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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

Vol. 4, No. 2

February-March, 1975

Double Issue, 40 cents

New Stages in the African Liberation Movement

The events of 1974 gave further confirmation to the irreversibility of the continent-wide African Liberation Movement. Not only was the year marked by a successful anti-feudal revolution in Ethiopia but also by an end of the genocidal colonial wars in the Portuguese territories of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. A fitting tribute to the glorious behests of Amilcar Cabral, the consistent internationalist, was the fact that this defeat of colonialism in Southern Africa was also marked by a victory of the Portuguese people in Europe in their 50 year struggle against Portuguese Fascism.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Hence, the three former territories of Portugal (Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola) have completed the general democratic stage of their struggle, the struggle for formal independence and are entering the national democratic stage of their struggle, the struggle for national and social reconstruction. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the forementioned liberation movements is that, due to the belated nature of their formal decolonization, (almost fifteen years after Africa year (1960) when so many African states attained formal independence), these movements had to fuse the national struggle for independence with the undertaking of tasks of social reconstruction before independence. Thus, a foundation has already been laid in many concrete institutional forms for the continuance of the process of national and social reconstruction. In a word, these three movements are a personification of what V. G. Solodovnikov called a new type of liberation revolution, "the national democratic revolution whose objectives range beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic revolution."

In the national democratic revolution, the task of the democratic anti-imperialist movement closely intertwine with those of the drive for social progress" (International affairs, June, 1973, p. 44).

Hence, these Liberation movements, are not only anti-colonial but also anti-capitalist, since Capitalism is now a barrier to social progress in Africa.

The first former Portuguese territory to receive complete independence was Guinea-Bissau. On September, 10, 1974, a peace treaty was signed between Portugal and Guinea-Bissau at Algiers wherein Portugal recognized the national sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau had already proclaimed her independence a year before, and this proclamation was duly recognized by the United Nations prior to the peace treaty with Portugal. Due to the absence of white settlers and large international monopoly corporations in Guinea-Bissau, there was no need to set up a provisional government of transition as was the case with Angola and Mozambique.



INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique also signed a peace treaty with Portugal on September 7, 1974 granting the Mozambique peoples complete independence and an unconditional transfer of authority. This act, to quote Samora Machel, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) wrote "A new page in the history of relations between two countries and peoples". Machel, who is also a consistent

internationalist, distinguished between the actions of the Portuguese Fascists and the actions of the democratic forces in Portugal. This rejection by Machel of the notion that, "white people in general" are the enemies of Africa was rewarded in a very concrete way by the support that democratic forces in the Portuguese army gave to the suppression of a secessionist attempt undertaken by reactionary whites and some of their Black lackeys. There was no united white front due to the historic policy of FRELIMO of combating all forms of racialism. Rightwing whites have now left the country, and many of them have settled in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Moreover, joint political actions are being undertaken by FRELIMO officials, and Portuguese officials during the period of transition. A provisional government was inaugurated on October 22, 1974 to take on the tasks of transition until a new constitution is drafted. The projected date for complete independence is June, 1975, which will end 500 years of foreign rule. The provisional Government, headed by Jonquin Chissano, recognizes the multi-racial and multi-ethnic character of the nation of Mozambique and has instituted a policy that forbids any discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, or religion.

The independence of Mozambique, as well as Angola, has ended forever the Cordon Sanitaire between the independent African states and that bastion of racism, fascism, and colonialism, the Republic of South Africa. The Rhodesian racists are even more alarmed since Rhodesia has common borders with Mozambique. Even the South African racists, recognize the "handwriting on the wall". Samora Machel contends that Mozambique will be a revolutionary base in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism.

PROBLEM IN ANGOLA

The liberation movement in Angola has been much more complicated than in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in that there was not one umbrella organi-

(continued on page 8)

Three Years Of Struggle

In Chicago, the African American Solidarity Committee observed its third anniversary of publishing the *African Agenda*. In the three years of our Committee's existence, we have endeavored to make a significant contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa as well as to the anti-monopoly fight in the United States through our newsletter and activities. Our purpose in the *African Agenda* has been to expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism in Africa and in other countries, and that of monopoly capitalism here at home, and how their policies affect Africans, Afro-Americans and all oppressed peoples. In

the pages of the *African Agenda*, we have consistently supported the progressive African liberation forces, and attacked racism and oppression wherever it exists. The African American Solidarity Committee has been engaged in many important activities which reflect the content of our anti-imperialist and pro-democratic ideological views. Some of these activities have been reported in our newsletter.

