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AFRICAN AGENDA

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A New Stage In Southern Africa

Southern Africa in recent years has been the scene of some of the most popular upheavals and reversals for imperialism. The centuries-old Portuguese colonial power has been swept away by the combination of the democratic revolution in Portugal and the armed national liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The former colonial administrations have been replaced by national-democratic governments, oriented toward the construction of socialism and pledged by word and deed to hasten the construction of socialism final demise of white minority rule. And so one of the legs was rudely kicked from beneath the imperialist stool in southern Africa. The active solidarity of the democratic and working class movements is called for to aid in smashing completely this tottering structure.

The struggle against white minority rule in Rhodesia (called Zimbabwe by the liberation movement) is rapidly gathering momentum. Its prospects have been enormously enhanced by the new possibilities of direct cooperation with the five front-line African Presidents. In fact, even the official circles of the United States, which have actively supported the ugly Smith regime, do not hide the fact that they do not expect it to be able to survive much longer.

The fascist apartheid regime of the Republic of South Africa—the main bastion of white minority rule in southern Africa—has been rocked by strikes and demonstrations of millions in Soweto and other Black population centers. The racist have further bloodied their hands by committing political mass murder in attempting to put down this movement; they have aroused the condemnation and loathing of the whole world; but they are unable to squelch the struggle and restore the fascist "order". According to Oliver Tambo, acting President of the African National Congress, South Africa is becoming ripe for a large-scale armed struggle.



Against this background of genuine, far-reaching transformations and revolutionary struggles, elaborate charades are being staged by the imperialist powers. South Africa and the U.S. intended to give the appearance of "evolution" and accommodation without conceding a substantive change. This is the character, for example, of the former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's proposals for a Rhodesian settlement. The plan envisages continued white control of police and army, white dominance of a two year interim "Transitional" government, and international guarantees of the economic interests of the white settlers. Naturally, the implementation of such proposals would lead, at most, to the installation in Salisbury of an African regime which would be a puppet of the colonialists, intended to protect the interests of the transnational corporations and to block the development of the national liberation struggle. This is why the liberation movements and the five front line Presidents have rejected the proposals of the imperialist.

While the U.S. has been making proposals regarding Rhodesia, hardly anything has been said about effective majority rule in South Africa or Namibia. Nothing has been said about the U.S. violation of U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa, especially since the U.S. is still importing chrome from Rhodesia through the Byrd Amendment. Nothing has really changed in the relations between Washington and Pretoria, and in fact since the June rebellions in South Africa U.S. banking interests have increased their loans to South Africa by 30%. A multi-media campaign has been launched in the U.S. to convince the American public of the so-called "changes" taking place in South Africa. Some Black Americans, and other sections of the American public, have recently praised the realistic look of the fascist South African government.

Current Carter administration policy is to maintain the close relations between the U.S. and South Africa while at the same time give lip service to majority rule in South Africa and Namibia. The impe-

(continued on page 6)

Main Lines Of South African Propaganda

The following edited article is taken from a paper presented by Mokhtar Taleb-Bendiab, chairman of the sub-committee on Petitions and Information, Special Committee Against Apartheid. The paper was presented at the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, Havana, Cuba, May 24-28 1976.

"Apartheid by any other name"

In its attempts to defend its racist policies, the South African regime recognized, for some time, that the term *apartheid* had become obnoxious all over the world and that no government is prepared to condone it. It began describing its policy as "parallel development" or "separate development" or "separate freedoms." The term "baaskap" (or white domination) is being replaced by "buurskap" (neighbourliness). But whatever the term used, the policy remains the same and has become no more acceptable.

Lately, the regime has been emphasizing that its policy is to promote the "self-determination" of so-called "nations" —or the eight tribal groups into which it has unilaterally divided the African people. It refers to its policy as "multi-nationalism" (as against "multi-racialism"), but this multi-nationalism, as conceived by it, is, in fact, the institutionalization and the farthest development of racial discrimination. It seeks to retain and consolidate white domination in six-sevenths of the country, while granting sham "independence" to the eight bantustans in scattered reserves. The bantustans will remain poverty-stricken reservoirs of labour, while the African majority in the "white area" will be declared aliens.

At present, the Pretoria regime is launching a major propaganda campaign to counteract the denunciation by the United Nations of the establishment of an "independent" state in the bantustan of *Transkei* this past October. It appropriated R420,000 in March 1976 for publicizing *Transkei's* "independence" and announced that additional amounts would be allocated later.

"Trust the wolf to uplift the lamb"

In order to offset international opposition, the South African regime has begun to claim that it is itself opposed to racism and will abolish racial discrimination.

