

The U.S. and Southern Africa



a special supplement
in honor of
**AFRICAN LIBERATION
DAY**



they wanted to, because they would be prosecuted by the government. In fact, most corporate practices go far beyond government limits. Wages are lower than government regulations, and job segregation is more rigid. No company bargains with the African unions, which exist even though they have no real right to bargain or strike. Any corporation wishing to give some evidence to its claim to oppose racism has the possibility as a first step, of negotiating with an African Union. None have done so.

Many corporations provide strategic weapons and intelligence systems to the government, which are used to reinforce apartheid. IBM has designed a computer system to keep information on pass laws.

The most incriminating evidence of corporate support, however, is that whenever there is a crisis in South Africa, U. S. banks are quickest to move in with loans on the best terms, U. S. corporations are the first to announce new investments and their confidence in the government. This is an immeasurable economic boost which stimulates investment by all other important capitalist countries.

Despite the atrocities in Soweto last year, Standard Oil of California along with Texaco announced plans to spend \$134 million on a new refinery; and Kennecott Copper is spending \$300 million for new titanium mines.

U. S. banks, which have no money to lend in New York for daycare or in Philadelphia for mortgages, loaned \$800 million to South Africa last year.

APARTHEID'S DEFENDER AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The U. S. is second only to Britain in its economic ties to South Africa, but it is the most influential and outspoken defender of the regime in international diplomacy. At the U. N., the U. S. pretends to be opposed to apartheid, but has a 100% record of voting against any measures calling for condemnation of South Africa's practices or for effective economic pressure against the regime. Table 2 lists a few.

Although U. N. resolutions do not have the force of law internationally, opposi-

tion by the U. S. makes it much easier for other countries to avoid putting into action those measures which are passed.

The recent repeal of the Byrd Amendment which gave the O. K. to U. S. imports of Rhodesian chrome in violation of a U. N. embargo was an empty gesture. U. S. trade can no longer help the doomed Smith regime. The most important factor in the repeal was the fact that Rhodesian chrome is no longer needed by U. S. industry — it is now getting in from South African mines!

The new U. S. Ambassador to the U. N., Andrew Young, while more liberal sounding than Daniel Moynihan, is still only a mouthpiece of U. S. policy, not a policy maker. He has made it clear that the U. S. cannot support the liberation movements, and has endorsed the notion that the corporations will end racism. . . we can't expect him to bring major changes in the U. S. role at the U. N.

DON'T PLAY WITH SOUTH AFRICA!

A major campaign against South Africa is the worldwide attempt to exclude it from international sports competition. Integrated sports are strictly forbidden in South Africa, and teams sent abroad are either white or integrated *only* for foreign play. The U. S. is one of very few countries which will compete with South Africa or allow its athletes to compete within its borders.

MILITARY AID

In addition to arms sales, the United States cooperates with South Africa through NATO and the Supreme Allied Command in the Atlantic (SACLANT). These organizations are supposed to be concerned only with the North Atlantic, but South Africa has been included secretly as a "strategic partner" in the defense of Western Europe from "communist aggression". Of course, the defense of Western Europe includes the defense of the investments of western European and U. S. corporations in southern Africa. This logic saw NATO weapons flow to Portugal for its colonial wars. . . why should South Africa be different? South Africa's Cape of Good Hope controls a navigation channel as important as the Suez or Panama Canals.

A SYSTEM FOR EXPLOITATION

When all the evidence is in, when the fancy speeches are ignored in favor of the real actions, it is clear that the U. S. — both the federal government and the multi-national corporations — are partners in apartheid with South Africa. This partnership is not an accident but the logical extension of the interests of U. S. corporations around the world. . . and the name for it all is imperialism. Like the junta in Chile, and the Shah in Iran, South Africa is a junior partner in U. S. imperialism. Working people in Africa and America are being swindled by this partnership, and they are the only ones who can, and will, bring it to an end.

U.S. Corporations Keep Apartheid in Business

by S. BUNTING

U. S. business has over two billion dollars invested in South Africa, in everything from mining and automobile manufacture to hotels and fast food chains. Profits on this investment average 20%, or about two and a half times the average return in the States. This is why shops are running away to South Africa at a record pace.

These profits are a result of apartheid. South Africa's legal racism denies African workers the political and economic rights which most American workers take for granted. For all practical purposes unions are illegal, and organizing a strike can earn an African a life term in prison.

Clearly the corporations investing in South Africa do not want to see majority rule in that country. They fear it will mean what it has meant in Angola, Mozambique, and other countries — an end to uncontrolled exploitation and oppression of the working people. To protect their interests, the corporations, and the U. S. government which serves them, work from many angles to guarantee the security of the apartheid regime.

MANY FORMS OF SUPPORT

Continued investment, bank loans on very favorable terms, sales of weapons in violation of an U. N. embargo, military cooperation, and diplomatic defense at the United Nations and in other international forums are the ways in which the U. S. supports South Africa. In addition, the CIA and other agencies work tirelessly to de-stabilize the independent governments of southern Africa, especially socialist Angola and Mozambique. They hope at least to prevent these countries from giving effective support to the liberation struggle in the still-enslaved countries of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). At most, the CIA is hopeful that they can be overturned by fascist coups and returned to the orbit of South Africa.

