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### African Agenda, April & May, 1976

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# AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

Vol. 5. No. 3

April-May, 1976

Double Issue, 40 cents

## A Supreme Effort For Southern Africa

The following speech was presented by Anthony Monteiro, Executive Secretary of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation at the Sharpeville Memorial held in Chicago on March 21, 1976.

Thank you for inviting me here today to Chicago and to express my special honor to be here this afternoon with Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the heroic African National Congress of South Africa.

You know, while I was in Angola, the front line was changing so rapidly because of the hasty retreat of the fascist army of South Africa that it was very difficult to define what the front line actually was. Upon arriving at a city which was only yesterday the front line, you would discover that today, it is the rear base for the front line. But that is only to tell you of the tremendous and actually historic military defeat of the fascist army of South Africa within Angola by the people of Angola.

I think, however, that it is quite appropriate that we choose March 21 as the day upon which to hold such a meeting to talk about Angola, because 16 years ago today, the racist regime of South Africa, supported by the same international forces that were engaged in the invasion of Angola, initiated a reign of terror within South Africa beginning with the massacre of Sharpeville. They had hoped that this reign of terror would drown the African liberation movement within South Africa in blood, and be the first stage of an unprecedented neocolonial assault upon the entirety of the liberation movement in southern Africa. But as they say, "What goes around, comes around." And to even make that statement more scientific, we could say "What goes around, comes around, but always on a higher level." And those who only 16 years ago thought that by massacring children, men and women in South Africa, they could destroy the will of the African people to struggle, are today in a hasty retreat from Angola.

So, though we come to commemorate the assassination of the heroes of Sharps-

ville by the racists of South Africa, we are also here to celebrate the 'new day' of the African liberation struggle. We are here to celebrate the liberation of Angola. We are here to celebrate the new offensive that is now underway in southern Africa headed by the liberation movements. And Angola is, so to speak, the path ahead. It demonstrates what is necessary.



A Lesson For South Africa

You should know that the imperialists, when they chose South Africa to be their military strike force in Angola, were convinced that with the invasion of Angola, they were going to teach the African people of Angola, the Africans of all of southern Africa and all of Africa, and indeed of black people in this country a lesson. They were going to teach us that it was dangerous to pursue one's national liberation movement in such a way that that movement would talk about wresting iron ore, gold, silver and uranium from imperialism.

But as things have transpired, the people of Angola have taught the imperialists a lesson. They have made it perfectly clear that the struggle for national libera-

tion in southern Africa is today irreversible. It cannot be turned around. They have taught the imperialists the lesson that white mercenaries—who 16 years ago went into the Congo and with the mentality that is characteristic of mercenaries, butchered civilians, children and women—and whoever would sign up to be a mercenary in Africa today had best be prepared to die in Africa. Whoever would sign up from whatever country and of whatever race, if he or she goes to Africa as a mercenary today, be prepared not only to shed the blood of Africans, but to die in Africa. The people of Angola have taught the imperialists the lesson that the day of the mercenaries is over in Africa. They have taught the imperialists a lesson in courage, determination, and undaunting commitment to principles. Kissinger (who prior to the events in Angola had stated that his peripheral vision only extended to the northern flank of the Mediterranean) was taught the hard lesson that when it comes to the fight for Africa's liberation, 'shuttle diplomacy' is not a part of the game. The people of Angola have taught the brazen racist Daniel P. Moynihan, that when it comes to the question of African liberation, there will be no 'wolf tickets' sold. Intimidation will not get over. So the imperialists have learned a very harsh lesson in Angola. I doubt, however, that they have drawn the proper conclusions from the struggle in Angola.

### A Principled Position

The people of Angola have also instructed the peoples of the world, those who remain victims of imperialism. The people of Angola have taught us what is appropriate in the struggle against imperialism. First of all, it is obvious that the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which is the sole authentic, legitimate representative of the Angolan people and has been so for 16 years, this organization has taught us that there is no substitute for being principled in the struggle against imperialism. At

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# A Revolutionary Message From South Africa

The following speech was given by Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa at the Sharpeville Memorial held in Chicago on March 21, 1976.



Secretary-General Alfred Nzo

Dear Comrades and friends, permit us to convey to you, American comrades at arms, a warm fraternal greeting of all the members of the African National Congress and millions of fighting people in South Africa.

Dear comrades, 16 years ago, the peaceful environment of a small African ghetto known as Sharpeville, in the Transvaal province of South Africa, echoed with the bullets fired from guns of the South African fascist regime police force into a crowd of peaceful, unarmed African demonstrators gathered outside the police station to protest against the pass laws and other forms of oppression. Within the wink of an eye, 69 Africans were lying dead, and almost 200 others seriously injured. To a passerby, this little area looked like a battlefield at the end of a combat operation as the bodies of both dead and injured lay scattered on the ground. The shock wave of the dastardly crime not only swept throughout the length and breadth of South Africa, but also the world community reacted with shock and anger.