The Editorial Board of the *African Agenda* and the members of the AASC are anxious to expand the newsletter to cover a broader range of important topics and developments. However, we are hampered by a lack of funds. Your

letters of support for our work have been encouraging and appreciated. We have printed some of your comments in this issue. But in addition, we need your financial support to bring you expanded coverage. Some of you have already been helpful by sending us a donation. On our third anniversary, we appeal to all of you to make an investment in progressive development by donating to the *African Agenda*.

Thank you.

Yours in Struggle,

The Editor



Letters To The Editor

Dear Editor:

Just a brief note to inform you that the *African Agenda* has been reaching us in this part of the world. You cannot imagine how much it is contributing to our struggle. In this country we hardly read revolutionary material owing to the fact that the regime is trying as much as possible to keep the masses ignorant so that it can control them easily.

The people here are hungry for revolutionary reading and it is our hope that you will keep sending us the *African Agenda*. We need your support.

M.K.

Nairobi
Kenya

Dear People:

Enclosed is two dollars for a yearly subscription to the *African Agenda*. Please let me know how much a "bundle" of 10 per month would cost. The copy that I receive usually ends up getting passed around and or xeroxed that it would be simpler just to get a bundle.

W.A.

Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Brothers:

... Reading through the *African Agenda*, I came across an article about the African Liberation struggles, and the growing role of workers in the African Liberation Movements. The importance of the article is that it promotes the African struggles, informs the world community about concrete facts of the political situation, and projects the Movements which have the support of the broad masses of the people...

The purpose of writing you, therefore is to pay tribute to your organization for the contribution, the correct analysis of the African revolution, and your positive actions against world imperialism.

Aaron G. D. Ndhlovu
Secretary General
(Zimbabwe African
Congress of Unions)

Dear Editor:

I have received your publication with a real interest for our Continent, in particular, and for the anti-imperialist forces in general. I wish you many successes in your struggle.

Agostinho Neto

President of MPLA
(Popular Movement
For the Liberation
Of Angola)

Dear Mr. Rogers:

I am sure I owe you money since I haven't sent any since my original subscription. It was just an oversight and I am enclosing \$5.00 which should bring me up to date. I don't want to miss receiving your excellent bulletin. I pass it around to several friends so it does a lot of good here. Best wishes for your continued success.

L.R.

Wilmington, Del.

Dear Friends:

I congratulate you on your issue on Puerto Rico. The article was lucid and thorough and I learned much from it. Continue your good work...

I.S.

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Brother Rogers:

I greet you in the revolutionary spirit in the struggle for our freedom. I am a brother incarcerated here at Stateville Correction Center. I happened upon a copy of your publication the "*African Agenda*" and I found it to be very informative.

I feel your paper does a great service to our people by keeping them abreast of what our Brothers and Sisters are doing in Africa as well as what the Brothers and Sisters are doing in the U.S. If there is any help I can be to you ... I am at your service.

R.B.

Joliet, Ill.

Dear Editor:

Enclosed is a subscription renewal to the *African Agenda*. I think the paper is excellent and I found the issue on women to be particularly helpful for a speech I gave.

A.P.

Phila., Pa.

Dear Brother Harold:

You brothers are doing an excellent job in the *African Agenda*!

Ben Guriab

SWAPO Rep. to
the United Nations

Dear Editor:

Enclosed is my check for five dollars for as many copies of the "DuBois" issue as this will purchase. This is an excellent issue dealing with a great man. *African Agenda* places DuBois, in my view, correctly in terms of his niche in history, in the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S. and in the world revolutionary movement.

The issue also deals expertly with DuBois, Pan-Africanism and the dangerous game being played by pseudo Black revolutionaries in the present period to distort DuBois' role, his concepts and the relations of these to the fight against world imperialism's campaign to take over the African continent with all its riches. Keep up the good work.

G.M.

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Will you please forward me information on the African American Solidarity Committee. Also I would greatly appreciate it if you will ... send me a free subscription of the *African Agenda* since I am a Black penniless prisoner held politically in captivity in prison.

I.H.

Starke, Florida

No Compromise With White Supremacy!

