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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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The African Boycott of the Olympics

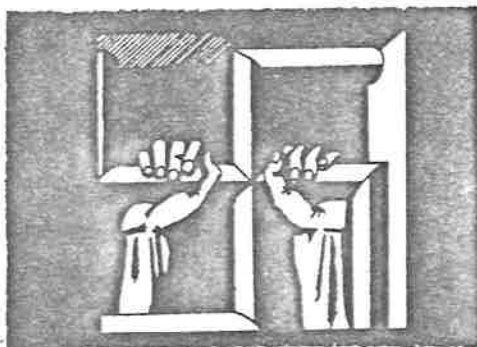
The following interview was given to the **African Agenda** by Prof. Dennis Brutus, President of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC).

AA: Would you give the reasons for the boycott of the Olympics by the African countries?

Brutus: Actually, the protest was against New Zealand's participation in the 1976 Olympics. New Zealand has continued to be involved in international sports events with South Africa and thereby gives validity to South Africa's racist policies. The South Africans were expelled by the International Olympic Committee in 1970 and were convicted of being guilty of racism. The current protest is not against South African participation, but the fact that members of the Olympics, countries which are in them, continue to have exchanges with South Africa and in this way keep racist sports alive in spite of South Africa's expulsion. A number of countries are having exchanges with South Africa: Britain, France, West Germany, the United States, Canada ... But the New Zealand case is a very special one in a number of ways.

For one thing, New Zealand has had 17 sports exchanges with South Africa in a single year; no other country has done this. New Zealand exchanges are approved by the New Zealand government. The Prime Minister said for them to "go into South Africa with my blessings both as an individual and as the Prime Minister." So, the New Zealand state government involvement is greater than anywhere else. The third point is one that is difficult to understand if you're not involved in a sport like rugby. Rugby is South Africa's national obsession. It's even more important than religion or politics. This is the most important sport for South Africa. By the New Zealanders going to South Africa to play rugby, particularly immediately after the Soweto massacre, all of this was a demonstration of support not only for apartheid, but was evidence that here was a country that was friendly toward the South African racist system and coming to support them at the same moment that the rest of the world was horrified. The most impor-

tant point is that we feel that once a country has been expelled for racism, no country should enable it to keep that racism alive by continuing to exchange visits. New Zealand has been more culpable than any other country.



AA: Who organized the boycott?

Brutus: Indeed, it was a boycott organized in the continent of Africa. It was organized by an organization called the Supreme Council of Sports in Africa which was established in 1967. The Supreme Council met last year in Kinshasa, and they took the resolution at the General Assembly that there would be action taken by Africa against countries which continued to have exchanges with South Africa. In March of this year, the Executive of the Supreme Council met in Nairobi and took a stronger resolution. They said that the Kinshasa resolution would be applied to certain countries and specified them. Then in May, we had a seminar on the eradication of apartheid which was held in Havana. I spoke at that seminar as well as the President of the Supreme Council. We called on the African nations to take action against all countries that continued to have exchanges with South Africa, but to specify the biggest culprit, New Zealand.

In June, they asked the IOC (the International Olympic Committee) to expel New Zealand from the Olympics or to take some action. They also called on the African countries to consider some line of action if action was not taken by the IOC. When the African countries met in

Montreal, they presented a request to the President of the IOC asking for action to be taken against New Zealand. They got an unsatisfactory reply of rejection from the IOC. At that point, 16 African countries followed by 13 other countries boycotted the Olympics.

It was very interesting that when the U.S. threatened to withdraw over the Taiwan issue, no one yelled 'politics'. But when the African states threatened to withdraw, everyone in the West talked about politics being in the Olympics.

AA: Why did two African countries (Senegal and the Ivory Coast) not take part in the boycott of the Olympics?

Brutus: Both of these countries have very strong ties with South Africa, both politically and economically, while at the same time, they are publicly saying they are against apartheid. For example, when Vorster of South Africa went to meet with African leaders to talk about his racist policy of 'dialogue', one of the countries he went to was the Ivory Coast. Both of the Presidents of these two countries have spoken in favor of establishing dialogue with South Africa, in spite of OAU resolution on South Africa. But most importantly, both of these countries are heavily influenced by French foreign policy, and these countries are completely under French control and have never actually left French colonial domination. It is interesting to note that France is the biggest seller of arms to the white racist minority government in South Africa. France is also going to sell South Africa two nuclear power stations and two nuclear warships. This creates a problem for France; while it is arming the white South African government, it also has to keep the Black states in Africa quiet so these states can go on to profess their loyalty to France. It is in this kind of dilemma that Senegal and the Ivory Coast participated in the Olympics and were unwilling to take a stand against racism and apartheid in South Africa.

AA: In your opinion, what political impact did the boycott have in the world?
(Continued on page 6)

The recent brutal killing of over 170 unarmed Black South Africans (testimony at the United Nations indicated that over 1,000 were killed) with hundreds wounded by the South African police should convince all freedom loving people that the white minority government must go. The racist South African government with its illegal stranglehold on Namibia, and the white minority regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are the last bastions of U.S. imperialism in Africa.