Now that the facts are out about conditions in South Africa, dramatized by the mindless slaughter of innocent children in Soweto, the corporations are pressed to make all kinds of excuses for their participation in apartheid. Some claim that they are merely there to do business and are unconcerned with politics. Others state that their presence will help undermine segregation because of their enlightened practices. (What have their "enlightened practices" accomplished here in the U. S.?)

INVESTMENT REINFORCES RACISM

In fact, South Africa boasts of the reasons for high profit rates, and this is precisely why corporations seek to invest there — because the highest profit is the greatest good, regardless of the blood, sweat and tears which flow in the production of those profits. In fact, in the competition among monopoly corporations, increasing this exploitation and racism is the key to increasing profits.

Because of South Africa's laws which dictate job separation by race, and which establish wage levels and other conditions, corporations could not oppose racism if

SOME MAJOR US CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

NAME	TOTAL INVESTMENT	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	AVERAGE WAGE OF BLACKS	AVERAGE WAGE OF WHITES
GM	\$125 million	4000	\$100	\$320
Ford	\$100 million	4000	\$100	\$330
Mobil Oil	\$87 million	2000	\$158	\$420
GE	\$55 million	1500	\$130	\$400
Firestone Rubber	\$30 million	1550	\$72	

Women on the move in socialist Mozambique

by BELINDA

"With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice throughout the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle."

To say "The People's Republic" is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say "The People's Republic" means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say "The People's Republic", is to say Independence; to say "The People's Republic" is to say Revolution."

— President Samora Machel
June 25, 1975

INDEPENDENCE

On June 25, 1975, the flag of the new People's Republic of Mozambique was raised. The flag of Portugal was lowered and Mozambique became an independent African state. The People's Republic was born — to quote Mozambique's President, Samora Machel, of the "people's struggle for freedom and independence." It was a struggle which continued for many centuries, and now continues, to create a nation in which the interest of the masses of the people — the workers and the peasants — is the determining factor for all decisions.

In a People's Republic, there is no room for those who wish to exploit and profit from the labor of others. That was the way before independence. Portuguese colonialism had dominated the country — its economy, social services, police, political structures, land and natural resources. Now it is the people who are taking on the responsibility for their own society and providing the leadership which is building a better future for Mozambique.

In order for the heritage of poverty, and social and economic backwardness fostered by the colonialist system to be overcome, the old patterns must be unlearned and replaced. FRELIMO, the governing party in Mozambique, has undertaken the tremendous tasks of educating, organizing, and mobilizing the masses towards a new and necessary consciousness.

A significant aspect of the struggle to create a socialist society in Mozambique is the struggle for the emancipation of women. As stated by President Machel, "... the liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the revolution, a guarantee of its continuity and a pre-condition for its victory". For the women of Mozambique, their struggle for liberation is not separate, but is bound to the reconstruction of their country. At the same time, the building of the socialist society in Mozambique cannot be divorced from the development of women's consciousness of their own dignity.

OPPRESSION OF RURAL WOMEN

There is much to overcome. The mobilization of women is a complex process because Mozambican women were so severely oppressed, both by colonialism and by the traditional society. For the women of the countryside, their lot was the most oppressive in colonized Mozambique. Peasant women were reduced to the role of being — in the words of President Machel — "an object of pleasure, produ-

cer of children and subsistence for the family, (as well as) the unpaid worker at the service of the 'head' of the household, the man..."

The women of the rural areas knew colonialism as a system of oppression that directly affected them. It was colonialism which encouraged the separation of the family. Husbands and sons were the cheap labor force that made colonialism prosperous. Often the men were forced to work in the cities while the women remained behind in the countryside.

Women's inferior status was reinforced by the ideas and culture of traditional society. An infinite variety of practices kept women under control of the men to whom they were related. Initiation rites, forced marriages, bride price and polygamy are all customs which served to hold back the development of women, and of the society as a whole.

EXPLOITATION OF URBAN WOMEN

For Mozambican women who lived in the city, there was a different set of problems. As the center of Portuguese colonialism, the city has been described as the place where "... the class struggle is the sharpest and the woman feels most violently her double exploitation." As a

worker, the city woman is forced to sell her labor at the lowest of wages, and was often reduced to selling her body as well. As a housewife, she existed to serve her husband who in turn was exploited by the system.

Mobilizing women to play a full part in the struggle to build the new society will be a long and complex process. The development of a strategy for the expansion of women's role in the new society was the topic discussed by over two hundred members of the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) at a conference held in Maputo last November.

ORGANIZATION OF MOZAMBIKAN WOMEN

The Organization of Mozambican Women was born out of the struggle to oust the Portuguese. Its seed lay in the Women's Detachment of FRELIMO, formed in 1966. Primarily a military organization, the Women's Detachment's main tasks were to mobilize the population and to serve in the FRELIMO army. As it grew, however, the need for its expansion was soon recognized. In March, 1972, FRELIMO cadres from the Central Committee, women delegates from every liberated zone, and members of the Women's Detachment met to form the OMM as a

broad-based organization, a mass organization, which could bridge the gap between the women in the army and the hundreds of thousands of Mozambican women, peasants and workers, who had remained on the periphery or beyond the reach of the liberation struggle.

