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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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Super K Rides Again

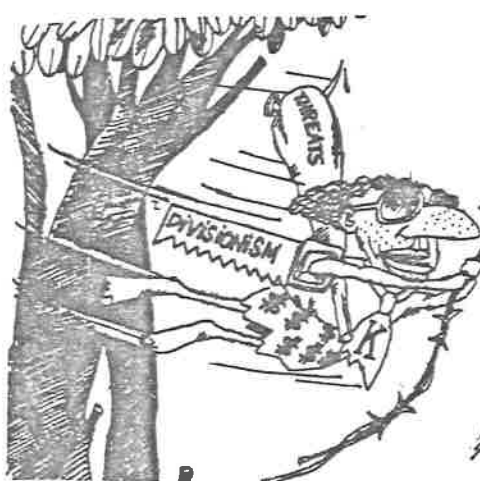
U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger has achieved another spectacular effort in international peace making. This time, he has performed his miracle in southern Africa. Within a matter of days, Kissinger accomplished what years of guerrilla struggle could not. A peaceful settlement in Namibia (South-West Africa) and an agreement for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

At least this is the conclusion that the capitalist news media in this country would have us believe. Upon closer inspection however, the situation changes drastically. What we see is a group of white racist and U.S. imperialists who are trying to desperately save South Africa and themselves from total damnation by imposing a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe and split the southern African liberation movements.

In recent years it did not seem as if the U.S. had a foreign policy toward Africa, but this is hardly the case. U.S. imperialist policy has always been to keep Africa within the grips of imperialism and to support and strengthen racism and reaction. South Africa has always been the main pillar of U.S. policy in Southern Africa while the former Portuguese colonialists acted as U.S. proxy in Africa. The most recent example of the U.S. sideing with reaction and colonialism was their open support of racism and reaction in Angola. It was the U.S. who financed the Portuguese in Angola and the CIA that created the FNLA and UNITA to fight the peoples movement led by the MPLA. The U.S. supported the South African troops under the old cold war (boague) of fighting communism while denouncing Soviet aid and the Cuban troops who defended the right of the African people to independence.

Socialist help of the MPLA to secure and build a nation reflects the Leninist principle of the interconnection between the fight for socialism and the fight for national liberation. The principle position of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other Socialist countries vis-a-vis

Angola has set another precedent in that *international progressive forces will unite to fight imperialism*. Despite the fact MPLA was not backed by Western powers they received world wide recognition as the one true liberation force fighting for Angola's freedom. This was a great setback for the U.S. and Kissinger's foreign policy. The Vietnamese, the USSR and the Cubans were being congratulated for their assistance to Angola. The U.S. was lost, scorned and embittered. There was nothing to do except pick up the pieces.



IMPERIALIST SCHEMES

But the West had to do something. SWAPO (South West People's Organization) and the guerrilla fighters in Zimbabwe were winning victory after victory. The U.N. had already recognized SWAPO as the only political force in Namibia. The Ian Smith regime did not know how much longer they could depend upon the Black soldiers in their Rhodesian army to continue to fight for them while their brothers and sisters the freedom fighters, were gaining victories for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Colonialism was being crushed from all sides. More importantly South Africa was losing the ground to win friends in Africa through its infamous racist detente policies. Plus

the two independent states of Angola and Mozambique could now provide a training ground for the freedom fighters of South Africa and directly threaten South Africa. President Samora Machel of Mozambique made no bones about telling the imperialist that Mozambique and other African nations would come to the aid of the liberation forces in southern Africa. Militarily the imperialist could not win short of more aggressive military action from the capitalist nations. Thus they were forced with another tactic. Diplomacy. What could be more diplo-



matic to save South Africa and racist rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe than the U.S. meeting with all sides to come to a "peaceful settlement" in Rhodesia and Namibia? In other words the possibility of sacrificing Rhodesia and Namibia to preserve South Africa. Possibly they could regain control in "legalized pirating" and split the southern African liberation movements.

MIDDLE EAST "SOLUTION"

These were the reasons why Mr. Kissinger embarked on a "diplomatic shuttle" to visit the heads of the African states during the mid part of this year. He denounced in mild terms apartheid, and called for Black majority rule in Rho-

(Continued on page 4)

People's War In Zimbabwe

The armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe has taken on new dimensions through the important advances made by the freedom fighters over the last eight months. Very little is known about the liberation army in Zimbabwe since most of the attention has been focused on a political settlement of the Zimbabwe situation. However, it is because of the armed struggle and their successes that has caused the discussion by the imperialist on finding a political solution to majority rule in Zimbabwe. The fighting continues in Zimbabwe in spite of the Kissinger so called "shuttle diplomacy". Zimbabwe will be liberated by the strength of the war for freedom and not given to the Zimbabweans by Kissinger or Ian Smith. In the first public comments made by a member of the leadership of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) interviewed Dzinashe Machingura, Deputy Political Commissar of ZIPA. ZIPA is the organization that is carrying out the war in Zimbabwe against Ian Smith's illegal regime and the following interview is an abbreviated version given to AIM late in September 1976 —Ed



who appreciated and actively supported this joint military command.

