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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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South African Pretoria Racist Regime Is Not An Independent African State!

by Joseph Nhlanhla

In the aftermath of the Sharpsville massacre and the unanimous condemnation, rejection and isolation of the Pretoria regime, the preoccupation of its masters is how to reserve this trend and give apartheid a human face. The flight of capital more in fear of the wrath of the people than because of moral abhorrence of the violence and barbarism inherent and apparent in the system of apartheid and the expulsion of the Pretoria regime from the Commonwealth Conference where she was represented by its architect Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd in 1961 so frightened the coloniers and exploiters of the African continent, particularly the plunderers of the southern region, that they started looking frantically for new methods that will enable them to hold on to old positions.

At this stage the entire continent and most progressive mankind was unanimous that the monster of apartheid should be destroyed. There was some differences of emphasis maybe on the best method to be followed. Some members saw the need for a unified African High command as the best way of eradicating the scourge of racism in the continent. There were volunteers already for such an expedition. The majority of the member states with the support of the liberation movements directly confronting the enemy were unanimous in that the correct path to be pursued was to give all out material and political support to the liberation movements who will accomplish perform in the actual task. Events have borne out the correctness of this approach as shown in the liberation of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands where the OAU was the reliable rear and the progressive forces particularly the socialist countries the natural and consistent ally.

Imperialism true to its nature of never accepting defeat without struggle immediately launch on an offensive. Inside

South Africa itself the "Ford Foundation" was formed with the purpose of white-washing apartheid and selling it abroad. Almost simultaneously the regime initiated its so-called outward looking policy which entailed the use of South African economic power to make inroads into independent Africa by making them more dependent on her ... this was the policy followed with former British protectorates and Malawi though the former maintained their political integrity in spite of lamentable economic position. Where this policy was not successful, the racists and their supporters resorted to threat and incursions. The threat on Zambia "to occupy her and hit her so hard that she will never forget" is the glaring example of this alternative. The whole outward looking policy was sugar-



coated by the so-called DIALOGUE which reached notoriety in 1971. It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole trick of so-called dialogue was the creation of United States, British and French imperialists. They tried to use their tremendous economic and political influence to make apartheid marketable. Africa with the full support of the entire progressive mankind saw through the

trick and rejected Dialogue. But this was only one aspect of the trick.

The United States through its State Department and the present Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger formulated memorandum 39 as early as 1969 with the main purpose of effecting the acceptability of the Pretoria fascist regime, as *fait accompli*, allotted to the minority regime the role of supervising the interest of imperialism whilst pretending to be instruments for change and decolonisation. It is obviously a strange role where the colonialists pretend to be for decolonisation. But the memories of the Indo-chinese struggle, particularly that of Cambodia and Vietnam once again exposed the tricks of the imperialists when they are cornered. Both Lon Nol and his counterpart in Vietnam Thieu were instructed to resign in a desperate attempt to manufacture a swallowable trick and when this was also rejected a string of so-called "new administrations" were cooked-up. We must not forget that here again the hand of Kissinger was visible and apparent. Thanks to the vigilance and gallantry of the comrades-in arms in Indo-China there was no let till final victory.

It is hardly an accident that all the imperialist countries almost without exception have been propping the Pretoria regime with all kinds of arms and economic aids equal or more than Israel. The imperialist investments into South Africa are more than the combined investment received by all African countries from the same sources. The main idea is to impose the Pretoria regime as *fait accompli* and to use South Africa as they, the imperialists, have been using Israel to infiltrate independent Africa and neo-colonise the continent from both the North ... through Israel and from the South through ... Pretoria. In this way they would effect the weakening of the positive role in the anti-imperialist struggle of OAU.

Now it is clear that the strategy of

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Chile's Experience And Problems of the Class Struggle

The first and second parts of this article were published in the last two issues of the *African Agenda*. The following edited conclusion is taken from *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1975.

Peaceful Development

The Party's prime task is the creation of a social, political, economic and ideological mechanism that would compel the exploiter classes to bow to the people's will, would force them to accept the reality and inevitability of the socialist road of development effected in peaceful form. Should the exploiter classes renounce this road the popular masses must have the will, organization and force to break their resistance.

This problem's solution depends on the nature of the very process of the peaceful development of the revolution. There exist several variants of the peaceful development of the revolution that differ as regards pace and nature and forms of action of the popular masses, the arsenal of the means used by them and means of suppressing the exploiter classes.

Closely related to these problems is the important question of the correlation of strategy and tactics in the process of the revolution's peaceful development. There exists the point of view that the choice of forms of revolutionary struggle is predetermined by strategy and is closely connected with it. Actually this means negation of the need to master all forms of struggle. The reasoning was that it is allegedly impossible to orient the working class toward a peaceful winning of power and at the same time to prepare it for armed struggle. The question is posed as follows: either the peaceful road of developing the revolution, and then its motive forces should prepare themselves morally and politically only for peaceful forms of struggle, or the course of armed development of the revolution and this necessitates preparing the masses for armed struggle.