The conference, called in November, was an effort to review and evaluate the work that had been done by OMM and the tasks that lay ahead. Discussion among the delegates was open, critical, and frank. Considerable time was spent analyzing the general problems of women in the countryside and in the cities.

The overwhelming consensus, after much discussion was that OMM had not effectively mobilized the masses of Mozambican women. The women criticized their Organization's view that women's activities were secondary and support tasks. As a result of this conference OMM sees itself entering a new phase. One of the main concepts that was emphasized was the need for the liberation of women to be integrated into the larger context of national reconstruction. The aim of OMM, therefore, by way of implementation, is to "engage women in erecting the material and ideological base for the construction of socialist society."

BUILDING SOCIALISM DEMANDS WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Resolutions were passed to ensure that Mozambican women be given equal opportunities to learn new techniques and new theoretical knowledge, to have access to the use of all machines, and above all, to participate in political structures, management, and administration. The commitment to incorporate women into political life and leadership will be a process that is difficult and will take a long time. It is important to recognize, though that this struggle is part and parcel of that of the entire nation.

As stated by President Machel, "The consciousness of women about their own dignity, which they must defend, is a class consciousness, (and it is one that) will be born from the practice of socially oriented work and from political participation. And it will be from working women that active militants will emerge forming the cadre of OMM and FRELIMO, for only they carry the values of revolutionary society."

Perhaps the best statement of the nature of the commitment inspired by this conference came from one of the delegates, a member of the Women's Detachment, who saw the struggle not for herself, but for those who will follow "It will be a lengthy process. It doesn't advance the struggle much to speak of equality between men and women, if the woman has no possibility of realizing this equality. But perhaps her children will have. We are doing our best to insure that they do."



Women relax during a rally for FRELIMO, the governing party of Mozambique.

Robert Van Lierop



Josina Abiatar Machel participated in clandestine political work against the Portuguese when she was still a child. By the time she was 20, she became a militant in FRELIMO and a leading spokesperson promoting the emancipation of Mozambican women.

When she died in 1971, the Executive Committee of FRELIMO wrote: "A fighter in the front line, she was one of the leaders of the Women's Detachment of FRELIMO — the women's fighting corps of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique. She was head of the Section of Social Affairs and was responsible for External Affairs in the FRELIMO's Women's Section."

—from "The Guardian"

Josina Machel

"A fighter on
the front line..."

*This is the time we were waiting for.
Our guns are light in our hands
the reasons and aims of the struggle
clear in our minds.*

*The blood shed by our heroes
makes us sad but resolute.
It is the price of our freedom.
We keep them close in our hearts
from their example new generations
— revolutionary generations
are already being born.*

*Ahead of us we see bitter hardships.
But we see also
our children running free
our country plundered no more.*

*This is the time to be ready
and firm.
The time to give ourselves
to the Revolution.*

JOSINA MACHEL



In Southern Africa the struggle wages on ...

Liberation is coming to southern Africa. Apartheid — the forced separation of the races, the absolute denial of political power to the non-white peoples, and the super exploitation of Black labor in field and factory — is on the ropes. The future belongs to what Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA calls people's power:

"Our objective of people's democracy springs from the will of our people to establish what we call people's power throughout the country. It is essential that the workers, the most exploited of all social classes — who have fought for independence and who are the driving force of the revolution we are making, be represented on all decision-making bodies that administer the state. I think that in the not too distant future we will have created the conditions whereby our workers and peasants, who make up the most exploited classes, can participate most effectively in the running of the country. From that moment on, our people's democracy will be a reality, and the people in power."

Soon the people of Namibia, Rhodesia, and South Africa will be deciding for themselves the best way to make the resources of their country serve their need for jobs, housing, education and health care.

Liberation is not automatic, however. The bitter resistance of the white racist regimes, backed up by U. S. financial, diplomatic, and military power, has left the liberation movements no alternative but that of a prolonged armed struggle for freedom and independence. And still further ahead lies the difficult task of reconstruction — of overcoming the legacy of a century of racism and colonialism and building a new order based on people's power. But the victories in Angola and Mozambique have brought this into sight.

In each country still under colonial, imperialist rule, liberation movements have emerged with common goals, and have learned well the lessons of the heroic struggles of Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola. Solidarity and support from progressive people around the world has helped these organizations prepare themselves for the continuing struggle.

The Southwest African People's Organization, of Namibia, the Patriotic Front and Zimbabwe People's Army of Zimbabwe, and the African National Congress and other organizations of the South African people have learned one important lesson from other liberation struggles. Their liberation cannot come about merely through taking power from the colonialists. They must go beyond to a complete revolution in the economic and political organization of their countries. The giant corporations which control the resources of southern Africa, which dictate the terms of labor, which encourage and profit from racism and tribalism must be eliminated, along with the racism and exploitation they are based on.

Many countries in northern Africa show clearly what happens when there is a change in political control without a challenge to the economic system. Black faces replace white faces, a new flag goes up, but conditions on the plantations, in the factories and schools remain the same. Real control of the country remains in the strangle-hold of international capitalist corporations, which control the economy.