The joint military command was formed on the understanding that the liberation of Zimbabwe could only be realised through an arduous armed struggle; secondly, on the understanding that the traditional political leadership of Zimbabwe had divided the people of Zimbabwe. And it became quite clear to us that if we were ever going to be able to prosecute a successful armed struggle we could not be a party to either of the two rival ANC factions, the Muzorewa faction or the Nkomo faction. We realised that the time for personality politics had long passed. It was this approach to politics which had divided the Zimbabwe people.

Q. Is ZIPA only an army, or does it have a political structure and leadership?

A. ZIPA is an army in the traditional sense of the word. But ZIPA is a unique and revolutionary army in the sense that it has a strategic role of transforming itself into a political movement. The ZIPA structure accommodates the shouldering of both the military and the political tasks of the revolution. We have, within the ZIPA structure, a political department exclusively charged with the responsibility of shouldering the political tasks that are normally shouldered by a revolutionary political organization.

In the history of revolutionary struggles we find examples that closely approximate our own situation. For example, in the course of their struggles, at one time or another, depending on the stage of their revolution, the political leadership was identical to the military leadership of the organisations fighting for freedom in China, in Cuba, in Korea, in Vietnam and in many other countries.

But we have to establish a formal political structure in order to give better political direction to the armed body that is now fighting inside Zimbabwe. And moves to do this are already well underway, moves to transform this organisation into a revolutionary vanguard for the people's struggle.

Q. What are the political goals of the struggle? For example, ZIPA is fighting for freedom but how do you define this freedom?

A. We are not mercenaries. We are not simply soldiers. We are political soldiers. We are fighting for clearly defined political objectives. Our political goal is to overthrow national oppression in Zimbabwe, to put an end to the system of exploitation of the many by the few and to create a system that will serve the people of Zimbabwe. When we say that ZIPA is fighting for freedom we mean that ZIPA is fighting for political freedom. By political freedom we mean that ZIPA is fighting for the political rights, the economic rights and the cultural rights of the Zimbabwean people; to put the Zimbabwean people in a position of authority and in a position of dominance in these spheres. Through realising the people's democratic freedoms we release and set in motion the innovative and creative potential of the masses of Zimbabwe.

Q. Has it been possible to establish liberated or semi-Liberated zones in Zimbabwe?

A. We can say that at this stage we have managed to establish semi-liberated zones in the sense that, although the political and administrative infrastructure is not yet fully organised, the enemy has no control whatsoever in these areas. The masses are fully mobilised and organised, and are fully behind the armed struggle that is now being waged by the freedom fighters. We also feel that establishing liberated areas at this stage would be presenting the enemy with many targets vulnerable to air strikes.

Q. It is clear that since the beginning of this year the ZIPA forces have stepped up the armed struggle. Has this been done only in terms of the geographical area affected by the war, that is to say, is it only a matter of extending the war to a wider area, or has the war been intensified in the sense of achieving higher combat effectiveness?

A. It is true that there has been considerable expansion of the geographical area covered by our guerrilla struggle. But the quantitative growth of the war has also given rise to the qualitative development and transformation of this same war. This has become necessary in accordance with the changes in the enemy's situation. The enemy is now generally on the defensive. The enemy has now employed the strategy of not dispersing its forces, so as to minimise the danger of ambushes on patrols and to minimise the dangers of surprise attacks on small encamped units without permanent fortification. This has

Q. What is the Zimbabwe People's Army and how was it formed?

A. The Zimbabwe People's Army is a product of the voluntary merger of the military wing of the former ZANU (ZANLA) and the military wing of the former ZAPU (ZIPRA). It was formed for the purpose of rescuing the Zimbabwe liberation struggle from the chaotic situation that had been created by the ANC leadership. It is an armed body of men, which was formed for the purpose of resuming the armed struggle, intensifying this armed struggle and carrying it to its logical conclusion and finally establishing a just and popular socio-political order serving the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

After the Lusaka agreement in December 1974 the four nationalist organisations fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe came together under one umbrella, the ANC. But in the course of time, the leadership which was formed at that time through the Lusaka agreement failed to organise itself in negotiating with the Smith regime and failed to set in motion machinery that would pursue and realise the liberation of Zimbabwe through armed struggle.