The vulnerability of this point of view was demonstrated once again by the experience of the Chilean revolution. The strategic concept determining the aims of struggle and the alignment of class forces can be implemented through the most diverse forms. Of course the line of peaceful development of the revolution determines the choice of forms of struggle, but changes in the opponent's tactics, in the methods of the counterrevolution's activities already generate the need of finding methods of preparing the masses to repulse their attacks regardless of form.

The classes that are being overthrown make the most unexpected turns, utilize the most diverse methods of resistance. The course of mastering all forms of struggle also presupposes the necessary

political and psychological preparation of the working class and all working people, its constant readiness to defend the revolution from any maneuvers of the enemy.

The Chilean revolution's defeat started a multitude of discussions on the ways of creating the motive forces of the revolutionary process. Widely discussed was the question of winning the majority and forms of organizing this majority. Criticism was levelled at the old tendency to consider the question of winning over the masses from the point of view of attaining parliamentary-electoral aims and of winning on this basis a majority according to the principle of 50 plus 1. The experience of many countries shows that if the electoral majority is ill organized, then it is a passive majority. It alone does not guarantee the revolution's advance. For this reason there arose the need of drastically distinguishing between the notions of winning over the masses and of running after the masses.



Organized Majority

What is required to break the reaction's resistance is not simply a majority but a vigorously acting and firmly organized majority.

Various all-embracing mass organizations of working people could be a form of rallying such a majority. Such organizations have shown that they have been a really active organized force in all victorious revolutions. The Soviets were such mass organizations in Russia and National Committees in European countries. Precisely the existence of such organizations makes it possible to take power into the hands of the people at the peak period of the revolution's development and to retain this power in the course of struggle against the bourgeoisie. In recent times, however, the question of the need to have all-embracing popular organizations has not attracted the attention it deserves.

There exists the view that, firstly, it is possible to do without mass all-embracing organizations of working people and that such organizations as trade unions, youth, peasants' and women's organizations are sufficient.

It is believed that municipalities and other representative organs elected in accordance with the constitution will play a big role in the winning of power by means of the parliamentary form of struggle. It is difficult to say if at any time in the future, in conditions of the further tipping of the balance of forces in favor of democracy and revolution, these organs will have a decisive importance for the winning of power. But if we are to study this problem in concrete historical terms, as applied to the present stage of class struggle, it can be stated quite definitely that neither the parliament nor the municipalities by themselves are capable of ensuring the transition of full power into the hands of the people without mass organizations. This has been confirmed once again by Chile's experience. There were quite a few organizations of working people in Chile but they did not play the decisive role in the consolidation of power.

Production committees at state enterprises were not organizations of the political type. The councils for control over prices and distribution actually lost their independence when they were subordinated to the military. True, there existed militant trade union organizations united in a single trade union center, but they included only a part of the workers and did not unite the majority of working people. As we see, in reality the overwhelming majority of working people did not have united organizations and quite naturally were weakened in the face of belligerent reaction.

The program document of the Popular Unity bloc had a clause on the need to have popular unity committees, to strengthen and develop them. "To stimulate and organize the Chilean people's movement to win power, the participants in Left-wing movements and members of Left-wing parties should organize popular unity committees everywhere—at each factory, at each landed estate and settlement, institution or school." Such committees were created during the presidential elections. There were more than 15,000 of them, but the Popular Unity bloc did not show the necessary concern for strengthening these committees and turning them into an embryo of power. It was thought that such a policy would contradict the Constitution.

This thesis, however, cannot be considered as substantiated. The Popular Unity government came to power through the mass activity of working people and had legal authority to organize them. And

when class struggle breaks the framework of constitutional norms on the initiative of the Right-wingers, references to the Constitution reflect in these instances already the defensive posture of the revolutionary forces and doom the working class to defeat.

It is absolutely clear that if a conflict mounts between the constitution and the organizations of the masses in the course of the revolution's development, priority belong to the forces of the revolution. The very fact of the origin of such a conflict points to the growing resistance of the reactionary classes. Concessions on this question already mean retreat. Only working people united in mass, all-embracing organizations can break reaction's resistance. At the peak period of struggle precisely such organizations could put up a real resistance to reaction. But there were no such organizations and this accelerated the Allende government's fall.

A New State Apparatus

The experience of the Chilean revolution also confirms once again Lenin's thesis of the need to crush the bourgeois state apparatus in the course of revolution and replace it with an apparatus of the popular state. Besides, the question of the pace of democratic transformations of the state machine acquires much greater acuteness when the revolution develops in peaceful forms. The longer the process of transition from democratic transformations to socialist ones, the sharper becomes the question of democratizing the state apparatus.