The massacre at Sharpeville had come 16 years after the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism which had been dealt a mortal blow by the world's anti-fascist coalition, headed by the Soviet Union. Millions of people were still licking the wounds of unprecedented fascist barbarity. The initial reaction of international capital, after the event, was to flee from South Africa, and the capitalist monopolists saw the writing on the wall. Thus for a time, the fascist regime of South Africa was not only isolated politically both at home and abroad, but it went through a deep economic crisis which threatened to crush the very founda-

tion of the apartheid superstructure. It was only thanks to the intervention of American capital, that it was saved from total economic collapse. Of course, international imperialism began once again to rally behind and buttress the regime of terror in our country. Dear friends, events like Sharpeville were not known only to the people of South Africa, but this was a common occurrence among oppressed communities all over the world where fascism and oppression thrives, and is resisted by the people. The enemy reacts with naked violence against the oppressed and struggling communities. This is the fate to which the black communities are exposed during every day of their lives in the United States. Chile today is a vast concentration camp in which the daily lives of the working people and the democratic forces are in danger. The heroic peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have just emerged from the darkest period of brutal American imperialist aggression. The peoples in the Israeli-occupied Arab countries are living through the darkest period of their history under Israeli occupation. The people of Zimbabwe and Namibia share exactly the same fate. That is why the call for the unity, we want to repeat, that is why the call for the unity of all oppressed peoples of the world is no ordinary struggle. It is a call to united action by all the oppressed against the common enemy. We bring you this revolutionary message from the fighting millions of South Africa and the rest of the African continent on today's occasion.

## Victories Against Imperialism

The observance of the 16th anniversary of Sharpeville is taking place in an atmosphere of the confident advance of the progressive and democratic movement of the peoples of the whole world. The people of Indochina have scored victories against American imperialism and its reactionary puppets. They are now confidently building a happy future for themselves. The small island of Cuba is defiantly blazing the trail of independence and social progress in the American continent. The united power of the progressive forces in the citadel of imperialism, the United States of America, cannot be ignored by the ruling class of this country. It was this power which first and foremost was responsible for the release of Angela Davis and forced the military industrial complex to heed the voice of the American people against U.S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam. Fascist establishments have been dismantled in Portugal and Greece and the working people of Spain have shown by their actions that they have vowed never to let their country slide back to the dark fascist past of the Franco era. The taste of defeat by the Israeli ruling circles after its Oc-

tober, 1973 aggression has deepened the crises of this regime. The oldest colonial power in Africa, Portuguese colonialism, has collapsed and from its ruins has emerged progressive states in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome, Principe and the Cape Verde Islands. The people of Zimbabwe are intensifying their struggle against the Smith regime. The recent collapse of the constitutional talks between Ian Smith and the nationalist forces lend further strength and unity around the struggle that is rapidly developing in Zimbabwe. The people of Namibia are developing their struggle, supported by a reliable rear base, the People's Republic of Angola.

## Growing Isolation

Dear friends, in South Africa, the fascist regime is at its wits end as its isolation has deepened both internally and on the African continent in particular. The growth of the revolutionary movement inside South Africa has had its impact through the growing defiant position of the oppressed population of South Africa toward the South African oppression against the people of Angola. Following the call of the African National Congress and its ally and closest combat at arms, the South African Communist Party, to oppose fascist aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and defend the MPLA, the Black People's Convention in the RSA passed a resolution in support of the MPLA. The defeat of the fascist regime's army by the revolutionary armed forces of the Angolan people has punctured the myth of its invincibility forever. This has increased the confidence of oppressed people of their own strength and the inevitability of their victory. Large sections of the white minority community are no longer as confident as they were before in the ability of the reactionary white state to continue to defend their privileged position in South African society.

Friends, the great power of the revolutionary movement inside South Africa and the exposure, denunciation and the defeat of the pro-imperialist traitors in Angola, Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto, have made some of the black puppets of the South African fascist regime, the Bantustan chiefs, take a second look at their own positions. Advanced elements among them are now beginning a process of openly working against the Vorster regime. Recently the Chief of Pazulu made public statements which showed a certain shift from his former reactionary positions. I want to emphasize, they showed a certain shift. On the 14th of March in Johannesburg at the black ghetto of Soweto, he told an audience of more than 12,000 Africans that those who were attempting to divide

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## A Revolutionary Message

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South Africa into Bantustans or homelands were "... fighting against the force of history, that began marching across Africa in the 1960s and which had all but reached South Africa's borders in 1976." The anger of our people is overflowing.

On Friday, a huge demonstration outside the court of law, in which one of the political trials of some black people (members of the South African Student Organization) was going on, clashed with the police, who as usual were armed to the teeth. Using anything they could lay their hands on to beat back the police attack, our people inflicted injuries on some of the attackers. The days are numbered when the fascist regime's police will be the only ones using guns. Soon, they will be faced by an armed people.