According to its propaganda, *apartheid* had been "negative" in the past as it concentrated on separation of races in order to avoid friction and conflict. It has now reached the positive stage of promoting development of the black people.

The new propaganda line was launched with the statement of the South African representative in the Security Council in October 1974, when the

Council considered the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. It formed one of the justifications for the triple veto by France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

In South Africa, however, the regime only offered to proceed with abolition of "unnecessary" discrimination or "prin-pricks". A few concessions such as the opening of a single theatre to black audiences, and the admittance of blacks (especially foreign visitors) to a few luxury hotels, were very highly publicized. But there was no meaningful change.



The big gap between the impression created abroad, by the propaganda and the performance at home was, indeed, to be expected by anyone studying the South African statements carefully. The policy, as explained to the white electorate in South Africa, was the same as had been announced by Prime Minister Verwoerd in 1961, when he said:

"We arrived at this clear standpoint that discrimination must be eliminated by carrying separation far enough."

What was envisaged was not "reform" but the completion of *apartheid*.

For those who are not persuaded that the racist regime can be depended on to abolish racism, new self-styled agents of reform have appeared on the scene in recent years with massive propaganda campaigns.

For many years, business interests profiting from *apartheid* and their supporters have been trying to convince the world that *apartheid* will collapse painlessly as a result of economic development fostered by foreign investment. The way to end *apartheid*, according to them, was not to impose sanctions against South Africa, not to support the struggle for liberation and, indeed, not to take any international action.

But this argument proved unconvincing as massive foreign investment over the years was, in fact, accompanied by an intensification of racial discrimination and repression.

A new propaganda line was adopted by these interests a few years ago when there were exposures that the foreign companies were paying starvation wages in South Africa and that their employment practices were worse than the *apartheid* laws. Public protests in the United Kingdom and other countries obliged some of the companies to make some improvements in African wages or to make some charitable contributions for African education, sport, etc.

Soon, these companies and some "liberals" began to argue that the best hope for change in South Africa was an increase in foreign investment accompanied by efforts to persuade the companies to improve employment practices. The agents of reform would be the companies which had ruthlessly exploited African workers. For them, of course, the issue is not freedom and equality, but the size of the crumbs which are thrown from the master's table to the serfs.

"Dialogue" and "detente"

In the 1950's and 1960's the Pretoria regime opposed independence for African territories and used to refer to the independent African States in the most insulting terms. By 1965, however, it realized that the march of independence in Africa was inevitable and that it would need to adjust to the new reality. It sought to establish relations with the new States on the basis of "non-interference", in other words, abandonment by African States of their commitment to the total emancipation of Africa and acquiescence by them to *apartheid*. It began to speak of "co-existence" or "peaceful co-existence" borrowing a term which had become popular.

After the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, which was endorsed by the OAU and the United Nations, it launched the "dialogue" offensive which found response

In a few African States for a brief period until African public opinion led the OAU to reject any "dialogue" except between the Pretoria regime and the South African liberation movement for majority rule. It offered "non-aggression pacts" to African States, but the latter declared that such pacts are irrelevant since the conflict is between the racist regime and the majority of the South African people.

Specifically with regard to southern African States, the Pretoria regime began to advocate a "common market" (another term which had by now become popular) and extolled the advantages of economic co-operation in southern Africa. This was again unsuccessful, except in the case of Malawi and the Portuguese colonial authority in Mozambique.

After the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in 1974, the Vorster regime launched the "detente" offensive, using another term which had by then become popular in international relations. It made contacts with southern African States by offering to help in a settlement in Southern Rhodesia, and then began to advertise these contacts as evidence of the success of "detente".

The governments concerned denied that they had been parties to a detente with the racist regime and the OAU Council of Ministers declared in 1975 that there could be no detente with the racist regime. But the Pretoria regime continued to insist that its "detente" policy was making progress and to refer to its "detente partners."

Whatever the terms—"peaceful co-existence" or "dialogue" or "common market" or "detente"—the content remained the same. It was an invitation to independent African States to abandon support to the liberation movements, to acquiesce in *apartheid*, to end sanctions and to re-establish friendly relations with the racist regime. The strategy of the South African regime is to divide the African States—the first shield of the liberation movements—and to paralyze the OAU.

"Bastion against Communism"

One major theme of South African propaganda for several years has been that South Africa is a bastion against "Communism" in Africa and a valuable ally for the West.

