

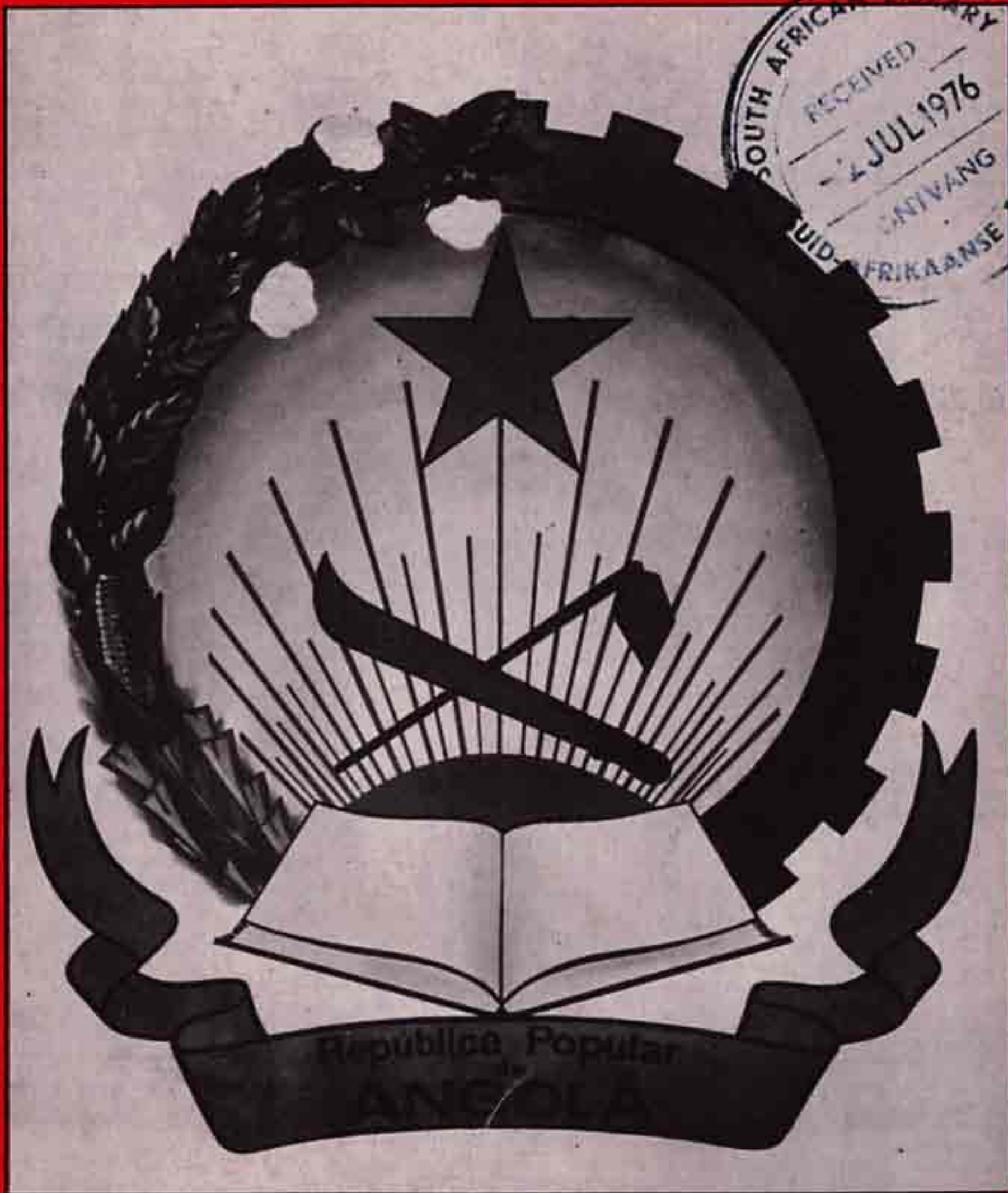
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## Contents

	Page
HANDS OFF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA	1
ANGOLA REPORT:	9
WE LOVE INDEPENDENCE: Speech of Dr. Neto to AAPSO Solidarity Conference	17
ANGOLA: Appeal to World Public Opinion	28
AFRICAN MAJORITY SUPPORT MPLA:	30
PRETORIA IS A CANCER: says Samora Machel	32
NO CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA: Statement of OAU Liberation Committee	38
CONSPIRATORS EXPELLED: ANC statement on the expulsion of some of its members	40
ROME - PRETORIA AXIS:	44
PERPETUATION OF APARTHEID:	48
OBITUARY: Mongezi Feza	62
AFRICA SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR: Debacle of the racist forces	64

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# HANDS OFF THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

**Statement of the African National Congress of South Africa  
delivered by Alfred Nzo to the OAU Extra-Ordinary Meeting of African Heads  
of State and Government, Addis Ababa,  
10-12 January, 1976**

We are all meeting here in emergency session moved by the obvious but urgent need for the peoples of Africa collectively to help establish a just and popular peace in the newly-independent Republic of Angola.

On behalf of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, the African National Congress would like to express here its deeply felt appreciation to those member States of the OAU which originally requested this meeting as well as the rest of the continent which responded positively to the call that we must convene, at short notice, to discuss the issue of Angola.

This had to be so because, despite the departure of the Portuguese colonialists, the blood of the Angolan people continues to flow in that country's battlefields. It had to be so also, because as in the case of Guinea in 1971, as in the case of Egypt since 1948, as in the case of the then Congo in 1960, here is an Independent African country being invaded by imperialist troops.

It is therefore a manifestation of Africa's concern for the immeasurable worth of human life and hence concern to preserve that life that we are meeting here. It is also evidence of Africa's concern to translate into reality Nkrumah's dictum which has also been a central and consistent feature of OAU policy that no African

State can consider itself free unless the rest of Africa is free, that we all responded to the call to meet here.

In itself, this emergency summit is a defeat for the forces of imperialism and reaction. As usual, over the past few days and weeks, these forces endeavoured to make it impossible for us to meet, and, ultimately, endeavoured to lay the basis for the break-up of the OAU and the destruction of Pan-African solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

Well, we are after all meeting Mr. Chairman — the continent of Africa in both its liberated and its unliberated parts is here. That represents a defeat for the forces of imperialism and reaction. We are convinced that out of this extra-ordinary session will come decisions which will aim at responding to the call of the Angolan people to aid them to beat the forces of imperialist aggression. That will represent an even greater defeat for the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Angola, Mr. Chairman, is independent. On the 11th of November last year, the Portuguese government formally handed sovereign State power back to the Angolan people, the formal ceremony being a public demonstration of the fact that by their heroism in struggle and their unwavering determination to be free, the people of Angola had once again forcibly esta-



**Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC South Africa**

blished themselves as the repository of sovereign power in their own country: not Portuguese colonialism, not the multi-national corporations and world imperialism but the people of Angola can and will justly exercise the power to decide the fate of their own country.

It is because world imperialism does not accept this outcome of centuries of struggle by the masses of the people of Angola that there is today an "Angolan problem". It is because the forces of international reaction are actively and brutally seeking to reverse the gains of the revolutionary Angolan people that we are meeting here today.

In our own humble but considered view, the summit has therefore convened here not to discuss who the international allies of the People's Republic of Angola should be or what the internal policies of that People's Republic should entail. Rather, we are meeting to discuss what steps we should take, collectively, to help guarantee the existence of a united and truly independent Angola.

Crucial as this task is, the matter cannot end there. The battle that is joined over Angola is also a battle joined over the whole future of the African Revolution. Angola has become the decisive theatre in which world imperialism also wants to settle, in its own favour, two fundamental issues of the African Revolution.

## **Fundamental Issues**

The first of these is the genuine national liberation, independence and majority rule for the Peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The second is the struggle of the Peoples of independent Africa to consolidate their independence, against relations of neo-colonialist dependence on world imperialism.

The imperialist forces of aggression having failed to destroy the MPLA in the months before November last are therefore now seeking a victory in Angola aimed first at the overthrow of the People's Republic and the installation of a neocolonialist regime; a victory aimed secondly at taking the initiative completely out of the hands of the liberation movements in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe permitting the Smith and Vorster regimes and their international imperialist allies to exercise sole power in determining the direction and pace of change in these three countries. Such an imperialist victory also aims to consolidate the positions of imperialism in Southern Africa with a view to rolling back the advance of the African Revolution and to recolonise Africa. Such are the aims of the multi-faceted imperialist intervention in Angola.

The carefully orchestrated propaganda campaign emanating from Washington, Pretoria, London, Bonn and other capitals of the imperialist world that imperialism only seeks peace in Angola and seeks to establish conditions for the people of Angola to decide their own future, cannot deceive the Peoples of Africa.

Certainly we, the peoples of the African continent; we who have lived and fought, and those who still live and fight against imperialist, colonial and

racist domination, cannot be deceived by this propaganda. For we know the nature of the South African regime. We know it to be a regime based on mass terror. We know in detail the crimes it has committed and continues to commit against the African people. We know it to be a fascist regime in the fullest sense of that term. We know it to be a regime of extreme and brutal national oppression, an arch-enemy of the liberation of the African peoples. We know it to be a regime sworn to maintain the extreme poverty of the masses of the people in order to guarantee local and multi-national corporations their super-profits.

We know it to be a regime which, in its international relations, especially with regard to Africa, seeks positions of domination rather than relations based on respect for the independence of the peoples of Africa, equality and mutual assistance. It is a regime whose closest allies are the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Israel and other imperialist countries. It is this very regime which was one of the main supporters of fascist Portugal. The Vorster regime is a fascist outpost of imperialism in Africa, maintained by world imperialism to serve its exclusive and anti-African interests.

It is this regime which has now thrown combat troops into Angola. It is this regime which is now providing logistic support to UNITA and FNLA in weapons, fuel, food and medical supplies. Its propaganda media has taken unto itself the task of popularising UNITA and FNLA throughout the world and befuddling world opinion with glorious reports of phantom victories against the MPLA and horrifying stories of so-called MPLA brutality.

No one who knows the racist Vorster regime as the peoples of Africa do, can ascribe to it the title of "liberator of Southern Africa". No one can honestly ascribe to it the title of "guarantor of the right of the People of Angola to determine their own future". It is only in the hypocritical and cynical world of imperialist propaganda that the oppressor at home becomes

the liberator abroad. We are not and cannot be hoodwinked.

The racist Republic of South Africa has committed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola in order to serve the exclusive and anti-African interests of world imperialism. Its troops are supported by mercenaries from other imperialist countries including the United States, West Germany and Portugal — the U. S. and West Germany being exactly the same countries which armed Caetano against the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies, the Portuguese mercenaries being exactly part of the same force that tried vainly to stop the people of Angola from achieving their independence. There surely is a lesson in all this! The butchers of My Lai, of Wiryamu, of Sharpeville are all gathered together to butcher the young People's Republic of Angola.

### **Unshakeable Ties**

Mr. Chairman, the ANC of South Africa has for many years, like many other African countries and move-





ments, maintained very close ties with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola — ties based on a common outlook with regard to the struggle against imperialism and sentiments of mutual solidarity. The ANC of South Africa is resolved that, in the interest of the further uninterrupted advance of the African revolution, it will permit nothing to weaken or disrupt these ties.

We make this declaration here, Mr. Chairman, not merely for its own sake, but because there has emanated from Washington and Pretoria the notions that such continued relations between the MPLA and its allies constitute an unwelcome interference in Angola's internal affairs.

We necessarily reject this notion because it has one aim and one aim only. That aim is to cut the MPLA and the PRA off from the rest of progressive humanity, to isolate and weaken them and, that done, to destroy them.

With regard to the same issue, the question needs to be asked: in what way has the character of the struggle in Angola changed since November 11, 1975? This is an important issue in so far as world imperialism is using it to confuse the peoples of Africa and the world by raising the spectre of interference in Angola's internal affairs.

The great victory of the people of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA in wresting independence from Portuguese colonialism marked a great step forward for the peoples of Angola, Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

Immediately, new tasks loomed large before the liberated Angolan people. Among these are the wiping out of all the ugly deformities in all aspects of social life resulting from five centuries of Portuguese colonialism as well as the struggle against the forces of internal reaction.

The processes we are describing here are not new to any of the African countries represented here because all or most of them have had to deal with these issues in one way or another. In this way it can therefore be said that the nature of the struggle in Angola changed after November 11, to one for the consolidation of that country's independence, for the creation of conditions of stability and social progress.

But these processes have been cut short or compromised by the imperialist aggression against the PRA. In the person of Portuguese colonialism, world imperialism failed to hold Angola, despite all-out efforts to strengthen and encourage the former Portuguese fascist regime.

Imperialism then thought it could still regain Angola by using local reactionary puppet forces in the same manner as in Indo-China and Chile. When these forces proved too weak, world imperialism then ordered into action its aggressive strike force at the Southern end of Africa, namely, the racist troops of the Vorster regime.

It is a fact of life, admitted even by the imperialists themselves, that only the MPLA challenged the invaders,

only the MPLA is today concerned to drive out the racist South African-led forces of occupation as it was concerned and did drive out the Portuguese forces of occupation.

It is therefore, in this respect, essentially the same struggle or rather a direct continuation of the struggle that the people of Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA, conducted against Portuguese colonialism.

Indeed the struggle has become more bitter and more intense as world imperialism has continued to pour in troops, war materials, money and other logistic support at a rate faster than at any time during the days of Portuguese colonialism.

In continuing to support the MPLA, the OAU and the rest of progressive mankind cannot therefore be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of Angola. Those who should stand condemned of this heinous crime are exactly the imperialist world which has planted new occupation forces in

Angola to take the place of the departed portuguese.

### **Old Policy in New Garb**

What we are witnessing in Angola, Mr. Chairman, is a fresh manifestation of an old policy from which sprang Vorster's so-called outward-looking policy and later the so called policy of detente between racist South Africa and independent Africa; the old policy from which sprang Vorster's offers of economic aid to Africa and suggestions to form a Southern African economic block.

It is a fresh manifestation of the old policy from which resulted trips by Bantustan leaders to independent Africa and from which alternately Vorster offered "non-aggression pacts" with independent African States and threatened them with force should they continue to support the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

The African National Congress of South Africa has, on many occasions,

**MPLA militants**



# ANGOLA

Mr. Chairman, warned that in all these manoeuvres the South African racists were consistently seeking to destroy the South African liberation movement to divide Africa and to subject her to neo-colonial domination.

We have also repeatedly warned that racist South Africa was prepared, at a moment's notice, to transform her sweet voice of peace to the harsh chatter of gunfire.

Racist South Africa's policy is simple and direct. It is that if the racists can achieve their reactionary purposes by talking, then they will talk. If results can only be achieved by means of economic bribes, the racists would then use the profits accumulated from the sweat of our people, to buy out Africa. If these fail, the racists are then prepared to resort to subversion and sabotage. In the end, they are equally prepared to let loose their death forces on which they spent a billion Rands last year, as they are doing in Angola.

This many-faced counter-revolutionary policy of racist South Africa was clearly shown by the fascist captain of South African imperialism, John Vorster himself, when he delivered his new Year message only a few days ago.

With the honeyed tongue of a treache-

rous viper, he spoke proudly of "South Africa's peace offensive in Africa" while calling for greater imperialist involvement in the war offensive in Angola. Even as he spoke, 300 Panhard armoured cars were leaving South Africa on their way to Angola, while thousands of men were being called up for service in the North. So much for Vorster's so-called "peace offensive in Africa".

For the OAU, the only step that is consistent with its own policy is to join hands with those forces which are struggling so heroically in Angola to drive out the South African racist invaders back into the isolation of South Africa's own borders.

Mr. Chairman; Africa seeks peace in Angola. So do the people of Angola. Africa also seeks a united, popular effort in tackling the problems of national reconstruction in Angola. So do the people of Angola.

There is no peace in Angola today because South African troops and mercenaries have marched into Angola determined to impose an imperialist peace on the Angolan people. It is this imperialist peace that the people of Angola are so resolutely rejecting.

There is no unity in Angola today because South African troops and mercenaries have marched into Angola and attached to themselves local reactionary forces for the overthrow of the PRA.

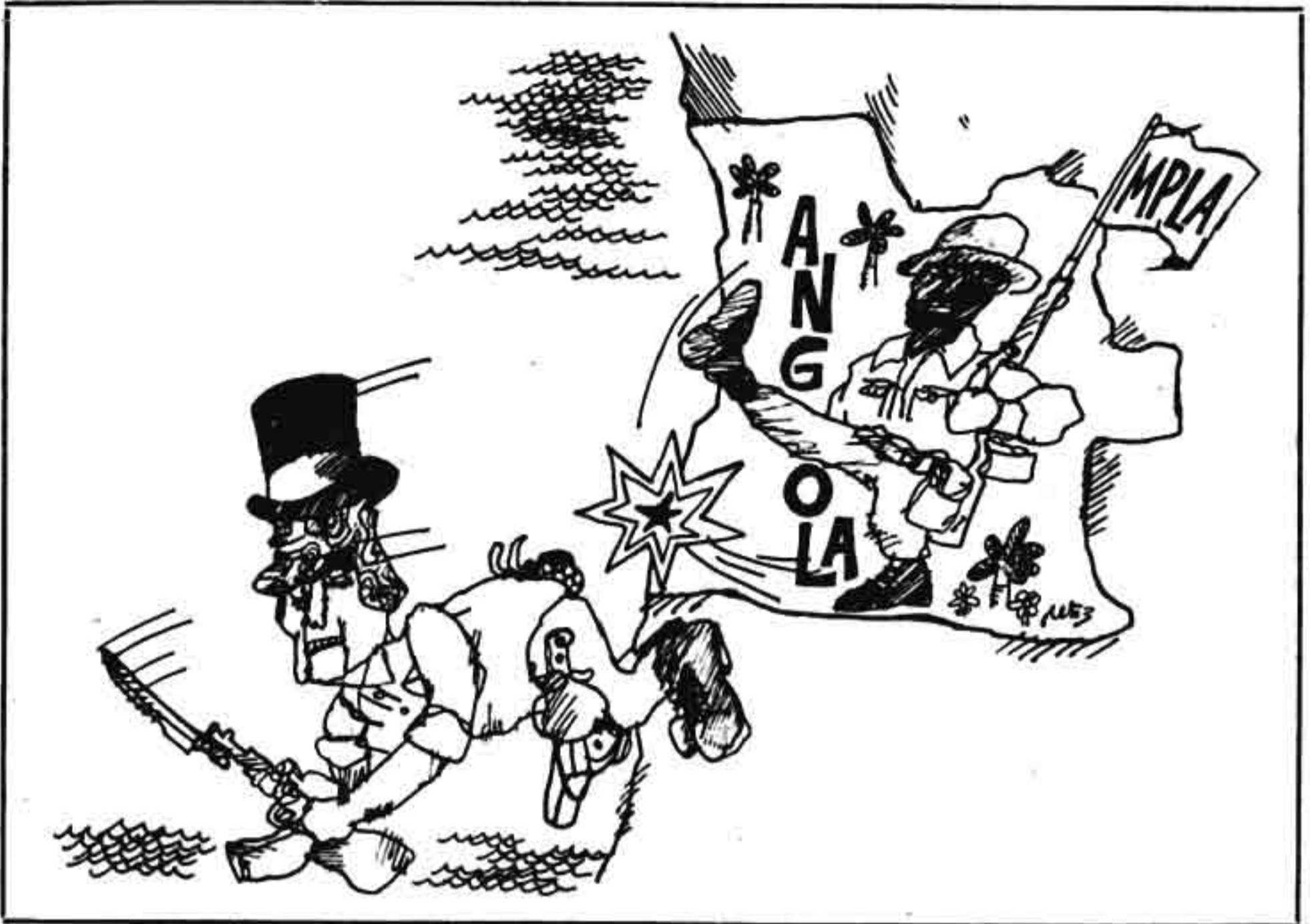
At the same time, the spokesmen and the mass propaganda media of the imperialist world are raising the issue of a government of national unity with increasing insistence. For the first time, racist South Africa and the imperialists are working day and night for "African unity".