Dear friends, the events as they are now developing, have plunged the fascist regime in our country into a deep power crisis. This has further been aggravated by the effect that police terror has not nudged the revolutionary march, has not halted the revolutionary march of the super-exploited black working class. The strike movement has continued to develop, in spite of serious attempts on the part of the employers to buy off the workers in certain key industries, such as the gold mines, with meaningless increases. The massacres such as that of the 12 mine workers in September, 1973 have not deterred the development of this strike movement.

### Bantustan Fraud

The fascist regime in our country has continued to resort to the double maneuver of the stick and the carrot. They still place great reliance on the remote possibility of a success of the counter-revolutionary bantustan program. As you know, frantic preparations are being made to grant so-called independence to the Transkei in October, 1976. Already, African traitors from South Africa are active in Washington and other capitals of Western Europe canvassing for diplomatic and political support for fraud. The main targets of these traitors would be the influential sectors within the black community in this country. They must be exposed and rebuffed and a powerful movement supporting the policies of our revolutionary movement established.

While the regime of terror in South Africa and its supporters are actively projecting these fraudulent policies, the African people in these tribal areas are suffering ever escalating and increasing poverty and deprivation. It has been estimated that the average annual income in these bantustans is as low as 48 rand or 50 dollars. An examination of African children admitted to two hospitals in the bantustans in 1972 showed that 75% to 80% of those examined suffered from malnutrition. The bantustans are

destined to remain forever reservoirs of cheap labor for the white man's farms and industries. We take this opportunity to reiterate our total rejection of the fascist regime's bantustan program. We reiterate now, as we have done in the past, that the Bantustan program is designed to perpetuate the colonial type oppression and exploitation of the black people of our country. It seeks to divide them into hostile tribal entities so as to weaken their united struggle against apartheid fascist tyranny. It seeks to channel the people away from their revolutionary path along a reformist path, while also attempting at the same time to isolate and destroy the revolutionary movement of our people. Internationally, it is intended to place obstacles along the path of the international democratic movement against the fascist regime. Let us resolve to combine our strength together to destroy this scheme.



Traitors to Africa

Events of the past few months have proved that the fascist regime in South Africa, aided by its international imperialist supporters, will stop at nothing in its role as the most aggressive task force of imperialism. Its aggression against the People's Republic of Angola proves this point. We shall not elaborate on the events as they have unfolded during this period. We must however, underline that these developments in our country make our people, the African people in our country, come face to face with naked

imperialist aggression which, as it did in Vietnam and elsewhere, sought to physically eliminate the progressive and revolutionary vanguard of the people of Angola, the MPLA. They sought to create favorable conditions for the installation into power of the pro-imperialist traitors of the FNLA and UNITA, agents of neo-colonialism. This was a pointer to the determination of imperialism even to go to the extent of attempting to militarily destabilize progressive regimes in our continent in the interest of protecting its strategic political and vast economic interests. The dark schemes hatched in Washington, Pretoria and other Western countries failed to achieve their counter-revolutionary objectives in Angola, thanks to the heroism and determination of the Angolan people under their revolutionary vanguard, the MPLA. They also enjoyed the unflinching support of many independent African countries, including the support of the genuinely revolutionary national liberation movements of our country. They enjoyed support from the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and Cuba, and all other democratic and progressive detachments all over the world.

### The Lessons of Angola

We must however, constantly bear the lessons of Angola in mind. While they have further deepened the anti-imperialist content of the African revolution, it is important for the African people and their friends to note that imperialism has not given up its schemes. Frantic efforts are being made to mobilize and train criminal elements, preparing them to go and continue their death mission against the African people in Angola and elsewhere. This is happening in the United States and elsewhere in western Europe. This social scum is further befuddled by each so-called historic mission of "fighting communism" in Africa.

In order to carry out these schemes, huge sums of the taxpayers' money are used to finance this criminal project, while the overwhelming majority of the population in this imperialist country, the working people, wallow in poverty and dire want. The CIA cannot hide the fact that it was spending millions of dollars in support of the reactionary FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA. We must note that the destiny of these criminal elements is going to shift to Rhodesia, whose aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique was the subject of debate by the United Nations Security Council recently. The apartheid regime committed this aggression with its eyes focused on extending the colossal frontier of reaction in southern Africa. It saw no other alternative of its survival except to reconstruct the buffer zone insulating it from the mighty strength of the African revolution. Its illegal hold on Namibia had become vulnerable overnight.