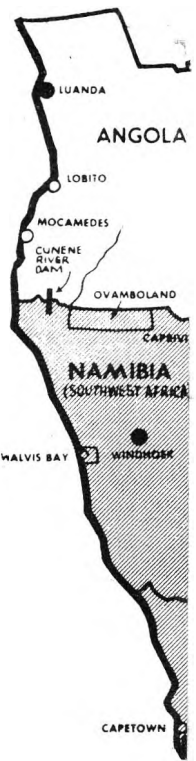
PEOPLE ARE THE GREATEST STRENGTH

Mozambique and Angola won their struggle against the military power of Portugal, backed by South Africa, the U. S., and NATO because they relied on the people, and showed the people in the liberated areas, what the end of exploitation would be like. United against their common enemy, the people learned in practice the fruits of unity. Amilcar Cabral, leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) expressed the growth of the revolution by saying that before the struggle "... we were tribes of Fula, Balante, Mandinka, ... now we are a nation of Guineans" And independent Guinea is a model of progress in West Africa.

Let's look at the state of the struggle in the three countries — Zimbabwe(Rhodesia), Namibia (Southwest Africa), and South Africa itself.

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three countries still not free



South Africa

With the most powerful army in Africa, and the most developed economy, John Vorster's racist regime is a formidable enemy. Even so, the 80% of the population which is oppressed under apartheid will not tolerate it much longer, and is taking steps to end it. When ten-year-old students have to be gunned down in the streets to end their opposition to apartheid, South Africa's desperation, not its strength, is showing. The South African defense budget has been increasing at the rate of 50% a year, partly to pay for their aggression against Angola, and for greater repression at home.

Because of the extreme degree of police repression in South Africa there can be no legal opposition to apartheid. Many organizations, however, are active secretly, and their work, plus the spontaneous anger of the people, continues to rock the country with protests, strikes, and sabotage of the government and industry. The continued struggle has disrupted the economy and has shown the emptiness of the reforms offered by the racists which do not attack the basis of apartheid -- systematic exploitation based on race.

In the bantustans, the barren tracts of land which South Africa would like to claim are becoming independent nations, resistance to the African puppet leaders is so intense that they require more police protection than even the top white politicians.



Guardian/cpf



Liberation - an international

In Portugal the people overthrew their oppressors. In Cuba volunteers to longshoremen refused to unload chrome ore, and tested against the racist policies of the government, despite their own hardship. Through the Organization of African Unity, the United States government has supported the armed liberation struggle.

Aid given to Angola in its battle against the traitors equipped by the U. S., aid given to Mozambique, confused with the intervention by the U. S., and the exploitation, as Agostinho Neto has again said:

"We are a sovereign state and we defend our territorial integrity, our independence, and our land. No country has the right to tell us what we should do. The United States speaks of putting aid where it wants is nothing more than precisely those which are helping the colony."

By their own efforts, and with the support of the people of southern Africa will build a new

three countries still not free



Namibia

SWAPO has been the unchallenged leader of the liberation struggle in this country for nearly a decade. South Africa was given trusteeship of Namibia after World War I, to guide it to independence. Instead, it turned it into a colony of its own, promoting native reserves and apartheid. The U. N. has long since declared South Africa's control illegal, and demanded its withdrawal in favor of a government formed by U. N. supervised elections.

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Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

South Africa attack Mozambique

Nyazonia, Mozambique, Aug 8, 1976 — 618 people are killed and 1000 injured in a surprise attack by Rhodesian forces on a village of refugees from Rhodesia. The troops entered the town without difficulty disguised as FRELIMO and opened fire with machine guns. Ian Smith claims the attack was in "hot pursuit" of guerilla fighters.

Tete Province, Mozambique, Oct. 31, 1976 — Rhodesian troops invade with fully equipped battalion. 200 civilians are killed before they are expelled Nov. 7.

Lusaka, Zambia, January 1977 — President Kaunda calls for U. N. condemnation of an air raid by South Africa on a Zambian village which borders Namibia. The Security Council approves Kaunda's resolution, with the U. S. abstaining.

Pangala, Angola, Feb. 26, 1977 — Zairian troops with U. S. and Portuguese mercenaries cross into Angola and kill 43 people, many trapped inside burning huts. 25 more are mutilated. Soldiers captured by Angola here and in the south include regular South African troops, as well as U. S. and British mercenaries, and Portuguese fascists.

These are only a few of the attacks made on the independent countries of southern Africa by the U. S. supported racist governments of South Africa and Rhodesia. Although this terrorism against border villages is always reported as "hot pursuit", it is clear from the actual events that they were planned attacks on civilian populations.

Liberation - an international struggle

In Portugal the people overthrew their own fascist government in order to end the wars in southern Africa. In Cuba volunteers to serve in Angola were turned away. In the U. S. longshoremen refused to unload chrome and coal from Rhodesia and South Africa in protest against the racist policies of the governments. Tanzania and Zambia have given tremendous aid, despite their own hardships, and despite aggression against them by South Africa. Through the Organization of African Unity, almost every country on the continent has supported the armed liberation struggle.