Africa needs must pose the question — unity among whom and for what purposes. Africa needs must seek such unity as will guarantee the genuine independence of Angola, not its continued colonisation.

In the interests of the masses of the people of Angola, the further advance of the African revolution and the defence of its gains, it is the task of this extra-ordinary summit to defeat the Washington—Pretoria manoeuvre







which seeks to impose such "unity" in Angola as will guarantee the positions of imperialism in that country and Southern Africa."

Perforce, Mr. Chairman, we must come back to the historic declaration that the independence of any African State is meaningless without the total liberation of Africa.

This is of direct and immediate application today. For, so long as the South African racist regime is able to dominate and terrorise the majority of the people of South Africa, so long will it seek to dominate and terrorise the countries of Southern Africa in particular, and Africa in general. Lasting peace for Southern Africa and for all Africa can only be found in the defeat and destruction of the racist and expansionist regime which is occupying our country.

### Warning

Yet, Mr. Chairman, there are many signs that a number of independent African States rather than strengthen their bonds with the South African liberation movement, for whom victory

is certain, have chosen to increase their contacts and cooperation with the South African racist regime.

It is alarming that these contacts have survived the continued military occupation of Namibia, in defiance of the just demands of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO and supported by the united voice of Africa and the peoples of the entire world. This increased cooperation between some independent African States and the Vorster regime is taking place despite the barbarous crimes that the criminal Vorster regime is now committing in Angola, with the seizure there of Angolan towns and villages and the shooting of Angolan men, women and children.

We would, once again, Mr. Chairman, warn that the path of collaboration with the Vorster regime can lead to a compromise of African independence to a degree amounting to the virtual endorsement not merely of apartheid in South Africa, but of the invasion of a sister African State. It is the People's Republic of Angola today. It will be another independent African

State tomorrow unless Africa takes a firm and united stand now.

## Communist Bogey

The Vorster regime seeks to justify its criminal invasion of Angola by raising the spectre of communism. But the peoples of Africa are not children to be frightened with such hollow scares. For more than a quarter of a century the South African fascists have killed hundreds, imprisoned thousands and tortured scores of patriots — all on the pretext that they were fighting communism.

When the South African racist troops were fighting in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola before the collapse of fascist Portugal, racist Vorster claimed they were fighting communism. The war against the people of Namibia has been presented also as a war against communism.

The oppressed masses in South Africa understand fully well what Vorster means when he claims to be fighting communism in Angola. We have always known that the peoples of Africa understood this too and would never be hoodwinked by Vorster's frenzied rantings which are nothing but direct quotations from his "Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as amended".

Africa has consistently supported those in South Africa against whom this bogey has been used to justify their brutal repression. Will not Africa give its support to those in Angola against whom this same bogey is being used to justify an armed invasion?

Mr. Chairman, an imperialist victory in Angola would be a defeat for the peoples of Africa as a whole. Its repercussions would, in time, adversely affect not only the struggling people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, it would also hand over the initiative to the aggressive forces of imperialism and embolden them further to seek a reversal of the victory scored by the people of Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO. With those victories sucked under its belt, the road to further encroachments on independent Africa would be wide open.

This extra-ordinary summit is meeting,

Mr. Chairman, at a time when the forces of imperialism and reaction are at their weakest. It meets however also at a time when these forces have decided, in Southern Africa at least, to make a desperate effort to push back and negate the inevitable process of the liberation of mankind.

Conscious of all this, the eyes of the peoples of Africa and the world are focussed on Addis Ababa and this extraordinary summit.

Africa is faced with two choices and two choices only. Either she steps up the struggle against an enemy that is already weakened by the great victories of the African peoples themselves or she succumbs to the frenzied anger of a wounded beast, allowing it time to recover and pounce on her with renewed vigour.

It is a critical moment in which you who are assembled here hold in your hands the fate not only of this generation but also of future generations of the peoples of Africa.

The time to take correct decisions is now. The time to engage the enemy on all fronts, in Angola, in Namibia, in South Africa and elsewhere in Southern Africa and wherever else he may be found is now.

The question is have we perception enough to be able to identify where the path of our true interests lies; have we courage enough to follow that path!

The African National Congress of South Africa, basing itself on an intimate knowledge of this organization from its very founding conference, is confident that this premier organization of the African people will answer both these questions positively. Africa shall be free!

**All support to the MPLA and the government of the PRAI All support to SWAPO, the ANC (Z) and the ANC (SA) for the destruction of the white minority regimes in Southern Africa!**

**Hands off the PRAI Long live the unity of the African people united in one common struggle for the total liberation of Africa!**

**Long live the unity of the world anti-imperialist forces!**



# ANGOLA REPORT

The following report was prepared and in print before the final defeat of the counter revolutionary FNLA & UNITA forces. In our next issue of SECHABA we shall publish key note policy statements by President Neto and other Angolan government leaders. We shall also publish eye witness accounts and photographs of the crimes committed by racist South African, UNITA and FNLA forces.

At a time when a well-orchestrated campaign of vilification launched early this year by the United States administration and the Western world against so-called Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola, a little publicised report on South African and United States military involvement in the country appeared in the London weekend paper "The Observer" (January 11, 1976).

The report, a secret document, prepared by Mr Sean Gervasi, a consultant for the reputable international organisation – the Centre for International Security Studies – based in Washington, states that the U.S. had sent a naval task force in the area in December last year and puts the number of South African racist troops operating in Angola at between 4000 and 6000. The American task force the study says is led by the aircraft carrier 'Independence', supported by a guided missile cruiser, and three destroyer escorts. The task force was believed to have been placed under contingency orders between 15 and 23 November 'for a mission in the Angolan conflict'.

The mission is believed to be to provide tactical air support for strikes over Angola. The Independence car-

ries 90 F-4 Phantom jets and was armed after 15 November with 'several hundred tons of napalm, Sidewinder missiles and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs in pods'. In December, when rumours first began to circulate that the Independence had sailed for the Angolan coast, a Pentagon spokesman denied them and said the ship was in the eastern Mediterranean. On Friday January 9, two days before the publication of the report, a Pentagon spokesman again told 'The Observer' that the carrier was 'conducting routine operations in the Mediterranean'.

He insisted that the Independence had not been anywhere else 'since it got to the Mediterranean about six months ago', with the possible exception of the Sixth Fleet base at Rota on the Spanish Atlantic coast. In fact, the vessel arrived in Portsmouth on Saturday 22 November, and sailed the following Thursday-Friday night.

The Independence, it is understood, had been taking part in a large NATO exercise, Ocean Safari. In Portsmouth at the same time were two frigates, USS Bowen and USS Ainsworth, a guided missile destroyer, the USS Farragut, a submarine rescue ship, the

## ANGOLA

USS Kittyhawk, and two supply vessels, Kalamazoo and Denebola.

The Independence sailed on the night of 27-28 November, and reliable sources say the Bowen and Ainsworth accompanied her. The naval authorities at Portsmouth were told the vessels were leaving for the United States. A photograph of the Independence, taken at the time, appeared in a local newspaper and thus it is clear that on this point the report is correct and the Pentagon is not.

According to the report, the task force stopped in the Azores to take on food, supplies and fuel in the first half of December. They were on 'full alert', taking their state of preparedness one step further, and all shore leave had been cancelled. They 'were armed and ready to become operational' on the side of the forces of counter revolution in Angola - the FNLA and Unita. In an interview with an 'Observer' correspondent, Mr Gervasi said that a source had seen the contingency sailing orders issued to the Independence under paragraph three of Special Order 504 drawn up by the Operations and Research Department of the US navy in about 1972.

Mr Gervasi said that the orders had been issued by the Chief of Naval Operations to the Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet. His source

had also seen the sailing orders for one of the destroyer escorts.

The report says the placing of the carrier group on full alert must be seen in the context of the news, leaked by the US Administration, that Forward Air Controller spotter planes are flying missions into Angola from southern Zaire to pinpoint troop movements of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The report also says that US cargo planes have assumed a direct role in operations on the central front of the Angolan war, parachuting supplies to the South African columns.

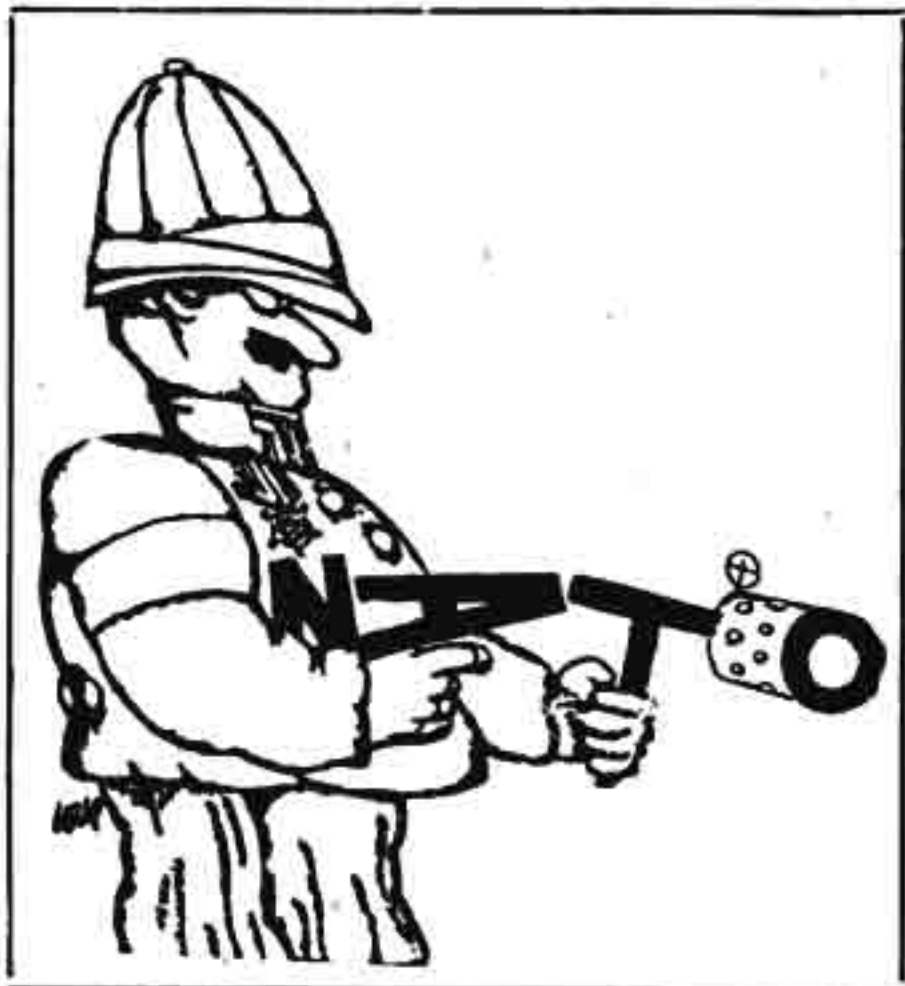
### S.A. Troops

The first South African regular troops, a mechanised cavalry column numbering between 1,000 and 1,500 men, entered Angola through Namibia on 23 October. The column was designed for rapid movement and had no tracked vehicles. A column of 2,000 mercenaries equipped with South African Panhard armoured cars crossed ahead of this unit.

The second South African regular unit, also numbering 1,000 to 1,500 men, was committed on 15 November. This was equipped with 100 French AMX-13 and US M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks. Its mission was to support the mercenary column in combat. The units were supported by a wing of Allouette 111 helicopters.

Throughout last October last year, and early November, South Africa supplied the mercenaries and its own forces from Namibia. South African C-130s based in Namibia dropped supplies to the columns as they rapidly swept north and later the planes used the airports at Sa da Bandeira and Silva Porto, administrative headquarters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) who, with the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), is fighting the MPLA.

The report says that the two units committed on 23 October and 15 November were equipped with between 24 and 36 Panhard EBR armoured cars with 90 mm guns; 30 to 40 Marmion-Harrington light armoured





**President Neto together with Comrade Marcelino dos Santos of FRELIMO and a representative of the Government of South Vietnam at the Proclamation of Independence in Luanda on November 11, 1975**

cars; approximately 200 M113 armoured personnel carriers (APCs) and Unimog trucks, mostly APCs; jeeps mounted with 57 mm and 106 mm recoilless rifles and 20 to 24 105 mm howitzers on M-14 Walker Bulldog tanks.

A further unit was committed in December, comprising a tank battalion. It was equipped with 24 to 30 light armoured cars; 100 light tanks, mainly US M-41 Walker Bulldogs and French AMX 13s; 100 to 150 APCs; jeeps mounted with recoilless rifles and 20 to 24 105 mm howitzers mounted on Walker Bulldog tanks.

The report says that initially officials in Washington, who knew about the impending attacks from Namibia, be-

lieved the columns would sweep through to the capital, Luanda, by about mid-November, defeating the MPLA. But in fact they were held north of Novo Redondo and the MPLA has since broken out in the north, overrunning the FNLA and taking its headquarters at Carmona.

Faced with this situation, the report says, South Africa committed a second full regiment of mechanised cavalry with 2,000 to 3,000 men early in December. And it says that for the first time South Africa began using two wings of fighter bombers for tactical support. These are operating from the same base in southern Zaire as the American transporters and reconnaissance planes.



I sit  
on a  
mans back  
choking him  
and making  
him  
carry  
me and yet  
I assure myself  
and others  
that I am sorry  
for him  
and wish  
to lighten his load  
by all possible means

except by getting off his back.

Leo Tolstoy.

Despite the deployment of such large numbers of troops by the SA racists aided and supported by hundreds of mercenaries and given large scale arms and other logistic support by the US., MPLA militants have taken almost the whole of the northern provinces of Angola and driven the remnants of the FNLA and Roberto himself into Zaire.

In the South the racists and their cohorts in UNITA have been driven inexorably backwards out of Luso, Huambo and Lobito, the vital port on the west coast.

At the time of writing no one, even the most ardent supporters of US imperialism and their racist allies in South Africa, is hopeful of stopping the peoples march towards the total

liberation of the Peoples' Republic of Angola.

However, the "Observer" report raises a series of questions. Most important is the fact that it underlines comrade Agostino Neto's recent statements exposing the manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism, the racist South African regime and multinational monopolies to keep Angola from achieving total independence and supporting the forces of reactionary counter revolution headed by Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto, both of whom have clearly indicated that their policy for Angola is neo-colonialist in character and content.

An analysis of both organisations, led by Holden and Savimbi, unequivocally substantiate this point of view.

## FNLA

Organised by Holden Roberto in 1961, the FNLA appealed primarily to the Bakongo ethnic group where its greatest strength has sustained up to the present.

Roberto is himself a Bakongo who has lived in Zaire all but the first two years of his life; and his movement's appeal is heavily based on the promise of the return and revival of the ancient Bakongo kingdom.

Early in FNLA's history, Roberto attempted to branch out from the Bakongo ethnic and regional base by appointing members of other Angolan ethnic groups to leadership positions in his government in exile.

One such appointee was Jonas Savimbi of the Ovimbundu who ultimately left FNLA in 1964 complaining of its "flagrant tribalism". Two years later Savimbi was to form Angola's "third liberation movement," the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola.

In the early 1960's, Roberto received overt and covert support from the United States, with which he was strongly identified. In 1974-75, following the establishment of close diplomatic and political ties between Kinshasa and Peking in the early 1970's, China became a major supplier of arms and military advisers to the FNLA through Roberto's brother-in-law, Mobutu. Like the other Angolan movements Roberto was also offered aid from the World Council of Churches and it has received some arms from Rumania; but FNLA's largest and most consistent source of revenue, military camps, arms and complete political backing has come from Zaire.

It is reported that more than 60% of the FNLA forces are Zairies. (*Sempre Fixe*, Lisbon, July 19, 1975) But now with the armies of the FNLA put to the test in major battles in Angola, MPLA has achieved undisputed military superiority.

The only territory in which FNLA can claim strength is in the Bakongo region of northern Angola, and this is presently being challenged by the

MPLA. FNLA never developed the social infrastructure or the political cadres characteristic of the MPLA, primarily because it has never enjoyed a popular base inside the country. FNLA soldiers, though well-equipped, lack the ideological training needed to sustain and strengthen them during the current phase of the fighting. Increasing numbers of FNLA soldiers are defecting to the MPLA (800 between July and November, last year) and they report stories of forced recruitment of all Angolan refugees in Zaire to the FNLA. Further reports claim torture was threatened or practiced to keep order and discipline with the FNLA. The defectors reported little or no political education in the FNLA beyond instruction that it alone could liberate Angola. Political discussions were discouraged and soldiers were admonished to simply follow orders.

(*Afrique-Asie*, Paris, Aug. 11, 1975)

## UNITA

UNITA, was formed as a breakaway of the FNLA in March 1966 by Jonas Savimbi, who after leaving FNLA attempted to join MPLA but was apparently denied a leadership position and did not join as an ordinary member. Ideologically, UNITA is much closer to the FNLA than it is to MPLA. Usually labelled the "moderate" organisation in Angola by the western press, UNITA has had only a recent role to play in the last critical months of fighting during which time major lines of political power have been drawn. It is significant that only Jonas Savimbi, president of UNITA, was free to attend the OAU summit in Kampala during the summer months of pitched battles between the MPLA and FNLA. Originally Savimbi's base of operation was in Lusaka but he was expelled after his troops attacked the Benguela railroad in Angola, a critical Zambian link to the coast. After some time spent in Cairo, Savimbi re-entered eastern Angola, where he is said to have built an army of less than 6,000 armed Ovimbundu. Savimbi has often boasted that UNITA is the only liberation group to operate solely in Angola.

but lacking rear areas and financial and military support leave, until recently, UNITA the weakest of the three movements.

It has been suggested more than once that the Portuguese allowed the militarily weak UNITA to operate in the eastern region to sow confusion among the Angolan people and to increase friction between the two other movements fighting for political superiority. Even more sinister and direct links with the Portuguese fascists formerly in power were suggested in a 1974 *Afrique-Asie* article (No. 61, July 1974) in which documents were published indicating that Savimbi had been an agent of the Portuguese at least since 1972 and that he effectively supported and carried out Portuguese policies, the chief one being the destruction of the MPLA. Although the validity of these documents has not been categorically confirmed, they are consistent with the fact that UNITA opened its front in the eastern region where the MPLA was successfully operating and not against the Portuguese.