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In the light of these developments, what is then to be done? Our common tasks of defense of the vital interests of the African revolution and further promotion of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia have become very urgent indeed. First, it is vital that the aggressive schemes of the Kissinger-Vorster-NATO alliance for buttressing the base of reaction in southern Africa be exposed and condemned. A broad movement against the recruitment of mercenaries should develop. Second, the growing military cooperation between South Africa and some members of the NATO

alliance should likewise be exposed and condemned. Recently, the African National Congress exposed irrefutable material on the nuclear conspiracy between Bonn and Pretoria which showed the extent of the danger against world peace and security. It is therefore our unavoidable task and obligation to defend the security of the people. Third, we reiterate, the urgent need to intensify the all-around isolation of the fascist apartheid regime economically, diplomatically, in the trade and cultural fields. Fourth, the bantustan fraud of the Vorster regime must be exposed and, in particular, attention should be directed at insuring the total rejection of the future so-called independent state of the

Transkei. African traitors, who have been specially trained by the fascist regime of South Africa to popularize and canvass for the support of the future Transkei should be exposed and isolated. Fifth, a campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa should once again be mounted and expanded and treated as one of the urgent campaign points against the apartheid regime of terror in our country. Lastly, democratic forces in the United States must mobilize all-around support for the African National Congress whose revolutionary program provides the only viable democratic solution for the people of South Africa as a whole. Forward to victory! Thank you very much.

## Supreme Effort

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times a principled position is not the most popular position. For the MPLA was not always recognized as the sole liberation movement in Angola. There were illusions, even among the most progressive circles, that Holden Roberto somehow represented the legitimate aspirations of the Angolan people; that FNLA somehow represented a national liberation movement. There were also illusions, among others, that Jonas Savimbi the leader of the so-called UNITA was somehow a representative of what was authentically African, what was authentically Pan-Africanist or authentically black. And throughout all of this—while the MPLA was fighting the Portuguese colonialists on *five fronts* within Angola, while the MPLA was having difficulties in getting its message out to the world—in spite of these difficulties, in spite of the illusions which were harbored by those who later became friends of the MPLA, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola *never* retreated from its principles.

The MPLA never, for once, said it would cease to be an anti-imperialist movement. It never, for once, denied that after achieving political independence, that the task of economic development would have to take the path of socialism. The MPLA, in spite of all of the pressure, never once denied who were the friends of the Angolan people. This lesson is not something we can take lightly. For what the MPLA has finally taught us and all victims of imperialism is that *political* courage, political heroism is as necessary as *physical* courage and heroism are. The MPLA is today the shining example of what an anti-imperialist movement, of what a liberation movement must be if it is to be successful. Today it is now clear that Holden Roberto of the FNLA was not only an agent of the CIA, which is bad enough in itself, but also a murderer. That Holden Roberto is responsible for the

deaths of tens of thousands of Angolans. Holden Roberto, who never engaged himself or his organization in the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, has the blood of tens of thousands of Angolans on his hands. Jonas Savimbi, who just yesterday was so popular in the United States as the representative of authenticity of blackness in Africa, is today, as is Holden Roberto, recognized internationally as a criminal, a murderer, a collaborator with the worst enemies of Africa's freedom. This lesson that the MPLA has taught and is teaching and the exposure that we have today concerning UNITA-FNLA, would not be possible were it not for the political heroism and the commitment to principle on the part of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

### Racist Myths

In Angola, contrary to what the news media in the United States has been saying, that the people of Angola were prepared, in spite of everything, to defend their national liberation. The news media here said that the Cubans defeated the South Africans. Well I can tell you that I saw with my own eyes that it was the FPLA (the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) that spearheaded the drive against the South Africans. The Cubans played a supportive role and played that role quite heroically. But the news media here is afraid to tell especially black people the truth. And that's part of the reason for the creation of Roy Innis in his new role. They want us to believe the nineteenth century myth that says that when black people are confronted face to face with armed racists, it is the black person that turns and runs; that a black army is incapable of defeating an army of racists. Certainly, this is the mythology of the Ku Klux Klan, and all other racists. The role of Roy Innis was to substantiate that position, to somehow confirm that we cannot defeat the racists, that we must join with them. Therefore Innis supported UNITA. He supported the recruitment of black mercenaries to

be used against the Angolan people. But the truth must be known and, certainly, it will be known. The truth is that the FPLA, the Angolan people, defeated the South African military machine on the battlefield. The South Africans know it and they are today quite concerned about their future in South Africa.

But also we can report that while the military struggle was taking place, the MPLA and the government of Angola were guiding the people in the struggle to reconstruct and to remake life within Angola itself. Therefore, the slogan was raised up by the MPLA that said "To produce is to resist." In order to resist the racist aggression, we must enhance our capacity to produce, to remake our economy, to remake the life of our society. The MPLA had already begun the process of collectivizing production, of laying the foundation to build a socialist society—a society, as they say, that is free of the exploitation of man by man. The MPLA, at the same time, was inspiring the youth of Angola with the slogan "To study is to resist." To prepare oneself to make a contribution to the future of society is part of the resistance against aggression. The MPLA was preparing the peasantry, the workers, the children, the women, indeed, all sections of the population to not only resist the South African invasion, but in fact to be prepared to make the new man and woman who would live in the new Angolan society.

The MPLA is not spreading illusions among the people, for one of the principal slogans that is often repeated in Angola is "a Luta Continua" which means, the struggle continues. Always when they raise the slogan "a Luta Continua" it is invariably followed by "a Victoria e Certa" which means, victory is certain. The struggle continues but, from their point of view, and indeed, it is a reality, victory is certain.