The South African regime seeks to point out that the Western Powers cannot depend on the support of African States in any major war since they have chosen the policy of non-alignment. Or the other hand, it offers to the West the use of the naval and air bases and other installations which it has built up at great expense. It thereby hopes to secure military links with one or more Western Powers so that they will develop a vested interest in the stability of the regime. It seeks thereby to persuade Western Pow-



ers to assign it a role as an ally of the West in the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic.

The theme that the West needs South Africa as an ally has been pressed in South African propaganda, especially since the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967.

The Pretoria regime obtained the support of many retired Generals and Admirals in the West, as well as right-wing politicians and press, for its efforts to persuade the Western Powers to end the arms embargo and develop military ties with South Africa. It tried to fan the "cold war", and oppose any relaxation of international tensions. But it failed in its efforts because of growing opposition to *apartheid*. Even the one formal military agreement it had, the Simonstown Agreement, with the United Kingdom, was abrogated. It could only hope to receive covert or limited military cooperation.

The South African aggression in Angola was undertaken partly in the hope of securing military co-operation with the Western Powers. But the gamble failed as no Western State was prepared to be seen as an ally of the racist regime.

A new theme in South African propaganda is that African problems should be settled by African States. This was rather novel for the Pretoria regime which had for long regarded itself as an appendage of the West in Africa and opposed African independence. It has recently recognized, however, that it was vital for its survival, to obtain recognition as an African State and that the key to closer relations with the West was a minimum of acceptance in Africa.

The new theme entered South African propaganda after the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and contacts with South African States concerning the Rhodesian problem. It has been further pressed after the collapse of South African aggression in Angola.

What the South African regime has in view is that it should be accepted as a "partner" by southern African States in considering the situation in the area, and that the liberation movements should not be allowed to receive assistance from the international community. Its interest is not to prevent foreign influence—it is itself the main agent of foreign interests in Africa—but to isolate and weaken the liberation movements.

"Andy And Africa"

The appointment of Andrew Young to the U.S. Ambassadorship in the United Nations has many disturbing features. While one would hope that the progressive civil rights background of the former Georgia Congressman might at least point him in the right direction once he takes his United Nations seat, there may be little to encourage such optimism. Young's defense of such a traditional racist as the new Attorney General, Griffin Bell on the domestic scene, suggests that he may not respond with any greater sensitivity to African affairs on the other side of the world. Indeed, one wonders how sensitive Mr. Young is to his own history as a "civil rights leader", since he himself has been victimized by Judge Bell's biased rulings, as well as Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond. But perhaps this is an example of turning the other cheek.

Andrew Young, the son of a New Orleans dentist, has a Southern petty-bourgeois background. His current posture reminds us that the civil rights movement primarily benefitted that class, the class that never minds sharing power, since it can't stand on its own. This class is blown willy-nilly by the wind, and makes decisions based on whatever seems to be in its immediate self-interest.

For example, when Young was reported to be considering the U.N. post, he was urged by the Congressional Black Caucus not to accept what they regarded as a politically dead position. But in the true tradition of American individualism Young showed the Caucus that he was not one to be hampered by loyalty to his peers. He responded by stating that he was a "realistic" politician, which translated, means that personal ambition is more important than principle. But this wasn't the first time Young had defied the Caucus. In 1974, he was the only Caucus member who voted for Gerald Ford's confirmation as Vice President, in Nixon's last ditch effort to avoid drowning in the Watergate affair.

This behavior leads us to raise the question to whom Young owes his allegiance? We know that shortly after his election to Congress, Young could be found in New York City making speeches in support of the so-called "Soviet dissident" scientist, Sakharov. And even during his campaign, Georgians complained that most of his financial support came from a liberal, pro-Israel New York base. This should leave no doubt as to what Young's position would have been on such significant issues as the U.N. Resolution designating Zionism as a form of racism.

It is clear that Young can be trusted "to do the right thing" as U.N. Ambassador. For example, he has already stated that he will not support economic sanctions against South Africa as a means of bring-



"We'll be glad to help, Mr. Vorster, with some of our own Southern experience."

ing the apartheid government to its knees.

Young's appointment comes at a time when the so-called "Third World" nations are vigorously asserting themselves in that international body. The U.N. Ambassadorship thusly may become known as the "chittlin'" position, since it is usually the leftover spot after the best positions have been handed out, and may as a result be reserved for a Black American. This was clearly Carter's position, since he apparently first offered the post to Texas Congresswoman, Barbara Jordan. The word is that Young has been promised Carter's support in a bid for the Senate after he concludes his stint as U.N. Ambassador.