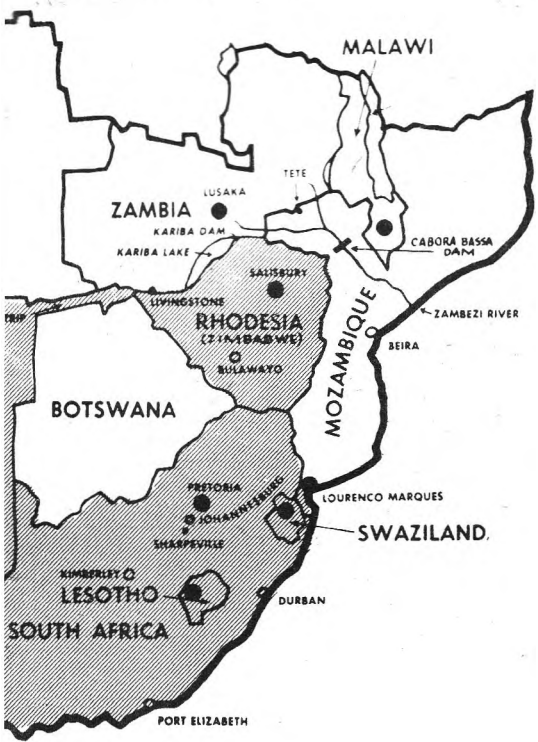
Aid given to Angola in its battle against the combined forces of South Africa and Angolan traitors equipped by the U. S., aid given on the basis of international solidarity cannot be confused with the intervention by the U. S. and South Africa to protect their rights of exploitation, as Agostinho Neto has again summarized so clearly:

"We are a sovereign state and we seek help from anybody we please to defend our territorial integrity, our economy, and the reconstruction of our land. No country has the right to accuse us on that score. When the United States speaks of putting an end to foreign interference, what it wants is nothing more than the expulsion of the socialist forces, precisely those which are helping us avoid becoming a new American colony."

By their own efforts, and with the support of progressive people of all countries, the people of southern Africa will build a new society, free of exploitation of man by man.



Guardian/cpf



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SWAPO, and therefore refuses to allow them. It has promoted its own brand of independence through the Turnhalle Conference. This plan would institutionalize "separate development" and give decisive control of the central government to the white minority. SWAPO and the U. N. have categorically rejected this scheme, but South Africa still hopes to have it recognized by the U. S. and other major powers.

While the diplomatic charade continues in the capital city of Windhoek, there is an all-out war in the northern zone. South

Africa has just constructed a massive military and air base at Grootfontein in northern Namibia. From this base the soldiers of apartheid have attempted to make a ten mile wide no-man's-land on the border with Angola, an area cleared of vegetation and people, where any trespasser will be shot on sight. This strategy has failed to prevent increasing popular support for SWAPO soldiers. The troops of South Africa also regularly terrorize villages in Namibia, and also Angola and Zambia in an attempt to find guerillas, or scare people out of supporting them. Nevertheless, SWAPO continues to grow.

Zimbabwe

(Rhodesia)

In the past year, the two major people's movements, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) have come together in the Patriotic Front. The people of Zimbabwe forced out the dishonest elements of their leadership, and have come together in the Zimbabwe People's Army — and they are on the offensive against the Smith regime.

The Geneva conference was a recognition of this fact by the racist regimes which wanted to use it to buy time for themselves and look for divisions among the people of Zimbabwe.

Their plan backfired, and every important African leader made it clear that if

independence could not be won at the conference table, then they were prepared to win it on the battlefield.

Inside Zimbabwe conditions are steadily worsening for the Smith regime. Hundreds of thousands of Africans have been moved to "protected villages". Enclosed by barbed wire, these are prisons used to keep the people away from guerilla fighters. The northwestern two-thirds of Rhodesia is now the theatre of military operations. Zimbabweans are leaving the country in large numbers to avoid the "villages", and many of the young people, men and women, are joining the liberation army. U. S. military strategists have estimated that the minority regime can last at most two more years unless there is massive intervention in support of Smith.

South African, Rhodesian troops attack Mozambique, Angola, Zambia

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618 people are killed and 1000 injured in a surprise attack by Rhodesian forces on a village of refugees from Rhodesia. The troops entered the town without difficulty disguised as FRELIMO and opened fire with machine guns. Ian Smith claims the attack was in "hot pursuit" of guerilla fighters.

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BORDERS? WHAT BORDERS?

South Africa and the western powers have not given up the idea of again exploiting the wealth of Angola and Mozambique for their own profit, and the military campaign against these two countries, they hope, will contribute toward that end. The direct goals of the attacks have two main aims:

First, they seek to undermine economically the new socialist governments. Mozambique and Angola are hard-pressed to rebuild their countries after years of war and centuries of colonialism. Each railroad bridge bombed by invading troops costs many hours of difficult labor to rebuild, when every hand is needed for the basic tasks of feeding, housing, and educating the population, as well as beginning to build modern, industrial econo-

mies. Smith and Vorster hope that they can create enough trouble that the people will turn against FRELIMO and MPLA and accept a "peaceful" government backed by South Africa.

The second major goal of the attacks is to divide the peoples of the independent countries from the freedom fighters; this is done by claiming that if those countries didn't help the liberation fighters of Namibia and Zimbabwe, they would not be attacked.