The mass murders in South Africa are no accident. South Africa and its imperialist allies are now desperate in view of the changing political and economic state of affairs in southern Africa. The anti-imperialist nations of Mozambique and Angola geographically border South Africa and Rhodesia, and Namibia, respectively. Both Mozambique and Angola are orientated toward socialist development. Angola was a great setback for imperialism in southern Africa. The imperialist forces had hoped to impose a neocolonialist government in Luanda, thereby reversing the rising tide of national liberation in southern Africa. The Black South Africans are a part of this tidal movement. The peaceful demon-

strations in Soweto and other African townships were protests against the apartheid system. The South African government responded in desperate, beastly fashion.

The United States imperialists have taken note of their precarious situation in southern Africa and have dispatched Sec. of State Kissinger to try to save their interests there. Kissinger has been proposing all kinds of plans to beat back the national liberation process. His latest plan calls for Rhodesia to be divided into three parts. Furthermore, the United States government would pay for the resettlement of all whites in Rhodesia who choose to leave. For South Africa, Kissinger proposes that the South African government relax some of its more openly offensive apartheid laws and allow some Black participation in the government. The plan also encourages some Black participation in decision-making in Namibia. United States investments in South Africa would be increased. To give his plans some semblance of credibility, Kissinger is trying to enlist the support of Afro-Americans by speaking at national gatherings of Afro-Americans such as the Urban League Conventions in Boston,

and in other private meetings. In the main, Kissinger proposes no change in southern Africa. He is merely seeking a change of face with more Black window dressing.

South Africa's racist system of apartheid is a crime against humanity. Its days are numbered. How long can the white minority governments in southern Africa survive? Ian Smith of Rhodesia and Vorster of South Africa talk in terms of thousands of years. But the national liberation movements are putting an end to this type of boasting. Southern Africa is now one of the major areas of the world where national liberation struggles against imperialist aggression are being waged.

Afro-Americans and the American people in general are confronted with one of the most important decisions since the Viet Nam War. Our choice must be clear. We must give active solidarity to the national liberation process in southern Africa, and call for the immediate rule of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia by the Black populations of those countries under the leadership of their national liberation movements.

APARTHEID—"LEGALIZED" COLONIALISM

"Apartheid is the crystallization, in its most primitive and detestable form, of the regime of colonial and racist domination imposed by the descendants of the Dutch on the African population. It constitutes a power structure based on the hegemony of the white minority that decides according to its whims the distribution and herding of the Africans into so-called bantustans, isolating them from all participation in the sphere of decisions concerning their own lives and stripping them of the most elemental exercise of human rights", said Dr. Raul Roa Garcia at the Havana Conference on Apartheid on May 24, 1976.

The origins of the present day apartheid system can be seen in the pattern imposed upon the African people by colonial conquest and rule. Beginning with the Dutch colonialists in the mid 17th century, followed by the British and ending with their present alliance, the strategy has always been the same, that of complete political and economic domination of the African people. This policy has been implemented mainly in three ways:

- 1) the expropriation of the ancestral lands of the Africans,
- 2) the confinement of the Africans to specific areas or reserves from which they were only to emerge to serve the needs of the white settler economy; and
- 3) the forced participation of the Afri-

cans in the money economy of the settler society.

The basis of the strategy was to rob the Africans of the best lands which were productive and mineral rich, and confine them to barren, parched, non-productive areas in which they could not subsist. Thereby creating an artificial shortage of land, forcing the Africans to seek employment in the European sectors. These crowded, fenced in reserves (called bantustans) scourged by hunger, disease and epidemics, became pools of cheap labor which provided the basis for the growth of the South African economy. Africans were denied all political and economic rights both in the reserves and in the white sector. These were the stark historical truths which molded the early 'reserves' and the policy of apartheid in its original colonial form.

Under the influence of the Nationalist Party, a whole system of measures aimed at bribing the white proletariat was gradually developed and introduced. This policy resulted in a split in the country's working-class movement and the white proletariat began to lose its militant traditions.

The color bar which reserved the skilled occupations to whites was gradually extended to all areas of the economy. In 1924 a directive ordered all government institutions and recommended all private companies to remove Africans from skilled jobs and replace them with

whites. These directives went still further with the Mines and Works Act of 1926 which prohibited Africans from obtaining licenses which entitled them to be locomotive engineers, mining technicians, etc. In essence numerous laws were contrived which eventually excluded all Africans from skilled jobs. This conscious policy of the South African Gov. objectively transformed the white working class as a whole into a labor aristocracy, whose privileged position was guaranteed by the apartheid system. Through these measures the racist South African Government secured the unqualified support of the vast majority of the white working class for their racist policy vis a vis the Africans.

Local Imperialism

Apartheid represents a special type of colonialism unlike the classical colony in which you have the metropole and the colony existing in separate boundaries. The geographic features of apartheid are quite unique in that you have coexistence of the coloniser and the colonised side by side in the same country. Apartheid also represents the existence of a developed white capitalist state that has now reached the imperialist stage within the colony.

When analysing the nature of South African imperialism, one must bear in mind that it is a variety of "local imperialism".