Southern Africa, the "throttle" of the continent, and the last stronghold of the West, is on the brink of liberation. The U.S. is being forced to come up with a more sophisticated, benevolent-looking approach in its Africa policy. Black Americans have been encouraged to visit the Republic of South Africa, despite the admonitions of liberation groups like the African Nation Congress. Young, himself, has made a number of trips to South Africa. This is a time for vigilance, and we must not be taken in by black men in "white-face".

U.N. Assem

(The following article is edited from "New Times", No. 52, 1976.)

The 31st U.N. General Assembly has come to the end of its three months' deliberations. During this session three new flags—those of the Seychelles, the People's Republic of Angola, and Western Samoa—were added to the impressive array of national flags fronting the U.N. headquarters building in New York. The United Nations Organization now has 147 members. Actually it could have more.

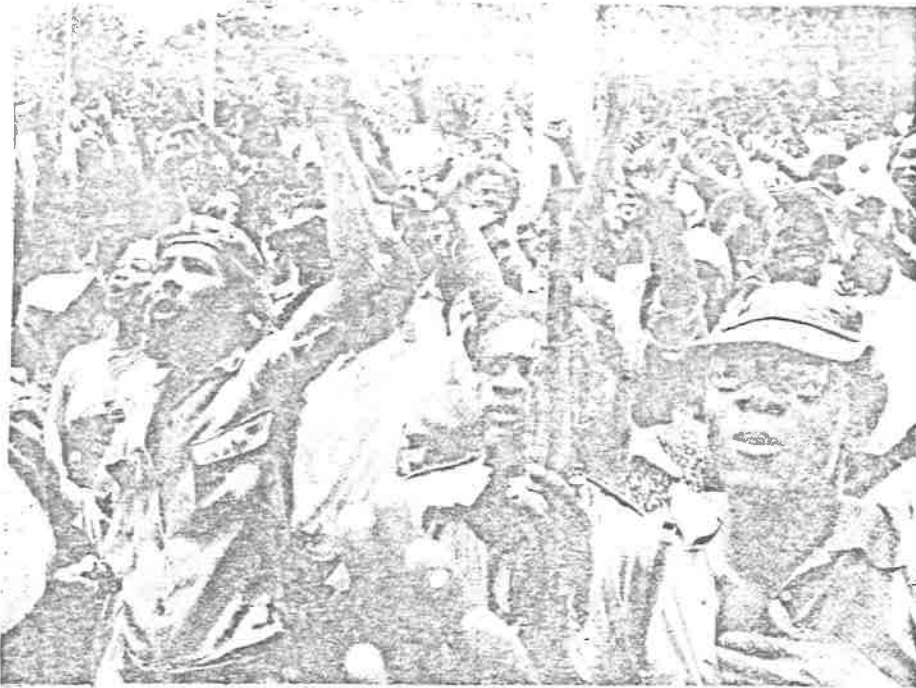
The overwhelming majority of participants in the session were highly critical of the U.S. veto on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the world organization. Even Washington's political allies this time did not line up with it: in the Security Council 14 votes were cast for the recommendation to admit Vietnam, and only one, the American, against.

Later 81 delegations jointly submitted to the full Assembly a resolution calling for the immediate admission of Vietnam. The resolution was supported by 124 countries and opposed by only one, again the U.S. Although the American obstructionists succeeded in blocking a positive decision on the question by invoking procedural rules, they found themselves in unenviable isolation. Even a member of the United States U.N. delegation, Senator George McGovern, publicly said that "on this issue our isolation weakens our credibility and our influence. Our veto puts us at odds with the entire world community, including our closest allies."

When Angola became a member of the world organization on December 1, the U.S. delegation, which had previously vetoed that country's entry, refrained from opposing its admission so as not to risk, as the American delegates admitted themselves, their already badly undermined prestige among Africans.

Just before the closing of the session, the U.S. delegation again found itself in an embarrassing position when it became known at U.N. headquarters that Washington, through the agency of CIA, was holding up the granting of self-government to the United States' colonial protectorates in the Pacific—the Micronesian and East Samoa islands where the Pentagon has set up a network of naval and air bases. A substantial part of the population of these Pacific islands have appealed for United Nations assistance in putting an end to their colonial dependence.

The world organization's concern for the welfare of humanity both today and in the future was manifested at this session primarily in its key decisions on the fundamental problems of peace,



disarmament, and economic progress. Very much in the centre of attention was an interconnected complex of nineteen questions relating to the promotion and consolidation of detente. Prime importance was attached to the Soviet proposal for conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The draft of the treaty submitted to the General Assembly met with wide support, and owing to this its few opponents, all of them capitalist powers, did not venture to risk an open confrontation. Instead they resorted to a behind-the-scenes campaign of petty pseudo-legal sniping at the proposed text of the treaty and engaged in intrigues to prevent a vote being taken on the question by the full Assembly. The stratagem failed and the Assembly declared in favour of this Soviet peace initiative and recommended all U.N. member states to continue consideration of the Soviet draft.