Although their desperate and senseless massacres will cost many lives, they will not turn the tide in favor of the racists. So far, they have only pushed the independent countries to work more closely, and to endorse armed struggle as the only course for liberation in South Africa today.



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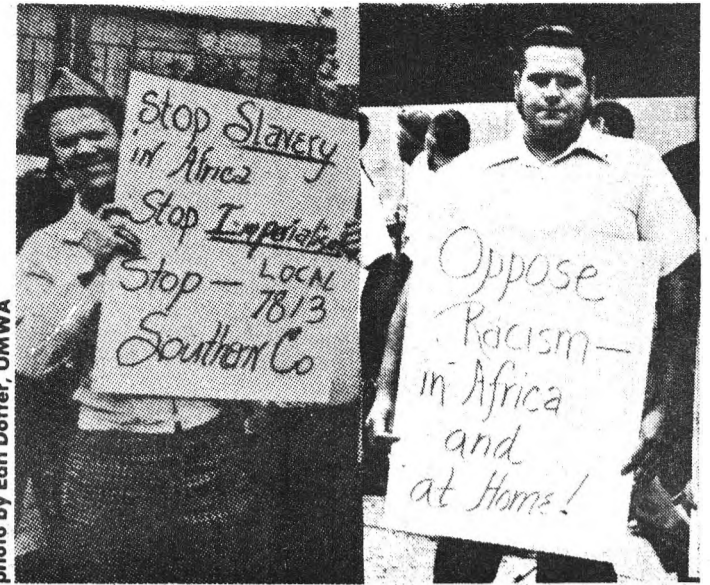
ort of progressive people of all countries, the
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Apartheid- the enemy of U.S. workers

Black Mine Workers in South Africa.

U. S. Mineworkers demonstrate in support of their African brothers.



by JOHN MALACHI

All workers in the U. S. are affected by the continual exploitation perpetrated by American corporations in South Africa. The ability to exploit workers in South Africa gives American corporations an added weapon in their arsenal aimed at stopping the demands of American workers for better conditions.

For example, the ability of many American corporations to hold out during strikes is often directly related to their profits gained from foreign investment. The threat used by companies to close and move abroad is also used to keep workers quiet and on the defensive.

In addition, protecting U. S. corporate investments abroad requires a huge military establishment paid for by taxing the workers. And when the monopolies decide that they have to resort to war to protect their investments, it's the workers who pay — not only with their dollars, but with their blood as well.

WORKER'S INTERNATIONALISM

In their striving for ever greater profits, the monopolists recognize no national boundaries. For workers in the U. S. to wage an effective fight against these multi-national corporations, we have to practice an internationalism of our own.

Here in Philadelphia recently the newspaper workers gave us a good example of how to counter the unity of the employers with labor unity. Just as the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* bosses worked hand in hand for their mutual interests, so do the U. S. monopolists and the apartheid rulers of South Africa. And just as the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* workers met this unity with a greater unity of their own, so U. S. workers must unite with South African workers and build solidarity with the liberation struggle.

The U. S. Trade union leadership, for the most part, opposes this kind of solidarity. Recently the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions passed a resolution condemning apartheid in South Africa. This was endorsed by the leadership of the UAW. However, the UAW's gesture was merely a token. Jerry Dole, an aide to Leonard Woodcock, when questioned on what the UAW was going to do in practice, refused to speculate. However, he did say that the UAW would not do anything to jeopardize the jobs of Blacks and whites in South Africa! We should compare this with the British Transport Workers and Dockloaders Union which have called for workers to do everything in their power to impede and harass trade with South Africa.

Many Black and other minority workers have engaged in support activities for South Africa. While some may not have a clear understanding of the economics of imperialism, they have seen that the struggle against racism in South Africa is linked up with the struggle against racism here in the U. S.

RANK AND FILE MUST ACT

The rank and file movement must begin to take up the issue of southern Africa in demanding that their unions show active support and solidarity. There are various actions that workers can do through the union. One is to get your local to pass a resolution condemning South Africa and demanding a withdrawal of all economic support of South Africa.

The union rank and file should establish southern Africa rank and file committees. These committees could develop programs for material aid for the liberation movements, join with other forces in the community for mass action and continually pressure the unions to support the liberation struggles. They could demand that the resources of COPE be used to pressure the government and companies to withdraw from South Africa.

Black workers who know first hand the discriminatory practices of U. S. Steel, General Motors, and AT&T also know

that Andy Young is sadly mistaken to suggest that large American corporations are committed to equal rights in South Africa.

RACISM HURTS WHITE WORKERS

White workers in this country must begin to realize that racism hurts all workers both home and abroad. The mass media is aware of this as it perpetrates years of racist reporting. Headlines like those describing the liberation forces as "raging mobs" are subtle approaches used to suggest that the only concern in South Africa is that Blacks will massacre whites. The media refuses to show how the Mozambican and Angolan governments allow all people of Portuguese descent (who choose to stay) to participate fully in the rebuilding of those countries, and have included them in the newly formed governments.