In 1975, events in southern Africa will move at an accelerated pace in favor of the national liberation movements. In June of this year, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), will gain their independence from Portugal after 500 years of colonialist rule. Towards the end of this year, the people of Angola will achieve independence from Portuguese control under the united front leadership of the three forces for liberation in that country: the MPLA, FLNA and UNITA. These progressive events are clear indications that the future of southern Africa belongs to the African liberation movements and independent states, and not to the racist, white minority regimes. The growing weakness in the strategic positions of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Rhodesia continentally and internationally as well as the threat of intensified guerilla warfare in the southern region has prompted RSA Prime Minister Vorster and Ian Smith of Rhodesia to seek some pseudo-compromise with the liberation forces and independent nations.

SAME OLD STRATEGY

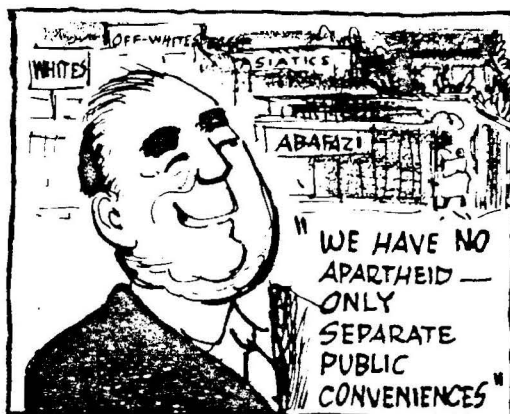
This "compromise" strategy is in line with that of the United States and other imperialist countries, the real props of the white minority regimes in Africa. The overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal in April 1974 in particular, and in general, the growing influence of the policy of detente as started by the socialist countries in the world, have caused setbacks for the imperialist countries. Both developments have forced the imperialist countries to modify their aggressive, profiteering tactics toward the developing countries in Africa. However, imperialism has not given up its main strategic objectives of strengthening the RSA and using it as a beach head against the independent states in Africa. The RSA continues to be the main source of cheap labor for the United States multi-national corporations in southern Africa, and the chief provider of raw materials that are essential for industrial production in the U.S. The RSA is also important militarily for the U.S. imperialist plans for the Indian Ocean region, the South Atlantic seas and the rest of the African continent.

RACIST DETENTE

To maintain U.S. influence in southern Africa and to strengthen its position, the South African government is pursuing three approaches. The first is the re-institution of the old tactic of "bridge-building" with the independent African states and other countries in southern Africa. The face-lift on the old policy is supposed to make it look like a policy of detente, but detente racist style. The purpose of this approach is to divide the African countries on the policy of maintaining a single front against apartheid in

southern Africa and "no dialogue" with the RSA. Further, it is aimed at capitalizing on the contradictions that the newly independent nations of Mozambique and Angola will face with the hope of gaining time for the RSA to strengthen its position.

One example of this foot-dragging "peaceful compromise" tactic is the RSA incredibly vague proposals to loosen its illegal stranglehold on Namibia (South West Africa). Vorster has been toying with the idea of giving Ovamboland in northern Namibia political independence "bantustan-style", which is actually no independence at all. In Rhodesia, this first approach has taken the form of Ian Smith releasing some political prisoners and calling for a conference with the liberation forces to form a multi-racial government. A series of "provocations" have prevented Smith from finalizing the date of the conference. Furthermore, Smith's gendarmes recently arrested Rev. Noabani Sithole, head of ZANU and has not listened to the demands of the African National Council (ANC) which has united ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI.



Detente racist-style has met with very limited success. Prime Minister Vorster did meet with several African leaders in Liberia during the month of February. However, at the Dar es Salaam meeting of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, a new strategy was adopted which calls upon all of Africa to unite in eliminating colonialism and apartheid from the continent. In the opening session, Tanzanian President Nyerere stressed that the Smith regime in Rhodesia faces war if it does not transfer power to the African majority. Further, Samora Machel, Chairman of FRELIMO warned that as soon as Mozambique is independent, it will unhesitatingly support the Africans in Rhodesia, as well as the liberation movement being led by SWAPO in Namibia.

COMMON MARKET

The second approach has been the new thrust to further develop a Southern African Common Market under the RSA direction. Through this form, the U.S. imperialists hope to take advantage of the newly independent states of Mozam-

bique and Angola by having South Africa offer them economic "aid". South Africa would open up resources to these and other southern Africa countries. As stated in the *Wall Street Journal* (1-7-75), this policy would call for South Africa to open up its agricultural surplus to neighboring countries; provide economic assistance to Angola and mining expertise to Zambia's Copper Belt; assist Mozambique technically in the completion of the Cabora Bassa Dam project and complete the Kunene River development in Ovamboland which would aid southern Angola. The purpose of this "aid" is to subjugate southern Africa to the South African Rand, and eventually make the region dependent upon the U.S. imperialist monetary system. This is also a time buying tactic for the South African regime to consolidate its strength in the region.