A lively and useful debate developed also around the Soviet Memorandum on questions relating to the termination of the arms race and to disarmament.

The world still has not been fully rid of the danger of war. Under Pentagon aegis guided cruise missiles of enormous destructive power, laser weapons, armour-piercing shells with uranium warheads, nerve gas bombs, and naval magnetic mines charged with nuclear explosives are being developed and tested in secret.

The General Assembly adopted by the votes of 120 delegations a resolution calling for an end to the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. It was also decided to draft a relevant international agreement and to recommend all U.N. members to accede to it.

On December 10 the Assembly approved the text, proposed by the Soviet Union and agreed with the U.S., of a convention prohibiting the military or any other hostile use of means of influencing the natural environment. The Assembly thereby outlawed what has come to be called the "weather war"—the artificial inducing of destructive floods, hurricanes, rainstorms, earthquakes, cyclones of tsunamis.

A resolution submitted on an initiative taken long ago by the U.S.S.R. on the effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons was also adopted.

The General Assembly decided to meet in May-June 1978 at a special session on disarmament which should mark a step towards the convocation of a world disarmament conference. Preparation of such a conference has already been entered on the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly.

The strong condemnation at the session of colonialism culminated in the adoption of ten resolutions denouncing the South African authorities for the suppression by force of arms of the African liberation movement inside that country and the occupation of neighbouring Namibia. The Assembly qualified the South African racist regime as illegitimate and recognized the right of its victims to wage armed struggle. Delegations of developing countries accused the U.S., Britain and France of having entered into a conspiracy with the South African racists and supplying them with modern armaments of all kinds.

The delegate of Mauritius, Radha Ramphul, said the U.S. General Alexander

Haig, NATO commander in Europe, had, with the knowledge of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, issued orders for the supply of weapons to the South African colonial army in Namibia and for the dispatch there of U.S. Army officers as instructors. The other day U.N. Commissioner for Namibia Sean MacBride reported from that country that South Africa, besides conducting punitive operations against the local patriots, had 50,000 troops concentrated on the Angolan frontier "in readiness for an attack on Angola." At the same time 400 U.S. servicemen have been included in the Rhodesian racists' punitive forces and are directing operations against the fighters for independence.

Despite all this, the head of the American delegation blandly told the African representatives in the Assembly that Washington's sympathies were with them and in general tried to divert the attention of the session from the urgent and important issues by engaging in demagogic disquisitions on "infringements of civil rights" in the socialist countries. Over objections from the U.S. delegation, the General Assembly adopted a special resolution condemning the trampling of civil rights in Chile, the arrests and the torture of political prisoners in the jails and concentration camps by the Pinochet junta, which remains in power only thanks to Washington backing.

Upholding the rights of the victims of violence and tyranny, the Assembly adopted at its closing plenary sessions two resolutions on the Middle East. One once again confirms "the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty," and calls for vigorous action to bring about the complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories.

The second resolution on the Middle East instructs U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who was re-elected for a second five-year term, to prepare for the resumption on March 1 of the Geneva peace conference on the Middle East under the co-chairmanship of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The resolution was supported by 122 delegations, only two, the Israeli and American, voting against.

* * *

In the course of the three months in which the Assembly examined more than 100 questions, the reactionary forces and the opponents of the peaceful and just settlement of complex global problems found themselves almost invariably in the minority. This is a sign of the times. That the wheel of history cannot be turned back was strikingly demonstrated by the session now over

South Africa And Israel

Forge A Sinister Alliance

South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster's trip to Tel Aviv last year has obviously given fresh impetus to the shameful alliance between Zionism and apartheid. They have been shaping this alliance with consistency and a sense of purpose. First, they shook off the nagging "ideological burden" of the past. Vorster, who was interned by British authorities for collaborating with the Nazis during the Second World War, has with tears of remorse in his eyes and a candle in his hand visited the Israeli memorial to the victims of Nazi concentration camps. This was enough for the Tel Aviv leaders to forgive Vorster for his "youthful errors." It was even enough to make them forget about their denunciation of apartheid, a tactic which for 15 years has been prompted, not by regard for principle, but rather by considerations of convenience: at that time Israel was anxious to get onto independent black Africa's good side.