UNITA has never been a major contender for power in Angola. Its long isolation in Angolan politics is reflected in the OAU's delay in recognising the movement until its 1974 session. After the coup in Portugal, the Lisbon government's desire to appear unbiased in Angolan liberation movement politics forced it to give equal recognition to unequal forces and UNITA was considered on the same basis as MPLA and FNLA. UNITA was part of the Transitional Government which has since crumbled, and that may be the closest UNITA has come or will come to the centres of Angolan political power.

## MPLA

On the other hand, MPLA, led by its dynamic president, Augustino Neto, a revolutionary poet and medical doctor is steadfastly anti-imperialist and stands for the equitable distribution of the wealth of the country.

Founded in December 1956, the MPLA emerged from proindependence political groupings such as the Party

for the United Struggle of Angola (P.L.U.A.) and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (M.I.A.). From the beginning MPLA combined political education of revolutionary nationalism with the practice of clandestine organising, first in the towns and then in the countryside. Early on it allied itself with the most exploited sectors of the Angolan people, the peasants and the workers.

In March and July of 1959, P.I.D.E. (Portuguese secret police) carried out a series of arrests including dozens of leading Angolan nationalists. Augustino Neto, then Honorary President of MPLA, (see biographical notes elsewhere in this issue) was imprisoned in Luanda along with Father Pinto de Andrade, then Chancellor of the Archbishopric of Luanda. In December of that year, 20 nationalists, many from Cabinda, were shot while in a Luanda prison. Several months later in early 1961 armed struggle was formally launched by the MPLA in response to Portuguese massacres provoked by a prisoner uprising in Luanda, and following the FNLA-instigated revolt of March, 1961, in which an estimated 40,000 people were massacred, many of whom were MPLA militants. The Portuguese "crackdown" was swift and NATO-equipped Portuguese troops along with white settler militias hunted down Angolan nationalists and non-political civilians alike in an indiscriminate terror campaign. During this campaign, the FNLA reportedly helped the Portuguese track down the MPLA. In 1962, under Neto's leadership the MPLA set about the clandestine reorganisation of its forces in the towns and commenced guerrilla warfare in the rural areas.

Gradually MPLA established itself in Cabinda and in parts of northern Angola despite the presence of FNLA in the north along the Zaire border. The turning point came in 1966 with the successful MPLA opening of the eastern front and the transformation of this organisation into a broad-based, non-regional, revolutionary Angolan nationalist movement. Political teams preceded MPLA soldiers into new ter-





ritories; an excellent socio-political organisation grew alongside the increasing military effectiveness of the MPLA. The MPLA created ancillary groupings which were responsible for programmes of social advancement linked to the independence struggle. The National Union of Angolan Workers (U.N.T.A.) and the Organisation of Angolan Women (O.M.A.) were organised to mobilize people for production. Medical and health care were the responsibility of the Medical Assistance Service (S.A.M.). Military and political training are under the Centres of Revolutionary Instruction (C.I.R.'s) and these schools have been involved in primary education as well as adult literacy programmes.

Large areas in northern and eastern Angola were liberated by the MPLA not only from the colonial presence but from the social conditions of extreme poverty, poor health and illiteracy that are the legacy of colonial underdevelopment. Portuguese soldiers held captive by the MPLA and then released even reported encounters with Angolan children, who under MPLA education, spoke fluent Portu-

guese and could articulate well the objectives of the MPLA and the necessity of the struggle. In contrast, the political awareness of FNLA members has never been reported to be particularly high. The MPLA armed forces, FAPLA, are estimated to be about 30,000 but there are thousands of armed civilians in Luanda, 10-15,000 of whom are MPLA sympathisers but who comprise a mass movement known as "poder popular" (popular power).

The people's militias consist of neighborhood, factory and self-defence militias. During the recent fighting it was reported that the popular militias of the **muceques** (slums around the cities) actually reinforced the MPLA armed forces. It is apparent that these popular defense forces have developed enough strength to exert significant influence on MPLA decisions. Local meetings are often attended by Central Committee members of the MPLA. In this way links between MPLA cadres and people of the **muceques** have been strengthened. MPLA has received its strongest outside military support from the Soviet Union, Cuba and the Eastern European Socialist countries.

### Monopoly Interests

One can see from this analysis of the main organisations involved in Angola why the forces of imperialism and racism – led by the United States and racist South Africa – support FNLA and UNITA. But what is the main interest of these countries in Angola?

The clutches of US, British, French, West German, South African and Portuguese monopolies are sunk into this mosaic of 1,250,000 square kilometers, with a population of only 6 million people and a subsoil that has been aptly described as a store house of minerals and other raw materials – and this excluding the diamond mines, the iron in Casinga and the oil in Cabinda.

Ever since 1961, when the MPLA began the armed struggle the imperialists have stepped up the extraction and processing of raw materials for export.

The international monopolies made a 15

profit of 160 million dollars in 1961. By 1969, the figure had shot to 400 million. And in 1975, it almost hit the 1,000-million mark. The increase in capitalist exploitation at the expense of the workers in coffee plantations and mines was accompanied by an increase in exports, chiefly iron and petroleum, which, since 1968, have become the main export items. Angola is still a largely agricultural country, with large coffee plantations (coffee accounted for 40 per cent of exports in 1962), some sugarcane and also cotton, peanuts and oil-palm. The main staple foods are cassava, corn, millet and beans. Until the '50's the diamonds in the northeast, the copper in the northwest, and the manganese and asphalt in the east were hardly developed, but as capitalist penetration became more acute as a result of Angola's economic dependency on Portugal and the opportunities given to foreign investors, the West German Krupp consortium (iron) the Oppenheimer consortium (diamonds) and the US oil companies began to play a determining role in the colony's economy.

In 1961, the Krupp consortium extracted half a million tons of iron ore from the mines in Casinga. By 1974, the figure had risen to seven million tons. Likewise, in 1961 the Oppenheimer diamond group took out 600,000 karats and, in 1974, 2.2 million.

As for petroleum, prospecting was begun (but had no results) by the US firm Sinclair Oil, in 1915. Now more than 30 capitalist companies are vying for Angolan petroleum. Even though Petrofina found oil near the mouth of the Cuanza-Cabo Ledo river, in 1952, and other companies were also successful in the region of Canelho de Viana, it wasn't until 1967 that the Gulf Oil of Pittsburgh announced it had discovered vast deposits in Cabinda, a territory now known as "the African Kuwait".

Off-the-coast oil drilling by Gulf Oil yielded more than 7 m tons in 1972, and 10 m in 1973. And the figure for the 1980's is estimated at 1000 m — "if the political situation is favour-

able." The Gulf Oil's evident pleasure over the result of its first eight years of activity in Angola and its ambitious plans for the future explain — at least in part — the origin of the manoeuvre aimed at dividing the province of Cabinda, using as the tool for this operation the so-called Liberation Front of the Enclaves of Cabinda with headquarters in the residential quarter of Kinshasa. It is obvious that the imperialists' special interest in Angola is not limited to the country's wealth. The country's increasing strategic importance in blocking the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and as a natural outlet for the minerals from Zaire and Zambia through the port of Lobito — the shortest route to capitalist markets for products from central and southern Africa — explain the stand taken by the leading capitalist countries and the states bordering on Angola.

The establishment of a "flexible" — meaning FNLA-UNITA — African government in Angola would be a guarantee for imperialism, NATO and racist and reactionary interests, which view the taking of power by the revolutionary forces of the MPLA with considerable apprehension.

The obstacles set on the path of Angola's real independence are great — but they're neither unsurmountable nor indestructible.

And MPLA is about to prove this:

The MPLA, stresses the Ghanian "People's Evening News", has proved in the long years of its struggle that it is the most influential liberation movement in the country, a staunch opponent of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the genuine spokesman of the Angolan people. The MPLA government alone, the paper adds, can guarantee Angola's genuine independence.

All true friends of the Angolan people will most certainly subscribe to this view.

(We are grateful to Carolyn F. Lobban and "Southern Africa" for most of the material used in this article on the three Angolan organisations — Ed.)

# WE LOVE INDEPENDENCE



Speech delivered by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA and of the People's Republic of Angola at the opening session of the Emergency International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Angola and MPLA held in Luanda from 2—4 February 1976



President Agostinho Neto

I have the great honour, on behalf of, the Angolan people to greet all the distinguished delegates and guests at this Solidarity Conference which is most opportunely being held in the capital of Angola.

Welcome to Luanda!

The honour which falls to us is great, as great as the generosity of the delegates here, everyone of whom has spared no sacrifice in order that the peoples of Asia and Africa should enjoy freedom, independence, dignity and socio-political conditions favouring their material advancement.

For many years, together with all solidarity organisations, we have gone in search of political transformations which should bring complete freedom to the African and Asian continents.

Today we can say that this conference is the victorious conclusion of yet another chapter in the struggle in which we have all been involved for the independence of Angola, which took place on 11 November, 1975.

Therefore, comrade delegates and guests, this is the happy conclusion of

another of your actions, of our actions, for the liberation of Angola.

The conditions for holding this conference were created by all of us. It is therefore our **Solidarity Conference**.

The Angolan people, and particularly the population of Luanda, who have this exceptional privilege of meeting the foreign delegations, are overjoyed, giving full vent to their enthusiasm, on seeing their friends here, in the city of Luanda, on feeling at their side the constant and faithful friends who never strayed from the idea of struggle to win freedom for our country, on feeling the warmth of friendship.

On behalf of the Angolan people, I thank the comrade delegates and guests for coming to this capital of Angola, which is a city of Africa, the African capital most recently wrested from colonialist rule.

We can today hold this conference in Luanda thanks to the heroic and revolutionary action of the people, of the peasants, workers, students, civil servants, proprietors, of all patriots, irrespective of class, race, sex or ideo-

logy; thanks to the action of FAPLA, which, with pride, is continuing the armed struggle; thanks to the action of all those who courageously confronted the colonialist enemy, with arms in hand, until their complete defeat.

Our first national liberation war made it possible to hold this meeting at which we are going to strengthen the bonds of friendship and fraternal cooperation.

This conference is being held in Luanda, after many others which met in African and Asian capitals. We can recall here the days in Rome, Cairo, Khartoum, New Delhi, Brussels, Dar Es Salaam, Brazzaville, and so on, and more recently Aden. Concrete manifestations of solidarity have always been a positive catalyst factor, revolutionary, encouraging, and transforming the tide of national liberation into a world tide of progress.

International solidarity meetings contributed enormously to our victory over Portuguese colonialism.

These acts of solidarity prepared the conditions for there to be no lack of arms, food, clothing, footwear or other goods essential to the fighters. Diplomatically, they paved Angola, MPLA, the Angolan people's revolutionary vanguard, to become internationally known and to increase its prestige.

Hence, Afro-Asian solidarity has always been an essential factor for liberation. Through the Angolan people's struggle, through international solidarity, the conditions were created for Luanda to be honoured with the visit of old friends, companions-in-the-struggle and the consistent authors of a revolution which continues until the complete liberation of man. This is our victory!

Because past historical events should be constantly in everyone's memory, allow me to recall here the concrete solidarity that existed during the anti-colonial struggle between FRELIMO, the MLSTP, the PAIGC and the MPLA, grouped together within the CONCP and the unity maintained over the years from the time when each

of these parties was formed until victory.

## ANC Support

The revolutionary talent of Amílcar Cabral, the able architect of the Guinean and Cape Verdean revolution, assassinated by agents of the criminal colonialists on 20 January 1973, contributed to that unity of action. The vivacity and clear perception of phenomena of Eduardo Mondlane, also assassinated, on 3 February 1972, for his love for the Mozambican people's freedom, contributed as well.

The unity in the struggle was also contributed to by the leaders of the present young African republics, and there is no doubt that because of this solidarity, Africa is breathing the air of progress and of a revolutionary spirit which we hope will develop to end, once and for all, the exploitation, domination and alienation of the African man.

We are certain that past joint successes will serve as a basis for achieving further successes in the present within the African context.

The liberation movements of the regions still dominated by the racists cooperated intensively with us in the tasks of liberation. Thus, the ANC of South Africa, the Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation movements, and those of the Comoros and the Somali Coast, always gave vigorous support to the MPLA, which concentrated within itself the Angolan people's greatest aspirations.

One of the most eloquent proofs of solidarity has been that given by the progressive countries of Africa, through an identity of principles and understanding of the need for liberation. It was in some of these countries that we found the greatest understanding during the years of struggle.

Victory over the Portuguese colonialists would have been very difficult had the socialist camp not existed. It has always been the main source of material help for our struggle.

In the past, just like today capitalist countries of Europe and America



**Counter-revolutionaries Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi**

regarded the MPLA as a danger to their interests in Southern Africa. In fact the MPLA was the only real enemy of Portuguese colonialism in Angola.

Imperialism manoeuvred to sabotage our independence to divide the country, persistently trying to disrupt the MPLA through the infiltration of agents, attempts at corruption and attempts at physical liquidation.

Although consistent in its reactionary activity and despite its dynamism it never did and never will succeed in its desire to establish a neo-colonial regime in Angola. It failed in its support for Portuguese colonialism and it will fail again in its support for its puppets, because it does not and cannot understand the direction of the course of history.

These defeats of imperialism are to a great extent due to the fraternal and generous help given over the years of struggle by the socialist countries which, with dynamism and a truly internationalist spirit, helped us to get the means for the struggle. The socialist countries, our allies in the fight against colonial and neo-colonial domination, were and still are the chief material support of our struggle.

In the capitalist countries of Europe and America themselves, the peoples always came out in favour of the independence of the colonised peoples and, through support and solidarity groups, made the human expression of revolutionary unity felt at each step of our struggle. Morally, politically and materially, this solidarity has now become an indispensable instrument for liberation.

Within AAPSO, all this action was coordinated by its Secretariat, headed for many years now by our dear friend Youssef el Sebai.

Through the stands it took, and through conferences, meetings and seminars, the Secretariat of AAPSO gave impetus to action in African and Asian countries in support of the just struggle of the peoples.

While still waging the armed struggle for national independence, the MPLA was made a member of the Secretariat of AAPSO, and we therefore had the opportunity to work with the present representatives of the Secretariat.

Through the MPLA, Angola is therefore a member of the Secretariat of AAPSO and continues to be so, our representation in the Organisation

depending merely on perfecting our work in external relations.

The great revolutionary family is finally meeting in Luanda.

Welcome comrades.

Welcome representatives of the CONCP

Welcome progressive representatives of Africa

Welcome representatives of socialist countries

Welcome representatives of solidarity committees of the whole world.

It is a fact that our country still has to defend its territorial integrity. It still has to fight for perfect national unity. It has to build its economy and affirm itself culturally.

## Bequeathed Chaos

Within a few days we will be three months old, and the Portuguese colonialists left us as a heritage the invasion of the North of our territory by the Zairean regular army, accompanied by the UNITA puppets. The Portuguese colonialists, who were here until 11 November 1975, were still hoping that Luanda would be captured by our enemies before we proclaimed our independence. But their hopes were not fulfilled. The Angolan people did not permit it.

They bequeathed to us a chaotic economic situation. They deliberately destroyed machines and installations, making take-off in national reconstruction difficult. The Portuguese colonialists left us this heritage after five centuries of slavery, discrimination and obscurantism when it was not possible to train technicians and men capable of running and controlling every sector of national life.

This heritage is yet another crime to be added to the many others committed on Angolan soil, a crime that the Angolan people will remember in years to come.

Only the revolutionary steadfastness of the Angolan people supported by their allies and friends caused the withdrawal of the colonialists supported by international imperialism. These are the factors which will make possible the reconstruction and development of our country.

Africa found itself free from Portuguese colonialism when its last soldier left Angola. In this process, one could witness not only the liberation of peoples oppressed for centuries, but also a new attitude towards attempts at neo-colonisation. The progressive tide is growing and it is becoming increasingly difficult for imperialism to secure the docility of African peoples. The revolutionary nature of the armed struggle developed over more than a decade tempered the people to maintain an anti-imperialist attitude.

The Angolan people stand firm in their intransigent defence of independence. It was in these terms that we defined the content of our independence. Uniting the people in one broad anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist front, we are taking steps to consolidate independence so as to mobilise for the fight all patriotic social classes, all men and women in the country, regardless of colour, creed or political tendency.

The broad anti-imperialist front that the MPLA is, is the foundation upon which the entire structure of the People's Republic of Angola stands. The edifice of this Republic is being built on the revolutionary principles of the MPLA.

We are continuing the struggle, this time against imperialism and its lackeys, for national reconstruction.

Naturally, we have made certain options for the life of the nation, and we are obliged to organise People's Power on recognising the historical and revolutionary fact that there can be no independence without democracy, without the active participation in power of the workers and peasants — the classes most exploited during colonialism.

It was the workers and peasants who bore the brunt of colonial humiliation, who paid the highest price in hunger and poverty and who made the greatest sacrifices during the war for liberation from colonialism. We therefore judge it necessary for the workers and peasants to have the preponderant voice in the nation in the post-independence period.

The practical application of this prin-

principle will not be easy in a situation fraught with problems of every kind. But we are firmly convinced that in a fairly short time we shall see the People's Assembly constituted, with high legislative functions, composed of a majority of workers and peasants from all the provinces. The People's Assembly will lay down the orientation for our country. The revolutionary capacity of the people and the lessons to be learnt from our own experience and that of other peoples will make it possible to adopt measures which will gradually lead to a regime based on People's Democracy. The material factor is the foundation on which political progress is based. It is on agricultural and industrial development that social and political progress will be based and a new face created for the nation.

## Imperialist Illusions

In this connection, I must refer here to the illusions of certain imperialist countries which are thinking of using an economic boycott by developed western countries as an insurmountable obstacle for the young Angolan nation, even considering the vastness of our territory, the abundance of natural resources and the relative dependence, economically, of other African countries on Angola.

They forget the existence of our allies, the socialist countries, just as they have forgotten the lessons of Vietnam and Cuba in such a short time.

With the perseverance and realism which the armed struggle has given to the Angolan fighters, we shall build our economy to serve the interests of the nation, and we shall make defence support the guiding principles of our political, economic and ideological options.

At the same time, the Man born of this Republic, enjoying free education and medical care, will have to revive Angolan culture in broad terms, so that Africa's patrimony may be enriched with its various and brilliant forms of expression. We shall achieve true democracy, taking into consideration our concrete realities.



When we speak of our options, the enemy (and by the enemy I mean those who want to liquidate Angola) classify us in a given way.

We should like to state that this will not make us stop being what we are, and neither will it make us stop saying what we are. We have always had a clear program and we have always openly defined ourselves as progressive, certain that in so doing we are interpreting the wishes of a people conscious of their revolutionary objectives, conscious of the path to be followed to fulfil their deepest aspirations.

We believe in the principle that all peoples have the right to determine their lives and to choose the regime they want. We profoundly love the independence and democracy that our people want. Fulfilling the objectives of independence and democracy, desired by the Angolan people, establishing People's Power and orientating ourselves towards the constitution of a socialist society, the MPLA and the leading organs of the People's Republic of Angola constitute the legitimate and sole representative of our people.