NATO ALLIANCE

The third and final approach of the South African government is building a closer relationship with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The threat of revolutionary armed struggle on its borders, and the fact that the RSA cannot confront the rest of the African countries alone militarily has forced the Vorster regime to follow this strategy. It has even modified its strategy toward the Rhodesian government and now advocates some form of "ordered retreat" from that country. The RSA supports the use of trained Black mercenaries in the army to accomplish its military aims. The mounting internal and external pressures of the forces for liberation have resulted in the RSA relying on its NATO allies for military back-up. It comes as no surprise that the United States expansion plans for the Indian Ocean include bringing the RSA into the fold and the possibility of sending troops and other military aid to bolster the racist Vorster regime. The infamous use of NATO as an umbrella over the RSA and the inclusion of that country in its plans have already been outlined in the Szulc article in the October 1975 *Esquire*.

U.S. imperialism still views South Africa as its "bridgehead" into the rest of Africa. But these new strategies are in force given the turn of events in Portugal and the other developments mentioned above. We must not be fooled by the false image of "peaceful compromise" that the Vorster regime is projecting. The RSA gives lip service to having a "change of heart" and these new strategies are in line with this deception and fraud. The white minority South African regime is feeling the damaging effects of international isolation for its de-humanizing and racist policy of apartheid. The regime knows that time is not on its side. Progressive forces must move forward on all fronts to bring the RSA to its knees. There can be no compromise with white supremacy!

Frelimo's Answer to Black Power

The first part of the following edited speech was printed in the Oct.-Nov. 1974 issue of the African Agenda. The total speech was given by Mr. Marcelino Dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO at the sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, June 20, 1974.

It is not a question of an act of generosity on the part of men dictated by altruistic considerations. The fight of women for their liberation is an integral part of overall fight of the exploited working masses for their liberation. It is therefore imperative that women engage in this overall fight, conscious that their struggle is part of a total struggle and rejecting every and any temptation of sterile feminism. Organisationally speaking this means the involvement of women in the movement that is leading the principal fight, regardless of the particular forms that their participation and structural involvement may assume.

In a recent analysis "Establish People's Power to Serve the Masses", comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO writes:

"This is why we always say that we are struggling against the exploitation of man by man, of which Portuguese colonialism is today the principal expression in our country. In other words, this means that our objective is to overthrow the power of the exploiting classes in Mozambique represented chiefly by the colonial and imperialist bourgeoisie, and to destroy the colonial state, the essential form of colonialist and imperialist domination in our country."

It is necessary to understand these points clearly. There are nationalists—some naively, because they do not have a developed class consciousness, and others because they are involved in exploitation—who think that the purpose of our struggle should be to establish black power instead of white power, and to elect or appoint Africans to the various political, administrative, economic and other posts which are now held by whites. The former, when they are engaged in practice, understand and accept the need to destroy the exploitative state, while the latter identify with the system and reject the destruction of the exploitative state. In short, for these nationalists who are not entirely satisfied with the colonial power because it is foreign, the ultimate aim of the struggle is in fact to "Africanise" exploitation. This is why they reject our revolutionary ideology, rejecting above all the transformation of attitudes and behavior that we demand, claiming that this is of no importance to the fight against colonialism.

For them, our struggle should be a struggle between black power and white power, whereas for us the struggle is

between the power of the exploiters and people's power.

The State, government and laws are not neutral instruments which can be used equally by the enemy and by ourselves. Hence the decisive question is not to replace European personnel with African personnel.

We cannot find a people's state with its laws and administrative machinery, based on a state and administrative machinery which were wholly designed by the exploiters. One cannot govern through a state set up to oppress the masses and still serve the masses.



To "Africanise" colonialist and capitalist power would be to make our struggle meaningless. What purpose would the struggle serve if we were to continue to be subjected to forced labour, the companies, and the mines, even if they were all full of African managers, and overseers? What would be the purpose of our sacrifices if we were still forced to sell our cattle and cotton at markets where only the traders benefitted, even if they were Africans. What justification would there be for so much bloodshed if at the end we are still under a state which, even if it were run by Mozambicans, served only the rich and powerful? How can one maintain a police force which arrests and tortures workers, or keep an army which fires on the people, even if all the generals were to be black?