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The ANC Struggle Against South African Agents

The national liberation process in South Africa has been led by the African National Congress (ANC) for the greater part of the twentieth century. The early history of this African-led organization was a phase of social protest; but, in the present period, the ANC is arming and preparing the people for the armed struggle. The national liberation process is very complex and difficult, and necessitates an understanding of the scientific process of national liberation struggles and its links with the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The ability and the necessity to bring together different racial and ethnic groups into a single fighting force is a test of one's understanding of the national and class task that all true national liberation movements must master within their own country. In South Africa, the ANC has met this challenge and has surmounted those obstacles that divide people on the basis of class and national origin.

Indian Congress, The South African Colored Peoples Organization, and South African Peoples Organization, and South African Congress of Democrats (progressive whites) to create one alliance and they established the Freedom Charter in 1955. It became clear by this alliance to the imperialists that the ANC had politically as an organization established a new ideological level. The Congress Alliance, as it is called, put the struggle in South Africa on a higher level, because the active resistance to apartheid did not just involve the blacks, but all people who were oppressed by the capitalist system in South Africa.

One of the tactics of U.S. imperialism in Africa has always been to split the national liberation process by splitting off those elements who have not fully understood the relationship between national and class struggles in the liberation process, and the importance of the national fight in alliance with the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The U.S. imperialists base their splitting tactics on the emotion-charged evils of racism and anti-communism. Indeed the most recent examples of these tactics was the FNLA-UNITA alliance in Angola who accused the MPLA of not being African and being led by whites. They charged that the MPLA was controlled by Communists. These false assumptions by the FNLA-UNITA led them to betray their own people and to unite with the hated white minority government of South Africa and other enemies of the African revolution. In South Africa, this same splitting tactic was used against the ANC, the imperialists appealing to those elements in the ANC who did not fully understand the process of national liberation. The result was the creation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). The PAC

was based upon and created for the same reasons that other anti-African groups have been created in Africa: that is, to serve the enemy of imperialism.

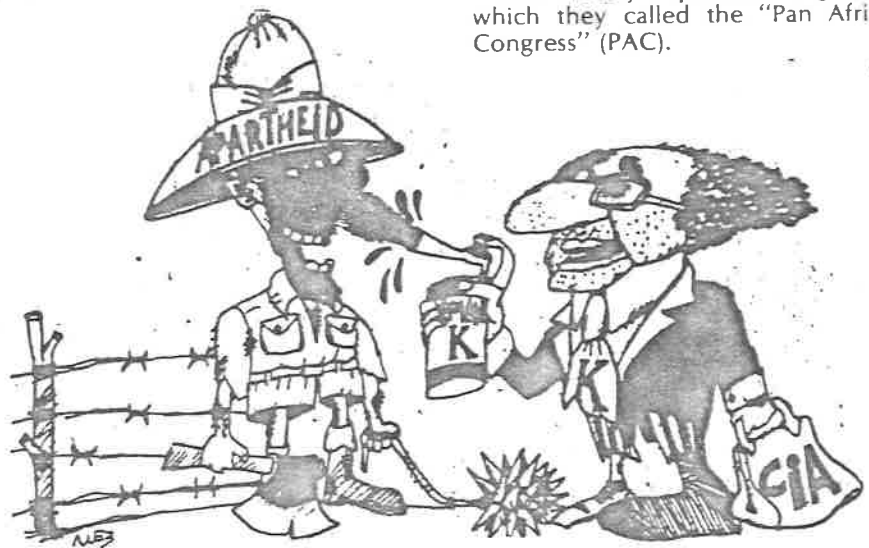
Early History

The character and the composition of the ANC has changed over the years since its formation in 1912. In the early years, its members were primarily tribal chiefs and middle strata Blacks. By the time of the establishment of the Freedom Charter the ANC had become a revolutionary progressive organization which included members of the South African Communist Party. No other organization representing the aspirations of the African people has been as consistent and principled as the ANC in fighting for the national freedom of the African people. The anti-pass campaigns in the 1950's, strikes and other protests led by the ANC captured the hearts and minds of the Black South African people in the phase of peaceful democratic struggles.

The 1950's was one of the most active periods in the history of the ANC. During this period U.S. imperialism was strengthening its hold on the fascist white minority government increasing its investments in the country. The ANC was leading strikes and anti-pass campaigns

President-General of the ANC; Prof. Z.K. Mathews., Joe Slovo, Ruth First, Leonel Bernstein, Alex La Guma, M.P. Naicker, Reginald September and many others. All of these people and others who were arrested were leaders in the ANC, in the trade unions, in the Indian Congress and in many more mass organizations.