We do not understand the incongruencies of African politics. At the last OAU meeting there was a clear victory for the progressive African trend. Despite all the attempts of intimidation and bribery by agents of imperialism, the African progressives clearly showed their defence of some of the Organisation's fundamental principles, such as the unequivocal condemnation of the invasion of Angolan territory by the South African racists, the condemnation of apartheid and South Africa's expansionism and the condemnation of the Angolan puppets grouped within the FNLA and UNITA.

This trend came into confrontation with another which forgot the statements and commitments adopted in the past, allying itself more or less clearly with South Africa, accepting the occupation of Namibia and accepting the use of Namibia as a base for attacking Angola. The reluctance to condemn the racist aggressor was not honourable for our continent. Nor the inability to define who is the enemy.

Of course, the progressive trend changed the conciliatory hesitations of the OAU and introduced a new kind of behaviour. Compromise is not possible when the enemy are establishing themselves in our territory. It is impossible to forget fundamental commitments in such a situation. The position of the People's Republic of Angola in Africa and the world is being consolidated and the process is becoming irreversible internationally, too, because of the cohesion of the progressive African forces.

African unity can only be understood when achieved on the basis of just principles. And within the OAU, if there is to be coherence, it must really be achieved in relation to the problems of liberation from neo-colonialism, racist expansionism and imperialism. Because the South African racists are enemies of Africa and of its peoples. Practising oppression and discrimination against about 20 million Africans, the white minority cannot in any way collaborate with other Africans except to exploit them. And

it is immoral that Africans should make alliances or remain neutral in the face of this problem. It is criminal that Africans should find themselves in the same political trenches as the racist minority or imperialism.

The only worthy attitude is to fight vigorously against the expansionist tendencies of the racists.

But, as is only natural, there is even more incoherence on the part of the reactionaries. Showing a lamentably paternalist attitude, they want to tell the Angolan people what kind of government suits us. Some countries, repeating a slogan of imperialism, are insisting on pressuring world and national opinion on the formation of a coalition government in Angola. This is a further sign of the capitulation of imperialism. These countries, which take their orders from imperialism, think they have the right to come and tell the Angolan people the solution which best suits them themselves, or rather which suits imperialism, when many of them are not capable of surviving in their own countries without transfusions from imperialism because the governments are not wanted by their own peoples.

## Drive out Racists

I wish to state here, before the esteemed delegates and guests, that we Angolans know what we want and the African paternalists should resign themselves to cooperating with us, respecting our independence and our options. As regards the government, the regime in Angola, only our people can say what suits them.

As for the South Africans, who already know of our determination not to permit the occupation of our national territory by any foreign force, we hope that they will not hesitate to withdraw completely from our territory. We cannot tolerate any foreigner trying to maintain himself in our country by force. Whatever sacrifices may be required, our people will drive out any invader.

As for what they call their interests—the interests they claim to be defending—our people do not know what these are. We have a vast terri-





tory rich in resources in which there are foreign companies operating. It is possible that there is South African participation in these companies. We have to see if there is. It is possible that the Portuguese colonialists introduced such South African interests into our country. But to claim to be defending interests by violating borders, occupying national territory and ignoring the legitimate government of the country where the interests are said to be, these are the procedures of gangsters.

If there were avowable interests, it is certain that the racist minority, with its habitual shamelessness, would have no hesitation in addressing itself to the legitimate government of Angola. The racists know that political power was not given to us by the Portuguese colonialists, their former allies. We had to wrest it at the cost of sacrifices. That is why we do not recognise interests resulting from commitments between colonialists and racists. All that the South Africans have to do is to withdraw from our territory and, with them, their puppets.

They do not have to use interests as a pretext for occupying our land. Similarly, and even before we had agreed on a ceasefire with the Portuguese colonial government an African country, Zaire, sent in elements of its regular army to support the FNLA in its attempt to achieve hegemony in Angola.

Several significant defeats should by now have convinced it of the uselessness of its war. Without popular support the Zairean regime fears the contagion of Angola's democratic orientation. But it wants easy outlets to the sea. It wants Angolan products to enrich its markets. Finally, it would like to transform Angola into a dependency of Zaire and subjugate the Angolan people to US imperialism.

Zaire has every interest in establishing relations of friendly cooperation with the government of the People's Republic of Angola. Our country would appreciate the establishment of normal relations with the neighbouring republic. But if this is to be, it is absolutely necessary that



**FAPLA combatants**

it withdraw from the war against our people. It is absolutely necessary that it does not try to interfere in our political life.

The Angolan and Zairean peoples could live together without war, so long as each is free to choose its own destiny and all relations are based on mutual respect.

Other neighbours need only respect the kind of life that our people intend to establish in our country for there to be normal relations, such as we shall be formalising with the People's Republic of Congo within a few hours. The principles enunciated are the basis of international relations which we respect.

Permit me, comrades, to emphasise another aspect of our national problem. As already stated, we receive fraternal aid from allied and friendly countries, from progressive organizations and even personalities throughout the world. Receiving or not receiving aid from other countries and establishing relations of cooperation with other countries and organisations or not is the prerogative of every sovereign state, and we the People's Republic of Angola, in accordance with the situation we face, are having recourse to allies and friends to help us to solve our problems.

24 However, some countries which deem

themselves masters of the world and of the destiny of men react to the decisions of an independent and sovereign country.

It is precisely those countries which assisted the colonialists during the first liberation war against Portuguese colonialism, which are invading our country, supplying arms to the puppets and recruiting mercenaries, which shows their desire to continue to dominate us by force. It is the governments of the United States of America, racist minority South Africa and certain countries of western Europe which are most active because of Angola's independence.

Their system of exploiting the people of other countries prevents them from understanding the need for all of them to be free.

### **Thank Socialist Countries**

Their opposition to the socialist camp, where the exploitation of man by man has ended, makes them tremble with fear at the thought that in Angola the independent people might also become an area which is inaccessible to the satisfaction of their excessive longing for profits, for easy wealth at the Angolan people's expense.

But we have a good experience of our relations with socialist countries. No ideological orientation was ever im-

sed on us. No compensation of a material nature was ever imposed for the help we receive. We have never seen them collaborating with our enemies. They have never tried to impose governments or solutions on us. They respect our people. And now the foundations are starting to be laid for cooperation at all levels, on the basis of the principles which guide international relations.

I avail myself of this opportunity on behalf of the Angolan people to thank the socialist countries which have given proof of unlimited internationalist solidarity.

We thank the Soviet Union, we thank Yugoslavia, we thank Cuba, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Vietnam and Mongolia. We thank them for the moral, political, military and technical help they have disinterestedly given us for winning our complete independence, for defending our territorial integrity and reconstructing our country.

We only regret that one socialist country still finds itself in the same trench as the enemy, in unnatural association with South Africans, Americans and their puppets.

Of course, we extend our thanks to the African countries and the support and solidarity organisations which support our peoples' just struggle.

We express our most profound gratitude to the various support committees in Italy, Holland, Portugal, Sweden and other countries in Europe which have constituted themselves as committees for the recognition of the PRA.

We thank the progressive and realistic forces in the United States of America which have helped to prevent a new criminal adventure by their government.

The peoples of Europe, Africa, America and Asia support us. Sooner or later, our Republic will have the esteem of the whole world.

We hope that we shall soon be able to add to the list of countries with which we cooperate, all those developed countries of all the continents



with which we are prepared to establish relations.

We do not have to account to anyone for our political actions except our people. And our people are determined to defend that right won through many years of struggle. If this desire is respected, cooperation is possible.

We affirm our full adherence to the policy of non-alignment. We have no intention — and this has not been asked of us either — to allow the establishment of military bases which are not strictly in the interests of our national defence. We do not have the slightest intention of involving ourselves in the differences between military blocs, although we are extremely interested in the limitation of strategic arms, in the policy of detente and the creation of

a climate of peace and confidence between all countries of the world.

I repeat here, we Angolans love independence, we love the democracy we were robbed of during colonialism. Neither one nor the other will be possible if we accept to blindly follow the policy of other countries. We are aware of this.

## Internationalist Duty

There should be no doubts as to the legitimacy of the People's Republic of Angola. It is the expression of the people's will daily manifested by the entire population, even in the areas still occupied by the enemy. This legitimacy makes the PRA a member of the OAU by right, and in a space of time it will of necessity be admitted into the world body — the UN.

It is high time the world knows the true feelings of our people about a certain deliberate confusion caused by some international circles.

There exists in Angola a single leading political organisation — the MPLA. There exists only one organised government which exercises power in accordance with the people's will. For our people, the puppet who sold out to the imperialists and racist minority cannot in any sense continue to be regarded as 'liberation movements'.

International organisations need only look at the facts and cease and stop creating ambiguities in relation to our country.

The OAU certainly cannot fail to take a correct attitude at the opportune moment which would mean withdrawing recognition from the organisations which have no expression in the country and serve imperialist and minority racist South African interests. The OAU will have to take into consideration the will of the Angolan people and the reality of the facts.

At the opportune time, the United Nations will take a similar attitude.

Therefore, comrade delegates and guests, this conference cannot fail to decide accordingly.

International solidarity will continue to be shown for our country and people. Of this we are certain.

International solidarity will also be one

of the principles to be laid down for our foreign policy. The Angolan people will not forget their internationalist duty.

We support unreservedly the peoples of Africa who are fighting for their independence against the racist minority, zionism and other forms of domination.

We shall thus be unsparing in our efforts to support the struggle of our comrades in Namibia, whose territory is occupied by the South African racists. We shall give support to the just cause of the millions of South Africans, victims of the discrimination and oppression of the white minority. We shall support the brother people of Zimbabwe, the Arab people of Palestine and the wishes of the people of western Sahara and other parts of Africa for freedom.

We shall always be at the side of the Latin American peoples, particularly the Chilean people.

We express our solidarity with the people of Korea who are longing to reunify their country, with the Democratic People's Republic of East Timor, and we hail the people of Laos for creating a Democratic Republic.

We are in solidarity with the black people of the United States of America, victims of racial discrimination and exploitation.

The PRA regards it as important to support the just struggle of all African peoples who are oppressed or exploited.

Comrades,

We have no doubts as to the nature of the decisions you are going to take, given the honourable tradition of solidarity that AAPSO has. Your decisions will stem from the theme proposed for this conference.

The decisions will be followed by action by each organisation, each in its zone of work.

We have tried to present to you some aspects of our concrete reality so as to provide factors making it possible for the irreversible victory already won to be consolidated and completely transform Angola into a zone of progress for our continent.

On 4 February, the day when we cele-

brate the 15th anniversary of the start of our armed struggle, our people will be honoured by your decisions. For the independence of Africa and Asia!!!

For the strengthening of Afro-Asian Solidarity!!!

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

Even in the face of its crucial military struggle against the fascist invaders of Angola, the MPLA has not backed down on its national development programme in the interest of the Angolan masses. Here, MPLA soldiers are seen helping out with the agricultural reconstruction of a liberated area. This is the pattern of MPLA activity in all liberated areas behind the war frontlines – socialist reconstruction everywhere





# Appeal to World Public Opinion

We the representatives of 80 countries and organizations participating in the Emergency International Conference called by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and held in Luanda capital of the People's Republic of Angola on February 2-4, 1976 are determined to rally mass support for the just struggle of the people of Angola and to make determined efforts to win recognition for the People's Republic of Angola as the legitimate representative of the Angolan people.

Fifteen years ago the people of Angola, after long years of struggle were forced to take up arms on February 4, 1961 under the leadership of the MPLA in order to achieve their independence and freedom.

When the banners of the new African state, the People's Republic of Angola, fluttered in the skies of Luanda on the night of November 10-11, 1975 all world progressive and democratic forces felt an overwhelming happiness at the triumph of the just cause of Angola. The People's Republic of Angola announced to the world at large from the very first moment of its independence the objectives and task of its new sovereign state.

The People's Republic of Angola proclaimed to the world at large its adherence to the Charters of the OAU and the UN and to the principles of non-alignment in defence of its legitimate interests and inalienable rights to national sovereignty. The People's Republic of Angola announced, as well, to the whole world its program for the liquidation of the heritage of colonial oppression and exploitation, the consolidation of the bases of its independence and the insurance of the social and democratic progress of its people. Such a revolutionary example was not to the liking of the imperialist forces who are intent on perpetrating the plunder of the natural resources of Angola. The imperialists are determined to hold back and reverse the revolutionary trend towards independence in the whole of Southern Africa.

The racist regime of South Africa backed by the CIA and dispatching its regular armed forces, and with the help of hired mercenaries from the Western countries as well as using local puppets that were prepared to accept its aims launched a new aggression against the young People's Republic of Angola.

With the aid from fraternal African states and the socialist countries particularly from the Soviet Union and Cuba the first vicious attacks were blunted and then thrown back. There is still a serious challenge to the vital interests of the peoples of Africa, for the imminent danger threatening the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola is at the same time a threat to the freedom and independence of the African continent and to the peace and security of the world.

It is most important that all peace loving forces the world over declare their all out support for the People's Republic of Angola so that peace and calm can be restored. The imperialist and reactionary forces must be forced to stop shedding the blood of this militant people. The new imperialist war waged against the people of Angola by the racist regime of South Africa and its patrons the imperialists must be brought to an immediate end.

We participants in the Emergency International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Angola and MPLA send out this appeal to all countries, national and international democratic organisations and peace forces the world over. We ask them to:

- Recognize the People's Republic of Angola under the banner of the MPLA and the leadership of President Augustinho Neto as the sole legitimate representative of the Angolan people and to urge all members of the OAU and the UN to immediately recognize the People's Republic of Angola.

- Expose and condemn the puppet factions (FNLA - UNITA and others) seeking to force Angola to submit to the schemes of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

- Mobilize people everywhere to extend immediate and effective support to the MPLA in the political, diplomatic, moral and material spheres. This would be an invaluable support, at this crucial stage, for the Angolan people who are persistently defending their unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty and consolidating their revolutionary gains.

- Intensify efforts exerted for fraternal aid in rebuilding the Angolan motherland and developing it economically, socially and culturally.

- To invite MPLA/PRA delegations to visit various countries especially among the Western, Asian and Latin American states in order to expound the situation in Angola.

- To launch vigorous campaigns by all progressive and peace loving forces particularly in Western Europe aimed at stopping recruiting mercenaries to Angola, extending military and other aid to FNLA and UNITA and supplying the South African apartheid regime with arms.

- Organize international conferences in solidarity with the Angolan people under the leadership of MPLA for the recognition of the new state of the People's Republic of Angola. In this context the participants welcome the initiative of the World Peace Council to hold such a conference in Stockholm in April.

- Setting up fronts in solidarity with Angola in countries where they are non-existent.

We participants in the Emergency International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Angola and MPLA direct this appeal to world public opinion, for it is now most opportune for the world progressive forces to have the final word.

# AFRICAN MAJORITY SUPPORT MPLA

## For the Peoples' Republic of Angola

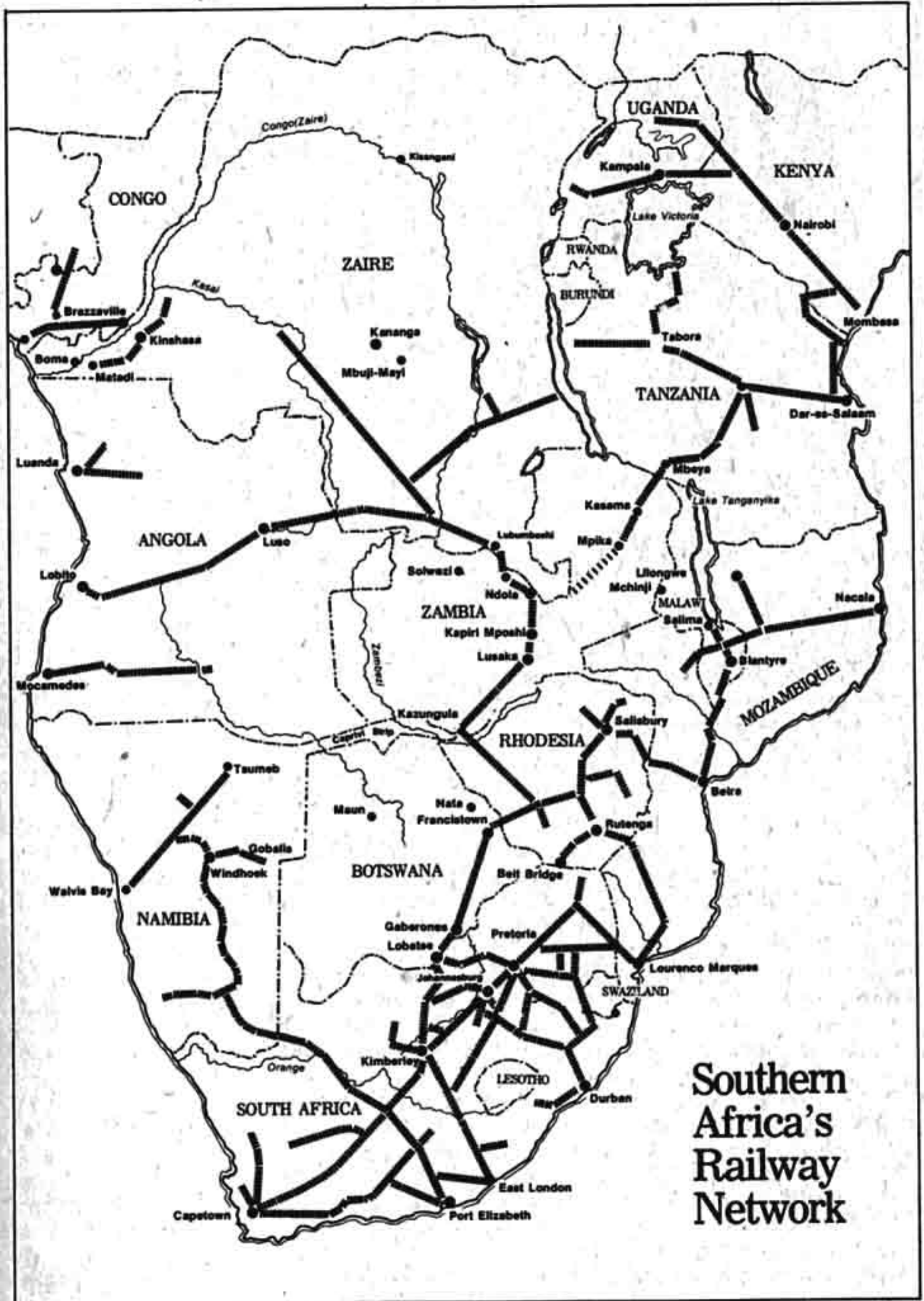
Algeria  
Burundi  
Cameroon  
Cape Verde Islands  
Comoro Islands  
Congo-Brazzaville  
Ghana  
Guinea  
Guinea-Bissau  
Equatorial Guinea  
Ethiopia  
Libya  
Madagascar  
Mali  
Mauritius  
Mozambique  
Niger  
Nigeria  
Sao Tome & Principe  
Tanzania  
Rep. of Benin  
Somalia  
Sudan  
Chad  
Sierra Leone

## Against\*

Botswana  
Egypt  
Gabon  
Gambia  
Ivory Coast  
Kenya  
Lesotho  
Liberia  
Malawi  
Morocco  
Mauritania  
Central African Republic  
Rwanda  
Senegal  
Swaziland  
Tunisia  
Togo  
Upper Volta  
Uganda  
Zaire  
Zambia

\* At the time of going to press, a large number of the countries who voted against the recognition of the People's Republic of Angola have changed their attitudes and the result is that PRA is a full member of the OAU





## Southern Africa's Railway Network

# PRETORIA IS A CANCER - Samora Machel

Extracts from a speech welcoming members of the OAU Liberation Committee which met at its 26th Ordinary Session in Mozambique in January 1976

This is not the first time that the Liberation Committee, through its representatives, treads our soil in the fulfilment of its grand task of liberating our continent.