### Solidarity for the MPLA

I would like to say also in concluding that the lessons of Angola are still to be

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## The Supreme Effort

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learned by millions and millions of people in this country. Although Angola has been taken off of the front pages of the news media in this country, the struggle for solidarity with the people of Angola is not off the agenda of struggle. In fact, it is now that they need our solidarity more than ever. It is now, when the forces of imperialism are preparing their crimes against the Angolan people under the cover of silence that the people of Angola need our solidarity more than ever. It is now, when the Angolan people are beginning the very tough struggle of economic development that they need our solidarity more than ever. It is now, when the Angolan people are preparing to make a supreme sacrifice to the continuing struggle to liberate southern Africa that they need our solidarity more than ever. For when Dr. Agostino Neto states that the support and solidarity which MPLA has received from throughout the world must also now be transmitted to the people of Namibia, and Zimbabwe and South Africa, he at the same time is engaging the most racist, the most imperialist forces on our planet. It is now, when the Angolan people are preparing to transmit the internationalism that they have received, to the other peoples struggling in southern Africa, that they need our support.

We are today talking about, in concrete terms, insuring that Roy Innis, and any who would follow in his footsteps and attempt to recruit mercenaries, are confronted by the people of this country. We are saying today that after the 1976 elections, when the question of Africa can perhaps be taken out of the arena of discussion, when the United States government, the Pentagon and the State Department prepare their plan of attack against the people of Angola, we will be building a movement in this country that is able to prevent U.S. military intervention in southern Africa. We are today talking about preparing ourselves to be a part, a necessary part, of the intensifying combat that is now developing in southern Africa. And this is not an easy job.

### The Supreme Effort

Already we can see that it won't be easy, from what took place in Gary, Indiana, when the City Council of Gary over the veto of Mayor Hatcher and in defiance of the so-called wisdom of Vernon Jordan, voted against any further city contracts with ITT, Motorola and IBM. The City council was confronted with the major enemies of Africa. At that City Council meeting, the president of IBM saw fit to come and bring with him Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League to represent the position of IBM in blackface. When we talk of solidarity with the people of southern Africa, we're not talking about an easy task, because



we have to explain to the masses of people in this country, that Arthur Ashe is totally wrong when he violates the sports boycott of South Africa. His exploits in tennis did not allow him to collaborate with the oppressors of the people of South Africa. We have to explain to our people that though Roy Wilkins goes to South Africa and he and others are convinced that the multinational corporations like General Motors and ITT are trying to make changes in South Africa, we have to be about the difficult business of explaining to our people that it is not Roy Wilkins or ITT that speak for the black majority of South Africa, but it is the African National Congress that speaks for the people of South Africa.

We have to make such a tremendous sacrifice and contribution to achieve our objectives. But in working to achieve the liberation of southern Africa, enjoining ourselves with the forces of national liberation in southern Africa, we make a supreme contribution to or own liberation. You know, when you talk of Africa, you are talking in reality about that area of the world where racism has expressed itself most brutally. You are talking about that area of the world, and those people, who the racists have built their mythology upon that of all peoples in the world, it is the African people, the black people who are most backwards, who have less of a right to be free to govern themselves. And of course, when such lies are spread about the people of Africa, they are directly and indirectly talking about black people in the United States. When they strike a blow against the African National Congress of South Africa, when the racist hoards invaded the People's Republic of Angola, the knife was not only directed at the back of the people of

Angola, but also it was directed in the first place at the back of the black liberation struggle in the United States. Therefore it is obvious, it is inevitable, that our solidarity with the people of southern Africa, of Angola, of Mozambique, of Zimbabwe and Namibia, our solidarity with these struggles is part and parcel of the effort that we are engaging in to advance our own cause of liberation and freedom.

We can therefore say today, in the words of Dr. Agostino Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, (and I think he very poetically and eloquently states the reality of this moment in history) "Nothing will prevent the reign, because in men boils the desire to make the supreme effort." That is today the reality of southern Africa, the boiling within men of the desire to make the supreme effort. That I think must become the spirit that guides our actions in the coming years. To be free, indeed, it is necessary to have the desire to make the supreme effort. In making the supreme effort "a Victoria E Certa". Victory Is Certain. Thank you very much.

## Rev. Chavis in Prison Hunger Strike



### Rev. Ben Chavis

The Rev. Ben Chavis has been in a fast and hunger strike for the past month against his continued imprisonment at McCain Prison Farm. The prison houses those who are tubercular and mentally ill. Rev. Chavis' only source of nourishment is through intravenous injections.

Rev. Chavis, one of the Wilmington 10 defendants, began his fast on April 30 to protest his continued incarceration at McCain.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the African Agenda, urge our readers to wire and write North Carolina prison officials demanding his transfer from McCain prison where his health is being jeopardized. Protest should be sent to Gov. James Holshouser, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602 and to McCain Prison Hospital Superintendent, E.C. Harris, P.O.B. 58, McCain, North Carolina, 23681.