After the fighters had realised the incompetence of the ANC leadership they took it upon themselves to organise themselves, to reconstitute themselves into an army that would fight for the independence of the Zimbabwe people. The combatants from both former ZANU and former ZAPU agreed to form a joint military command that would lead the armed struggle. After this agreement they approached the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity and the front-line Heads of State,

forced the enemy to concentrate its forces in large fortified camps and to deploy its forces in big convoys. To continue the war we have to develop it to a stage of attacking the garrisoned enemy, and to raise the level of tactics to ambushing large enemy convoys. Therefore there was an imperative need for a qualitative change in our struggle. This we have realised and carried out through operating in bigger military units, which has been impossible because of the qualitative development of the consciousness of the masses, who are serving as our camouflage, as our intelligence system and as our quartermasters.

Q. But hundreds of thousands of people have been moved into concentration camps in Zimbabwe. This must create problems when the people want to help the guerrillas. How do the fighters and the people deal with this problem?

A. Mass participation and mass support in guerrilla warfare is an indispensable condition for victory. It is the strategic aim of the Smith regime, like its predecessors in Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and other countries, to try to isolate the guerrillas from the masses by establishing concentration camps, the so-called "protected villages". However, the Smith regime has now overtaxed its manpower to such an extent that it doesn't have adequate manpower to police the concentration camps. So there are always loopholes.

Our struggle is a popular struggle, and it enjoys abundant support from the broad masses of the Zimbabwean people. We have a fairly large army, which runs into thousands. Without the support of the masses it would be very difficult to maintain such a big army. We get food, clothing and whatever kind of assistance we need from the masses. Some governments find it a burden to maintain an army only half the size of ours. But we are capable of maintaining this army because of the support we get from the broad masses of the people.

Q. The Smith regime's war communiques announce their casualties in terms of one or two deaths in an action. They have never admitted losing more than five soldiers in a single day. Does this bear any relation to the real situation?

A. Not at all. It is merely a camouflage to disguise their losses. If they were to admit the truth it would demoralise their supporters and their fighters. So they try as much as possible to minimise their losses and at the same time to exaggerate those of the guerrillas.

Q. There have been some reports about Israeli military co-operation with the Smith regime. Have you any concrete information about this?

A. It is not only the Israelis who are co-operating with the Smith racist regime in

oppressing the Zimbabwean people. There are a large number of mercenaries from a variety of Western countries who are actively assisting the Smith regime in oppressing the Zimbabwean people. So we don't see this in isolation. We know, we have evidence that there are mercenaries from Israel and many other countries operating with Smith against us.

Q. Does ZIPA today have any relationship to the traditional nationalist organisations of Zimbabwe?

A. ZIPA is not in negation to the former traditional organisations in Zimbabwe. What ZIPA aims at is assimilating, synthesising and espousing the progressive revolutionary content of these former organisations.

Q. What is the basis of disunity among the former leaders of the nationalist organisations? Is it tribal, political or what?

A. As far as we are concerned, the basis of disunity among the former leaders of the nationalist organizations is political ambition and power struggle, though this might manifest itself as tribal differences or political differences. Tribal, in the sense that in creating a power base they seek to place people belonging to their own ethnic group in key positions, in strategic positions, so as to prepare a secure power base which serves as a springboard to gain political ascendance. This disunity also manifests itself politically, inasmuch as they put forward political slogans to try to win the support of the broad masses of the people. But we should emphasise that their differences are essentially not ideological at all. Ideologically they belong to the same camp.

Q. An economic plan has been drawn up with the collaboration of the United States government concerning economic guarantees for settlers after the formation of an African government in Zimbabwe. What are your views on this plan?

A. First of all, this so-called economic plan is a direct result of the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. The United States and other imperialist powers see their interests threatened and they are determined to stamp out the revolutionary flame before it is too late. The so-called economic plan aims at creating a socio-economic climate conducive to the continued exploitation of the Zimbabwean people under "majority" rule.

We are totally opposed to the so-called economic plan. It falls far short of our objectives. We are not fighting for economic or political reforms. We are fighting for the total transformation of the Zimbabwean society.

To us the economic plan is doubly ridiculous. First, the United States wishes to pay compensation to the racists for the termination of their exploitation. Sec-

ondly, the United States purports to be supporting the struggle for majority rule, while the US government itself is oppressing millions and millions of people in its own country. They would do better to make use of the money in alleviating the economic burden of the broad masses in their own country, who live a life far worse than that of Rhodesian whites.

Q. Do you think anything will come out of Kissinger's and Vorster's "shuttle diplomacy" in Africa?

A. They are definitely "shuttling" with a purpose, working out a plan to sabotage our struggle. We think they will produce some formula aimed at containing the struggle. But we are prepared for them and we are quite sure that whatever they do will fail. All their schemes will be stillborn.

Q. What is ZIPA's attitude towards elements in the traditional leadership of the Zimbabwe nationalist movement who compromise themselves by supporting imperialist plans to continue the system of exploitation after majority rule?

A. We are not racialists. We are not fighting against the Smith regime simply because they are white. We are fighting against the system that they are perpetrating and defending. If any Zimbabweans collude with them in oppressing the Zimbabwean people we shall bundle them together, we shall make no distinction on the basis of colour.