Then came the time when there was no need to resort to subterfuge any longer. In 1973, 29 African states broke off diplomatic relations with Israel. Now it is South Africa that has given Israel a back-door entry into Africa.

Tel Aviv can see a lot of benefits for itself behind this door. Since 1961 Israel's trade with South Africa has grown from 3 million dollars to 120 million. The amount of financial aid to Israel from 130,000 Jews in South Africa is second only to that of the American Jews. But Israel's main interest is in the financial potential of South Africa itself and in its reserves of strategic raw materials.

The talks with Vorster ended with an understanding that South Africa is to supply Israel with coal, chromium, platinum, titanium and enriched uranium. In exchange South Africa is to buy fighters, motor boats and other military supplies from Israel.

The understanding between South Africa and Israel, which has come to be known as the Jerusalem agreement, means that Pretoria will be directly involved in boosting the war industry in Israel. Vorster has also asked the Tel Aviv government to increase the manufacture of the Kfir fighter (an Israeli aircraft based on the French Mirage-5 fighter) from 4 to 8 planes a month to supply South Africa's needs.

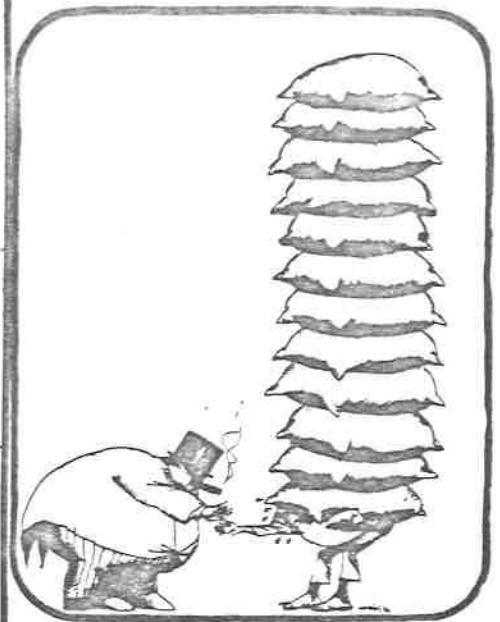
Neither Tel Aviv nor Pretoria has confirmed the deal. The reasons for this are clear. The Kfir fighter has a turbo-jet engine manufactured by the U.S. company General Electric, which means that an increase in the production of the Kfir fighters will require the U.S. administra-

tion's approval for the sales of additional aircraft engines abroad. Aware of the widespread indignation at the apartheid regime and of the United Nations' decision to boycott South Africa, Washington does not want the new license to arouse an outcry. Hence the game of refutations.

Now it looks as if this maneuver will soon be unnecessary. Several months ago the American authorities approved General Electric's decision to sell the Vorster regime two nuclear reactors which would allow South Africa to establish its own nuclear industry. Compared with nuclear reactors, the engines for the Kfir fighters are a mere trifle.

The rapid rapprochement between the racist regime in South Africa and the Zionist state of Israel is taking place at a time when both are becoming increasingly isolated in the international arena. The South African delegate was turned out of the General Assembly way back in 1974. In 1975 the overwhelming majority of delegates at the General Assembly denounced Zionism as a manifestation of racism.

Commenting on Vorster's trip to Israel, the Johannesburg newspaper *Star* observed that politics breeds strange friends, and fear and loneliness—even stranger. The alliance between Tel Aviv and Pretoria would not seem so strange if one takes into consideration that both regimes rest on the principles of racial superiority and aggression.



A New Stage

(continued from page 1)

rialists have enlisted the support of certain sections of the Black community to assure the success of their new attempts to white-wash the racist and oppressive South African regime.

The heart of the imperialist support of South Africa and the attempts to create a Black puppet government in Zimbabwe is the massive U.S. investments in southern Africa and the huge profits that are taken from southern Africa.

The year 1977 will see the increasing unity of all anti-racist and anti-imperialist forces in southern Africa while the U.S. imperialist will attempt to stop the advances of the national liberation process. The Carter administration may try new tricks but the game will be the same—the support of the fascist South African government. The people of the U.S. can play an important role in the struggle to isolate and defeat the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Mass initiatives are needed to oust South African's representatives from the U.N. and for specific demands against U.S. collaboration with South Africa, such as the breaking off of diplomatic and military ties; ending insurance for investments in South Africa; barring credits to South Africa; renouncing all trade and commercial treaties and withdrawing most favored nation status from South African goods; withdrawal of South African's sugar quota and the stopping of all Americans, especially Black Americans from going to South Africa.