# The Recent Maneuvers In The Unholy Alliance

The proponents of imperialism would often say that in southern Africa where colonialists and white minority rulers were in control, they could look forward to a bright future of long years of domination over the subjected peoples. Now, the very pillars of imperialist control in southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Rhodesia, are seriously threatened by the forces of national liberation; their days of further existence are numbered. The decisive defeat of the United States, South African, Zairean and other foreign mercenaries in Angola by the African MPLA army (with the aid of the socialist countries—especially the Soviet Union and Cuba) has dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the white armies of South Africa and has caused a great deal of concern, particularly for the U.S. monopolists and the South African regime. Yesterday, South African forces were in Angola. Tomorrow, the freedom fighters of Angola and other southern Africa countries will be in South Africa to directly confront the greatest bastion of racism, fascism and imperialist exploitation.

The impact of the change of events in southern Africa has registered most in South Africa and has affected United States policy in that country. The most immediate reaction of the U.S. imperialists was to increase their aid and investments in the RSA after April 1974. U.S. investments by the transnational corporations increased from 1½ billion to over 2 billion dollars. The U.S. government escalated by 30% its level of commitment in terms of aid and loans to the RSA government. The U.S. imperialists have maintained their plans of strengthening the South African regime to exploit the cheap source of labor, the vast natural resources and the high rate of profit returns there. U.S. corporations average 25% in the rate of profit return in South Africa, as compared with about 11% returns in the rest of the world.

## Old Policies in New Rags

Since the Republic of South Africa is the main pillar of U.S. expansionist plans in Africa, the RSA is also viewed as the main imperialist base for the subversion of the newly independent African nations, as a bridgehead for the economic and political penetration of Africa. The military importance of the RSA is demonstrated by the fact that the RSA has been semi-officially brought into the capitalist military alliance of NATO as a protector of its "southern flank" along with Brazil. Militarily, South Africa in southern Africa and Israel in the north serve the dual purpose of pressuring and acting against the national liberation movements and progressive governments in Africa and the Middle East.

In the last two years, the United States Africa policy and the actions of the South African regime have undergone some "face lifting" in light of the successes of the national liberation movements and the recent Angola setback. The dressing up of their old policies in new rags is reflected in (1) the escalation of U.S. investments in South Africa under the guise of aiding "self-determination" and (2) new maneuvers by the South African government to convince the world that they are changing their policies for the "better" while at the same time devising more ruthless means of repressing the African population and the national liberation struggle in that country.

Sec. of State Kissinger's recent trip to Africa reflects the current stage of U.S. policy in southern Africa. Essentially, the post-Angola strategy is to give lip service to the principle of "self-determination" in southern Africa in order to strengthen imperialism by:

- (1) attempting to set up a black puppet government in Rhodesia in alliance with the whites there;
- (2) continuing to support the right wing elements in Mozambique and Angola;
- (3) keeping Mozambique and Angola economically dependent on South Africa as much as possible (especially in terms of migrant laborers) and the capitalist countries; and
- (4) voicing its opposition to "petit apartheid" while at the same time strengthening the stranglehold of the South African regime.

Kissinger's policy statement at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi made it clear that change had to come in Rhodesia and implied that it should take the form of preserving white economic control with Black puppet political rule. He further called for the preservation of the status quo in South Africa by mouthing moralistic rhetoric about supporting majority rule in the RSA but giving no timetable. Kissinger advanced the position of establishing an International Resources Bank for the increase of investments in Africa, especially southern Africa. Actually, this position assures the already worried transnational corporations that the United States ruling circle is prepared to back them up against the forces of national liberation in South Africa.

## New Investments

United States investments in South Africa have historically been concentrated in the manufacturing sector with over one billion dollars invested. Petroleum and mining, respectively, have been the second and third areas of major investment. Of the 500 U.S. corporations in the RSA, Mobile and Coltex Oil Com-

panies supply 55% of the oil consumed in the RSA. U.S. corporations turn out 65% of the cars made there. These corporations operate on the principle of a broad division of labor in the RSA. South Africa along with the other developing countries in Africa have been areas set aside by the capitalists as countries for labor intensive projects and technically simple produced products. While capital consuming and technically complex production for the industrially developed countries. Thus in the U.S. and other capitalist countries labor consuming production is reduced and capital intensive production is increased. U.S. investments in the RSA is able to feed off the cheap source of African labor which is paid less than \$70.00 a month. The African working class is prohibited by law from forming unions of their choice and apartheid laws maintain the system of forced labor and large profits for the transnational corporations. The maintenance of this division of labor has been one of the cardinal principles of U.S. policy in southern Africa.