We set the question of the democratic transformation of the state apparatus first of all as a problem requiring a principled solution. As to the rates of this democratic transformation of the state apparatus and the more so the mechanism of this transformation, they can be most diverse and their solution, naturally, depends on the specific historical conditions of the country, the alignment of forces and other factors which cannot be taken into consideration beforehand. In this sphere life will show an even greater wealth of roads and forms of solving this task. As to the task itself, it is imperatively set forth by the entire essence of the social revolution determining the transition from the old social system to the new one.

The revolution's defeat in Chile as a result of the military-fascist coup reveals forms of resistance to social progress that are typical of the exploiter classes. This, in effect, obliges every party that elaborates the concept of the peaceful development of the revolution to have a clear-cut strategy for the creation of such an organization of the masses and for such a political-moral education of these masses as would ensure the superiority of the revolution's forces and their ability to paralyze any forms of resistance by the forces of reaction.

The question of the readiness and ability of the working class to respond to

the task works itself up to even the open reactionary violence against the masses with a direct revolutionary violence of the people against the bourgeoisie belongs among the most complex ones in the process of the revolution's peaceful development.

This is quite a touchy problem, and as a result the theoretical elaboration of the question of forms of overcoming reaction's armed resistance lags far behind the mature tasks of struggle for democratic transformations and transition to socialism.

The entire experience of class struggle clearly shows that in their attempt to hinder the implementation of the people's will the reactionaries pin big hopes on the police and the army, which is being isolated from the people in every way and subjected to reactionary ideological brainwashing.



Role of the Army

But many prominent progressive leaders in Chile underestimated the army's class nature. The doctrine of the army's neutrality was widespread. It was thought that the army in Chile differs from the armies in other countries in that it is above politics, stands guard over legality and is engaged in its professional business.

These notions were backed by the fact that in the course of three years of the Allende government's activities the armed forces had either observed a favorable neutrality or given the president a certain assistance.

In reality, the situation in the Chilean army was much more complex. First of all, this army was heterogenous. Along with elements sympathizing with democratic transformations it included quite a number of reactionaries, even of the fascist type, especially among the commanding officers. All the time Chile's armed forces maintained close ties with the U.S. army. Virtually all commanding officers in the Chilean army had undergone training in the United States. U.S. military deliveries for the Chilean air force and navy continued even when the Allende government was in power. There were numerous signs that the reactionary tendency among the command personnel in Chile was growing.

Along with a direct struggle there was underway. But the Popular Unity government did not resist this. No measures, in effect, had been taken to democratize the armed forces and the police.

The reactionary circles of the Chilean army had first accomplished a coup in the armed forces and only then in the country. The Chilean people paid dearly for the illusion that the army could be above politics. Volodya Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party, admits: "It is clear that the army cannot be considered as being outside politics, this was an illusion. History showed that the army, just like all institutions in the world, like all people on earth, whether they like it or not, lives in a world permeated with politics. Imperialists know this very well and they pulled over to their side the top military, having removed all exponents of constitutional methods who respected the people's will. They created a nucleus of leaders patterned on the Indonesian model."

Multi-Party Formation

Considering Chile's experience, let us dwell in conclusion on yet another important question of the revolutionary movement under contemporary conditions—the effectiveness of the guiding activity of the multi-party political vanguard of the popular masses. As has already been said, the working masses in Chile were headed by the Popular Unity coalition that consisted of Communists, Socialists, Left-wing Christian Democrats and other radical groups. The coalition was based on the alliance of Communists and Socialists and was formed as a result of a lengthy and complex struggle by the Communist Party for rallying all democratic, revolutionary forces in the country.

The experience of this coalition's activities is of international significance. Many Communist parties, as is known, state in their program documents that in contemporary conditions successful struggle for democracy and socialism depends first of all on the creation of a militant alliance of all democratic forces headed by a bloc of a Left-wing political parties. Much work has already been done in a number of countries to create such alliances. For quite understandable reasons the experience of the Popular Unity coalition is of a really priceless significance for further developing and enriching the policy of alliances in other countries.

The most important conclusion drawn from the experience of the performance of the Popular Unity coalition is that alliances of Left-wing political parties are the most effective form of rallying democratic forces. At the present stage of class struggle such blocs create the necessary possibilities for establishing and strengthening the alliance of the working

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Chile: Salvador Allende, left, Socialist, and Luis Corvalan, Communist.

class, the peasantry and other segments of working people and for drawing them into revolutionary transforming activities.

But Chile's experience showed that alliances of Left-wing political parties have not only strong points but also weaknesses.