The government and the monopoly corporations try to sell their support of the apartheid system by appealing to racism. By the same token, we can win masses of white Americans to the struggle against apartheid only by taking up the struggle against racism here at the same time. We must approach this task in the spirit of Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, when he said, "Solidarity is not an act of charity; but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective."

a national program for the liberation support movement

Over the last several years, a growing mass movement has developed in the U. S. in support of African Liberation (see adjacent article). While thousands of people have been drawn into struggle through demonstrations, film showings, and other actions, the movement remains fragmented and localized. Clearly what is needed is a national center that can develop and coordinate national campaigns and actions. Support groups need to coalesce around a common program to maximize their impact.

NEED FOR A PROGRAM

The problem of developing a united, national support movement is not simply organizational. Political confusion and ideological weakness are at the roots of the present fragmentation of the movement. Marxist-Leninists, in order to provide real leadership, must bring to the movement a clear analysis that provides a political footing for a broad unity, while identifying the various trends that hold the movement back.

We believe the support movement must coalesce around three central demands:

1. End All U. S. Economic and Military Support for the Racist Regimes.
2. Victory to the Liberation Movements! Long live the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique!
3. End the Racist Attacks in South Africa and the U. S.

The first demand — End All U. S. Aid — identifies U. S. imperialism as the enemy and focus of our struggle. It draws clear lines of demarcation with those liberal forces who are prepared to temporize with U. S. policy. . . . who are willing perhaps to call for a change in this or that aspect of the policy but not for an unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. aid. We have to make it clear that given the character of the racist regimes in southern Africa and the role of the U. S., the ending of such aid is the only basis for a democratic solution of the conflict.

This demand also must be counterposed to those who want to "balance" our attack on U. S. imperialism by demanding that the Soviet Union's support be terminated as well. This is the line of bourgeois liberals and out-and-out reactionaries who want to sidestep or justify U. S. involvement by raising the spectre of Soviet aggression or gain.

It is also, of course, the political line of any number of so-called Marxist-Leninists who see "Soviet Social Imperialism" as the main danger to the African people. Given that the Soviet Union is providing critical material aid to the liberation struggle, objectively the call for the termination of such aid is an out-and-out blow against liberation and a real service to Vorster, Smith, and the U. S. imperialists.

The demand for an end to U. S. aid and intervention in South Africa is the minimal basis on which the support movement can be built. For Marxist-Leninists to call for anything short of this is nothing but an abandonment of proletarian internationalism.

NO NEO-COLONIAL SOLUTIONS

The second demand, calling for victory for the liberation movements and solidarity with the People's Republics in the already liberated nations is closely linked with the first. The U. S. and other imperialist powers and elements in the ruling classes of South Africa all favor a neo-colonial solution to the conflict. They are prepared to modify the most visible evils of the apartheid system, and share political power with Black "moderates" while maintaining the privileged position of foreign capital.

Such a "solution" leaves the masses powerless and without real independence.



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Support Grows for African Liberation Struggles

by AARON GIBBS

While the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia wage a courageous struggle for their own liberation, action in their support continues to grow across the United States. Black community and political organizations, civil rights groups, trade unions, church groups, communist organizations, and anti-imperialist coalitions have joined together in opposing the racist governments of those countries.

DEMONSTRATIONS SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION

Last June, many actions were sparked by the murderous attack on Soweto children by South African police. The students began their protest against the use of the language of their oppressor — Afrikaans — in their schools. In Chicago, PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) led a demonstration of over 400 people, which featured a speaker from the African National Congress, the outlawed liberation movement of South Africa. That same week, demonstrations of 300 to 600 people occurred in New York, Boston, Washington and San Francisco.

In September, people demonstrated in New York, linking the federal government's refusal to assist New York City with the indirect military support it supplies to South Africa. Sponsored by Blacks in Solidarity with South African Liberation, the protest drew 600.

On November 26, several hundred people demonstrated in Washington to expose the fallacy of the "independence" of the Transkei, one of the reservations set aside for Africans by the racist government. Sponsors included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, City-wide Housing Coalition, D. C. Statehood Party, Organization of African Students, Republic of New Africa, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, Non-Intervention in Chile and the July 4th Coalition. Speeches were given by representatives of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, also an outlawed liberation movement.

PROTEST APARTHEID AND RACISM

Several hundred people demonstrated in New York City in November in support

of the struggle of the liberation forces in Zimbabwe. At the same time a militant picket line protested the Broadway opening of *Ipi-Tombi* a racist and sexist play which depicted Africans as happy on the reservations. The play was forced to close after losing money for two months.

Public outrage at the conditions in South Africa has brought many City Councils to pass resolutions against dealing with corporations investing in South Africa. Important among these cities are Madison, Wisconsin, Gary, Indiana, and Washington, D. C. Denver, San Antonio, and the National Council of Churches have recently passed resolutions urging people not to buy Krugerrands, a gold coin being marketed in this country to raise money for South Africa.

Protests were not the only forms used to express solidarity with southern Africa. 1976 saw several celebrations as Mozambique noted its anniversary as an independent nation. Over 3,000 attended the New York premier of *O Povo Organizado* (The People Organized), a film about building socialism in Mozambique. This world premiere kicked off a series of benefit premieres in many cities which have raised \$40,000 to build a maternity hospital in Mozambique. The Philadelphia premiere raised \$1700.