Q. How far has ZIPA gone in organising a political infrastructure inside Zimbabwe to mobilise the people?

A. The masses are organised in units and they are democratically conducting their day-to-day business under the leadership of ZIPA. In each unit we have a section of dedicated people and we have also managed to establish mass organisations—for students, for children, for women, peasants and workers.

Q. Does this political structure extend into the cities?

A. Our strategy has been that of fighting from the countryside, encircling the cities. As far as the rural areas are concerned, this structure is quite organised. But because of the existing conditions it has not been possible for these organisations to come out into the open in the cities. They are still clandestine. But they are there.

Q. What about the possibilities for urban guerrilla struggle?

A. We do not conceive of urban guerrilla warfare as being divorced from the guerrilla war we are carrying out in the countryside. Urban guerrilla warfare can only play a supplementary role to the guerrilla operations organised in the countryside.

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Super K Rides Again

desia. But it was too late. Even "moderate states" like Nigeria and Ghana saw through his feeble attempts and did not meet with him. How did the U.S. expect anyone to believe that they were willing to end apartheid while at the same time they were dramatically accelerating the amount of new trade and investments in South Africa? Plus to many African leaders the Kissinger shuttle indicated that one of the purposes of his trip was to split the liberation movements and to create a situation similar to the Middle East. One of the main results of Kissinger's "Shuttle Diplomacy" to the Middle East in 1975 was a split in the Arab Liberation Movements which is indicated in today's war in Lebanon.

On April 24, 1976, Henry Kissinger revealed the major portion of a ten point plan to force Rhodesia into Black majority rule. The Black nations of Africa as well as the Black Congressional Caucus dared Kissinger to implement his plan and specifically the points that called for the repeal of the Byrd Amendment and the tightening of sanctions against the Rhodesian economy. The liberation forces had no need to settle for anything less than the immediate transfer of power. They saw through the Ford administration's 'worry' about giving them "assistance to a secure future" and its 'concern' for the civil rights of white Rhodesians as another stalling tactic.

Throughout the summer as the sense of drama grew, Mr. Kissinger talked with various Africans as well as kept in close contact with South African Prime Minister, John Vorster. The news media reported that Mr. Kissinger would not meet with Ian Smith of Rhodesia unless Smith conceded to the fact that he would have to accept the future of Black majority rule. The African leaders of the border line countries who had met to discuss their role in the future of southern Africa and whether they would unite to fight the colonialist and their allies greeted Mr. Kissinger's plan with skepticism. Mr. Kissinger met with these leaders individually. The results were either bad or good depending upon which part of the news item you read.

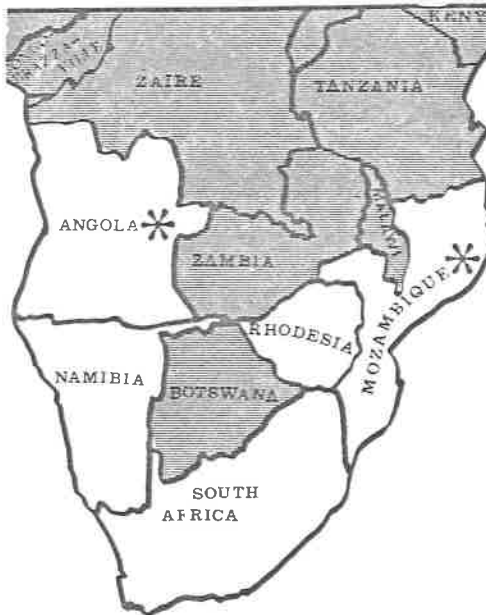
NEW STRATEGY

As the daily press continued to try to confuse the American public, steps were taken to completely disregard the ten points that Kissinger had established earlier. If Kissinger's plan was adopted the racists would lose too much. Under the new strategy, no one would have to "force" Rhodesia to give up power. The white minority would seemingly "volunteer" it. The drama heightened when Prime Minister Ian Smith asked the Rhodesian government for permission to meet with Mr. Kissinger. As the world held its breath, the Rhodesian government gladly gave its consent to Mr. Smith, who coincidentally was scheduled

to attend a rugby game in South Africa the Sunday Mr. Kissinger was meeting in Cape Town. After a few hours of deliberation, Mr. Smith said that he would get back with Mr. Kissinger in a few days. He first had to discuss the new plan with his countrymen.

Friday, September 24, 1976, Ian Smith appeared before Rhodesian television audiences and said that he accepted the following points in his negotiations with Mr. Kissinger.

- "1. Rhodesia agrees to majority within two years.
2. Representatives of the Rhodesian government will meet immediately at a mutually agreed place with African leaders to organize an interim government to function until majority rule is implemented



3. The interim government should consist of a council of state, half of whose members will be black and half white with a white chairman without a special vote. The European and African sides would nominate their representatives. Its functions will include:

Legislation—general supervisory responsibilities—and supervising the process of drafting the constitution.