In this context of the growing struggle of the ANC against the fascist government, the U.S. imperialists and their South African henchmen launched another attack on the ANC by creating disunity and factions within the ANC ranks. This thrust resulted in the splitting of some elements of the ANC and the creation of another organization. In the ANC a group was formed who were often labelled the "Africanists" who attempted in the 1950's to disrupt and take over the leadership. When this attempt failed to destroy the ANC, this small band of disrupters and adventurists held discussions in the Johannesburg library of the United States Information Service (USIS) in January 1959, with U.S. officials, and elements like Patrick Duncan and the CONTACT newspaper of the Liberal Party (made up of white so-called liberal South Africans). This counterrevolutionary group led by Patlako Leballo and others (Leballo was an employee of the USIS at the time) decided to form a "revolutionary" political organization which they called the "Pan Africanist Congress" (PAC).



and many mass demonstrations were conducted under their leadership. In 1956, 20,000 women of all races marched to the Union Building in Pretoria to present a petition to the government asserting their rights to be free. Blacks were boycotting the busses to protest the increased fares. The South African police responded by killing and injuring masses of people. The result of the ANC activities in the 1950's was the arrest of 156 people who were leaders in the anti-pass campaigns and strikes. In 1956, the arrests included such people as Moses Kotane, an ANC executive member; Chief Lutuli,

PAC Charges

The main attacks of the PAC against the ANC were directed at the united front policy of the ANC and the Freedom Charter. The PAC claimed that the ANC had lost its identity as a purely African revolutionary organization, and was dominated by its non-African allies. This charge was made in spite of the fact that the African population in numerous meetings and rallies throughout South Africa had unanimously approved the Freedom Charter of the African National

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APARTHEID—"LEGALIZED" COLONIALISM

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This term was used by Lenin to describe British colonial settlements. He pointed out that local bourgeois groups were colonial exploiters twice over. The racist Republic of South Africa has been assigned the role on the one hand by international imperialism as a springboard for the neo-colonial penetration into Black Africa. On the other hand it is a colonial power in its own right as evidenced by its political and economic annexation of Namibia. In actual fact the principles underlying both tendencies are essentially the same, i.e., they are like two sides of the same coin.

The development of South African 'local imperialism' and the emergence of its political superstructure in the form of the fascist apartheid regime cannot be divorced from the history of the ruling Nationalist Party today.

The Party grew out of its promotion of the most rabid and vicious racism, which forms the basis of Afrikaner nationalism. It was formed in 1914 under the leadership of General Hertzog and the party has striven to provide the Boer farming and industrial bourgeoisie with conditions favorable for their rapid development at the expense of the Africans. While it is true that all other white parties and groupings that have been in power during the colonial era at one time or another also adhered to racist principles, none of them devised such a comprehensive and sophisticated system of racial discrimination as the Nationalists. The Nationalists achieved undivided control of the country in 1948. In 1947, the Nationalists published their election manifesto, entitled "Race Relations Policy of the Nationalist Party." The manifesto voiced the following basic principles: "In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and subgroups in their own areas where every group will be enabled to develop into a self sufficient unit."

"The Bantu in the urban areas (white areas) should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the whites."

"The interests and employment prospects of the white workers in the white areas will be protected."

"The choice before us," the manifesto declared, "is one of two divergent courses: either that of integration, which would in the long run amount to national suicide on the part of whites, or that of Apartheid."

The fascist nature of the ideology of apartheid was clearly revealed during WWII in a speech given by the present Prime Minister of South Africa John Vorster, who openly stated the apartheid movements aims: "We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-



democratic principle dictatorship if you wish, but in Italy it is called fascism, in Germany, National Socialism (Nazism), and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism."

Beginning with the triumphant victory in 1948 with the support of the vast majority of the white population, the Nationalist rulers began to sharpen their teeth of old racist laws and make new laws to further entrench the mastery of the whites and the servitude of the Blacks.

All apartheid legislation can be subdivided into two large categories. The first covers the laws and edicts that limit the social and economic rights of Blacks, i.e., those that directly govern their economic exploitation; and the second category takes in the laws that restrict political and civil rights. It includes laws and edicts that deprive Blacks of any opportunity of protesting or struggling against their economic exploitation, and provides a legal basis for the conversion of four-fifths of the country's population into a vast cheap labor pool.

MIGRATORY LABOR

The migratory labor system has been the basis of South Africa's economic development. The African reserves from which some of the migratory labor comes not only provides cheap labor for industry, but also saves the government and employers the expense of maintaining the workers through benefits which workers are normally entitled to such as sick benefits, hospitalization and other welfare benefits. Migratory labor is an integral and essential part of the policy of apartheid and discrimination.

The migrant workers come from two sources, the African reserves and neighboring territories. About 60% of the Africans employed in South Africa's diamond, gold and coal mines are recruited on contract from Lesotho, Malawi, Rhodesia, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique.

The system began more than a century ago with various pressures being applied on Africans by the white settlers such as the hut taxes, etc., forcing them to become migrant workers. The system of migratory labor has now been "legally" added to the list of oppressive South African laws, making it obligatory for every African, in or outside his tribal area to register as a "workseeker" at a tribal labor bureau administered by a tribal chief. The African migrant workers spend the whole of their working lives circulating between the industrial areas and the Bantustan areas. More than 3 million men and women are perpetually on the move—men and women of two worlds, lacking the feeling of belonging anywhere.

The migratory labor system can be seen as both a symptom and a cause of most of the economic social and political problems in S.A. The government has used this system not only as a source of cheap labor but also by the perpetual mass movement of these people to prevent them from organizing against the system of apartheid and to postpone its downfall.