The recent increase of U.S. investments in the RSA since the Portuguese were forced to pull out of Africa has strengthened the unholy alliance between the United States and South Africa. The Ford administration has recently allowed U.S. transnational corporations to make direct loans to South Africa by the Export-Import Bank. Such loans were banned twelve years ago. The scrapping of the Export-Import loan ban is a part of the imperialist plans to solidify the RSA as the main bastion of U.S. and other imperialist countries' interests in Africa. The following projects will increase U.S. investments in South Africa by 35% in the next year accompanied by an overall increase of 25% in foreign investments:

- Seagram & Sons proposes \$10 million investment in Kwa Zulu, one of the South African bantustans, in partnership with South Africa Breweries.
- Kennecott Copper Corp. recently announced participation in a new \$300 million venture in the development of iron and titanium in a titanium smelter complex at Richards Bay, South Africa.
- In December 1973, a major \$47 million contract was signed by the Gulf Power Co. subsidiary of the Southern Co. of the U.S. for the export of coal to the U.S.
- In 1975, Coltex announced a \$134 million expansion of its Milnerton refinery outside Capetown. This major unit will include a new crude distillation plant. The new facilities will increase the refinery capacity to 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day, doubling the present capacity.
- The Sishen-Saldanha Bay iron ore project involves over R600 million (1 South

# Between The RSA And The U.S. Imperialists

African rand equals \$1.15). Most of the sum will come from the capitalist countries: the U.S., Japan, West Germany and England. This massive project involves the development of a deep-water harbor at Saldanha Bay as well as the construction of a railway linking the port with the Sishen area. They also plan to construct a semi-manufactured steel plant.

- Phelps Dodge is prospecting for minerals in the northwestern Cape Province involving an investment of R100 million.
- Finance capital through the banks has also worked to strengthen the RSA. A 28-bank consortium including Morgan Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Hanover and Citibank arranged a \$200 million loan earlier this year for the South African Electricity Supply Commission.

This new increase in U.S. investments since April 1974 reflects a similar position U.S. imperialism found itself in after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. In both events—Sharpeville, March 1960 and the Portuguese defeat in Africa in 1974—U.S. imperialism rushed to help strengthen the South African racist government for fear of a possible undermining of that regime by the forces of national liberation. After Sharpeville, U.S. investments took a dramatic increase averaging 20% or more from mid-1960 to 1965. After the Portuguese army announced its withdrawal in mid-1974, U.S. investments took another increase of 30% or more as compared to the pre-1974 period.

U.S. imperialism wants to strengthen its position in South Africa since the real bulwark of U.S. policy in southern Africa has always been based in the RSA and not so much on the other southern African countries. South Africa was and still is, the henchman for the U.S. in southern Africa against the national liberation movements.

## RSA Maneuvers

The increased imperialist plunder of South African resources by the U.S. ruling class has been matched by the RSA in its maneuvers domestically and in the rest of Africa. In the last two years, the RSA has pursued a policy of increasing its contacts with Black independent African states; increasing its repression at home and in Namibia against local opposition; increasing the steps toward "independence" for the Transkei bantustan; encouraging investments in the bantustans; relaxing of certain "petit apartheid" laws (laws that are not necessary for the apartheid system); and taking a compromising stand on Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These recent actions by the RSA have been interpreted by some quarters in the West as indications that the RSA is actually changing and moving toward letting the Black population participate in the



political process in the RSA. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, these seemingly changes are nothing more than a new effort to hoodwink the world in light of the military and political changes in southern Africa. The RSA invasion of Angola during 1975-76 indicates that the RSA is still trying to extend apartheid beyond its borders and to subvert the progress of the independent African governments. The RSA has been forced to make certain changes because imperialism in southern Africa is facing its strongest challenge from the national liberation movements. In South Africa and Namibia, this new strong challenge is coming from the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO).

The policy of trying to convince African states that it is pursuing a more moderate course of action is reflected in the RSA racist detente policy of strengthening its ties with Malawi, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Zaire and Zambia. This bankrupt policy of the RSA with other African countries is reflected in the close unholy alliance between Zaire and the RSA in their combined aggression against Angola. Zaire allowed South Africa to land its warplanes and to use Zaire as an airbase against Angola and the MPLA.

Domestically the RSA has increased its arrest of democratic groups, trade unionists, students, communists and others who are opposing its policies of fascism. The detention period for the violation of the "pass laws" has been extended from 180 days to a year. The detainee has no rights to see a lawyer or his family during detention. This new law reflects a new stage in domestic repression and swells the already overwhelming number of the prison population. Included in this new extension of the pass law is also a broader definition of "political prisoner". The Defense Amendment Bill makes it possible for the RSA Defense Force to be deployed anywhere in Africa south of the equator. The bill even applies to "undeclared wars". In Namibia the RSA is creating a buffer zone between the An-

golan border and the northern section of Namibia, placing the people it has removed into "protective camps" in an attempt to arrest and stop the activities of SWAPO. Part of this policy in Namibia is to prevent SWAPO from having bases in Angola as was the case with FRELIMO in Tanzania—and carrying out military operations in Namibia from Angola.