The interim government should also have a council of ministers with a majority of Africans and an African first minister. For the period of the interim government, the ministers of defense and of law and order would be white. Decisions of the council of ministers to be taken by two-thirds majority. Its functions should include: delegate legislative authority and execute responsibility.

4. The United Kingdom will enact enabling legislation for the process to majority rule. Upon enactment of that legislation, Rhodesia will also enact such legislation as may be necessary to the process.
5. Upon the establishment of the interim government, sanctions will be lifted and all acts of war, including guerrilla warfare, will cease.
6. Substantial economic support will be made available by the international community to provide assurance to Rhodesians about the economic future of the country. A trust fund will be established outside Rhodesia which will organize and finance a major international effort to respond to the economic opportunities of this country and to take effects of the changes taking place. The fund will, inter alia, support the internal and external economic circumstances of the country and provide developmental assistance guarantees and investment incentives to a wide variety of projects.

The aim will be to expand the industrial and mineral production of the country, to enhance agricultural potential by suitable land utilization and development programs and to provide the necessary training and educational facilities to provide the essential flow of skills.

Pension rights, the investment of the individual in his own home and/or farm and the remittances overseas of an individual's liquid resources with the levels yet to be stipulated will be guaranteed by the interim and subsequent governments. These particular measures will be underwritten by the trust fund thereby giving a firm international base to the government guarantee."

WHITE RULE MAINTAINED

Is this or is this not an attempt to do equal pirating of the right to self-determination of the Zimbabwean peoples? Kissinger's plan is nothing but a blatant step to neo-colonialism. A trust fund set up outside of Rhodesia so that the racists will have total control. Continued expansion of industrial and mineral production so that the capitalists countries can rape the land of all its resources for their profit. White Rhodesians have nothing to lose for their "sacrifice" of Black majority rule. They will be paid to settle in the Republic of South Africa if they wish to strengthen the racist system there. (This will only give them a little extra time because the African National Congress [ANC] will be victorious in South Africa.)

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Afro-Americans and Southern Africa

A Black mayor called for the formation of a "Black Think Tank"—intellectuals and African experts—to formulate a solution for southern Africa. A prominent Black minister wanted "to take a team of journalists, ministers, labor leaders and politicians to South Africa, to see first hand what is happening." A group of concerned college students organized a collection to aid South African refugees fleeing to Botswana "because it's the only place they can go."

All these efforts indicate both the concern and the confusion regarding the role of Afro-Americans in relation to the struggles in southern Africa.

As Afro-Americans, we do have a responsibility—in fact, an obligation—to do whatever is in our power to help our brothers and sisters gain their freedom. But we must at the same time be clear on exactly where our responsibilities lie and how we can be most effective in our aid.

It is important to realize that we, American citizens, will not liberate Africa. This is the thing neither Henry Kissinger nor some Afro-Americans seem to understand. The liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have been waging war for many years and on many levels. They are the only forces which have a mandate from the African masses to win their freedom, whether by negotiation, armed struggle or both. It is they, not Kissinger or a "Black Think Tank," who will determine how freedom will come and what form it will take. Therefore, Afro-Americans must recognize the true liberation forces (those recognized by the United Nations (U.N.) and the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) and allow them to determine how we can best serve their needs. We must work to influence the American public to support the liberation movements of Southern Africa and to pressure the U.S. Government to withdraw its support of the white racist regimes of Southern Africa. The liberation movements, through their United Nations spokespersons, have already asked very specific things of those who are concerned and wish to provide aid. They have asked for the complete isolation of the Rhodesian and South African governments from the world community until liberation is achieved. We must realize that the United States and the other capitalist countries are the primary reason that South Africa and Rhodesia continue to exist and oppress the Black majority by its support of Ian Smith and John Vorster. This means that one of our tasks is to organize pressure groups to get U.S. corporations out of South Africa. We must pressure the U.S. government to end diplomatic ties with, and eliminate monetary support for, the Vorster and Smith regimes. We must emphatically and effectively protest cultural exchanges with

South Africa, particularly when Afro-American entertainers and sports figures are involved. Rev. Jesse Jackson of PUSH wants to conduct a "fact finding" tour to South Africa. The proposed trip is a slap in the face to the liberation movement of South Africa, which has already made all the facts available for anyone who is interested. The proposed trip is in direct opposition to the liberation movement's plea for total isolation of South Africa.



SOUTH AFRICA IS THE PROBLEM

The liberation movements have also requested monetary aid—to buy arms, food and other necessities. The group of students who organized a campaign to collect money to assist South African refugees in Botswana were earnest and concerned, but somewhat misguided. Aid to refugees can only be a stop-gap measure. Aid to the African National Congress of South Africa (South Africa's only liberation movement) would have a much broader impact. Helping refugees only helps eliminate one of the surface problems of oppression. Contributing to the liberation forces would go directly into the effort to eradicate colonialism, and would help eliminate the need for South Africans to flee their rightful homelands.