South Africa: The Pipes

Of Peace Or The Drums Of War?

All the world's eyes will be looking to South Africa during this new year. The establishment of progressive governments in Mozambique and Angola has changed the strategic balance of forces in the southern regions of Africa in favor of the freedom fighters in Namibia, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa.

The Western strategy, taking account of this irreversible trend of change, is to still support the white minority regimes. The fear of losing its position in southern Africa and seeing that part of the continent shift to the "left" has prompted the West to embark on a new course of

direct British role in a transitional government. Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe declared, "Real power...must be in the hands of the liberation movement. There can be no question of power sharing." Until this demand is met, the armed struggle in Zimbabwe will continue.

There are prospects of intensified military operations in Namibia, too, where the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) has the support of at least 70 per cent of the population.

Namibia has been promised independence in a year but this implies a token

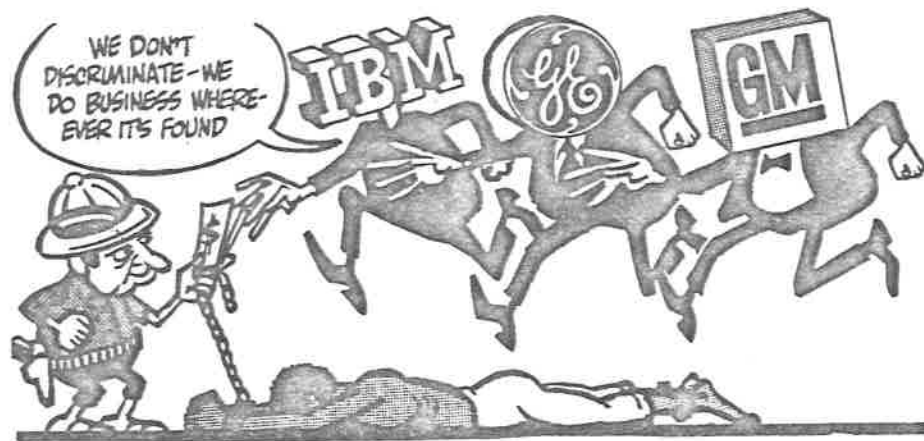
UN General Assembly's vote supporting the SWAPO's armed struggle has incurred undisguised irritation in the United States.

In the long run, it is the apartheid regime that remains the major stumbling block in the way of freedom in South Africa. Black majority rule is unacceptable to the whole of South Africa, Prime Minister Vorster asserts. His Minister of Police Mr. Kruger was more vulgar in expressing the same idea: "The black man knows his place, and if not, I'll teach him his place."

The black man does know where his place must be in his own country and is prepared to fight for it. This is why Pretoria is building up its armed strength which, is the greatest in Africa, with up-to-date Western arms. But the continued shooting of Africans, wholesale arrests and illegal frame-ups against young people and intellectuals can not halt the rising tide of the liberation movement. It will continue to gain strength, Oliver Tambo, acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, says. The people will arm themselves and the fighting will be stepped up on a wider front.

The efforts of the Western powers have not brought peace any closer. The Anglo-American package-deals for Zimbabwe and Namibia are too far removed from honest and unreserved support for African majority rule.

(Novosti Press Agency)



action. The primary aim of this program—to stop the guerrilla war—is seen both in Zimbabwe and South Africa as an opportunity to take a breathing spell and regroup forces. If worse comes to worse, Vorster and Smith may agree to the establishment of "moderate black regimes" in Zimbabwe and Namibia as a concession to the victory of Africa "radicals."

Already as much as two-thirds of Zimbabwe's territory is the scene of operations for the People's Army of Zimbabwe. Their offensive is expected to spread further in the new year. The Zimbabwe patriots have rejected the Anglo-American plan as a neo-colonialist solution that would leave their political destiny at the mercy of a racist regime. The stalemated and suspended Geneva Conference has shown this plan to be profitable only to Ian Smith and his followers. The Zimbabwe leaders' flat refusal to discuss this plan has called forth the latest British initiative, taken in concert with Washington as well.

It might seem that Britain was prepared to meet the African demand for the transfer of power to the Zimbabwean majority. However, the West's intention to set up puppet black states was so obvious that the leaders of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe are rejecting any

handover of power to South Africa's henchmen—African chiefs now participating in the "Constitutional Conference" farce. The plan is to divide Namibia into semi-autonomous ethnic regions with the white minority retaining its dominant position. The South African all-white government plans to keep it under its own economic, political and ever military control. Of course, this is in the interests of Western powers who exploit that country's colossal natural resources especially uranium which is essential to their nuclear power engineering.