A state of rich and powerful men in which a minority decides and imposes its will, whether we agree or not, and whether we understand or not, would be the continuation in a new form of the situation against which we are struggling. The question of people's power is the essential question in our revolution."

The question of people's power being thus defined as an essential question for the Mozambican people, one can see the importance of a clear and precise definition of who is the enemy.

This definition is fundamental since, in our historical circumstances a superficial or emotional analysis could easily lead to identifying the enemy on the basis of race or skin colour, thereby

deforming the true nature of our fight. For us the enemy is the system of exploitation, and the targets on which our weapons are trained are the instruments which perpetuate that system: the armed forces of oppression, the colonial state machinery and the logistic and economic means which sustain the colonial war.

Indeed, the Portuguese colonialists always tried to provoke a racial confrontation.

To this end they created special units in the army whose task it is to commit barbarous crimes against the white civilian population, crimes which are then attributed to the FRELIMO forces.

The colonialists tried in this way to gain the support of the white population in Mozambique which had been affected by the unequivocal behaviour of FRELIMO, sometimes remaining aloof from the colonial war, or even, in the case of the most aware, forthrightly joined the ranks of the militants.

It was FRELIMO's clear political line followed by the fighters and people which, by heightening revolutionary vigilance, made it possible to detect, unmask and thwart enemy manoeuvres.

In fact, the convergence of the intentions of African reactionaries and the Portuguese colonialists to transform the struggle against exploitation into a racial confrontation is not pure coincidence but the result of a common strategy.

Defining the enemy on a racial basis would have the following serious consequences:

(1. Confusing friends with enemies thus enabling reactionary forces to consolidate their presence in our midst solely because they are black. As a corollary, patriotic and progressive sectors of the Mozambiquean white population would be alienated. This would safeguard the exploitative and capitalist structures in our country, which is the main objective of the imperialist system in our zone.

2. Providing the enemy with people who up to now have refused to become involved in the active defence of colonialism: the white population in Mozambique. Harping on the theme of the genocide of whites in Mozambique, it would be easy to mobilize these people and even to provide certain external forces with a pretext for more open and direct intervention, as proved by the precedent of Stanleyville.

(3) Making the Mozambiquean revolutionary movement isolate itself from the other component parts of the world revolutionary front, notably the democratic forces in Europe and America and the socialist camp.

the Pan-African movement is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of new principles, so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently, draw up appropriate strategy and tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and Nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society.

Thus, the Pan-African movement is called upon to transform itself into a force for mobilising support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the causes of systems of exploitation and building societies based on the power of the exploited working masses.

It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonised peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

In this struggle the African peoples and their descendants living in other continents, especially in the Americas and Caribbean are joined together in brotherhood with the other peoples of the Third World, as well as with the other two great component parts of the world revolutionary fronts: the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and especially the working masses of these countries; and the world socialist camp.

Thus the Pan-African movement will open itself to the great tide of international solidarity and contribute effectively to the liquidation of colonialism which has no colour, capitalism which has no people and imperialism which has no country.

In this same perspective, we hail the successes of our comrades-in-arms of the PAIGC and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the MPLA and the MLSTP and the other liberation movements of Southern Africa, our comrades-in-arms who are fighting with us for the victory of freedom.

We also express our admiration and total solidarity for the peoples of Indo-China who by defeating the most powerful and cruel imperialist power, created more favourable conditions for the victory of our common struggle.

We solemnly affirm our total support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples

to win in the near future the national rights of the Palestinian people. Zionism, like colonialism and apartheid is merely one facet of the enemy of the peoples, namely the imperialist system.

We wish to hail the victory of the Portuguese people, our ally who has just toppled the fascist regime. Our joy is all the greater in that the armed struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique contributed decisively to this victory. This victory shows once again that revolutionary struggles are indivisible and that each one contributes decisively to the victories of the others.

To a great extent the Pan-African movement was born of the struggle of the African peoples and of descendants of our continent who were seized from it and taken to the Americas, the Caribbean and elsewhere. The black Americans are today fighting within the imperialist fortress, where they anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces are growing stronger and more numerous with each passing day. In full solidarity we are following and being encouraged by the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggle of the American people, and most especially of the black community with which we are united by the painful ties of the heritage of slavery and racial discrimination.