PHILADELPHIA SUPPORT ACTIONS

Philadelphians, Black and white, have been part of this nationwide movement. The first activity of the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR), a new Philadelphia group formed in 1976, was organizing for a spirited picket line of 100 people against South Africa's participation in the Federation Cup International Tennis Tournament at the Spectrum last summer. Other groups participating in this action were the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and the American Friends Service Committee. In October UPCAAR led a demonstration at the Ford-Carter debate, and in November sponsored *O Povo Organizado*, seen by 600 people.

In March, several actions commemorated the Sharpeville massacre which occurred March 21, 1960 — South African police fired on a peaceful demonstration against pass laws and killed 69 persons. UPCAAR and the Venceremos Brigade sponsored a night of solidarity March 19th, attended by 300 people; the Sharpeville Day Coalition conducted a day of solidarity March 20th at the Black History Museum, and on March 26th, the March 26th Coalition led a march of 200 people from the Church of the Advocate, 18th and Diamond Streets, to City Hall. There were marches in over a dozen cities nationwide on that day.

LEADERSHIP IN THE SUPPORT MOVEMENT

It is clear that at present the liberation support movement is on the upswing. The people involved are not relying on Washington policy makers or Carter's "human rights" campaign. They know from past experience that despite any pious speeches, U. S. policy will continue to support "peaceful change", and place the interests of U. S. corporations above those of the African people. The Black community, and Black and white working class people are taking the initiative, as only they can, to build a strong grass roots movement that says NO to apartheid and racism.



To counter this, we must expose the real character of these neo-colonial schemes and demand recognition of the popularly based liberation movements—who are committed to genuine independence and the expulsion of imperialism—as the only legitimate voice of the peoples of Africa.

This demand is, of course, unacceptable to common liberals who — either out of ignorance or design — favor a neo-colonial solution. It also meets opposition from certain forces on the left. . . pacifists are appalled at apartheid but cannot support those who fight it because they have resorted to armed struggle. . . our so-called Marxist-Leninists who view the liberation movements as pawns of "Soviet Social Imperialism" and our equally chauvinist Trotskyites who dictate the correct program for the liberation movements from their armchairs here in the U. S.

We should, in fact we must, make a critical analysis of each liberation movement. Only such an analysis can tell us which forces are most resolutely fighting imperialism and best carrying out the tasks of liberation. But to seize upon either real or imagined shortcomings of the movements as a basis for denying them support plays into the hand of the enemy.

FIGHT RACISM IN AFRICA, AT HOME

The third demand — End the Racist At-

tacks in South Africa and the U. S. — links up the struggle of the African people with the Black Liberation struggle here in the U. S. It points to the roots of racial and national oppression in imperialism's drive for super-profits.

Only if the support movement raises this slogan and develops real campaigns that concretize it can the powerful weight of the Black Liberation Movement be brought fully into coalition with other forces. But even more importantly, only if the support movement aggressively takes up the question of racism can it hope to win masses of white workers to its banner. Racism is the main ideological prop of U. S. support for the Vorster and Smith regimes. Only if we are able to show the white workers how racism, both here and abroad, is an attack on the whole working class can we build a working class-based, multinational movement.

This demand, too, has its detractors. There is the Socialist Workers Party with its single issue mania. In the name of building the broadest possible coalition around the lowest common denominator, the SWP accommodates racism and fails to educate the masses in an anti-imperialist spirit. Paradoxically, they narrow rather than broaden who can be united, because, as we have already argued, only a consistent struggle against racism can win masses of whites to support African liberation.

There are also backward forces who, while not making any principle out of it, simply omit the struggle against racism because it never occurs to them that the two struggles are closely bound up with each other. This was the same kind of white chauvinism which plagued the anti-war movement.

Finally there are the advocates of the white skin privilege analysis of racism. These forces are militantly opposed to racism in words. However, since they believe that white workers benefit from racism and imperialism, they completely undercut the whole political basis for winning over masses of white workers to the struggle. Their high-sounding phrases are a poor substitute for class conscious white workers.

WHITE CHAUVINISM — BLOCK TO UNITY

Overcoming these political weaknesses is central to building a multi-national coalition. The Black Liberation Movement, beginning with the massive African Liberation Day demonstrations several years ago, has been the driving force of the support movement. While there is some separatist, narrow nationalist sentiment among Black activists in the support movement, it would be a tragic error to see this as the main obstacle to building a multi-national coalition on a national basis.

The fundamental problem is the strength of white chauvinism among white progressives and the failure of white anti-imperialists to translate good intentions into aggressive organizing among the white masses. Overcoming these obstacles on the local level and building principled multi-national unity are steps that must be taken right now.

Two nationally-based organizations presently exist that have potential to at least partially fill the vacuum of national leadership, the National Black Coalition on Southern Africa (NBCSA) and the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (CLSA). Both these organizations call for an end to U. S. aid and corporate involvement, solidarity with the liberation movements and an end to the racist attacks here as well as in South Africa.

The NBCSA represents a coming together of Black activists around the question of South Africa. The CLSA is a predominantly white, middle class grouping consisting of church groups, local support committees, liberal professional organizations, and the like. The absence of strong Black (in the case of CLSA) and working class participation reflects the problems of the support movements addressed above. A viable multi-national coalition on a national basis is going to require both working in these existing formations and developing strong local work.