In each of its visits, the Liberation Committee came to observe and bear witness to the greatest moments of our struggle, the advances of the liberation fight, which enabled it to know our real situation and thereby increase its moral and material assistance.

In May 1968 the Liberation Committee visited the liberated areas of Niassa Province at the time we were preparing FRELIMO's Second Congress which marked the beginning of a new phase of our armed struggle for national liberation.

In October, 1972, this time in the liberated zone of Cabo Delgado, your visit once again took place at an important

moment of our fight: the moment when we were launching a political, ideological and military offensive to repel enemy infiltration and subversion among us, an offensive which culminated in neutralizing the moral and physical agents of reaction and the intensification of our revolutionary vigilance. In September, 1974, once again the Liberation Committee was with us when the Transitional Government took office. On the 25th of June 1975 you came to share with us the exhilarating moments of the materialisation of our people's victory.

On this occasion we are honoured with the presence of the Liberation Committee which has come here to hold its 26th Ordinary Session. Welcome once again to Mozambique. We hope that your presence here by the Maputo River, at the boundary of liberated Africa, marks the beginning of a new liberation offensive.

The meeting of the Liberation Committee in the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique testifies to the expansion of the frontiers of African freedom and dignity; it expresses the determination of the African peoples to liquidate completely foreign domination; it reflects the balance of forces between us and the enemy.

Your presence marks the triumph of the sacrifices made by Africa and the progressive world which contributed to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism.

In receiving the Liberation Committee here we wish to reaffirm that the People's Republic of Mozambique, fruit of the Mozambican People's heroic and victorious struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism, undertakes to continue and assume completely its duty in the united fight of Africa and the World against foreign domination and exploitation on our Continent.

Portuguese colonialism, militarily defeated by our Peoples, has ceased to exist in Africa.

At this juncture we would like to pay heartfelt and respectful tribute to the memory of all those who, bearing the flaming torch of freedom and African independence, fell in the struggle against colonialism. We invite all those present to observe a minute of silence. The cause of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies triumphed be-

cause it was just and had the support of Africa and that of the progressive forces of the World. The peoples' enemies, colonialism and imperialism, are forced in desperation to acknowledge our common victory.

The victory of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Angola, East Timor, marks the beginning of a new phase in the liberation of the Peoples.

This meeting of the Liberation Committee in a country which won victory through armed liberation struggle, is the living affirmation of our continent's capacity to free itself completely.

In Africa colonialism has been dislodged from its positions. Popular resistance triumphed in the Comores and the Archipelago proclaimed its independence. Despite imperialist manoeuvres in the Seychelles and the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) the national independence process is in its final phase. The fight of the peoples of the Sahara has forced the colonial power to recognize the impossibility of classical colonial domination; this fight assures us that one day the People's aspirations will be fulfilled. We are in the final phase of the liquidation of the painful, humiliating and atrocious chapter of classical colonialism.

This, however, does not mean that the work of national liberation is over.

### **National Liberation**

National liberation is a process that starts with national resistance to foreign occupation and that only ends when all forms of imperialist domination have been finally liquidated.

National Liberation is the fight to win full political independence. National Liberation is the cultural fight to assert our African personality. National Liberation is the fight against the military presence of imperialist bases of aggression on our Continent. National Liberation is our countries' fight to recover the right to exploit our natural resources for our own benefit. National Liberation is the fight against imperialist economic order in international relations. National Liberation is the fight by all the peoples of our Continent to freely choose the political and economic order that best suits them. National Liberation is the affirmation of the



**William Eteki Mboumoua – Secretary General of the OAU**

right of each people to choose their own friends . . .

Such an understanding is fundamental to the determination of the true nature and forms of the domination that still exists on our continent.

With the fall of Portuguese colonialism and the anticipation of the imminent disappearance of the remaining classical colonial dominations, the racist regimes emerge as the last survivors of the classical forms of domination. However, behind them, imperialism, the permanent and principal enemy of all peoples, raises its head.

Faced with the development of the Continent's struggle and the successive fall of colonial regimes, imperialism finds itself obliged to identify itself increasingly and openly with the

Salisbury and Pretoria regimes, and at the same time tries to strengthen its military presence on the Continent in order to gain by occupation or intimidation, the political and economic submission of countries already independent. Thus, imperialism is forced to take off its mask, revealing before the eyes of the people its true nature as a direct enemy.

We can state that the present period is the period when people's struggles lead to confrontation with imperialism, the period when as imperialism, increases its aggression, it loses its footholds in Africa one after another.

Having lost its colonial intermediaries and knowing that the days of the racist regimes are numbered, imperialism attempts by all means to neutralise and topple popular regimes; the anti-imperialist regimes of Africa, that threaten it. Thus imperialism intensifies its subversive actions, corruption, blackmail, pressure and threats. By means of economic sabotage imperialism tries to create serious economic crises to make these regimes unstable. However, sensing the imminent loss of its positions of domination and exploitation, it does not hesitate to resort to brute force and open aggression.

### **Imperialist Aggression**

Imperialism attacks peoples, divides countries, installs puppet regimes, imposes its military bases that serve as permanent platforms of aggression against people's struggles.

Thus in 1947 it launched the war of aggression against the Arab Peoples and imposed the aggressive State of Israel in the zone. In 1949 it occupied the province of Taiwan in order to attack the People's Republic of China. In 1953, after brutal aggression, it imposed the puppet regime of Seoul against the people's achievement in the northern part of Korea. In 1954 the division of Vietnam was imposed, and in the southern part was installed the instrument of imperialist aggression.

Later, and continuing until the present day, we have witnessed the division of Cyprus, the criminal invasion of Laos, the violation of Cambodian sovereignty, attempts at the partitioning of Lebanon.

In Africa too, open acts of aggression are well-known. In the sixties Zaire,

then Congo-Leopoldville, was assaulted by imperialism in an attempt to block the process of installation of a popular government and to divide the country. Later, imperialism tried to dismember Nigeria by force, fomenting the secession of the Eastern Region. In 1972 the Republic of Guinea was the object of an invasion aimed at substituting the progressive regime of the Democratic Party of Guinea, by a regime subservient to foreign domination. Recently, the island of Mayotte has been forcibly occupied by France. Throughout the whole period of the colonial-imperialist wars of aggression against our people, South African and Rhodesian troops, as well as so-called foreign advisers, have been systematically used against our people. Throughout all this period there were constant acts of aggression against such countries as Tanzania, Zambia, Congo, Zaire, Guinea and Senegal, because they had defied the risks involved in showing solidarity with their neighbours.

Even today, there are constant and repeated acts of provocation by the minority and aggressive regime of Ian Smith on our frontier.

### **Permanent Allies**

The attempt to dismember the Comoro Archipelago, the occupation of parts of the Egyptian territory by Zionist forces, the South African invasion of Angola, are in fact manifestations of the same imperialist aggressiveness directed against the people's achievements and calculated to intimidate the masses and block their Liberation process.

In Southern Africa, imperialism, using its faithful Pretoria forces, which continue to dominate Namibia, intends by its occupation of Angola, to have at its disposal launching bases for the extension of its domination and exploitation in independent Africa.

Thus we consider that today more than ever there is an intimate and fundamental relationship, a permanent inter-dependence within the National Liberation process between independent countries and countries still under domination. The independent countries and the National Liberation Movements are permanent and equal allies.



**Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania (left) and Machel of Mozambique . . . two firm supporters of MPLA**

Let us be clear: Africa should either extend the frontiers of freedom or the forces of imperialism will enlarge their zone of subservience. So it is a question of not only resolutely supporting the liberation struggle, but also of intensifying the fight in our own States for the elimination of dependence on imperialism.

This is Africa's crucial fight. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that although our peoples are united in this fight, our States frequently express divergent views.

A few days ago in Addis Ababa we all confirmed that in the present phase some states are not in a position to condemn clearly and unambiguously Pretoria's aggression against Angola, against Africa. All of us saw too that these same States were not capable of condemning clearly and unambiguously, those Angolans who are collaborating with South Africa in its invasion.

Our own dignity and self-respect demand that just as yesterday we condemned Van Thieu in Vietnam, Lon Nol in Cambodia, Tchang Kai Chek in China, Tshombe in Africa, we should condemn those who now lead the troops of South Africa, the number-one enemy of Africa, to attack their own country and massacre their own people.

The emergence of two distinct political

lines in Addis Ababa enables our States to know each other better; it is a positive factor for the development of the people's struggle in Africa.

The heightening of the contradiction between the people and imperialism, the intensification of the battle between the people's interests and enemy interests, necessarily leads to different definitions of the enemy and a consequent reconsideration of alliances.

We maintain that any regime determines its opposition: a people's regime is opposed by reactionary forces on the national plane and by imperialism at international level; similarly, an exploitative and oppressive regime will have the national masses and all the world progressive forces, ranged against it.

The search for compromises with the enemy, the efforts to convince the enemy of our good will, the principle of not intensifying the struggle so the enemy can negotiate, manifest, in reality, the alliance between reactionary national classes and imperialism which lead to capitulation.

Africa fights against foreign bases. Africa resolutely opposes the continuation of imperialist bases of aggression in the Indian Ocean. Africa correctly understands that foreign military bases, the nuclearisation of its coasts, are a threat to its libera-

tion process, to its right to build a political, economic and social system that is best suited to the interests of its Peoples.

The definite elimination of the racist regimes and the remnants of colonialism depends on consistent anti-imperialist struggle on our continent...

### **Pseudo Movements**

For more effective support of the Liberation Movements, for the further mobilisation of the masses in countries still under foreign domination, for a faster development of the liberation struggle, it is imperative that the Liberation Committee intensify its action aimed at achieving real unity of the fighting forces.

This leads us to tackle with militant courage and to unambiguously analyse the problem of the proliferation of organisations claiming to be liberation movements.

Experience has shown us that whenever the Liberation Committee has proceeded to take correct options; whenever the Committee has dissociated itself from pseudo-movements; from marginal and opportunist organisations, the liberation struggle has developed harmoniously; the masses reinforced their unity against divisionist manoeuvres and Africa and her natural allies, the socialist countries have been able to channel their aid and intensify their contribution to the national liberation cause.

This is the Liberation Committee's experience in relation to Guinea Bissau and Cape-Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, The Comores, Namibia, the Seychelles.

On the other hand, when the Liberation Committee has been unable to make a clear and correct choice, we have found that this failure disrupts the liberation process through unrepresentative and ideologically feeble groupings. This is the reality behind Angola's tragic situation. We must be conscious of our responsibilities on this matter.

The proliferation of Liberation Movements only favours more effective divisive action by the enemy.

In proliferation the enemy will find those who, being ambitious, weak or

corrupt, are ready to join him in opposition to the people's interests.

Over and above this efforts to reconcile the movements we need a prior effort to analyse the nature, origin and significance of various Liberation Movements.

It is only when this is done that we shall be in a position to define the correct line to be followed: to recognise one single organisation to the exclusion of all others, or if it is justified, to make an effort towards reconciliation.

At present the intensification of the common struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa is essential.

### **The Racists Isolated**

Rhodesia is a British colony where a racist minority has usurped power and exercises it through the bayonet, with the active support of imperialism.

In the wake of Portugal's colonial defeat the racist regime is experiencing an isolation unprecedented in its history. The masses impetuously intensify the political battles for national independence.

The regime's reply to the people's demands is a brutal stepping-up of repression and increased machinations, while it increases its acts of provocations and aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and other neighbouring countries, in an attempt to expand the area of conflict, internationalise it and distract attention from its internal contradictions.

However, the Mozambican people will not be intimidated by provocations. We shall fulfill our internationalist duty towards the struggle of the



Zimbabwean people under any circumstances.

The colonial occupation of Namibia by racist South African domination, proceeds with a war of aggression against the Namibian people led by SWAPO.

In a desperate attempt to prevent the people's inevitable victory, the Pretoria regime has extended its criminal aggression to the People's Republic of Angola.

South African troops are now suffering humiliating reverses, the soldiers of arrogant racism are being shamefully defeated.

This attack has brought the broad masses of Angola in a battle against Pretoria and has now mobilised the peoples of Africa and the world angered by the South African regime's brutal aggression.

What is the enemy's strategy?

The Pretoria regime, with the support of imperialism, is conducting a campaign to divide Africa. Pretoria is a cancer trying to spread itself in independent Africa.

The dignity of the people's of Africa rejects Pretoria's policies; rejects any compromise. Compromise with the enemy gravely endangers our independence, our dignity and the emancipation of our Continent.

The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle that the Republic of South Africa be excluded from the community of nations in Africa and the world because of its inhuman policies and its aggression.

The People's Republic of Mozambique identifies itself with the struggle of the South African people of all races to build a truly democratic order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has the highest regard for the long and historic struggle of the African National Congress to unite, organise and mobilise South African people of all races in the fight to build a society with dignity and humanity, a new society...

### **Annihilate Imperialism**

The concept of African unity that existed until recently enabled us to develop the fight against classical forms of colonialism.

The victories achieved by the African



peoples forced the enemy to modify its strategy and tactics.

Thus a new challenge arises: Africa is called upon to intensify its unity for the present battle: the battle for the definite exclusion of imperialism from Africa; the battle to liberate Africa from foreign bases, from economic domination, from cultural subservience; the battle to impose a new international order.

This battle requires greater mobilisation of the masses; more than just inter-governmental union it requires a broad, popular, antiimperialist front. At this time begins the final annihilation of imperialism on our continent.

This front, this combat must necessarily involve our natural allies, the socialist countries, who constitute the liberated zone of mankind, and the world democratic forces which are operational detachments of our struggle.

Victory will be ours in the new confrontation. The peoples of Africa want to build their unity; unity founded on independence, freedom and a fitting social order.

We wish you success in your deliberations and a pleasant stay in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

LONG LIVE THE OAU!  
LONG LIVE UNITED AFRICA!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR  
NATIONAL LIBERATION!  
A LUTA CONTINUA!

# **No Change in South Africa**

**The following is an abridged version of a resolution on South Africa adopted at the 26th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee of the OAU, held in Mozambique, January 1976**

No fundamental changes have occurred in the apartheid system and the policy pursued by the Vorster regime in South Africa. Despite declarations of "peaceful intentions" the fact remains that oppression and exploitation of the black masses not only continues unabated, but have gained in intensity. Vorster's regime has redoubled its efforts in wooing independent African States and projecting the South African regime as a vehicle of meaningful change in Southern Africa. Meanwhile, the Pretoria regime has continued to reinforce its military potential and to check by force of arms the series of black workers strikes and boycotts.

The Executive Secretariat is in a position to assert that during the period under review both Movements recognised by the OAU - ANC and PAC - have shown an awareness of the obtaining developments in Southern Africa and have started seriously considering to bring about improvements both in their machinery and organisational activities. In doing so they are taking into consideration the fact that the distance between rear bases and South Africa borders have now been greatly narrowed and there are possibilities of a more dynamic contact between their external wings and the home front. They have stepped up their efforts for recruitment and training. Both Movements have submitted,

during the period under review, blue prints and discussed with the Secretariat concrete requests for assistance to implement projects of operational nature.

The Standing Committee may recall that during the last meeting in May, 1975, while allocating funds for material assistance to both Movements, the question was raised whether these allocations in the budget could translate in realities the growing demands and needs to upgrade the struggle in South Africa. It was then decided that should allocation for material assistance be exhausted, justified requests could be met from the donation fund.

The Pretoria regime has continued to build up its military potential and to develop its nuclear capability. The world-wide commented statement made by the French President Giscard d'Estaing, that France would halt the sale of arms, except naval ones, to South Africa does not conceal the fact that France has finished exporting the armament factories to racist South Africa and there is no longer the need to supply such weapons since they are manufactured in South Africa under French licence.

On the other hand, recent events have revealed the catalogue of the Federal Republic of Germany's clandestine and overt activities, as an active collaborator with the Pretoria



regime. The important study circulated by the "African National Congress" entitled "The Nuclear Conspiracy" and the documents published in October 1975, by Stern, Der Spiegel and the Observer, as stolen documents from the Pretoria Embassy in Bonn brought to the fore quite a number of details on the existing close co-operation between industrialists and scientists of the two countries in such a sensitive field as nuclear development.

These documents reveal that on September 11th, 1974, the South African State-owned Energy Supply Commission (ESCOM) placed an order with the West German firm, MAN, in Nuremberg for compressors to be used in the construction of a Uranium Enrichment Plant in South Africa. The construction of the plant is to begin in 1976 and will cost \$ 1,400 m. An auxiliary power station will have to be constructed at a cost of a further \$ 800 m. in order to provide energy for the process. These West German state-owned firms are participating in the project with the agreement and active encouragement of the Federal Government in Bonn:

- The State-owned Society for Nuclear Research

(GESELLSCHAFT FÜR KERNFORSCHUNG – KARLSRUHE)

- The State-controlled Company (STEAG-ESSEN)

- The State-controlled K.W.U. (KRAFTWERK UNION).

A uranium enrichment plant in South Africa cannot be seen only from economic consideration and should be assessed in political and military terms, the significance of which is emphasized by the clandestine manner in which the project has been developed. As Pretoria has refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and will be able to use the enrichment plant to produce fission material,



which is subject to no international control, several anti-apartheid organisations and solidarity groups throughout the world have denounced this shameful co-operation. The campaign led to the resignation of Lieutenant General Gunther Rall, West German NATO Representative, after the published documents revealed that the trip he made to South Africa last year were in connection with the nuclear projects with the full knowledge of Herr Georg Leber, the Bonn Minister of Defence.

As to the Federal Government, it continues maliciously to argue that officially there is no government-to-government co-operation on this matter and that South Africa is receiving the co-operation of commercial enterprises, while knowing well that the companies involved are state-controlled.

The fact remains that for the West German Government, South Africa is far too important a trade partner and Bonn is determined to go ahead with its policy of helping to strengthen apartheid in South Africa through trade and nuclear development co-operation.

# CONSPIRATORS EXPULSED

Official Statement  
by the  
African National  
Congress  
on the expulsion  
of certain members  
of the ANC

A small discredited conspiratorial group of dissidents, some of them formerly active in the African National Congress, and other splinter movements, have recently intensified their campaign of lies, slander and malicious distortions intended to cause disruption within the ranks of the African National Congress and create confusion and demoralisation among the oppressed people of South Africa and the world public.