The Portuguese fascist regime has been overthrown, but colonialism continues to exist in our country. Seeking to adopt new formulas, colonialism is now fighting its last battle for survival, trying to frustrate our people of the product of ten years of sacrifice.

No manoeuvre or contrivance of the new Portuguese regime will deflect us from our fundamental principles and aspirations: freedom and national independence. There is no democratic colonialism. There is therefore a need for the broad mobilisation of African and international public opinion, in the wake of the historic decisions of the recent Assembly of African Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Mogadishu to lay bare and unmask without any ambiguity the delaying tactics the present Portuguese government is engaged in.

Let us raise high the banner of national independence and fight for freedom and the liquidation of exploitation in every form. The Mozambican people, more united than ever under the leadership of FRELIMO, will be able to fulfil their national, African and international duty.

Long Life African Unity!

Long Live the Sixth Pan-African Congress!

Long Live the Struggle of the Peoples against colonialism, racism and imperialism!

No Justice For Namibia

The continued illegal occupation of Namibia (South West Africa) by the racist white minority government of South Africa is an international crime which illustrates the desperate and isolated position of South Africa. Although ordered by the International Court of Justice (in 1971) and the United Nations to relinquish all claims to Namibia, South Africa continues to control and repress brutally the Namibian people.

Namibia's geographical position between Angola and South Africa, as well as its tremendously rich mineral deposits, make it militarily and economically of vital importance to Prime Minister Vorster's regime in Pretoria. The South Africans, in an attempt to maintain control, have subjected the Namibian people to the racist and dehumanizing policy of apartheid.



Namibia's strategic importance lies in its service to South Africa as a "buffer zone" between the Black independent nations in the North and the white minority in the South. Located on the Atlantic, Namibia is bordered on the north by Angola, on the northeast by Zambia, on the east by Botswana and on the south by South Africa. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique have shrunk the "buffer zone" borders of South Africa and have increased the importance of her control over Namibia. The major priority of Vorster's regime is to maintain white hegemony in South Africa. Today the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia are all that stand between the white minority of South Africa and the historical realities that South Africa's days are numbered.

"TREASURE HOUSE OF METALS"

Economically Namibia serves the interest of the South African government and her corporate allies. Called the "treasure house of metals", Namibia's precious resources of diamonds, lead, copper, zinc, silver, gold, uranium and oil are controlled by South African, Western European and United States corporations. American Getty Oil Company,

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Namibia

Navarro Exploration Co., Phelps Dodge, Nord Mining, Gulf Oil, Standard Oil, Shell Oil and Tsumeb Corporation controlled by American Metal Climax and the Newmont Mining Corporation are all deeply involved in the imperialist rape of Namibia's resources.

In order to insure the super profits of the corporations and to maintain political control, South Africa has viciously enforced the policy of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* means separate development and is based on the premise that each ethnic group within a country cannot and must not live together. This policy is presented by Vorster and his henchmen as a humane alternative to what they see as eventual genocidal racial wars in southern Africa. In reality it is a vicious policy that insures economic and political oppression of the African peoples.

THE PLIGHT OF NAMIBIANS

The result of the *apartheid* policy in Namibia is that the people have been divided into tribal groups based on a mythical notion of tribal exclusiveness. Each group has been relocated in segregated areas on the poorest land called "bantustans". The Black African majority occupies one-third of the available land while the white minority occupies the towns and the remaining good land. The bantustans are supposed to be self-governing and self-contained. In reality, they are totally dependent, both politically and economically on South Africa. Within these areas every aspect of the lives of the Namibian people is controlled. The conditions under which they live are appalling; they have no political and few legal rights; the land cannot support the population agriculturally; medical care is almost non-existent; and jobs are scarce.

In order to survive, the Namibian people are forced to seek work in the white areas under an insidious system of contract labor. The Namibian worker has no right to negotiate his pay, quit his job, join a union or strike. The terms of the worker's contract are determined by the employer and labor recruiter. The worker must go where ever he is told, must carry his "pass" book at all times, and can have the labor contract renewed or terminated at the whim of the employer. It is estimated that every month three thousand Ovambo (the largest African group in Namibia) labor recruits move to the mines and farms in southern Namibia and South Africa.