One must realize that the crux of the southern African problem is *South Africa itself*. The liberation movements of southern Africa, though fighting to free their respective countries, have always maintained that South Africa is the basis on which the racist colonial system

of southern Africa depends for its survival. It was South Africa which enabled Portuguese colonialism to survive as long as it did. It is South Africa that kept Rhodesia from economic collapse when U.N. sanctions were applied. It is South Africa that illegally holds Namibia in its clutches. In fact, the whole reason for Kissinger's trip to South Africa is to buy time for South Africa, to allow that government to become stronger and better able to resist the revolutionary surge that is engulfing southern Africa. When South Africa goes under, so will the institution of colonialism. We must constantly and conspicuously through public pressure remind Mr. Kissinger et al, that a "Rhodesian solution" will not solve the major problems in southern Africa. Only the destruction of the Vorster regime and the apartheid system will do that and immediate majority rule in Rhodesia and South Africa.

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

The liberation forces represent a people's movement, and are the spokespersons of the oppressed people that in the end will be victorious. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have shown the effectiveness of a movement based on the people and not on a "Kissinger Plan" or puppet movements and South Africa will prove no exception. In Angola, it is a well-documented fact that the CIA created puppet "revolutionary" organizations to try to split the Angolan people. They were unsuccessful. It will be up to us to insure that South African and Rhodesia's counterparts to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA and Holden Roberto's FNLA are not created in the payroll of the U.S. federal government.

As Afro-Americans, we also have a responsibility to ourselves: to relate the effect U.S. policies abroad have on our own situation. U.S. unemployment is rising, but U.S. corporations are locating factories in southern Africa (and other nations with fascist regimes) because of the extremely cheap labor supply. Our taxes are rising but the U.S. is pumping money, in the form of loans, weapons machinery and technology, into the oppressive southern African regimes. The contradiction of the American position is very clear: supposedly, the U.S. is working for majority rule and equal rights for all Rhodesian and South African citizens, but cannot guarantee the same rights to its own.

Our responsibility is full support of the southern African liberation movements, and not with any U.S. government plans to "Liberate Southern Africa." Our responsibility is not to support U.S. imperialism but to support the world-wide struggle against capitalist exploitation, racism and U.S. aggression.

People's War In Zimbabwe

Q. What does ZIPA see as the objective of the recent Rhodesian massacre of more than 670 Zimbabwean refugees at Nyazonia in Mozambique?

A. Principally, to internationalise the conflict. They hoped that the People's Republic of Mozambique would react rashly and invade Rhodesia, which would have created a pretext for Smith to call for support from his Western allies.

At the same time the attack was also aimed at creating a rift between Frelimo and the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. It was meant to show that by supporting the Zimbabwean freedom fighters and accommodating Zimbabwean refugees the Mozambican Government is actually inviting attacks by the Smith regime. The idea was to force the Mozambican Government to oppose the guerrillas by creating the idea that in an all-out war between Mozambique and Rhodesia, the young People's Republic would stand to lose.

Q. Many Zimbabweans are fighting in the Smith regime's army. Why, and what is ZIPA's attitude to them? And are any of them deserting to join the Guerrillas?

A. It is true that thousands of Zimbabweans are fighting in the racist regime's army. This is because of blackmail and conscription. The people are blackmailed into serving the Smith regime in search of social security. They want to guarantee the security of their families. They want to earn a livelihood and have no alternative, with all other employment opportunities denied them, but to serve within the racist army. It has also become clear of late that the Smith regime is conscripting Africans into its army by force.

ZIPA's attitude is that those who join Smith's army are misguided Zimbabweans. They need to be doubly liberated. First they need to be liberated from the national oppression. They are oppressed just like any other Zimbabwean. Secondly, they need to be liberated from the oppression they suffer within the racist army. They occupy an inferior position in the racist army. So we sympathise with them. Our struggle is to liberate all oppressed Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe today.

Recently the number of deserters from the racist army joining the ZIPA ranks has risen to astronomical proportions. Hundreds and hundreds of them come to our ranks. Some of them with their weapons.

Q. You said the black soldiers in the Rhodesian racist army are discriminated against. In what way?

A. About a couple of months ago the Smith regime published the report of a commission of inquiry into racial discrimination. This revealed quite candidly that the African soldiers in Smith's army

occupy a very inferior position in the sense that up to now none of them has risen to the position of an officer, all of them are either non-commissioned officers or simply privates. So this in itself is tantamount to exploitation.

In addition, there is racial discrimination within the army itself. Some facilities that are available to whites are not available to African soldiers. And also European private soldiers do not show respect to their seniors who are Africans.