Determined, at all costs, to attract public attention to themselves, they deliberately conspired to use the name of the late Robert Resha and the solemn ceremonies connected with his death and the unveiling of his tombstone for an outright and unprecedented attack on the African National Congress of South Africa, its policies and its leadership. The attack was carried under cover of a booklet ostensibly published in memory of the late Robert Resha. This action was the culmination of a persistent and prolonged treacherous and subversive campaign by some of the ringleaders of this faction.

The overwhelming majority of the members of the African National Congress of South Africa have, for a little less than a decade, been aware of the activities of some of the leaders of this faction, their arrogant defiance of decisions of the movement as well as their clandestine and futile attempts to discredit the organisation and its leadership.

Every effort was made to try and persuade these ring leaders to desist from their acts of subverting the struggle but the tolerance and constructive approach of the movement was mistaken for weakness on its part and rewarded by these conspirators

by an intensification on their part of attempts to sow division and confusion.

The mature silence of the organisation in public about the activities of the clique apparently made them shout their slanders louder and louder, and publish and distribute documents which challenged the very basis of the policies and decisions of our organisation. In fact from their clandestine meetings, mainly confined in the U. K., they proceeded to create an organised clique with a constitution contrary to the principles and policies of the ANC of South Africa.

It was clear that what the faction tried to exploit as a London or U. K. problem arising from the decisions of the 1969 Morogoro Conference was a mere subterfuge for their activities against the ANC as a whole, its policies and its leadership of the revolution in South Africa against the fascists and their allies.

Whilst proclaiming loyalty to the principles of the ANC they were in fact propagating by example, deeds, and words reckless defiance of the decisions and instructions of the organisation.

This is not surprising, two of the ring leaders of the faction, Ambrose Makiwane and Alfred Kgokong Mqota were suspended from the National Executive Committee for 6 months in 1969 for their factional and disruptive activities, and for defiance of the instructions of the organisation. They never abandoned their subversive campaign.

The roots of this clique therefore existed before the Morogoro Conference in 1969.

Consistent with their plan of sowing disloyalty and defiance among the

members of the ANC, the group decided on a campaign of not participating in the work of the African National Congress in the U.K. Their intention was to create a superficial crisis and stalemate which is so eloquently stated in their treacherous constitution.

When any person seriously and sincerely joins an organisation, particularly a national liberation organisation like the African National Congress of South Africa charged with leading the struggle against the fascist-racists and imperialists who plunder our country, he joins to PARTICIPATE in the struggle as a member of the organisation.

### **Disloyalty**

Because of the heavy sacrifices involved, imprisonment, arrest, torture, etc, nobody at any time has ever been compelled or conscripted into joining a revolutionary struggle. To say you are a member of an organisation but you do not want to participate in its activities is the height of disloyalty and dishonesty.

There are no sleeping partners in a national liberation struggle, history has proved this over and over again. As a member of the organisation there are basic rights and basic duties, the two are inextricably bound together.

One of the rights is to take part, within the channels and platforms of the organisation in the formulation of policy and decisions for the common objective, — the defeat of the enemy. One of the basic duties of any member is to carry out those decisions irrespective of whether he agrees with them or not, until such time that they are changed by the organisation — this is what DISCIPLINE means, and this is democracy in practice.

Members of this faction who boast that they were not participating in the activities of the ANC yet were loudly claiming to be members, in what were they participating, under whose discipline were they? Once more, the activities, composition, statements and documents of this clique

answer these questions clearly. They were basically anti-African National Congress of South Africa and its allies and anti-the South African Communist Party's members participating in the ANC.

These questions are not new to the ANC of South Africa and in due course we shall answer the questions as to who benefits by the emergence of a clique based on the slogans of racialism, anti-ANC and anti-Communism.

Let it be made abundantly clear that the policies of racialism and anti-communism have been and still are diametrically opposed to the policies, traditions and practices of the African National Congress of South Africa. Pieces of legislation of the racist regime of South Africa like the "Suppression of Communism Act" was not only vigorously opposed by the ANC in 1950 but it never in any way deterred or changed the policy of the ANC regarding communism or its communist members and leaders. There certainly will never be an endorsement of "the suppression" of communists within the ANC.

Indeed the lengthy Treason Trial involving people of all racial groups in our country charged with a communist-inspired conspiracy based on the Freedom Charter to overthrow the fascist Government did not in anyway result in a call for the review of the ANC's policies. On the contrary it fortified these policies. The abusive word that the ANC has become a "front" of the communists is a word borrowed by the clique from the most reactionary sources and enemies of our people inside and outside the country. It will continue to be used by those who try to discredit the ANC and subvert the struggle of our people.

What is even more treacherous is that this campaign has as an objective the isolation of the ANC from its natural and dedicated allies inside the country and throughout the world. This campaign is being carried out against the ANC of South Africa which, in its struggle, has to face a

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concentration of imperialist power greater than anywhere else on the African continent.

It now becomes clear why the behaviour and activities of the Mqota-Makiwane group has received wide and thorough coverage in the South African and imperialist press. The enemy press and radio have blown the so-called 'divisions' in the ANC out of all imaginable proportions for their own propaganda ends.

The oppressor regime of Vorster has always tried to split the National Liberation Movement on ideological and other grounds — using as its main instrument the weapon of anti-communism, racial prejudice, black chauvinism and tribalism.

Added to that, the enemy press has seized the emergence of this faction for sowing the seeds of pessimism and lack of confidence among the liberation ranks and the people in the victory of the South African revolution. Indeed the emergence of this group has been welcome to the enemy especially at this stage of the development of our struggle because it also has the effect of diverting the attention and energies of the people from their main task — the prosecution of the revolution.

In all revolutions, defeated and counter-revolutionary elements resort to the Mqota-Makiwane method, and ultimately club together with the enemy. For example, it has already leaked out that this "ultra black" faction has made contacts with the Bantustan leaders with the aim of going back and working under the Bantustan leaders. They are already attacking what they call "non-Africans", and are indirectly portraying themselves as the Bantus — a concept that is in full accord with the enemy's policies.

### **Resolute Action**

In all revolutionary movements, such trends and tendencies sooner or later fall prey to the manipulations and intrigues of international imperialism and its agencies. What is taking place now in Angola has made it abundantly clear whose interests the counter-revolutionary and neo-colonial forces in

that country are serving. It is precisely for this reason that the MPLA, the true spokesman and defender of the true interests of the broad masses of Angola is being bombarded and attacked on all fronts by reactionary and imperialist forces. We do not expect the South Africa Revolution to be an exception to such stages of development because they occur in all revolutions. What is needed is vigilance, firmness, and resolute action against such manifestations before they take firm roots and cause serious harm to the cause of the revolution.

The policies of 'divide and rule' have always been and are still being used by all oppressor regimes and imperialist circles.

In South Africa, as a matter of state policy, the white supremacists have also sought to give the Coloured and Indian people a stake in white domination by allowing them some preferential treatment as well as injecting them with notions of superiority over the African people.

This was destined to prepare a basis for the recruitment of Coloured and Indian people to the side of the White supremacists, should the need arise, — as it inevitably will, when the White oppressor nation alone can no longer withstand the onslaught of the oppressed masses.

It is therefore natural that such a society, based on racial privilege and exclusiveness should give birth to feelings of hostility on the part of the most oppressed and the most exploited section of the population, the African majority, towards all privileged sections of the population.

### **Vanguard**

The ANC, as a vanguard organisation, the mobiliser, organiser and guide of our people, has had to contend with this situation for decades.

It has approached it in both a serious-minded and revolutionary manner. It has recognised the need and worked for the strongest possible revolutionary links among all the black oppressed people, for the isolation of the white oppressor nation. This is a prin-

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principal task to which, to this day, the ANC pays and needs must pay maximum attention. It is not and can never be a revolutionary approach to seek to isolate ourselves from any actual or potential allies in the struggle for the liberation of our country. This is particularly so with respect to other nationalities in South Africa who are themselves oppressed, whatever slight privileges they may enjoy at the enemy's pleasure.

As a serious-minded, revolutionary organisation, the ANC further, does not believe that the unity of the whole white population as an oppressor nation is either natural or permanent. Neither does the ANC believe that unity is both forced and transient. As the struggle intensifies, the correctness of this position will be amply demonstrated.

For us, now, it remains a constant task to win over to our side all those whites who recognise the injustice of extreme national oppression in our country and are prepared to fight for its destruction, however primitive the level of that recognition and however timid that preparedness. It can never be a revolutionary approach on our part to seek to increase the cohesion and to raise the level of unity of the enemy. It is a revolutionary approach, rather, to seek to divide him, to win over to our side whatever sections are prepared to come over to us, to neutralise those that we can and to fight the rest without giving in an inch until we emerge victorious over them; until we impose democracy and liberation over the die-hard forces of racism and reaction.

In its organisational work, the ANC observes the principle of democratic centralism, taking into account the conditions imposed by the exigencies of underground work. This principle requires, among other things, that once policy has been decided, the minority must abide by the decisions adopted on the basis of the views of the majority. It also recognises the subordination of lower organs to the higher, — in our case, the subordination of other organs to the National Executive Committee. It further recognises the right

and duty of all members at periodic intervals to participate in the review of work and formulation of policy.

Yet under the guise of "restoring international democracy" in the ANC, the anti-ANC clique constituted itself as an independent organisation within the ANC, and refused to subordinate itself to the decisions or to recognise the authority of the ANC.

### Conferences Held

Over the last 10 years, the National Executive Committee of the ANC has sought and obtained the guidance of the broad membership through conferences attended by delegates drawn from all levels of the organisation and reflecting different shades of opinion on issues affecting the struggle.

Members of the Mqota-Makiwane clique have either participated in, or if they did not, voluntarily stayed away from these conferences. Invariably, however, these meetings were a great success and the resolutions were un-animously adopted.

This has enraged the Mqota-Makiwane clique to such an extent that it has begun to denounce these meetings as "bogus conferences". This, of course, was to be expected as these conferences consistently re-affirmed the political and organisational unity of the ANC, that accounts therefore for the alacrity with which Radio South Africa sprang to the defence of this clique.

The ring leaders of the faction were each called upon to denounce the treacherous activities in which they participated or to face expulsion from the organisation. Alfred Kgokong Mqota, George Mbele, Ambrose Makiwane, Jonas Matlou, Tennyson Makiwane, O. K. Setlapelo, Pascal Ngakane, and Thami Bonga have categorically and arrogantly refused to denounce their counter-revolutionary activities and are now busy intensifying their anti-ANC activities.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC hereby declares that these traitors stand expelled from the African National Congress of South Africa.

# ROME-PRETORIA AXIS

**Italy's diplomatic, economic and military involvement in apartheid. This article was prepared for Sechaba by LIBERAZIONE E SVILUPPO, a support organisation for liberation movements in Italy.**

The links of South African economy with the other western economies and the direct control exerted by some multinational corporations on the most important sectors of the South African economy are well known.

The political, diplomatic and military support the South African regime has received, and still receives from American, British, French, German and Italian governments is also well known. These governments have always considered the South African regime as a precious ally, from a strategic, economic and political point of view. The weekly magazine U. S. News and World Reports (Sept. 7, 1970), while describing South Africa as a "second Gibraltar", summarized this by saying that "in the entire region from Australia to South America, South Africa is the only fixed point offering the advantages of a naval base, together with a stable industry and government".

It is then understandable the great interest and favour that the announcement of so-called detente by the South African regime has aroused among some western circles. The new policy seemed to be the right answer to the new situation, after the victorious conclusion of the struggle of the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique. Its objectives clearly appear to be the continuation of Apartheid, the balkanization of the country and the breakup of African unity. The new policy has been recently denounced and rejected by the African States at the special OAU meeting in Dar-es-Salaam (8-10 April, 1975), but has not yet been dismissed by Vorster, who appears to consider it as viable and, from his point of view, the only viable

solution. As far as the western countries are concerned, Vorster, through a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign, tries to create an improved international opinion of the South African regime, speculating on its pretended "good will" towards the Africans and pointing out the "reasonableness" of the proposed settlement in Rhodesia and the solution of the "South African Problem". However, the racist regime's invasion of Angola has exposed Vorster's intention on the continent and has created further opposition (despite the recent OAU failure to find an agreed resolution on Angola) to the regime and its policies, both domestic and international. Despite this set-back for Vorster's policy of detente, some Western Governments continue to inspire and sponsor this discredited policy. It is therefore of the greatest importance, now, to denounce once and for all western involvement with the racist South Africa and the South African regime internationally while calling for international solidarity for the South African people and their struggle for freedom and national independence. Although Italy is not a major power, Italian governments have their own heavy responsibilities towards South African people. Diplomatic relations with racist South Africa have always been excellent. At the United Nations Italy never has so far taken any position in favour of the oppressed people of South Africa, always voting against or abstaining on issues such as the condemnation of the Bantustan policy and the right of Namibian people to self-determination and independence.

## **Remarkable Result**

Italy has a large diplomatic staff in South Africa: a Consul General in Johannesburg and Consuls in Cape Town and in Durban, honorary Consuls in Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein; a Commercial Counsellor attached to the Italian Embassy in Pre-

toria and a vice-Consul in charge of trade relations in Johannesburg.

South African diplomatic staff in Italy is equally large: a Consul General in Milan, a Consul in Trieste, a vice-Consul for trade relations in Milan; naval and air attaches at the embassy in Rome. There are also Information Offices and Immigration Offices in Rome and in Milan.

Three magazines — 'Settimana Sudafricana, Sudafrica ieri, oggi e domani', 'Panorama' are published in Italian and distributed free of charge; propaganda documentary films are also distributed freely. The success of the Immigration Offices can be measured by the fact that in 1972 44,000 Italians were living in South Africa, compared with 15,000 in the early sixties. Although the flow of Italian immigration has decreased in recent years, it has been substantial, and ranks fourth after British, Portuguese, German and Dutch immigration.

The most remarkable result achieved by this powerful diplomatic network has been the growth of economic relations between Italy and South Africa.

Delegations of businessmen have in-

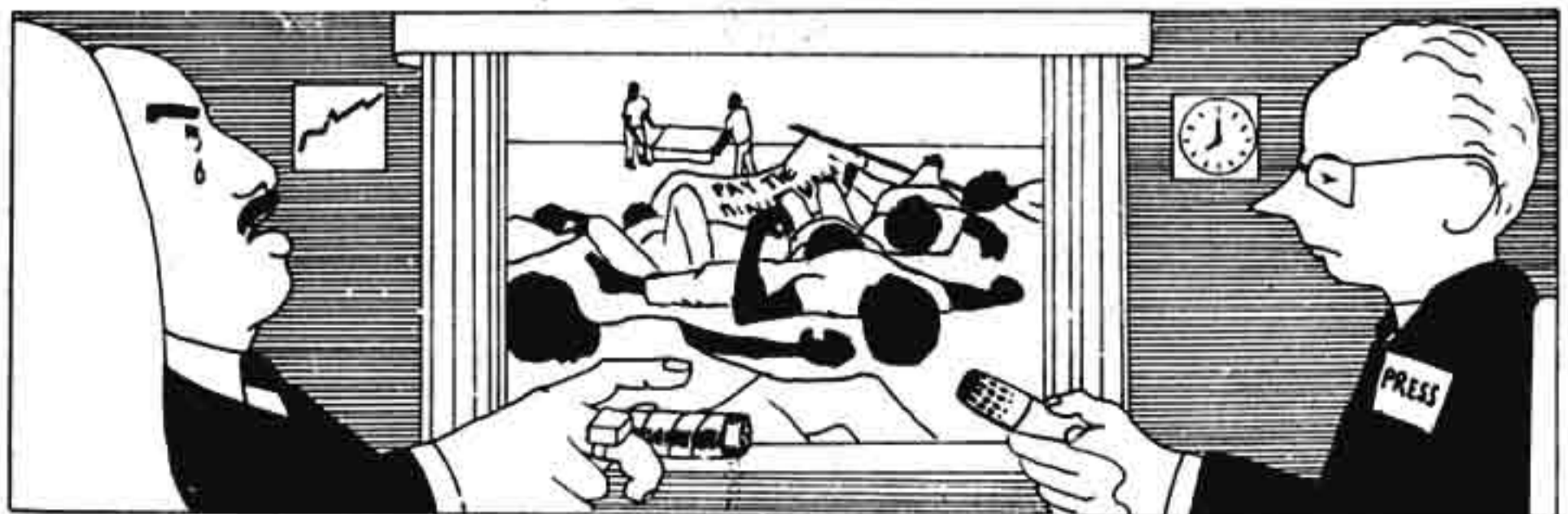
tensified their visits in both directions. A special Italian-South African Chamber of Commerce was established in 1960, with offices in Milan and Cape Town. South Africa takes part in the Milan Trade Fair. In August 1972 the South African Minister of Finance was even conferred an Italian honour for promoting good relationships between Italy and South Africa. As a result, South Africa is now the second African trading partner of Italy, and Italy is the fifth trading partner of South Africa, following Great Britain, West Germany, U.S.A. and Japan. Italian exports to South Africa include vehicles (Fiat holds the second position after British exporters), calculating machines (Olivetti Africa Pty, the South African branch of Olivetti is the largest seller in the country), textiles and clothing, electronics (SGS, Microtecnica, Ates (IRI), Selenia (IRI) are the main firms involved). South African exports to Italy mainly are: mineral products and metals, leather and skins, textile fibres, and agricultural products.

### Imports Coal

Recently the Italian financial press



"I am calling on you to deal with this situation."



"How could such a tragedy happen?"

reported on what is said to be the biggest IMPORT-EXPORT deal between a South African and a foreign corporation: it is worth 54 billion Liras, and concerns the sale of South African coal by the South Cape Corporation to the Italian EFIM. EFIM is a state-owned holding, as is IRI, and this obviously makes the Italian government's involvement in apartheid almost total.

Italian contractors are active inside South Africa: in the building of infrastructures. Cogefar and Dipents of Rome took part in the Orange Fish Tunnel project. Snam Progetti, which is controlled by ENI, (a state-owned holding) has recently completed the pipeline between Richards Bay and the Reef. Marelli, through Powerlines, cooperates with ESCOM, the state agency for electricity, in building several powerlines.

Italian corporations have also direct investments in South Africa. Agip, the Italian state-owned oil corporation, has established Agip Petroleum Company in Johannesburg, and intends to carry out prospecting for oil; in a joint venture with Petrocol it has also established Agip Lubricants, and in 1974 began to produce, refine and distribute lubricants, grease and petrol.

### **Cheap Labour**

Fiat in 1968 invested more than 8 million Rand in a new factory at Roslyn, near Pretoria, for vehicles and spare parts. In 1972, Alfa Romeo (which belongs to the IRI group) built a factory worth 10 million Rand for the production of spare parts, a large number of which are exported back to Italy where labour costs are 30—40% higher. Just another confirmation that what makes investments in South Africa so attractive is the exploitation of very cheap manpower, thanks to the bloody suppression of the Black South African workers and their trade union organisations.