RESISTANCE TO OPPRESSION

It was against the contract labor system and the entire *apartheid* policy that 25,000 workers went on strike on December 31, 1971. The strike began in the copper, lead and zinc mines and quickly spread to the railways, docks, factories and public services. This tremendous action highlights the unity, discipline and

the strike, which lasted more than a month, almost totally paralyzed the economy and had repercussions in South African industries. But this was more than a labor dispute. The strike was a direct assault against the entire *apartheid* system. It did not break the system, but it shook the Pretoria government and destroyed forever the myth that the Namibians were content under South Africa's heel.

The Namibian people have heroically struggled against foreign domination of their country since the 1880's. Their history has been marked by periodic uprisings against the Germans and later the South Africans. The beginnings of the struggle over Namibia go back to the 1880's when the Germans, in search of a colonial empire, conquered and crushed the resistance of the Herero and Nama peoples. By 1915 Germany was preoccupied with World War I, an imperialist war kindled by her own ambitions, and forced to focus attention away from southern Africa. This allowed the Anglo-Dutch forces of South Africa to occupy and hold South West Africa. At the close of World War I, the bourgeois diplomats, politicians and generals of the imperialist powers gathered at Versailles to divide up Germany's empire. Under the provisions of the League of Nations' "mandate" system, South Africa was given the 'sacred trust' of governing South West Africa. South Africa has governed the territory to its own advantage. Under this mandate it had no obligation to insure the eventual independence of the Namibian people. In fact, South Africa is blatantly ignoring the demands of the United Nations and progressive governments to relinquish its stranglehold on Namibia.

SWAPO LEADS THE STRUGGLE

In 1959 the people of Namibia formed the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) which sought independence and self-determination through peaceful dialogue with South Africa. That country's arrogant refusal to debate or negotiate with SWAPO forced the Organization to seek a forum in the United Nations. SWAPO is recognized by the United Nations General Assembly as the "authentic representative of the people of Namibia". Although this strategy made the world recognize the struggle of the Namibian people and spotlighted the brutality of the South African regime, it has not significantly altered the conditions of the people.

Armed struggle became the only alternative. In 1966, SWAPO militants attacked in the northern areas of Okavango, the Caprivi Strip, Ovamboland, Kaokoveld and the major towns of Windhoek, Grootfontein, Walvis Bay, Tsumeb, Swakopmund and Oranjemund. At present SWAPO continues the armed struggle and has declared that its activities will continue until South Africa is
(continued on page 8)

One Million Voices To Expel South Africa From The UN

The petition on the next page to expel South Africa from the United Nations has been issued by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation. We urge you to make a commitment of solidarity with the worldwide movement to end *apartheid* in South Africa by having your family, friends and co-workers sign the petition. Please return your completed petition to: African Agenda, P.O. Box 1941, Chicago, Illinois 60690 as soon as possible.

The following facts are but a few that demonstrate why the white minority government of South Africa must be expelled from the United Nations:

The Racist Policy of Apartheid and the Black South African Population

1. Of the 22 million people in South Africa, 72% are Black and 15% are white.
2. The Black population are forced to live only on 13% of the most barren land in areas called "Bantu Homelands." The whites live on 87% of the best land area.
3. Blacks are not allowed to vote or hold public office.
4. Blacks are paid 1/20th of the wage of white workers for equal work.
5. Blacks are not allowed to form labor unions or to strike.
6. Blacks are forced to carry "identity passes" and are kept in jail for 180 days without access to family, legal counsel or court.
7. The 500 U.S. corporations in South Africa pay their Black workers about 20 dollars per month.
9. One out of every two Black children dies before the age of five.
10. The average life expectancy for whites is 65 years, but for Blacks it is 38 years.

International
Women's Year
1975



**DECLARATION
TO EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA
FROM THE UNITED NATIONS**

**TO: THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
UN SECRETARY-GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM**

**WE THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES
PETITION FOR:**

The expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations. The white supremacist regime of the Republic of South Africa has been condemned by the UN General Assembly for the continued suppression of the human rights and political liberties of the Black Majority of that country, in violation of the basic principles of the UN and its Charter.

In addition, we demand that the U.S. government break all relations, both diplomatic and economic, with the fascist regime of the Republic of South Africa. We also call upon all U.S. multi-national corporations to immediately withdraw their investments from South Africa. And we demand that the U.S. government and all U.S. organizations cease cultural, sporting and other relations and exchanges with the Republic of South Africa.