And Chile's experience shows that it is the positive aspects of alliances and coalitions that advance to the fore during periods of the upswing of revolutions. Of course, differences in views and friction do happen and there occur moments of worsening relations between parties. But in the final count the revolution's upsurge helps to overcome the contradictions.

But the weaknesses of political coalitions begin to loom prominently at times when the rate of the revolution's development slows down and the more so in conditions of an offensive by the forces of reaction. This was clearly demonstrated by the events in Chile. At the time of the polarization of class forces considerable differences arose between the parties of the coalition of Left-wing forces, and they were resolved in rather acute forms: some groups left the coalition, some groups took up a position differing from the Popular Unity policy.

Certain differences arose even between the Communist and Socialist Parties, which represented the interests of the working class and had a common course. But, as has already been stated above, the "Leftist" grouping in the Socialist party had insisted on an expansion of the scope of socialist transformations, thus creating difficulties with the middle layers. There were instances of differences on a number of other questions.

The growing differences between political parties weakened the positions of the Popular Unity, the alliance of the working class with other segments of working people. In the final count differences within the Popular Unity coalition were one of the main factors of the Allende government's narrowing social

base and all this made things easier for the military-fascist coup in the country.

Left-Wing Coalitions

The experience of the Chilean events sets forth the drastic need of a deeper study of the entire political concept of creating and strengthening the bloc of Left-wing political forces. It can be said already now that the vitality of such alliances and blocs is ensured first of all by a correct policy in respect of all segments of working people, that is, a policy that takes into account the current and long-term interests of all segments of working people united in the coalition and their political representatives. It is very important therefore to set the following question: within the framework of the bloc in which the parties are regarded as political equals, the Communist Party, utilizing its knowledge of theory and organizational cohesion, is always called upon to play the role of initiator and unifier.

The revolution in Chile, the three years of its continuous development and the lessons of its defeat, constitute an event of much international significance. A courageous and creative attempt was made in Chile to apply the general laws of the Leninist theory of revolution to the solution of concrete historical tasks of the revolution's peaceful development and this determines the lasting significance of that country's experience. Along this road the Chilean revolution managed to carry out a tremendous creative job and demonstrated the possibility in principle and the historical promise of this road of revolutionary development.

The revolution's defeat reveals not the untenability of the concept but the extreme complexity of the historical situation, the extent of pressure exerted by American imperialism, the fierceness of reaction's resistance and also the shortcomings in the activities of the Popular Unity government, the theoretical and political miscalculations and tactical errors.

The question of independence for Namibia (South West Africa) has occupied the attention of the United Nations since its inception. In 1920, the former German colony was placed under the administration of the Republic of South Africa by the League of Nations. This arrangement, known as the mandate system, gave South Africa the opportunity to colonize Namibia in her own right. Despite the repeated entreaties of the U.N., South Africa has refused to grant independence to Namibia, but rather has chosen to extend the vicious system of apartheid into this territory.

Recently, South Africa's hegemony in the lower portion of the continent has been seriously challenged. The courageous struggle of MPLA in Angola, the victorious liberation movement in Mozambique, the continued assaults on Ian Smith's illegal regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have placed the proponents of apartheid on the defensive. Despite the heavily repressive policies of the government in Namibia, SWAPO, the South West Africa People's Organization has engaged in various forms of struggle ranging from strikes in the mining camps to outright guerilla combat.

During the past four months, thousands of whites have fled Namibia because of an "intensified guerilla campaign", according to Andreas Shipango, a SWAPO spokesman. Last month 150 soldiers were killed and 28 trucks destroyed by SWAPO during an attack on a South Africa military camp at Lauban in Southeastern Namibia.

Namibia is both economically and strategically important in Southern Africa. It is bordered by Angola, South Africa, Zambia, and Botswana. Its mineral resources are legendary, being second only to South Africa in the production of gem quality diamonds. The population is 850,000, with almost half belonging to the Ovambo, the largest tribal group. The 99,000 whites in Namibia have the privileges of dual citizenship as South Africans.

In an attempt to head off mounting attacks from within, and to establish some degree of international credibility, South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster has proposed a two-pronged plan: 1) that Namibia be granted a constitution, and 2) that the country be divided into self-governing tribal homelands.

Both of these propositions were so phony that the *New York Times* didn't even go for it. In the first place, the so-called self-governing homeland proposition is simply unadulterated apartheid. As for the new constitution—no one from SWAPO was invited to help write it and SWAPO is the most popular mass-based group in the country.