To describe migrant workers and non-white workers in general in S.A. as cheap labor is to be extremely conservative. In actuality the wages paid to non-whites and particularly Africans are below subsistence and make it impossible to maintain any standard of living that could be considered humane.

Wages are fixed by the government in various ways, in particular the Wage Act of 1957 which states that whites must be paid more than non-whites, and that a white person needs a higher wage than an African because he lives on a "civilised standard" and the African does not.

This traditional policy of low pay to non-whites is expressed by the fact that Africans are paid 1/12 of the wage that whites receive. Recent figures show that this gap is steadily increasing to the point where in the mining industry, the average cash wage of the whites is up to seventeen times greater than that of the Africans, who comprise 90% of the labor force in that industry.

The mine owners defense of this different is that African employees are given housing, food, and free medical treatment in addition to cash wages. In actuality this amounts to housing of walled-in compounds of single quarters with concrete bunks, and the food consists of a

diet supplying about 4,000 calories a day which costs the employer about 17 cents per person. The compounds are for males only, married men cannot live with their wives and families nor can they set up homes near their work place, as these are "white areas".

LEGAL MANIFESTATION OF APARTHEID

There have been many laws as stated before that have been devised to control the lives and direct the labor of Africans in S.A. Of these many laws the significance and priority of the dehumanizing Pass Laws cannot be emphasized enough, for they provide the cornerstone of the Apartheid system, without which such complete control over a people who are a significant majority would be extremely difficult.

The Pass Laws were first introduced by the British in 1806 as a collection of a series of specific papers, and later refined to its present single document form in 1952. The "Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents Act", required every African to carry a reference book, containing his photograph, his race identity card, registry number, particulars of his tribal origin, his ethnic classification, authorization to be in the urban area, the labor bureau permit to be employed, and various other particulars. Africans must always have their reference books with them. Failure to produce the book on demand by a person in authority results in immediate arrest.

By compelling Africans to carry this reference book, the authorities were able to enforce other racial laws. The pass system is the key to the control of movement and employment known as the Urban Areas Act, which controls the influx of Africans into the urban areas, sets apart areas for their accommodation, direct their labor, and provide whites with Black labor without allowing the Blacks to acquire residential, social, and/or other rights in the areas where they are employed.

The brutality of this control law enforcement is evidenced by the number of prosecutions of Africans under the pass laws, and related laws. There is a daily average of 2,800 actual prosecutions of Pass Law violations. Many thousands more are challenged every day to produce their reference books and are badgered, delayed or detained until they can satisfy police or officials that they are carrying the books and all the documents within them are in order. Africans residing in the urban areas are under the constant threat of punitive action by authorities if they become involved in strikes, demonstrations or public protests. Those who retaliate in manners unfavorable to their employers or policemen, are in danger of expulsion from their homes and being sent back to the Bantustans. This was the fate of most of the 3,000 Durban dockworkers who went on strike in April 1969 for higher wages.

EDUCATION

The present system of education pursued by successive nationalist party governments is an integral part of the Apartheid policy, and is the logical extension of the economic inequalities between Black and white in S.A. The educational policy for the Black majority has always been regarded as a tool to perpetuate white supremacy and privilege. In keeping with the overall policies of racial segregation and white control of decision and policy.



SA Police attacks demonstrator

The inequalities in the South African education system can be seen in many ways, but it is very evident in per capita expenditure, where the average spent per African pupil is \$15.00 and the average for a white student is \$350.00. This grossly disproportionate expenditure by the government has many effects on the education of Blacks, such as:

- 70% of African pupils leave school by the end of the first four years
- 5% reach the first year of secondary school
- Hundreds of children are turned away from school because of lack of room
- The teacher pupil ratio at primary schools in 60:1 as opposed to 22:1 in white schools

—There is only one secondary school for every 80,000 African children

The extension of University Education Act of 1959 put an end to academic non segregation in higher education. Higher education is now being offered in ethnically exclusive University Colleges for the Zulu, Xhosa and Sothe speaking people and one University each for the Indian and Colored peoples.

Political repression of students voicing opposition to apartheid in the Black colleges has been increasing rapidly since the formation of SASO (S.A. Student Organization) in 1969. Since that time every SASO president has been banned by the government. Many students have been expelled for speaking out against apartheid and the oppressive nature of student life. Many student leaders are serving prison sentences.

The educational system does not intend nor was it designed to separate Blacks and whites into parallel but equal societies. Its objective is vertical differentiation dividing those who command from those who "obey".

South Africa today is being rocked by a revolutionary ferment, evidenced by the biggest strike movement in the last ten years by Black workers. The workers together with the youth and students have shown an even greater rejection of all aspects of apartheid. Everytime the workers strike demanding equal pay, better working conditions, etc., or the students demand a right to a proper education, they know they are not only breaking the law, but actually putting their lives on the line, facing indefinite prison sentences or even death.