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Recommended Books

1. *Libya: The Unsettled Record* by Ruth First. Penguin African Library. An important book on past and present events in Libya. Price: \$2.95.
2. *Socialism and the Newly Independent Nations*, by R. Ulyanovsky. An excellent book on the relationship between the socialist countries and the independent countries today. Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St. Chicago 60610. Price: \$2.25.
3. *Races and Peoples* by Progress Publishers. Current International Problems series. One of the few books out that correctly discusses the issues of racial and ethnic problems in the world. Imported Publication. Price: \$2.00.
4. *The Man Who Cried Genocide* by William L. Patterson. The story of one of the most important fighters for Black liberation and world peace. International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. South N.Y.C. 10016. Price: \$2.95.

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Harold Rogers Editor

Editorial Board

Diane Richards, Rudaki, Chukwa Dinobi,
Linda Murray.

New Stages

zation under which all African political groupings fought. The mineral wealth of Angola is much larger, prompting international monopolists to put more political energies in tactics that would split the unity of the Angolan peoples.

The organization that most consistently fought against the Portuguese colonialists was the Popular Movement for the liberation of Angola (MILA) led by Agostinho Neto, another consistent internationalist. The other two "Liberation" organizations, Nationalist Union for Complete Independence (UNITA) led by a notorious adventurer, Jonas Savimbi, and the Angola National Liberation Front (ENLA) led by Holden Roberto, never really fought against the Portuguese. Holden Roberto's grouping was also supported by Maoists who have a recurring propensity of supporting nationalist splits in multi-national states. In an earlier phase of the Angolan liberation movement, Holden Roberto's accentuation of the national superiority of the Bakongo people of Angola threatened to undermine the unity of the Angolese peoples in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. A consistent patriot would have fought for the consolidation of all the different ethnic groupings and nationalities in a single nation-state rather than supporting the imperialist strategy of partition of nation states, as was attempted in Nigeria with the Biafran secession and Zaire (former Congo-Kinshasa) with the aid of the arch enemies of Africa, Colonel Ojukwu and Moise Tshombe, respectively.

FICTITIOUS MOVEMENTS

The politics of partition has not been ended however. As Angolan independence drew near, a fictitious liberation movement sprang into existence in November with money to burn. This liberation movement was called the Cabinda Enclave liberation Front (FLEC) and is backed by Western Monopolists, especially Gulf Oil Corporation. In view of the rich oil deposits in this province this secessionist movement can be compared with the attempted secession of oil rich Eastern Nigeria (Biafra) which was also backed by 'Foreign monopolists, Zionists, and reactionary figures in the Catholic Church.' Cabinda province is separated from the rest of Angola by the Congo river and contains more than 75% of Angola oil reserves, and it is estimated that from this province, Gulf oil has made a profit of more than \$400 million. This secessionist movement is a glaring example of the practice of trans-national

control over the economic and political affairs of a nation to maintain the rate of profit at the expense of the social and national progress of millions of peoples. Fortunately, the Cabinda secession has been temporarily thwarted by the joint actions of MPLA and Portuguese troops.

Angola's transitional tasks are even more complicated than Mozambique due to the presence of large transnational corporations and also the presence of more than 500,000 Europeans.

The signing of a Three Party Pact by MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA on January 15, 1975 in Mombasa, Kenya is a very hopeful omen that the patriotic forces in Angola will unite to consolidate national independence.

The liberation of the Portuguese territories, by armed struggles, constitute a new link in the chain of the progressive eradication of strongholds of racism, colonialism, and apartheid in Africa. It is not unimportant that these three nations are the only countries South of the Sahara that did not attain their independence by negotiation, with the inevitable encumbrances that have accompanied that method of attaining independence.

(continued from page 6)

No Justice

willing to negotiate the territory's independence. A measure of SWAPO's success is the continued South African troop reinforcements being sent to the northern areas of Grootfontein, Onuno, Ondangua airport and at Ruacana on the Kunene River near the giant hydroelectric project.

All progressive people must carefully watch the unfolding of South Africa's current contradictory diplomatic strategy. There are reports that South Africa may possible withdraw from Namibia. At the same time South Africa's Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller states that South Africa's continued participation in the U.N. remains in question. South Africa wants to present an image of reason, fairness and statesmanship in its administration of Namibian affairs to the international community.

SWAPO's valiant leadership at the United Nations and on the battlefield demands the support of all progressive forces. International support must further the independence struggle of Namibia both materially and spiritually through exposure of the aggressive deeds of South Africa and her imperialist allies the United States, Great Britain and France. Our task of active solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for total independence is vital—nothing less is tolerable.

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