In the Rhodesian racist army today, the most dangerous tasks are assigned to the Africans and, in most cases, the African soldiers are used as minesweepers and as reconnaissance personnel for the racist army. But, of course, the racist army also mistrusts the African soldiers very much. They doubt their loyalty. As such they cannot give them freedom of action to organise action against the guerrillas. They can only work under the supervision of their white superiors.

Q. How does ZIPA define the enemy? What is the target of the freedom fighter's bullets?

A. Clear understanding of the character of our society, the nature of our revolution and the fundamental contradiction in our society is essential to the definition of the enemy. Our society is essentially a colonial society and as such we have to wage a national democratic revolution to overthrow national oppression. This national democratic revolution will serve to reconcile the principal contradiction in Zimbabwe which is characterised by the domination and oppression of the vast majority of the Zimbabwean people by a small, minority, racist, reactionary clique of whites.

From this we can say that all those who are opposed to the liberation and the independence of the Zimbabwean people are our enemies. These comprise the Smith racist regime, and the imperialist powers that back it, puppet Africans serving the Smith regime, and all those who are opposed to the independence of the Zimbabwean people. The target of the freedom fighters' bullets is the system of exploitation and the capitalist enterprises and armed personnel which serve to perpetuate it.



Coalition Of Black Trade Unionists Position On Southern Africa

The following resolutions were passed by the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) at their fifth annual convention held in Cleveland, Ohio on Sept. 3-6, 1976. The CBTU represents over 50 unions both in the AFL-CIO and other independent unions of Black union leadership and rank and file members. —Ed.

RESOLUTION NO. 28

WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

WHEREAS: Southern Africa has commanded the attention of the world because of the suppression of Black majority rights in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa — five million Black people in Rhodesia, two million Blacks in Namibia and eighteen million Black South Africans are denied political, economic and human rights by the racist and repressive rule of the white minority governments of Rhodesia and South Africa; and

WHEREAS: the Rhodesian government is not recognized by any government in the world as being legitimate, and it continues to defy the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity which call for Black majority rule in Rhodesia. Further, the racist Rhodesian government is militarily engaged in fighting the liberation movements in that country and invading the bordering independent country of Mozambique in an attempt to suppress the national liberation movement; and

WHEREAS: the South African white minority government is illegally ruling the country of Namibia against the mandate of the United Nations and Organization of African Unity and against the will of the Namibian people; and

WHEREAS: the people of Angola recently won their freedom from Portuguese colonialism on November 11, 1975 despite the aggressive attempts by the South African government, the United States government and other countries to prevent that achievement by invading Angola and supporting the CIA subversive maneuvers and mercenaries which were responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and widespread devastation of property.

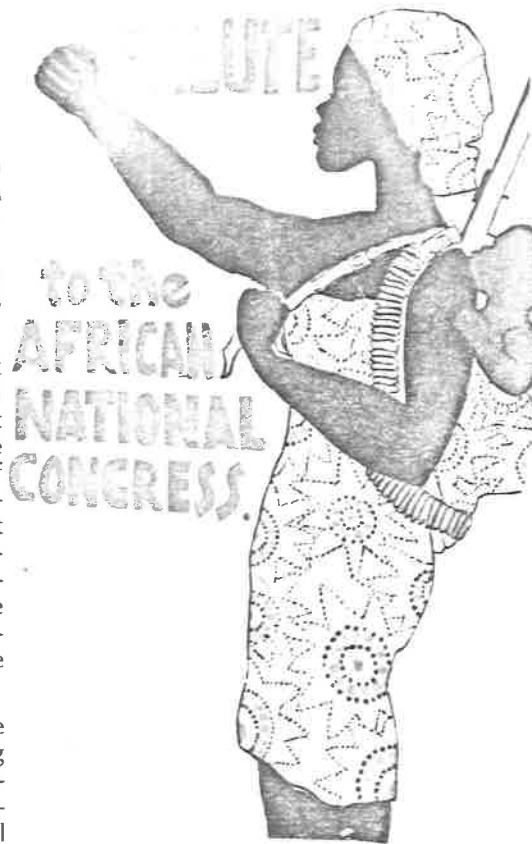
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. We of the CBTU call for Black majority rule in Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa, and that the trade union movement in the United States call upon the United States government to support and work for achieving Black majority rule in Southern Africa.

2. We of the CBTU call upon the United States government to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola and for the United States to recognize the Peo-

ple's Republic of Angola in the United Nations.

3. We of the CBTU believe that unless progress toward black majority rule is achieved the United States government should stop all economic, political, cultural, and sporting relations with South Africa, Rhodesia, and Namibia.