SWAPO, which has been recognized by the U.N. as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, is not opposed to a peaceful settlement and is willing to enter into direct negotiations with the South African government. Such negotiations under the U.N. auspices would only concern the transfer of power. But even these are possible only after the release of political prisoners and the removal of South African troops from Namibia.

Vorster has flatly refused to enter into any negotiations with SWAPO. His reticence is due largely to Washington's predisposition to support a regime which opposes SWAPO. Vorster and the U.S. regard SWAPO as a serious force which must be defeated. Small wonder that the



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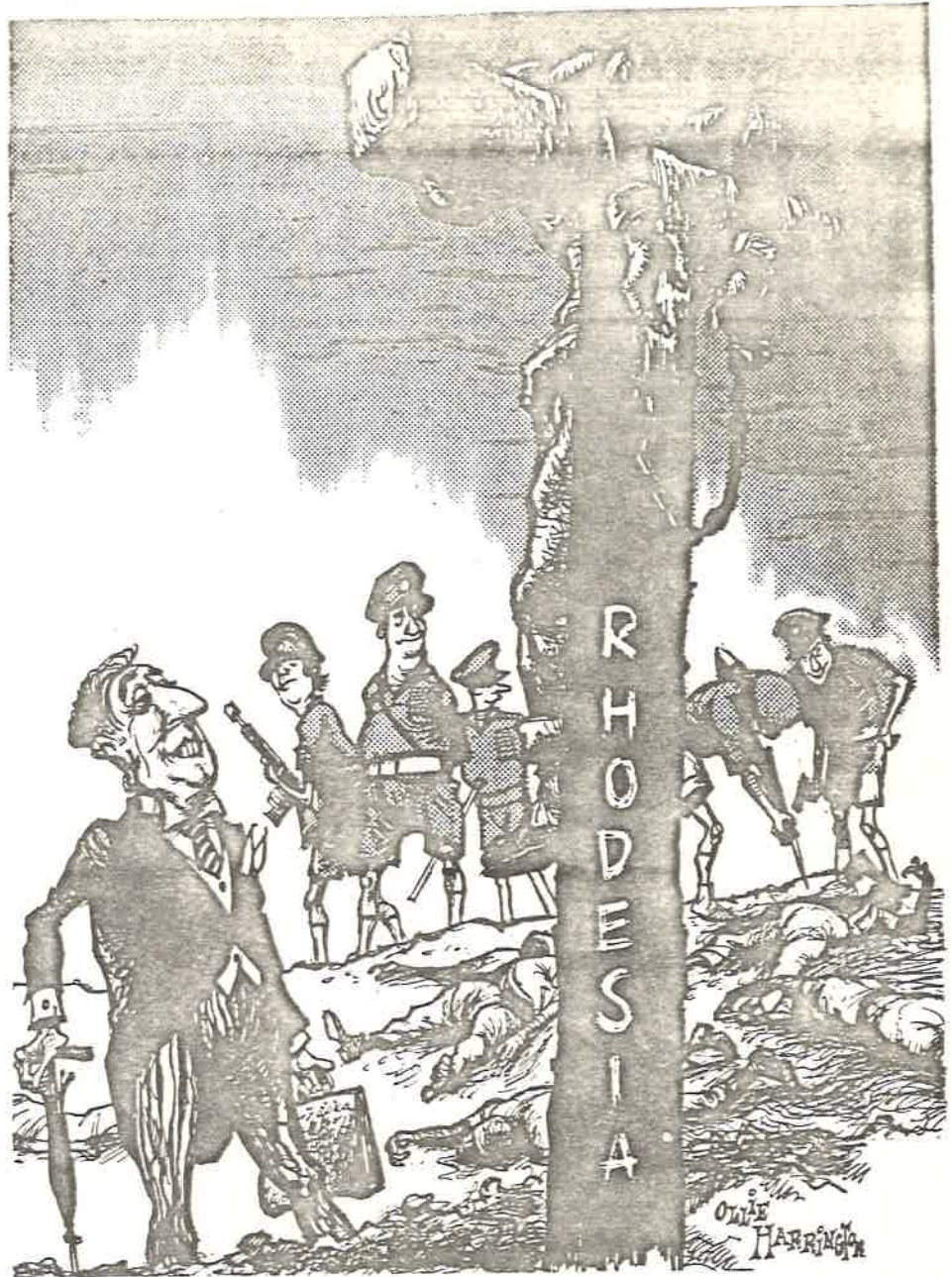
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No need to complain, old chap. President ~~Nixon~~^{CARTER} sees it our way.

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