These economic activities are backed by substantial financial aid. Italian banks and financial institutions, either directly, or in some form of international partnership, grant loans which provide the financial background for further investments, contracts, trading

agreements. Not all of these financial operations are disclosed to the public, but few examples are available. In 1965 IMI (a public institution) granted a three-years 7 million Rand loan to the South African Industrial Development Corporation. Banco di Roma took part in international consortia which in March 1973 granted a 100 million D Mark loan to the South African Railways, and in August 1973 another 13 million US-dollar three-years loan to the South African Department of Posts and Telegraphs. Banca Commerciale Italiana has been involved in similar operation since 1970. The responsibilities of Italian government in continuing and increasing its economic relations with South Africa have been denounced many times, but with little effect. It is clear that the Italian authorities have little intention to exert any control whatever.

But this is not surprising: trade with South Africa is profitable, and investments in South Africa are profitable as well, due to South Africa's cheap labour policy based on the super exploitation of the Black working people.

### **Armaments**

The logic of profits triumph as far as the sales of arms are concerned. It is notorious that Italian arm producers have greatly contributed to the South African military build-up since the sixties. When Ambassador Ogbu, while he was Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, asked a responsible member of the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry about this issue, he was answered that Italy strictly observes UN arms embargo against South Africa, but the Italian authorities are not able to control all private deals concerning arms. However, the press (*Corriere della Sera*, Sept. 14, 1974) reported that the Foreign Affairs Ministry has never strictly enforced the arms embargo, and has instead used a "flexible" and "responsible" system, investigating every single case. The result of this so-called investigations show that the South African Air Force are now equipped with 18 Piaggio P.166 light planes; with 20 Aermacchi-Lockheed 60 transports built in Italy under US licence, and with at least 216 Aermacchi MB 326, an armed trainer plane





**SOWETO**

particularly suitable for counter-guerilla activities. The first MB 326 were exported from Italy in 1967. They are now produced under licence in South Africa, with accompanying parts and assistance, by Atlas Aircraft Co. The MB 326 has been renamed "Impala". The South African Air Force also have fifty MB 326 K, the more modern version of MB 326, part of which have been imported from Italy in 1974, and part assembled in South Africa. They are equipped with Rolls-Royce engines, built under licence in Italy by Piaggio. Finally forty Aerfer-Aermacchi AM 3 C have been imported in 1973 from Italy. These small, highly manoeuvrable single engine propelled planes, which can carry up to 340 Kilos of bombs and rockets, complete the already well equipped South African counter-guerilla air weaponry which appears to be almost entirely of Italian origin. This is certainly the greatest contribution from Italy to the South African military build-up and the fact that the planes are officially considered "trainers" cannot disguise the reality of their actual use: internal suppression.

### **Opposition**

In Opposition to the reactionary role of the Italian authorities, democrats, workers, and public opinion generally have been increasing their understanding of the South African situation. Political parties, trade

unions, democratic organisations and sections of the press are increasingly sensitive to the situation in South Africa and to its future developments. There is growing solidarity with the South African people's struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism. As a number of debates, conferences, public meetings, demonstrations show, there are large democratic forces mobilized in support for South African people and for the African National Congress. It has been possible to start a successful campaign to cancel racist sport tours of Italy. A few years ago the workers at the Brescia arms factories stopped production when they knew that arms were to be sent to Mozambique. At about the same time, Genuan dockers' blocked attempts to embark mercenaries to South Africa and Mozambique. Italian workers' political awareness and internationalist solidarity has indeed proved to be the most important and genuine source of support to the South African people's struggle. A general campaign for material and technical assistance to the ANC and to the just struggle of South African people has been recently launched among the workers' and democratic organisations. In reply to an ANC representative who thanked the workers for this concrete aid, a worker said: "You must not thank us. We are not in support of your struggle. We are part of it".

# Multinational Corporations and the Perpetuation of Apartheid

Paper Prepared by:

African National Congress of South Africa (Toronto Committee)  
for the World Conference on Multinational Corporations,  
held in Toronto, November 14—16, 1975

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The South African economy is characterized first by a high rate of growth, second by an all too obvious wage discrepancy between blacks and whites; and third by a steady declining standard of living, in real terms, for all black workers. Such is the reality of **apartheid**, or separate development. As far back as 1953, both the United Nations, and International Labour Organization described apartheid as "a system of forced labour of significance to the national economy..." (1). Even Prime Minister Voster admitted as much, when he addressed the House of Assembly on 24 April 1968: "It is true that there are blacks working for us. They will continue to work for us for generations, in spite of the ideal that we have to separate them completely... The fact of the matter is this; we need them because they work for us... But the fact they work for us can never entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, nor in the future... under no circumstances." (2).

In order to maintain and reproduce this system (thereby not only fostering capitalist development but also a climate extremely conducive to foreign — profit-making), the state has first acted directly through laws enacted specifically for this purpose and second, has utilized the might of its repressive

apparatus to implement these laws. Accordingly, the following brief analysis of "key" laws will indicate the manner in which a cheap labour pool is legislated into existence:

#### ● The Pass Laws:

The first pass laws were introduced by the British in 1806. (3). In 1952, Dr. Verwoed's new law — Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act — did not abolish, but extended the pass system, making it compulsory for women to carry passes as well. The pass system, enables the labour bureau to completely regulate the distribution of African labour for the state, and to ship any "surplus" labour back to the reserves. This system in other words, is the "key to apartheid" (4).

#### ● Laws which Control Movement of Blacks:

The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, is designed so as to govern the entire existence of Africans in the towns. Its purpose is to control the influx of Africans into urban areas, to set apart areas for their accommodation, to direct their labour, and to impose strict regulations for their control and movement. In simpler terms, it provides industry with a cheap source of black labour, without giving blacks the right to acquire residential, social and other rights in the areas

where they are employed. (5). Its "scope" has become clear, given the number of Africans who have been prosecuted for violating its conditions — 1,019,628 in 1969; an average of 2,800 prosecutions per day.

● **The Bantu Labour Act and Bantu Administrations Act:**

The first act regulates the recruitment, employment, accommodation, feeding and health conditions of African labourers in the mining industry. (6)

The second act, once again ensures the survival of a system of controlling the employment of 'tribal' Africans, so that their labour is directed to satisfying the needs of white employers, and simultaneously fit the apartheid schemes of a government obsessed with racialism. (7).

● **Numerous other acts:**

The basic instruments of discrimination and ensuring low wages to black workers and above average (in world terms) profit returns for industry are: The Industrial Conciliation Act; The Bantu (Settlements of Disputes) Act, The Bantu Labour Regulations Act, and the Suppression of Communism

Act. The essential features of these acts include:

— African trade unions are barred from legal recognition and legal rights.

— Strikes by African workers are illegal, and punishable by a fine of up to \$ 1,400, or three years in prison.

— Breaches of contracts by African workers are criminal offences.

— African workers are prohibited from membership in registered trade unions.

— African workers are excluded from the negotiation of industrial agreements which may be applicable. (8)

The education system is also designed to serve the stated ends. Education for blacks is not only segregated, but grossly inferior to that given to whites. The various ministers of Native Affairs have repeatedly claimed that blacks have to be taught that "equality with Europeans is not for them", consequently, as former Prime Minister Verwoerd noted, "It is therefore necessary that education be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state." (9)

**Slums like these are common sight throughout the whole of South Africa**



Thus, the government set up an inferior education system for Africans. Consequently in 1969, out of a total black school population of 2.5 million, less than 2,000 reached secondary matriculation, and no more than 200 graduated from university. (10). In addition, annual education expenditure per head of population averaged \$ 422 for whites, \$ 180 for coloured and \$ 36 for Africans. (11). Thus, through conscious manipulation of the educational system, the government has *ipso facto*, reserved unskilled jobs for the black people.

As has been noted above, Africans have been denied the right to take part in collective bargaining. This results in a "multi-tiered" wage system. (12)

A)

Economic Sector	White	Col.	Ind.	Afr.
Mining	R 282	R 59	R 70	R 17
Construction	R 255	R 100	R 125	R 43
Manufacturing	R 244	R 62	R 66	R 46
Public Service	R 149	R 52	R 66	R 23

B)

	Afr.	Whites	Col./Ind.
% of total pop.	68 %	19.2 %	12.8 %
% of all income	18.8 %	74 %	7.2 %

monthly per capita income	\$ 9.80	\$ 1.33	-
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Looking at these discrepancies over time, the *Financial Times*, London (May 12, 1970) noted that "... in real terms the cash earnings of black miners in 1966 were no higher, and possibly even lower than they were in 1911." (13).

## Migrant Labour

In the early years of industrialization, in South Africa, it should be noted, the super-exploitation of African (migrant) labour (through the granting of less than subsistence wages) enabled the capitalist sector to "secure an increased rate of surplus value", thereby making the South African economy extremely attractive to foreign investment. This was made possible because of the nature of the relationship between the industrialized capitalist

sector of the economy and the African reserves (later to be named Bantustans). According to H. Wolpe: "when the migrant-labourer has access to means subsistence, outside the capitalist sector, as he does in South Africa, then the relationship between wages and the cost of production and reproduction of labour-power is changed. That is to say, capital is able to pay the worker **below** the cost of his reproduction. In the first place, since in determining the level of wages necessary for the subsistence of the migrant worker and his family, account is taken of the fact that the family is supported, to some extent, from the product of agricultural production in the Reserves, it becomes possible to fix wages at the level of subsistence of the individual worker..." (14). This is further facilitated by the objective fact that in the Reserves, the extended families were to fulfill important "social security" functions "necessary for the reproduction of the migrant work force." These families then relieve the capitalist sector of its duty to provide these necessary and basic functions, thereby merely increasing the profit levels.

The above presupposes that a particular mode of organizing the economy in the Reserves exists such that production is carried on along "pre-capitalist" lines and that the product is directly available to the migrant labourer. Thus, through the policy of segregation (the precursor to Apartheid) the State attempted to preserve not only the pre-capitalist economies of the Reserves, but also to maintain "the social system of the African societies in order to ensure that these societies provided portion of the means of production of the migrant working-class." (15) It had to guarantee that a rough equilibrium existed between production, distribution and obligation on the Reserves, such that production (on the Reserves) plus wages (earned by the migrant labourer) would be sufficient (given an historically determined need) to ensure the reproduction of migrant labour, while at the same time, social obligation would ensure the appropriate distribution.

Soon however, conditions of production on the Reserves worsened

A COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC PRIORITIES REPORT STATES THAT INCREASING "U.S. CORPORATE ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SUPPORTS APARTHEID ..."



(through a lack of capital investment in land and the non-introduction of necessary technical innovation, given an increase in population) and agricultural production declined. Therefore, the contribution made by the Reserves to the subsistence of the worker declines thereby directly threatening to reduce the rate of surplus value and the level of profits. (16).

### Bantustans

To counter this threat, the state had to introduce new mechanisms, ideological, coercive and legislative. The result as we already discussed has been the direct intervention of the state through laws to reproduce the system of cheap labour, in a new form. Thus in the economic sphere we have laws to prevent African trade unions, and laws to help the state control influx of labour. In the ideological sphere we have Bantu Education, and in the political sphere we have not only the banning of the legitimate representative of the people — the African National Congress of S. A., but also the "creation" of Bantustans. The Bantustans can then be seen (in its ancillary relationship to the industrial sector of the South African economy) as an inexpensive method of control which the white government hopes would be acceptable to the vast majority of the African population. However, as the United Nations, Unit on Apartheid correctly notes: "In theory the Bantustans are supposed to become viable and independent states where the

African will enjoy his separate freedom. In practice, the homelands are little more than a chain of labour reservoirs to which the "white" areas will send requisition orders for labour. This is certainly of the new labour regulations which require all Africans between the ages of 15—65 to register with a tribal labour bureau, meanwhile the reserves are bearing the consequences of the policy of dividing the economy into the industrial and the prosperous sector and the dumping ground for surplus labour. As the surplus is being deposited there, so the prospects of the Bantustans will grow ever more grim." (17) Before going on to discuss the manner in which foreign investment in general and multinational corporations (hereafter referred to as MNCs) in particular have attempted to work within the above outlined frame work (to secure the highest levels of profit possible), let us briefly outline several basic factors, built into the system that make the development of the Bantustans totally unfeasible: (18)

- the unequal division of land between blacks and whites (the latter controlling 87% of the land which includes all the rich farm land and all the industrialized sectors of the economy);
- the fact that the homelands between them contribute 2% of the gross domestic product; (19)
- the fact that the infrastructure for development is almost totally absent;
- the division of homelands into separate and fragmental regions deepens their nonviability;

- the fact that all the planning and execution of development is in the hands of the white-dominated, white-run state;
- the fact that development is conceived as something the Africans, the poorest segment of the population, must achieve for themselves;
- the fact that for all the claims of Bantu self-government being instituted, the Bantu authorities are constituted as political dependencies of the South African government. (20).

Separate development through the Bantustan scheme then, is not a solution acceptable either to the national liberation movement (ANC) or to the majority of black people in South Africa. It does however, serve both directly and indirectly the interests of the Apartheid state structure and foreign investors in that country.

#### **The Impact of Investments in South Africa:**

The year 1960 represented a major watershed for the politico-economic stability of South Africa. Prior to 1960, South Africa was noted primarily for its mineral production (gold, diamonds etc.), and the bulk of foreign investment was directed to that particular sector of the economy. According to an important United Nations study on foreign investments in South Africa, "foreign capital flows have played an important role in South Africa's economy since the beginning of the mining boom in the last century. During the first decade after the second world war, the rapidly growing economy was financed to a considerable degree by a steady inflow of foreign capital. For the period 1946—50, the average net inflow of capital (excluding undistributed profits of foreign owned shares) amounted to an equivalent of almost two fifths of gross domestic investment... Towards the close of the 1950s, net capital imports continued to taper off. South Africa actually recorded a net outflow of capital in 1957 and 1959..." (21).

In 1956 for example 37% of the total foreign investment in South Africa was in the mining sector, while, 25% went into the manufacturing sector, by 1961 the gap had narrowed and the respective were 33% and 26% (22). In March

1960, the South African economy was thrown into a monumental tailspin—following the Sharpsville-Langa massacres. In anticipation of a collapse of the Nationalist regime, foreign capital began flowing out of the country—\$ 225 million in the months after March 1960, in addition foreign investment in the economy was sharply curtailed (23). Characteristically, it was the United States, and U. S. based corporations which came to the aid of the South African economy. As we noted in a previous issue of *Sechaba*, the United States, by pouring gigantic sums of money into South Africa, helped restore the confidence of overseas investors, following the Sharpsville crisis, when South African foreign reserves had fallen to their lowest in years. In 1960, direct U. S. investments in South Africa amounted to some \$ 286 million—by 1963 it had almost doubled, and at the end of 1968 the total was \$ 692 million. The major private institution involved in alleviating the crisis was the Chase Manhattan Bank which loaned \$ 10 million to the South African government, followed by the first National City Bank with \$ 5 million (Chase Manhattan has since actually joined with a South African Bank—the Standard Bank, to form a joint concern to take care of its interests in Africa). As it actually turned out, the total dollar sum loaned to South Africa in 1960—61 was not \$ 15 million but \$ 150 million, the balance being provided by unidentified U. S. lenders—\$ 70 million, and two gigantic loans from public funds—\$ 38 million from the International Monetary fund and \$ 28 million from the World Bank, and its affiliates. Since it is almost common knowledge, that both these international forces are heavily influenced by the U. S. A., (without whose approval these loans would never have gone through) we do not intend going into further detail, except to say that combined loans from unidentified U. S. lenders, the IMF, and the World Bank, effectively set the stage for a massive inflow of foreign investments into S. A. (24).

Thus we see, that at the beginning of 1960, not only did the mining sector dominate the economy, but that there was also a net outflow of capital from South Africa. By 1965, due to U. S.

assurances, foreign investors regained their confidence in the S. A. economy, and substantial inflows of capital were recorded between 1965 and the first quarter of 1970. In addition, it came as no surprise that U. S. capital came to play a larger part in the S. A. economy and that the economy itself underwent a major structural transformation. The latter development in effect meant that the manufacturing sector overtook mining as the main recipient of foreign capital. By 1966, 29 0/0 of foreign investment went into the manufacturing sector (in 1968 it rose to 31 0/0) while in the mining sector it totalled 28 0/0 (25).

The full effect of the post Sharpsville stabilization measures can now be gauged—simply taking into account one fact; that the total value of foreign investments in South Africa amounted to a record high of \$ 6,416 million at the end of 1968. This represents an increase of 15.6 0/0 over the \$ 5,552 million recorded in 1967. According to Table 1, we note that the sterling area accounted for 62 0/0 of all foreign investments in S. A. at the end of 1968. (Given that the United Kingdom, represents 90 0/0 of the value of the sterling area's foreign investment in South Africa for 1964—66, it is reasonable to assume that at the end of 1968 the U. K. accounted for between 55 and 56 0/0 of all foreign investment in South Africa). This undoubtedly makes the U. K. the largest single creditor of S. A., however it also indicates a decline in the British share of foreign investments (which stood at 61 0/0 in 1963).

Dollar area countries accounted for 15 0/0 of the foreign investment in S. A. at the end of 1968. Since the United States represents 85 0/0 of the dollar area's investments, its share of the foreign investments constitutes approximately 13 0/0 of the total making the U. S. the second leading creditor of S. A.

The case of Western European countries taken together, is totally different. At the beginning of 1964 they accounted for \$647 million 10 0/0 of the total. By the end of 1968, this had increased to \$1,209 million—19 0/0 of the total. The United Nations, also notes that "another characteristic of Western European investment in S. A. is revealed

led in its high concentration on non-direct investment. Thirty seven per cent of European total investments in S. A. was accounted for by non-direct investment as against 21 0/0 of the rest of the countries investing there" (26). The first part of this paper outlined the political economy of South Africa, based on the subjugation of the black people, in which a climate favourable to foreign investment prevailed. The second part of the paper indicated that foreign investors have not been particularly reluctant to take maximum advantage of the situation. The climate favourable to foreign investment means not only the separation of races and its attendant socio-economic evils, but equally important the guarantee that the principle incentive for foreign investment—the expectation of "subsequent earnings" from such investments—will be realized to its fullest.

### Huge Dividends

According to United Nations statistics (see table 2), earnings from foreign investments in South Africa, have reached substantial levels,—payments of interest, dividends and branch profits to foreign investors (not including undistributed profits) totalled \$434 million in 1968: "About two-thirds of this outflow we accounted for by direct investment earnings, and the remaining one-third by payments on other investments. Of the 1968 investment payments made by South Africa, the United Kingdom received 54 0/0, while the United States and Canada combined absorbed 27 0/0 and continental western Europe 14 0/0. As a matter of fact, in each year of the 1960s except 1965, and 1968, the net effect of foreign investment in South Africa on that country's balance of payments was negative in 1960—64 as a result of net capital outflow plus investment payments and in other years because of larger investment payments than net capital inflow" (27). The crucial importance of these earnings for British based corporations and for Britain's balance of payments cannot be underestimated. Britain's earnings as a result of direct foreign investment in South Africa rose from \$81 million in 1960 to a record \$181 million in 1968, and "the ratio of rates of return on British "direct invest-

ments" varied between 10% and 15% annually, (for period 1960—65) and were considerably higher than those recorded by British investments in other major recipient countries, such as Canada, United States and Australia (29).