Fighting the Manos of Racism

The mounting economic crisis in the United States that has characterized the 1970's has brought all of the problems and contradictions of monopoly capitalism into sharp focus. The class roots of the economic and political crisis are being continually exposed. These exposures increase the potential for heightening the American working class consciousness and the anti-monopoly struggle in this country. For this reason the ruling class is working overtime to prevent the progressive development of this potential in many ways. In this crisis, they are relying heavily on one of their most effective and time-worn weapons against the multi-racial ranks of the working class: *racism*. Racism is being intensified in many spheres of life in the United States to divide and distract the working class from the real source of their socio-economic woes, the system of monopoly capitalism.

Certainly in the economic sphere, the current "recession" is actually a *depression* for many Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans and Asian-Americans. Historically, the nationally oppressed groups of color have been the last-hired, the first-fired and the victims of racist super-exploitation in terms of wage differentials for equal work, seniority, job classifications and working conditions. The massive lay-offs in key industries in the last six months have hit Black workers particularly hard. Many of these lay-offs will be permanent to satisfy the big corporations' insatiable greed for huge profits. Many non-unionized workers have had their wages frozen, or even worse, drastically cut while they are pressured to produce more on the job.

The Black Congressional Caucus has charged the Ford Administration with deliberately understating the Black jobless rate which, in reality, is close to "30 per cent nationally and higher in depressed areas." Unemployment among Blacks is *twice* as high as among whites, while we make up only 11% of the U.S. population. This racist class exploitation is poignantly evident in the jobless plight of Black teenage youth which has approached the alarming rate of 50% nationally. Not only has the Ford Administration falsified the Black unemployment statistics, but it has also sought to place the *blame* for the racist economic exploitation of Black people on *equal employment legislation* and on *Black people themselves!* Noted economist Victor Perlo exposes these incredible racist maneuvers in his analysis of the 1975 Economic Report of the President in which the Presidential economists "examine" why Black unemployment is double that of whites. The report makes an exhaustive but futile attempt to rule out racial discrimination and class exploitation as major factors for the dispropor-

tionate jobless rate. The report says:

"Even if discrimination in the labor market were widespread, it could result in *lower wages instead of unemployment* for Blacks relative to whites with the same skill and other relevant characteristics. If there were *no equal opportunity legislation* or other restrictions on wages, and if employers *discriminated against Blacks*, Blacks might work for less pay than similarly qualified whites; this would provide an *incentive for employers* to hire them, although the incentive might not always be sufficient ... *discrimination could take the form of reduced compensation, inferior jobs, or segregation, rather than higher unemployment.*" This illogical and racist "reasoning" is intended to convince employers and white workers that Black people should be forced to work for substandard wages under substandard conditions "in their own interest" and that Blacks should be faulted for seeking decent paying jobs with prospects for advancement. Certainly this report is *not* aimed at convincing Black people of this insulting nonsense, because Black people are not willing to settle for any form of racial discrimination, let alone be blamed for it!

"ILLEGAL ALIENS"

You will recall that the Ford Administration demonstrated this same racist irresponsibility in their handling of the racial conflict over school bussing and the issue of quality education in Boston, Mass. This same racist irresponsibility is being illustrated in the government's trumped up witch-hunt for "illegal aliens" which has resulted in pitting whites against *all* workers who have a Spanish surname or accent. The heightened suspicion is created to undercut the gains and struggles of the Puerto Rican and Chicano people of this country. The same racist ploy was used to make Americans consider the Indians who occupied Wounded Knee and the monastery in Gresham, Wisconsin as "drunken trouble makers". Hardly any attention was given to the deplorable conditions under which Indians live in this country. No mention was made of the genocidal aggression that has been heaped on the Native Americans and the calculated manner in which they have been robbed of their economic, civil and human rights.

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Special Offer



The **African Agenda** is happy to announce a special rate to our readers and subscribers. For a four dollar (\$4.00) purchase of the book *Fifty Fighting Years* by A. Lerumo you will acquire **free**, a one year subscription to the *African Communist*. The book by A. Lerumo details the history of the South African Communist party from 1921-1971. This invaluable book traces the party's development from its early origins as a left-wing movement within the predominantly white labor movement into a vanguard of the national liberation movement. The book covers the colonial conquest of South Africa by Europeans the different struggles of the people, the development of apartheid and fascism, and the resistance to the racist South African regime. Also contained in the book is a number of important party documents and articles which has contributed to the building of the South African party.

In order to keep up with events in Africa the special offer of the *African Communist* with a purchase of the book by Lerumo will provide you with some of the advance thinking by African and other progressive leaders in the world. The publication comes out quarterly and is sold for \$10.00 a year by air mail from London. The articles in the publication cover such issues as, "African Trade Unions", "The National Question", "Developments in the U.N.", "Relations between African and Afro-Americans", "Imperialism in South Africa", "Tanzania's Economic Development" and many issues of current importance.

If you are interested in this offer please send in your \$4.00 to the **African Agenda** for a purchase of *Fifty Fighting Years* and we will send you the book and your first copy of the *African Communist*.

