. An excellent book on U.S. policy in Africa and the role of imperialist forces in overthrowing progressive governments.
2. *The African Communist*. By the South African Communist Party, Imported Publications, 50c, Chicago. A Quarterly publication on recent events in Africa.
3. *Sechaba*, by the African National Congress of South Africa, Imported Publications, Chicago, \$5.00 per year. Monthly publication on events in South Africa and the views of the South African people.
4. *No Pintcha*. Published by the P.A.I.G.C. committee in the U.S., P.O.B. M365, New Bedford, Mass. 02744. Information bulletin on events in the new state of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.
5. *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, A Collection of speeches and statements by one of the most respected men in Africa who is Commander-in-Chief of the Military wing of the African National Congress of South Africa. Imported Publications, \$1.00.

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Harold Rogers ..... Editor

## Freedom in Portugal

unable to implement the new policies. This job has already been tackled but it has not yet been completed, especially in the provinces. The reorganization of the police and the national guard envisaged by the program of the Armed forces Movement has yet to be carried out. The other problems from the pseudo-Left of Trotskyist, Maoist, and anarchist groups who call for unrestricted freedom of anti-government activity provoke clashes and conflicts in an attempt to generate political tension. The Rightist on the other hand, seek to take advantage of the necessary regulation of the political process to curtail democracy and contract its mass basis. Finding the correct balance between order and reaction will not be solved on the basis of abstract considerations but on the specific balance of class forces, the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

Lastly, the third group of problems and tasks facing the Portuguese revolution are economic ones. In this area the rate of progress has so far been minimal. At the time of the takeover the country was on the verge of economic catastrophe. The colonial wars were consuming nearly half of the state budget. The lethargy of the countryside was emphasized by the feverish industrial development of the seaboard regions. The biggest capitalist companies, 168 of the 40,050 companies (0.4 per cent of the total number) owned 53% of the aggregate capital. Modern capitalism was represented by seven giant corporations against the background of a backward semi-industrial economy. Portugal had the lowest standard of living in Europe and 1.6 million people had left the country in search of work out of a population of 8.8 million. The capitalist knew and trusted General Spínola and had hoped to stabilize the situation in order to transform Portugal into a modern capitalist economy and to incorporate it into the European capitalist community.

Today the situation has changed some what. Progressive changes in the political sphere are taking place against the background of a relatively unchanged situation in the economy where the capitalist continue to hold sway in alliance with foreign capital. The government has taken steps to improve the conditions of workers but further progress in this direction is im-

peded by low labor productivity and fears of causing chaos in the commercial and financial sphere.

Because of a number of factors there has been an increase in inflation and unemployment. Production has been declining in some industries. The deficit in trade and the balance of payments is growing. The future seems likely to hold economic deterioration. Conflicting approaches to economic problems and lack of experience hinder the elaboration of a clear-cut economic policy by the ruling coalition.

Internal counter-revolutionary forces are still in operation in order to control the center of political power and to create a Chilean-type military fascist putsch. Both in July and September the attacks of the Right forces were repulsed. General Spínola who was steering a course toward a personal military dictatorship in the interest of the capitalists was forced to resign on Sept. 30. The revolution is on the offensive but the counter-revolutionary forces have not laid down their arms. The point of no return has not yet been reached. Bitter political clashes and conflicts are still possible and probably unavoidable. But the progressive Portuguese political leadership fully realize the strength of the counter-revolutionary forces and are doing every thing possible to strength their bases in the masses of the Portuguese people.

## The Real Voice

of South Africa from page 6)

happened to Hitler's hoard after the second World War. This time we hope it will be done before the disaster. Therefore, the petition campaign is a very worthwhile thing.

Also, as a matter of fact, we saw the actions of the miners' strike (against the importation of South African coal into the U.S.) as showing how intimately linked our struggles are. The coal which was being exported from South Africa was cheap and it was being mined by cheap labor for the multinational companies which exploit coal, because they regarded our people as cheap labor. They brought it to the United States because they wanted to increase unemployment, another form of exploitation of the workers. So, on both ends we find the United States companies and the South African magnates intensifying the exploitation of the working class in their own countries, but using the same commodity to do so.

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