These developments have rapidly shifted the balance of forces in favor of the total liberation of S.A. This revolutionary fervor has not been ignored by the S. African government, they have in fact intensified the brutal repression of workers and students, as we have seen with the brutal massacre of men, women, and children in peaceful demonstration in Soweto, and hundreds more that have gone unpublished by the Western press. In further attempts to undermine the strength of the liberation struggle, Vorster has accelerated the implementation of his Bantustan program in a desperate attempt to retribalise and divide the African population.

Despite the vicious persecution of the African majority and other sympathizers by arrests, bans, and intimidation, the African population continues fearlessly to challenge the regime of white supremacy. The people struggling for their human rights and national independence know the true meaning of apartheid and we should understand clearly that apartheid is not just a system based on racism, but a consciously contrived system with a vast resource of restrictive laws and practices solely designed for the express purpose of the SUPER EXPLOITATION of the labor of the African majority.

South Africa's Dilemma

South Africa's continental ally—Portuguese colonialism—is no more. Gone too is the myth of South African military superiority and invincibility. The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia have stepped up their guerilla activities. Rhodesia's days as a minority outlaw government are numbered. This, then, is South Africa's dilemma: Unless Prime Minister Vorster's desperation politics pay off very soon, progressive forces will triumph, leading to South African majority rule—Vorster's nightmare.

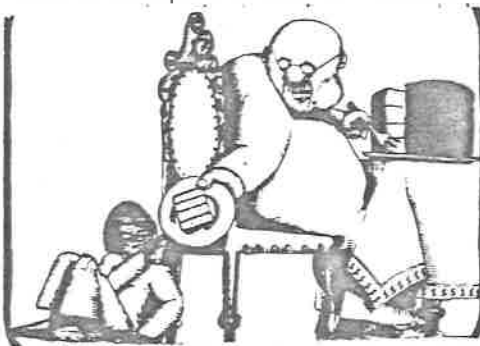
Vorster saw the writing on the wall long ago. Late in 1974, he thought he would be able to counter the revolutionary surge throughout Southern Africa with overtures to independent black countries. (Malawi is the only independent African state maintaining diplomatic relations with South Africa.) Through dialogue—or “detente” as Vorster erroneously calls it—he hoped to bribe these nations with promises of much-needed economic help for them, and proposals for the fraudulent bantustan independence scheme for South Africa's blacks. He visited the Ivory Coast in Sept., 1974, at the invitation of President Felix Houphet-Boigny, for a meeting which President Leopold Senghor of Senegal and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia also attended. In February, 1975, South Africa's foreign minister Hilgard Muller met in Lusaka, Zambia with Rhodesian blacks and black African leaders. That same month, Vorster went to Liberia for talks with President William Tolbert.

In his talks Vorster promised change in South Africa: peace, reconciliation and non-confrontation. He attempted to make black Africa believe that his proposal for bantustan independence would result in real freedom for black South Africans. He offered economic help to struggling countries. By making independent African nations dependent on economic aid from South Africa, Vorster could assure a minimum of protest as he continued to pursue his racist policies at home. The logical result would have been a relaxation of world censure and the legitimization of the apartheid regime: if black African nations who struggled to obtain their independence openly deal with South Africa, then so will the rest of the world, making the ANC's task of liberation much harder. This, at any rate, was Vorster's reasoning.

At the same time Vorster was promising other African nations that a change would come, he was busy assuring South African whites that these “changes” would have no effect on them and their way of life.

Vorster's usual lie is underlined his opponents' intelligence. Though a few nations are continuing talks and hosting bantustan “leaders,” the majority see through the sham. They recognize the bantustan proposal for what it is—a plan to provide cheap labor reservoirs while allowing whites to retain total control of 87% of South Africa's land and 100% of South Africa's natural resources, industry and transportation lines. For African leaders who have fallen into the trap of detente Vorster-style, the recent protests at Soweto township and the accompanying massacre of black South Africans have proven Vorster's real intentions of keeping the black majority completely oppressed and the white minority in firm control.

If any other proof was needed that the South African government has no intentions of making any drastic change, the example of Namibia would suffice. In 1889, Germany established a colony—South West Africa. After World War I and the defeat of Germany, her colonies were distributed as mandates among the allied powers. South West Africa became a mandate of South Africa. In 1949, South Africa decided to annex South West Africa as a fifth province. This despite the fact that the United Nations had asked that all mandates be turned over to and administered by the UN Trusteeship Council. South Africa has, since then, illegally occupied South West Africa. Apartheid has been introduced and the bantustan program is underway. Despite world pressure and the wishes of the indigenous Namibians, South Africa refuses to relinquish its hold on Namibia.



Historically, Rhodesia has depended on South Africa's economic and military support for its survival. The fall of Rhodesia is imminent, however. British and American interests are urging Vorster to use his influence to force Rhodesia's Ian Smith to negotiate with blacks for a peaceful change to majority rule. (Peaceful change meaning the installation of an African puppet government, rather than handing over to the liberation movements). Vorster has pulled his troops out of Rhodesia, supposedly to pressure Smith, but in reality to bolster his own defenses. The move also serves as a basis for initiating talks with independent African countries. Vorster feels that this move makes it look like he is working for black majority rule in Rhodesia. For the

moment it serves Vorster's purpose to try to trick the world into believing that he is really working on a solution to Rhodesia's problems. Dealing in practicalities, however, Vorster would not be able to tolerate another hostile border. This would be a grave threat to the present South African regime. Therefore, it is certain that any Rhodesian solution that Vorster, Smith, and the imperialist powers work out will be unlikely to benefit either South African or Rhodesian masses.