Racism

Ironically, most white people in this country fail to cope with the reality (some don't even realize) that racial discrimination is against their self-interests. Racism is perpetrated not only to extract super-profits from the racially oppressed workers for the benefit of the monopoly capitalists, it is also used as a device to squeeze extra profits from *all* workers. As long as white workers support policies and practices of racial discrimination against their co-workers of color, there can be *no working class unity*. As long as whites, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and Asian-Americans continue fighting among themselves over crumbs, the ruling class will remain in a strong position gobbling up all of the 'bread'. United States citizens of color are very clear that unity can only be forged on equal terms. The ruling class also understands this principle and exploits it to their advantage.

RACISM AND NIXON

Intensified racism is threatening to aid the ruling class in their campaign to dismantle social programs and legislation that has been won through previous struggles. These programs and laws were designed to close the ever-widening gap of services for poor people, preschoolers and school children, the elderly, youth and students, working mothers, and all Americans who need comprehensive health care coverage, quality education, equal employment opportunity and protection of their civil and human rights. This vicious assault on social programs and legislation was initiated by the Nixon Administration. As we know, whipped up racism was key in giving Nixon a landslide victory in 1972. Eighty-seven per cent of the Black votes were cast for McGovern. Predictably, Nixon's landslide victory turned out to be an avalanche defeat for Americans of all colors as the economy deteriorated, inflation soared out of control, social programs suffered, civil rights were increasingly violated on a broad scale and political corruption ran rampant. The seeds of racism planted by the ruling class bore treacherous fruit for the American people, especially those of color.

The Ford Administration is merely new faces fervently pursuing the old Nixon policies. Racist class exploitation under the guise of "democracy", "self-help" and "states rights"; domestic and international subversive activity under the guise of "national and international security"; encouragement of Shockleys and Jensens who preach racial inferiority in schools under the guise of "freedom of speech"; railroading innocent people of color and political activists to prison, while the Calleys and Nixons go free, in the name of "law and order".

Racism is being deliberately intensified

to divide the working class and their nunkies at the expense of the majority of United States citizens. It was precisely this intensification of racist and political repression that prompted the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression to mobilize a national march of protest in Raleigh, North Carolina July 4th, 1974. The Ford-Rockefeller team (or is it Rockefeller-Ford team?) represents the most conservative and narrow interests in the United States, those of the wealthy ruling class. Although the new Congress is mounting resistance on some issues, it is very unlikely that the Congress can extinguish the flames of racism that have been fanned in the minds of millions of American citizens. Racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party have sensed the Administration's encouragement of racism and the news media tells us that these types of groups have been intensifying their recruitment drives for members.

RACISM-INTERNATIONAL CRIME

The ruling class is making a concerted effort to turn back the hands of time by convincing Americans of all colors that they *should* sacrifice at all costs to advance the interests of the United States of America which, in the minds of the ruling class, is synonymous with *their* selfish profit interests. At this stage of American history, the monopoly capitalists control, and the working class sacrifices. Such an exploitative arrangement is by no means "Good Times". In this antagonistic situation, the ruling class must have scapegoats for all the society's problems. Historically, the scapegoats have been the American citizens of color and the political "reds". Objectively, time is running out for the monopoly capitalists in the United States. Not only are they experiencing economic and political crisis at home, but they are also suffering defeats abroad. The reactionary stance of the United States in the United Nations is being successfully countered in many instances by the progressive forces representing the Third World and socialist countries. Despite the adversity and the ambivalence of the United States, there are international developments to fight racism and economic exploitation in the United Nations. Racial discrimination and apartheid have been declared as international crimes against humanity by the United Nations. Countries who practice these de-humanizing crimes are losing ground in the international arena.

The Bicentennial will be an appropriate time for progressive Americans of all colors to expose and denounce the hypocrisy of democracy that the ruling class perpetuates in this country. The ruling class must be disarmed of its weapon of racism which effectively divides the working class along color lines. Fanning the flames of racism can only bring a holocaust for all Americans in the

next century. As we enter the new century in the existence of the United States of America, let us forge a new era of *unity*. unity for progress, unity for peace and unity for justice.

The Task of National Reconstruction In Mozambique

Mozambique is now free after a long, cruel war with the former Portuguese colonialists. However the greater struggle continues. Ridding the country of colonial rule does not instantly resolve all problems, but in fact new problems left by the colonial regime will make their task in the future very difficult in building a new society. In the article below President Samora Machal of Mozambique outlines the new task facing the transitional government and the future. This article is important in light of the fact that the task of national reconstruction after a revolution means the building of a new society based upon the old social economic structure. This is one of the most difficult tasks facing any country that has destroyed the military forces of the imperialist. This second stage of national liberation in Mozambique can provide useful insight on reconstruction in our society.