RESOLUTION NO. 37-41

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

WHEREAS Over 300 unarmed Black South Africans have been murdered in the Republic of South Africa since June of 1976 by South African police while participating in non-violent peaceful demonstrations for their rights; and

WHEREAS United States foreign policies regarding Southern Africa are being formulated with very little advice or counsel from Afro-Americans; and

WHEREAS Having examined the material on apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) especially with regards to the situation of African workers and United States companies in Southern Africa; and

WHEREAS After studying the United Nations' reports on trade union activity in South Africa and the reports of the International Labor Organization of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS Over 120 countries voted in the 1974 General Assembly of the United Nations to expel South Africa from the U.N. because of its continued violation of every human right and trade union right of the African workers guaranteed in the United Nations Charter; and

WHEREAS Wages paid by U.S. companies to Blacks in South Africa remain at levels far below wages paid to whites performing similar work,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. We of the CBTU condemn the murder of the unarmed peaceful demonstrators by the South African government police as they protested non-violently for basic human political and economic rights;

2. We of the CBTU express full support of the just struggle of the Black South African people and the conclusion that the only solution for peace in South Africa is the ending of the inhumane system of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule;

3. We of the CBTU join with the United Nations and the Black people of South Africa in recognizing and supporting the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa as the legitimate voice of the oppressed South African majority;

4. We of the CBTU call upon the trade union movement in the United States to vigorously condemn the apartheid system and the murder of Black South Africans;

5. We of the CBTU call for the withdrawal of United States corporations' investments in the Republic of South Africa.

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:

1. We of the CBTU support efforts to give Afro-Americans direct and meaningful input into the formulation of U.S. foreign policy toward Southern Africa through formal and informal discussions between Afro-American leaders, the Secretary of State and other foreign policy makers;

2. We of the CBTU support the right of Black South African workers to form trade unions of their choice to elect their leaders and to bargain collectively with their employers;

3. We of the CBTU support the right of Black South African workers to form trade unions of their choice to elect their leaders and to bargain collectively with their employers;

3. We of the CBTU support the non-banned South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) the only trade union movement that is recognized by the Black South Africans and the United Nations;

(continued on page 8)

1. *Socialism and the Newly Independent Nations*, by R. A. Vlyanovsky, Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago 60610. Price: \$4.00. An outline of the concepts and problems of national liberation movements and non-capitalist development and their relations to the socialist world.
2. *Economic Neo-Colonialism*, by L.I. Kolchkovsky, Imported Publications, Chicago, Price: \$3.50. A systematic examination of the wide variety of methods used by modern neo-colonialists, their internal contradictions and the newly independent countries' struggle against them.
3. *They Shall Not Pass (The Autobiography of La Pasionaria)*, by Dolores Ibarruri, International Publishers, 381 Park Ave., South N.Y.C. 10016. The story of one of the most famous Spanish Communists and her struggle with the working class against fascism. The book is also a call to the future, to the young people of Spain.

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SUPER K RIDES AGAIN

There is no seventh point that guarantees such economic rewards for the Zimbabwean majority for having to suffer with white rule for all these years. Each step is a sham from one to six. It did not take the other southern African nations two years to have a complete transfer of power. In two years, many things could happen. There is no rationale for a council with a fifty percent white membership in a nation that is overwhelmingly African. The council should be a true republic with the number of representatives reflecting the population. There is absolutely no need for a white person to head a council that is going to shape the future of a black nation. There is absolutely no need for the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defense to be white (unless, like Mr. Kissinger you are intent upon prolonging white minority power).

The fact that there was no input by the liberation forces makes this document among the most criminal, unprincipled and benighted documents ever. The fact that it calls for an end to international sanctions and cessation of guerrilla warfare, makes it ridiculous. If this is the proposal the capitalist countries present to bring about a peaceful transition, continued warfare is assured.

Kissinger and Ford have fooled no one with their non-attempt to 'establish' the nations of Zimbabwe and Namibia. This plan will be criticized by the international community that sees through Kissinger's diplomatic guise. As Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro stated, "I think all these maneuvers are meant to save something to prolong the racist regime in Zimbabwe for as long as possible." He further said that Henry Kissinger was trying to get "some kind of

electoral advantage" through his role in the talks. "At least the fact that they (the Rhodesian government) had to recognize the necessity for majority rule is a revolutionary victory ... This victory was not achieved by peaceful means, but through armed struggle, so why should the guerrilla movements disarm now ... it is logical that the Africans will not accept the plan. The revolutionaries are in the better position now. Why should they accept the conditions set up by a racist government which will keep control of the army and the police? ... who knows what may happen in two years?"

(Continued from page 7)

Black Trade Unionists

4. We of the CBTU call upon the trade union movement to take a strong position in condemning the recent brutal killing of Black South Africans and that the trade union movement in the U.S. should state its support for majority rule in South Africa;

5. We of the CBTU call for the expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations;

6. We of the CBTU call for the boycott of diamonds and other metals from South Africa into the U.S.;

7. We of the CBTU call upon the Cong. Black Caucus to hold public hearings in the U.S. on the situation in South Africa and on U.S. policy in South Africa;

8. We of the CBTU will make a monetary contribution to the United Nations Aid and Defence Fund for the victims of apartheid.



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