## Bantustan Independence

The recent steps to grant "independence" to the Transkei in October of this year is also another move to make South Africa domestic policies more in tune with recent southern African developments. Bantustan "independence" has become the heart of the RSA's recent designs to hoodwink the world into believing that change for the better is taking place in the RSA. Although the RSA has always said it was going to give "independence" to its bantustans it was not until imperialism suffered a setback in southern Africa that it actually put this plan into effect. "Independence" for the Transkei and for the other enslaved bantustans means that these areas, like in Swaziland, will be economically and militarily tied to the RSA.

Bantustan independence is a fraud and designed to fool the world about the true extent of South African policies. The proposed "independence of the Transkei will only allow the U.S. imperialists along with South Africa and other imperialist countries to increase their exploitation of the African population with the help of the "bantustan leaders".

## Rhodesia—South Africa

Probably the greatest public ploy taking place in the RSA is the role Prime Minister Vorster is playing with the situation in Rhodesia. It seems to appear that Vorster is trying to bring pressure on Ian Smith to accept majority rule in Rhodesia and in encouraging talks between the Zimbabwe liberation movements and the Smith government. Here again this public stand by Vorster is another fraud designed to prevent any real change in South Africa and in Rhodesia. Vorster's strategy is to divide the liberation movements in Zimbabwe by playing on their internal weaknesses thereby aligning himself with the "trusted African leaders" in Zimbabwe. He hopes these "trusted African leaders" will play a large role in "majority rule" in Zimbabwe while the whites maintain economic control. A truly independent Zimbabwe would be a severe blow to the South African economy and imperialist interests. Already 60% of Rhodesia's trade is handled by South Africa. The Rhodesian economy is heavily tied into the Rand market. A truly free Rhodesia would isolate South Africa with almost all the surrounding states being hostile to the RSA.

(continued on page 8)



8  
Recommended Books

1. *Cities Without Crisis*, by Mike Davidow. International Publishers, NYC. This well-documented work compares the quality of life in cities of the U.S. with that of cities in the USSR. It deals with such subjects as jobs, race relations, housing, etc. Price: \$3.95.
2. *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary*, by Brian Bunting. Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St. Chicago 60610. An excellent political biography of the General Secretary of the South African Communist Party and the events in South Africa that led to his development as a revolutionary.

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Harold Rogers Editor

Recent Maneuvers

(continued from page 7)

The liberation of Zimbabwe will not come this way nor will it be given to Blacks. It will be won by the military and political victories of the liberation movements.

The defeat of the Portuguese in Africa and the failure of the fascist invasion of Angola are new chapters in the history of Africans liberating themselves from colonialism, racism and imperialism.

Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique are examples that with the aid of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and Cuba the process of national independence from imperialist domination is a great reality. The maneuvers of the U.S. ruling class are desperate. The revolutionary activity of the South African people led by the ANC and the SACP will put a quick end to these desperate moves of the wounded beast.

**Unholy Axis—Israel And The RSA**

South African Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster and his Minister of External Affairs, Hilgard Muller, were given a royal welcome in Tel Aviv in mid-April.

There were banquets and receptions, toasts and speeches about friendship between Israel and South Africa. The hosts naturally did not say a single word about Vorster's pro-nazi past or about the ties maintained with the Hitlerites by his Nationalist Party, whose leaders then made no secret of their anti-Semitism.

Identity of many political and ideological aims and similarity of the concepts of Zionism and apartheid—two kinds of racism—have made friends of the Tel Aviv and Pretoria regimes. During the June 1967 war the secret fascist Broederbond, which really rules South Africa, contributed an impressive sum to the Israel relief fund. More donations to the Israeli militarists came from South Africa in October 1973.

One good turn deserves another, it is

said. The Israeli brass willingly share with their South African counterparts the experience they have accumulated in punitive operations. South Africa has acquired an Israeli licence to manufacture UZI submachine guns. It was not for nothing that the London "Daily Mail" wrote that Vorster went to Tel Aviv to get arms.

The programme of the visit was indeed militaristic in nature. Vorster was the first foreign Prime Minister to be shown military installations in Israeli-occupied Sharm el Sheikh in the southern part of Sinai. He also visited warships and missile and aircraft plans. It was not tourist curiosity that brought the leader of the South African racists there. The Israeli and South African press believes that after the Tel Aviv talks Pretoria will be buying Israeli missiles and will acquire licences to build warships and fighter planes. This will help modernize the South African war machine which was qualified as obsolete after the defeat in Angola.

The racist regime, in its turn, reportedly intends to increase its deliveries of coal and strategic materials to Israel.

The Johannesburg "Rand Daily Mail" affirms that Vorster's talks with the Israeli leaders were "much more far-reaching than was originally supposed." It is significant that they reached agreement on regular meetings between their ministers for the purpose of discussing a wide range of questions.

It may be recalled that before the April 1974 revolution in Portugal there existed an unholy alliance uniting the South African and Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists. The development of relations between South Africa and Israel, notably the visit paid by Vorster and Muller, speaks of the appearance of a no less "unholy" Tel Aviv-Pretoria axis spearheaded against the African and Arab peoples' liberation movement.

17/76 "NEW TIMES"

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