The meaning of decolonization

As regards the State and its institutions, it is first necessary to decolonize and, secondly, to build the appropriate structures for the people's democratic power.

Decolonization does not mean the geographical transfer of the decision-making centres from Lisbon to Lourenco Marques, which the deposed regime was in fact already proposing to do; neither is it the continuation of the oppressive regime, this time with black-skinned rulers, which is the neo-colonial pattern.

To decolonize the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial State, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.

In this, although we can seek inspiration and stimulation from the revolutionary experience of other peoples, we shall build on the foundation of our own *originality*, basing ourselves on the specific conditions of our country. We shall thus also enrich the revolutionary heritage of humanity, a duty we have been fulfilling over these hard years of struggle.

The decisive factor for our success is the unity of our people from the Rovuma to the Maputo. The enemy rose and will always rise against this unity: yesterday's colonialism and today's reactionaries and imperialists, exploiters from every race.

As in the past, they will try to use everything. Overt or covert appeals to racism, tribalism and regionalism will be intensified. We will make relentless use

of the same liberating fire that wiped out colonialism in opposing racism, tribalism and regionalism, because these are the commanders-in-chief of the enemy's forces which attack and destroy our people's unity, the main weapon in our struggle. These are the essential instruments which weakened our people in the past and allowed them to be dominated.

Socio-economic development

As regards our action in the field of socio-economic development, it is necessary immediately to lay down a number of priorities, so as to know how to orientate our efforts.

We inherited a colonial economic structure in which the productive factors served foreign domination instead of our country or our people. We must combat this situation by laying the foundations of an independent economy to serve the working masses of our country.

The Transitional Government must try as rapidly as possible to solve the serious financial problems, in particular the monetary situation and the establishment of a Mozambican bank of issue, and make a frontal attack on the most pressing problems of the broad masses in our country: hunger and lack of clothing and housing.

These ills were not an act of fate, but a result of the system of exploitation. If the productive efforts of the working masses are made within a system of social organization which fights exploitation, these problems will be gradually eliminated, as the evidence of our liberated areas shows.

Faced with the present economic and financial situation, characterized by a balance-of-payments deficit and a rapidly rising cost of living, especially as regards essential goods, our economic strategy must be based on the principle of relying on our own efforts, with emphasis on the following watchwords: austerity and work.

The present situation demands, on the one hand, that we fight against superfluous and luxury consumption, avoid wastage and accept sacrifices. On the other hand, we must throw ourselves fully into the economic development of our country, which means stepping up production and raising productivity. Indeed, economic development is essentially the result of work. More work means higher production, which in turn enables us to raise our standard of living.

With the conquest of political power by the people, the foundations are laid for solving the problems of the working masses in accordance with their interests.

Adequate structures will be established for the correct solution of problems which crop up in labour relations. Mere

wage increases will not solve the problems facing the working masses, especially since, in the present situation, they would inevitably be transferred to price increases which would automatically cancel out the higher purchasing power. Under these conditions, at this stage in the life of our country, there is no more reason for strikes because our main concern should be to restructure and relaunch our economy.

The overwhelming majority of our people live in the countryside, and it is in the countryside that there to be found the natural resources which must be developed so as to make our country prosper. It was the countryside that most suffered from the destructive effects of war and it is in the countryside that the clearest signs of hunger can be seen. It is therefore towards the countryside that our main efforts to improve the living conditions of the masses will be directed. Priority must be given to the development of our agriculture, animal husbandry and the most effective use of our subsoil resources. Agriculture will therefore be the base of our development and industry its galvanizing factor.



Another defect characteristic of the structure we have inherited is the tremendous imbalance in regional development, particularly the imbalance between town and countryside.

Industrial development must be based on the processing of our natural resources, which will make it possible to diversify and increase the value of exports.

We must launch an unyielding struggle against the vestiges of colonialism, decadent values, erroneous ideas, the attitude of uncritically emulating foreigners, and against immorality. We must affirm and develop our Mozambican personality by strengthening our unity, constantly exchanging experiences and merging the contributions made by all of us. In this respect, we must bear in mind that the city is one of the centres of vice and corruption and of alienating foreign influences.

Training, education and health

We shall place training, education and culture primarily at the service of the broad masses which have been oppressed and humiliated by the system of colonialist and capitalist exploitation. The blood of our people was not shed solely to free our land from foreign domination, but also to reconquer our Mozambican personality, to bring about the resurgence of our culture and to create a new mentality, a new society. The priority aim of education will be to wage a vigorous battle against illiteracy, a product of colonialism which today affects the overwhelming majority of our people. This effort must be centred especially on rural areas, where schools are practically non-existent.