The African Boycott Of The Olympics

(Continued from page 1)

Brutus: I think it was two-fold. Firstly, it was shown that the African states were willing to be sincere in their comments to fight racism at a very great sacrifice to themselves. I also think that those racists that continue to support racism in sports and politics and to support apartheid in South Africa will realize that African states are willing to take action against them, and that if they continue to associate with apartheid, there is going to be very great repercussions.

AA: Were the Afro-Americans from the U.S. delegation approached to also participate in the boycott?

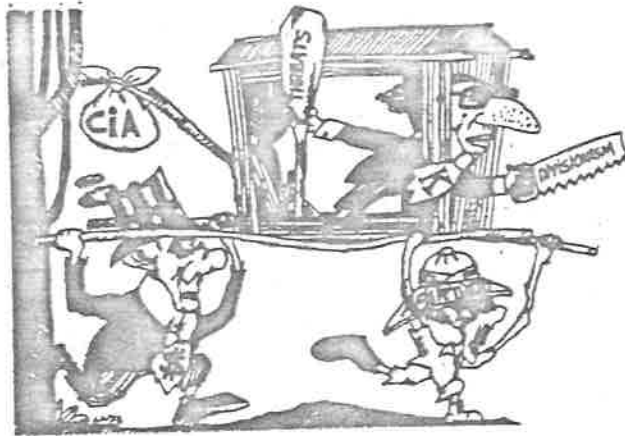
Brutus: Afro-Americans did not participate in the boycott. They were not, so far as I know, officially approached even though there were several unofficial approaches made to them. It might have been that even if they were approached they might have thought that gold medals were more important to them than the fight against racism. The Africans said human dignity was more important than gold medals. However, the Afro-Americans have been very good, as in Mexico, they supported the African struggle and, in 1972 in Munich, they supported the African states over Rhodesia. It might have happened at Montreal if they had been directly approached. But my guess is that some would have, and others would not. I would like to believe that Afro-Americans would support the Africans in their struggles.

AA: What was the impact of the African boycott of the Olympics in South Africa?

Brutus: From all the reports we have gotten, it has been very important on the morale of the people who are living under that oppressive apartheid system. The South African people know that there are African states that are not only against racist sports in words, but also in action; especially when this action is in every newspaper in the world and especially now, when there is a New Zealand team in South Africa, the Black South Africans know that there is an Africa that is supporting them in their struggle. The boycott gave added strength to those people who are fighting in South Africa.

The ANC Struggle Against South African Agents

(Continued from page 3)



Kissinger
in Africa.

Congress. The PAC, like their political allies of the FNLA and UNITA in Angola, also said that the ANC was dominated by Communists and what they call "modern Soviet revisionism". Like the PAC counterparts in Angola (the FNLA-UNITA), they raised the cry of anti-communism

and united with imperialism—the CIA and the South African government—against the people of South Africa. In both cases, in Angola and in South Africa, this charge of the MPLA and the ANC being Communist enabled the FNLA-UNITA and the PAC to receive funds

from the CIA and the People's Republic of China.

One of the first counterrevolutionary acts by the PAC was against the ANC anti-pass campaign in March 1960. The ANC had planned in December 1959 to have a nationwide campaign of work stoppage, burning of passes and later sabotage against the oppressor's vital installations to be held on March 31, 1960. A great deal of preparation had gone into the campaign with the ANC preparing the people for this day. However, on March 21, the PAC issued a premature call for the campaign to disrupt the planned activities of the ANC and to confuse the South African Black population. The PAC call instructed the people to go and stand outside the police station and burn their passes on March 21. To dupe the people the reactionary PAC issued the call in the name of the "Congress" (a generic title used and recognized by all South Africans as standing for the ANC). This confusion started by the PAC resulted in the Sharpeville Massacre where 69 people were killed as well as 5 people at Langa in Cape Town. The ANC position had always been to prepare people for the anti-pass campaign. The reactionary PAC preempted the ANC in this case and led the people into an unprepared demonstration.

PAC Disruptive Actions

The ANC reacted to the Sharpeville suppression by calling on the people for a national day of mourning to be held on March 28 and to burn their passes. Claiming to be more revolutionary than the ANC, the PAC tried to force the ANC into accepting its slogans and actions for the national day of mourning by saying the ANC must accept its "No bail, No defence, No fines, the leaders must go in front" slogan. The ANC never accepted this slogan and after many weeks of people being arrested, the PAC betrayed its own slogan and were accepting bail, defence and fines and even skipping bail and the country. While the ANC was leading the March 28 anti-pass campaign and burning their passes many of their top leaders were being arrested such as Chief Lutuli, Duma Nokwe, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Gert Sebande, Kohn Nkading, Phineas Nene and other heroes. Its claim of being more revolutionary did not stop the PAC from further confusing the people by adopting the ANC anthem "Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika", its slogan "Mayibuye" and the colors of the ANC flag (though not the design) as its own.