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance and obscurantism. They must be centres for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition, individualism, selfishness, elitism and ambition must be fought in them. There should be no place in them for social, racial or sexual discrimination. Above all, the masses must have both access to and power in the schools, universities and culture.

We are engaged in a revolution whose advance depends on the creation of the new man with a new mentality. We are engaged in a revolution aimed at the establishment of the people's democratic power. Therefore, at school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism. Teachers and pupils must learn from one another in a climate of mutual trust and harmonious, comradely relations in which it will be possible to release the initiative of each and develop the talents of all, so that all grow together in the great task of national reconstruction.

Our schools must truly be centres for the propagation of national culture and political, technical and scientific knowledge. The propaganda of knowledge must be aimed at mobilizing nature and human potentialities for the development and progress of society.

It is therefore necessary to democratize teaching methods. Pupils and trainees must play a responsible part in creating a school of a new type in which manual labour is accorded its due value as one of the sources of knowledge, closely related to practice, drawing inspiration from it and serving the people.

Raising the living conditions of the masses demands fighting disease by improving health conditions. We have inherited a situation in which the vast majority of medical personnel and equipment is concentrated in the towns

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1. *Coltrane: The Trane; John Coltrane* by J.C. Thomas. Doubleday & Co. A history of Coltrane's life and the influence of Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Miles Davis and others on his life. Price: \$7.95.
2. *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960*, Ed. by W.E.B. Du Bois and H. Aptheker, Monthly Review Press. Seven critiques on Black education edited by Du Bois in 1940 and three later essays edited by Aptheker on Du Bois views on education. Price: \$3.75.
3. *History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.*, by P.S. Foner, International Publishers, N.Y. Four volumes on the history of the working class and the contributions they have made in the building of this society. Each volume costs \$3.65.
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South African

imperialism hangs on the acceptability of the Pretoria regime, as an independent African state interested in the solution of the continental problems. To this end it is even pretending to be pushing Ian Smith of Rhodesia to a peaceful decolonisation. The question comes: can South Africa regime favour majority rule when it itself is a vicious white minority police state dictatorship where the so-called non-white population composing over 83% of the population have absolutely no rights and no representation in all organs of government or state and where a leper island called Robben Island has become the forced prison home of all progressive leaders and militants. How can a country which continues to occupy Namibia against the resolutions of the UN, the World Court, and the wishes of the international community be said to favour liberation? It continues the balkanisation of South Africa and Namibia tribally against the resolutions of UN and wishes of its peoples. South Africa regime is fascist, founded on repression and sustains itself on its intensification.

South Africa is not an independent state nor an African one as it is constituted. Politically South Africa considers herself as an appendage of Europe. This explains the "European" only sign boards found all over supplemented by "Non-white boards". Today the regime is removing some of these boards but the essence remains the same, offices, hotels, restaurants, residences, schools, universities, creches, churches, buses, trains are reserved for whites if they are good and for blacks, the so-called nonwhites if they are bad and situated in the ghettos. Apartheid remains, the cover boards being hidden. Apartheid cannot be white-washed because it is a system touching every facet of the South African peoples lives. The Pretoria regime needs recognition, needs acceptance in order to continue the gross exploitation, oppression of our people and to carry the mission entrusted on it by world imperialism. The so-called independence of the regime purportedly granted in 1931 was done without the participation, the recognition of the African majority. On the contrary it was done in the face of strong opposition and after over two and a half centuries of relentless armed struggle. That our people had not been liquidated like U.S. Indians or sold as slaves in millions was solely because of the gallant struggle they waged. So by its very nature, the South African regime is not African. It is anathema to everything African. The Africans have absolutely no right or say in the running of their affairs.

to be independent, even to be respected and recognize the majority. How can South Africa be said to be independent when the majority of her people are slaves in their own country, without the right to vote or say in their own country?

Today more than ever before when victory of the people of South Africa is in sight the recognition of the regime neither as an independent or African state. Today the isolation, rejection and expulsion of the Pretoria regime from all bodies of the international community should be the urgent task.
 (From Solidarity—July, 1975)

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Namibia

One of the Ovambo chiefs, Philemon Eligas, a supporter of the Vorster plan, was recently killed. Observers have remarked that there appears to be some link between his political posture and his sudden demise. At any rate, we can safely say that the attempt to entrench apartheid in Namibia has not been popularly accepted.



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Mozambique

As from now, we must throw ourselves enthusiastically into health work among the broad masses, so as to wipe out the causes of disease, improve eating habits by enriching the diet and eliminating unhygienic traditions. In this field, priority must be given to preventive medicine in line with our present capacity and facilities.

This work is not simply a bureaucratic or technical task, but above all a political battle, demanding the mobilization of the people, which is now possible on a national scale because the people are in power.

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