In another situation at the initiative of the ANC a meeting was held in December 1960 of all African leaders of different opinion in South Africa to con-

(Continued on page 8)

News Briefs

SOUTH AFRICA PROTEST

The brutal murder of Black South Africans in June of this year at Soweto and other Black townships in South Africa by the fascist white minority government engendered an outpouring of support in the U.S. for the liberation movement in South Africa and condemnation of the racist South African government. Thousands of people held rallies and marches in the U.S. in support of the oppressed people in South Africa. In Chicago, Illinois, rallies were held at the Federal Building calling for the breaking of diplomatic relations with South Africa by the U.S. government. At Operation PUSH, Duma Nokwe of the African National Congress of South Africa spoke to Chicagoans over the Saturday morning radio broadcast about the oppression and struggle in his country. **African Agenda** Editor Harold Rogers joined Rev. Jesse Jackson in calling on the Chicago community to protest the recent killings in South Africa and the inhumane system of apartheid.

In New York City, the local chapter of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation and the South African Freedom Day Committee held a mass rally on June 25th to demonstrate against the racist South African apartheid system and the racist budget cutbacks in New York City. Over 1,400 people attended the rally with 120 radio stations reporting on the rally which heard speakers from the African liberation movements, especially the African National Congress of South Africa. A follow up to the N.Y. rally is the planning of a mass meeting in Harlem on Southern Africa on Sept. 11, 1976, and a demonstration at the U.N. on Sept. 24. For further information contact N.Y.C. NAIMSAL, 530 W. 112th St. #62 N.Y.C. 10025.

NATIONAL MARCH FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR RIGHTS

Thousands of Americans from all walks of life will converge on Raleigh, North Carolina this Labor Day, September 6th, for the National March for Human Rights and Labor Rights. The march, organized by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, will bring alive the meaning of Labor Day in the most repressive anti-labor state in the country. The basic labor right to organize is one of the issues of the march since in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, 4,000 J.P. Stevens Corp. workers are still without a contract after voting for the union. The march will highlight the fight of the Stevens workers as a key to the drive to organize Southern labor.

Also central to the demands of the march is the freedom of the Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10, and their co-workers, Dr. Jim Grant and the Charlotte 3. These freedom fighters are now imprisoned for a total of 282 years and 55 years respectively for their leadership of the civil rights movement in North Carolina.

Buses are leaving from different parts of the country and every one that is able to go must go to North Carolina on Labor Day. For further information contact the national office at the National Alliance, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 804, N.Y.C. 10011, Tel. (212) 243-8555. In Chicago at 606 S. Ashland, Chicago 60607, (312) 243-8523.

Recommended Books

1. *The Revolutionary Movement of Our Time and Nationalism*, by G.F. Rudenko, Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St., Chicago 60610. Price: \$3.25. An important work on the role of nationalism in the world revolutionary movement. This study on nationalism includes the psychology, social basis, and the historical varieties of this phenomenon.
2. *Sechaba*, Official Organ of the African National Congress. Price: \$6.00 per year. A quarterly publication on the struggle in South Africa by the South African liberation movement, the ANC. Excellent on current events in one of the last fascist republics in Africa. All orders can be made with Imported Publications.
3. *Freedomways*, published by Freedomways Associates, Inc. at 799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 10003. Subscription rates are \$4.50 a year. A quarterly publication on developments in Black America and excellent on the thinking of Afro-American leaders.

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ANC

consider joint action against the fascist republic. A Continuation Committee was set up which included the PAC which was to plan for a country-wide "All In African Unity conference" scheduled for March 1961. Prior to the conference, the PAC withdrew and called on people to ignore the committee's call for the election of delegates to the conference. Nevertheless the meeting took place at Maritzburg on March 21 and 1,500 delegates made the decision for a national stoppage of work. On the eve of the planned nationwide strike, the PAC distributed leaflets calling on the African people to ignore the strike while the fascist government unleashed a massive show of force to stop the strike. The government even distributed PAC leaflets in certain areas.

The PAC from its beginning was to display the ideological uncertainty and opportunistic aspect of its top leadership. At a time in the 1950's when the ANC was engaged in some of its most active resistance against the government, and when its leadership was being banned and

thrown into jail under the infamous Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the PAC emerged out of the ANC to disrupt the ANC and to try and take over the organization. In all cases they failed.

The history of the ANC in South Africa has been a history of struggle against the government and in its current phase the ANC is now training the people for armed struggle against the fascist republic of South Africa. The agent of the enemy, the PAC, has a history of disruption, ideological confusion and attacks on the people's liberation movement of South Africa. Imperialism tries to impose false leaders and movements on people as the case was in Angola with the FNLA-UNITA. So is the case with the PAC in South Africa. However this imperialist created movement in South Africa is a failure and the ANC is striking blow after blow against the apartheid system while the PAC sits on the sidelines as agents of reaction and fascism.

"BUTTRESS"
FOR RACIST REGIME



Death by hanging is the principal "educational" method employed by the racist authorities in South Africa.

Harold Rogers Editor
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