United States investors, also benefitted substantially from their investments in South Africa. There was an increase in earnings from \$50 million in 1960 to \$128 million in 1967 and then dropped to \$120 million in 1968. This relatively higher yield indicates a high rate of return on investments. Between 1960 and 1968, the average rate of return of United States direct investments in South Africa ranged from 17% to 21% annually—considerably higher than the rate of return recorded by U. S. investments elsewhere in the world—between 10.4% and 11.4% annually. (see table 3)

Let us now turn to a brief general analysis of the American corporate status in S. A. In 1943, the value of American owned private investment in S.A. totalled \$ 50.7 million (30). After world war II, (i. e. by 1950) direct private investment by American corpo-

rations had almost tripled to \$140 million. By 1961, U. S. corporations had over \$353 million invested in South Africa.

After the direct introduction of American capital to stabilize the South African economy, in the post Sharpville era, American investments also increased—\$601 million in 1966 and \$750 million by 1970. Thus, United States direct corporate investment in the S. A. economy increased from \$140 million in 1950 to \$750 million in 1970—a 535% increase (31). According to a United Nations study "foreign direct investment is one of the most rapidly growing "sectors" of the U. S. economy and investment in South Africa is keeping pace with that growth (32)". However, as noted before, despite this "phenomenal growth" of American multinational investment in the S. A. economy, American capital still has to take a back seat to direct British corporate investment.

At this stage we will not deal with a sector by sector analysis of the distribution of U. S. corporate investments. In the next section we deal specifically with a number of cases of this pheno-

**Apartheid promotes conditions such as this**





menon. What we attempt to explain in no uncertain terms of this section, is that "the American government (has become) directly involved in the well-being of the American corporations functioning in the Republic; and that the capacity of the multinational corporations to expand and operate successfully within South Africa would be of paramount value to the United States government. (33)"

### **The US Government's Role**

This interrelationship has been cultivated in a number of ways. First, in the form of overt official encouragement for investment in S. A., despite the American government's publically voiced opposition to apartheid. A study conducted by the U. S. Department of Commerce validated the above view when it stated that "The United States Mission in South Africa, and particularly the economic and commercial officers assigned to the Embassy in Pretoria and consular establishments at Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, consider the rendering of assistance to present and potential U. S. investors to be a vital part of its task in the country, and indeed, this commands a considerable portion of the officer attention. This statement and many which can be recounted all indicate that MNCs seeking to invest in South Africa not only did not encounter any official opposition, but in fact received the active co-operation of the American government in the form of "official encouragement for their activities".

Second, the U. S. government has actively supported infrastructural development (road, railways, airports, etc.) in the Republic of South Africa. This was particularly true of the mining industry where it was thought that investment in infrastructure would facilitate mineral exploitation. In fact it has been estimated that between 1946—55, the Export-Import Bank, a Federal U. S. lending agency, lent South Africa \$149 million.

In addition the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (also overtly dominated by the U. S.) has lent \$220 million to South Africa by 1960. This fact had an unsettling effect on a U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which (in 1959) stated that

"our position with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development raises a big question. We may ask whether participating in these loans we are not tacitly supporting one party to internal racial controversy in South Africa by temporarily stabilizing the situation where racial tranquility is a major factor in social and economic life". (35) Clearly this reflection indicates that the U. S. does in fact actively direct the operations of international bodies such as the World Bank or the International Bank also it indicates that through these activities (i. e. the granting of loans) the U. S. government bars the way to a solution of the racial problem and explicitly assists American-based MNCs investing in the region. Third concomitant to the second form we have already explained the manner in which the U. S. government and private investors rallied to the support of a tottering apartheid system in 1960. This support and resulting stabilization undoubtedly restored the confidence of private investors in the South African economy and paved the way for increased U. S. corporate investments there. Fourth, given that South Africa produces 75 % of the total gold output of the capitalist world, the U. S. government has also become a major recipient of other crucial minerals produced there and that many corporations involved in the extractive industries in South Africa have benefited directly by U. S. loans for development of mines and infrastructures it once again becomes clear that they have developed a complex interrelationship between American Multinational corporations and the American government.

Thus we see that South Africa would be good investment climate, has been successful in attracting foreign capital in general and American multinational corporations in particular to invest at an expanding rate the South African economy. Also, since the U. S. government (in this case has a particular stake in the development) in the development in the South African extractive industry, it has actively encouraged financially assisted corporate expansion in this region. Now let us turn to a number of case studies which have further testimony to the above conclusions.

# SOME CASE STUDIES

## International Telephone & Telegraph Company (ITT)

This is a U. S. company whose major investments in the subcontinent are represented by Standard Telephone and Cables (STC). During 1970, STC expanded its assets in South Africa from \$ 16 million to \$ 23 million. In 1971, annual turnover reached \$ 42 million. STC is affiliated with the London-based company of the same name.

The Boksburg location of STC in South Africa is the major operation. **Wages** average about 73.5 c (U. S.) to 92 c per hour for coloured (mixed blood) leading to \$ 134 to \$ 168 per month for a 45 hour week. While these wages are higher than the national average in manufacturing (\$ 100 per month — 1970 figures), they are lower than average "coloured" wages in the metal and communication industry. African workers are paid considerably less. The wages barely match the "minimum effective level" for the area.

STC encourages local design and manufacture of its components, and imports (white) skilled labour for its operations. Thus companies of this nature affect South Africa's **balance of payments** favourably, especially if the material produced is exported. Naturally the workers in the factories concerned reap very little of the benefits. In 1970 — 71, the company sold \$ 1.4 million worth of equipment to Spain. There is also close co-operation with the South African government, to which STC supplied postal automation equipment — industry worth \$ 1.5 million in 1970. This equipment was to reduce the personnel in the post office services to 12 % of its former load. This is important in South Africa, where job reservations restrict such jobs to the small minority of skilled white workers. This is another example of the multinational contribution to **apartheid**.

But ITT does not stop at STC for its South African involvement. It also operates through Supersonic Africa, a company operating well within the framework of **apartheid** policy, at a plant outside Pietersburg, a "border area" just outside one of the Bantustan labour reservoirs. Interestingly enough, the company trains some black workers

at the plant. But they can work only **inside** the Bantustan (not in the Pietersburg plant), where there are no jobs for them.

Other companies under ITT's wing include Miller's Electrical Lines, African Telephones and Cables, as well as subsidiaries — Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola.

## General Motors (39).

This is another U. S. company, operating in South Africa as General Motors South Africa (Pty) Ltd., since its inception in 1926. In 1970, G. M. s. **investments** were around \$ 125 million, including a large plant near Port Elizabeth. Sales in 1971 were 35,700 vehicles. The firm ranked 11th in S. A. in terms of total assets (of approximately \$ 105 million).

The **wages** paid by the South African subsidiary ranged from \$ 0.56 to \$ 1.26 an hour for unskilled workers (69 % of the hourly workers were "non-white"), to 0.98 to \$ 1.82 per hour for semi-skilled workers. Skilled people (of whom only about 2.3 % are "non-white") earned \$ 1.40 to \$ 2.10 per hour in 1970.

It is worth noting that "every African family of five should have a monthly income of at least \$ 147 before their white employees are entitled to go to bed with a clear conscience", according to the *Financial Mail*. Yet, since the **average** wage for Africans was \$ 154 per month, it is clear that many did not get that bare minimum. It is of interest that, according to South African law, **job reservation** requires that 45 % of the employees in the Port Elizabeth plant must be white, and certain jobs are denied to blacks completely. The situation is made worse for Africans, by the area being declared a "Coloured Preference Area", which allows unlimited Coloured employment up to 55 %, but restricts further the number of black African employees.

Far from suffering under these restrictive **apartheid** rules G. M. seems to make do very well. Skilled workers are imported from abroad, and unskilled labour is poorly paid. So much for the oft-quoted "liberalising" effect of foreign companies on South Africa's race relations. This is further illustrated by G. M. activities in the "border areas", where (in an instance) a 20 % quota

of white skilled workers exists, despite these areas supposedly having been set up to provide black Africans with employment. The South African manager of G. M. says "I don't consider it appropriate to publicly work for changes in law".

#### ● Rio Tinto Zinc (40)

This British company has a world-wide operation which in 1970 had a turnover of £496 million and a pre-tax operating profit of £80.7 million. This success was the result of the merger with Consolidated Zinc Corporation in 1962, and Borax (Holdings) Ltd. in 1968.

While the South African operations amounted to only 7.7% of R. T. Z.'s assets in 1970, 42% of the group's profits came from a single copper mine at Palabora in the Transvaal. The profit margin of the mine is enormous; so large, that despite a fall in the price of copper in 1971 (and a drop in profits by 1/3 for Palabora), the company continued to thrive. In 1968, the company president could say "... it is one of the cheapest copper producers in the world. This means that there is no foreseeable price for copper which would make it an unremunerative operation". He proved to be right in 1971.

The source of the profits? Sophisticated mining operations are one. But low wages is the more important. African workers earned an average of £33.92 a month in August 1971. But different grades apply to white and black workers. The mine at Palabora was set up on such basis that, even if it employed an all-white labour force, it would still be profitable. Yet the company still pays discriminatory wages, the unpaid wages to blacks obviously expanding the profit margin. The company even discriminates with holidays, whites receiving 27 days after 3 years, and Africans only 15 days.

R. T. Z. has diversified ownership of its operations. Its own interest in Palabora is 38.9% (although it manages the mine). Another third is owned by Newmont Mining Corp. (a U. S. company), Selection Trust and the Union Corporation, (both South African). About 2/3 of Palabora's capital came from overseas in 1971. This diversity follows that of the parent company, whose board members are linked with the Bank of

England, Commercial Union Assurance Co., International Banks Ltd., British Home Stores, Union Miniere, N. M. Rothschild and Sons Ltd., Bank of Ireland and British Steel Corp., to name a few.

#### ● Barclays Bank (41, 42)

Barclays Bank is the largest in South Africa, and it has considerable interests in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Angola. In 1971, Barclays' South African subsidiary had paid-up capital reserves of approximately £42.5 million. In 1972, its profits in S. A. were £6.7 million.

Until recently, Barclays wages were as discriminatory as anyone else's. In 1970, for instance, average earnings for whites were almost £210 per month, compared with £47 per month for blacks.

The role of the banks in investment is well known, and Barclays is no exception, having assisted in financing the Cabora Bassa Dam until 1972. Barclays' customers in South Africa have included the Anglo-American Corp., African Oxygen, Leyland Motor Corp., etc.

This case is also an example of how sensitive many of these multinational companies are to international pressure. In 1971, Barclays could boast of being the first company to employ coloured girls outside coloured areas. "It happened partly because we were able to prove that it (the bank) was not competitive with white labour, partly because they're (the South African Government) a bit frightened of us", explained the company's president.

Another bold step from Barclays in 1971 was the announcement of equal pay for equal work (across the colour line). However, the actual effect of this policy was small, since the majority of the Bank's black workers were in the low-paying job categories anyway, and most of them would be working in black areas.

Furthermore, segregation still exists in Barclays in practice — when, in a celebrated case, they employed a black clerk (mainly to cater for the large black clientele at that branch), a white commissionaire was employed to direct black customers to him, and he had separate toilet, and washing facilities from his white "co-workers". Further-

more, the Minister of Labour forbade the black clerk from serving white customers, and ordered a special cubicle to be built for him. Barclays did not disobey!

This case shows three main things. First, that international pressure does have an effect on some of these companies. Second, the large companies do need international banking concerns in order to obtain loans for their business activities. This has a direct leaning on the third factor, which is that the pressure for change can only go so far before it meets the unyielding wall of the apartheid regime. Other means must come into play for real change, as discussed.

The above cases demonstrate the following main points about multinationals in South Africa: the companies stimulate local industry by using locally made materials for their products, reducing the number of imports; new

skills are brought into the country, benefiting mainly the company, not the black workers; the companies actively participate in apartheid policy at the level of the border industries, job reservation, and wage discrimination; the balance of payments is further assisted by exports of the companies' goods; operation in Namibia, Zimbabwe, etc., extends the network of South Africa's influence. Finally, the companies themselves have an interest in not altering the status quo too much, since their profits depend on the system. Powerful lobbies against foreign intervention against apartheid have been set up.

The cases discussed include two U. S., two British firms. But there are many others, among them multinationals based in France (43), West Germany (44), and Japan. The interplay between private business and the SA racist regime in these multinationals cannot be understated.



## Threat to Peace

The vested interest of the multinational companies in the *status quo* in SA has been mentioned. The classic example of this is the situation in Namibia where, despite rulings by the International Court of Justice, and resolutions at the United Nations, western capitalist exploitation of oil and mineral wealth continues unabated, and the home countries governments do nothing to dissuade the companies.

But the interest in Namibia goes further, and the South African regime is not afraid to play its part in preventing the Namibians from achieving independence and taking their share of the country's wealth. South Africa has long had troops inside Namibia. But so successful have the recent activities of the South West African Peoples' Organization been, that the racist regime has sent troops over a hundred miles inside Angolan territory, in pursuit of SWAPO guerilla forces. In the late sixties, similar military incursions took place into Zambian territory (by air), in attempts to dissuade guerilla forces there from operating in Rhodesia. And the military involvement of South Africa in Rhodesia against ZANU & ZAPU, and in Mozambique against FRELIMO is well documented.

South African racist forces are fighting at present against the legitimate government of Angola, led by the MPLA.

## The ANC Alternative (47)

The alternative to the present regime in South Africa has been presented by the African National Congress for many years. It was perhaps most clearly and concisely stated in 1955 at the Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was drawn up at a meeting of representatives of all sections of the South African population.

This document states that South Africa shall belong to, and be governed by, all those who live there, irrespective of colour, race, sex, or belief. It declares that the land, banks and industry will be publicly owned, and the wealth distributed on an equitable basis. Freedom of movement will be resolved, and any enterprise not in the interests of the people will be abolished.

In the fifties, passive resistance, boycotts, strikes and other legal non-violent means were used in an attempt to bring about the above changes. But after the Sharpsville massacre in 1960, and the banning of the ANC, illegal means, including violence, proved to be the only alternative. This the ANC declared will be its objective on December 16, 1961.

A combination of the two methods will succeed in South Africa just as it will in Angola and as it has in other countries including the recent victories in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

## List of Tables

**Table 1: South Africa (a) Foreign liabilities, years 1966-1968**  
(Percentage, total liabilities 100)

"Creditor" area or entity	Official <sup>b)</sup>	Shares & undistrib- uted profits f)	Private Direct d)		Non- direct <sup>e)</sup>	Totals c) o)	
			Other liabili- ties g)	Total <sup>c)</sup>			
<b>Sterling area</b>							
1966 ...	8.1	32.3	9.5	41.8	13.8	55.6	63.8
1967 ...	6.9	33.0	9.8	42.8	14.5	57.3	64.2
1968 ...	6.5	32.7	9.9	42.6	13.4	56.0	62.6
<b>Dollar area — International organizations h)</b>							
1966 ...	3.3	—	—	—	0.7	0.7	4.0
1967 ...	2.8	—	—	—	0.7	0.7	3.5
1968 ...	2.3	—	—	—	0.7	0.7	3.0

<b>Other dollar area</b>							
1966 ...	1.4	8.8	2.4	11.3	2.7	14.0	15.4
1967 ...	0.9	8.8	2.2	11.0	2.7	13.7	14.6
1968 ...	0.6	8.8	2.6	11.4	2.7	14.1	14.7
<b>Western Europe</b>							
1966 ...	2.9	5.3	2.6	8.0	5.4	13.4	16.3
1967 ...	2.6	5.5	2.8	8.3	6.1	14.4	17.0
1968 ...	3.5	5.4	2.9	8.3	7.0	15.3	18.8
<b>Other areas</b>							
1966 ...	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.6
1967 ...	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.6
1968 ...	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.9
<b>Total c)</b>							
1966 ...	15.8	46.7	14.8	61.4	22.8	84.2	100.0
1967 ...	13.3	47.5	15.1	62.6	24.1	86.7	100.0
1968 ...	13.3	47.0	15.6	62.6	24.1	86.7	100.0

Taken from: U.N. Foreign Investments . . . , op cit., p 6.

**Table 2** South Africa: Investment payments, a) 1960–1968  
(Millions of Dollars)

Item	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Payments, total	263	291	267	273	307	343	361	413	434
Direct investment	153	186	157	164	191	227	235	277	291
Other investment	111	105	111	109	116	116	126	136	143

Source: International Monetary Fund, Balance of Payments Yearbook, (Washington, D. C.), Vols. 16 to 21.

a) Excluding undistributed profits.

Taken from: Ibid., p. 24

**Table 3** United States: Average rates of return on direct investment overseas, 1960–1968 a)  
(Percentage)

Country and region	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
South Africa	17.5	19.6	19.9	20.0	18.6	19.1	20.6	19.2	17.3
Total, Africa	3.6	2.9	6.4	11.6	20.5	19.6	20.0	18.5	25.1
Total, world	10.9	11.0	11.4	11.3	11.4	11.1	10.4	10.1	10.8

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, (Washington, D. D.), August 1962, 1963, 1964; Sept. 1965, 1966, and 1967; and October 1969.

a) Percentage ratios of earnings to the value of investment.

b) Preliminary.

Taken from: Ibid., p. 29.

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(13) Cited by Pomeroy, op cit., p. 23.

(14) H. Wolpe "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in S.A.", in *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1, Nov. 1972, p. 434.

(15) Ibid, p. 439.

(16) See Wolpe, pp. 440–445.

(17) United Nations, *Bantustans in South Africa*, U.N. Publ., N.Y., 1970, p. 23.

(18) Even F. P. Spooner, a firm believer in the racial superiority of whites, argues that the governments policy of separate development will lead to "the ultimate collapse of South Africa's economy and the likely eclipse of white leadership within the lifetime of our younger generations." See F. P. Spooner, *South African Predicament*, Finling and Co., London, 1960.

(19) U.N., *Bantustans*, *op cit.*, p. 23.

(20) Senator De Klerk, Minister of the Interior, said that the opposition, United Party, had been politically dishonest in claiming that Dr. Verwoed, Voster's predecessor, had said he would give full independence to eight black States, "The South African Government has not granted the Transkei a single essential right enjoyed by a sovereign independent state ... It has merely been given control over domestic matters, and every single department of the Transkei government has a white official to give it leadership and guardianship". Cited in U.N., *Bantustans*, *op cit.*, p. 4.

(21) United Nations, *Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa*, U.N. Publ., N.Y., 1970, p. 13.

(22) First, *op cit.*, p. 82.

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(24) for greater detail, see, A.N.C., "The Penetration of South Africa by U.S. Imperialism", in *Sechaba*, Vol. 7, No. 8, Aug. 1973, pp. 17-19.

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(30) I. Mackler, *Pattern for Profit in Southern Africa*, Atheneum, N.Y., 1975, p. 41.

(31) All statistics taken from Mackler, *ibid*.

(32) Cited in *ibid*.

(33) *Ibid*, p. 48.

(34) *Ibid*, p. 55.

(35) Cited in *ibid*, pp. 57-58.

(36) For a detailed discussion of the various minerals and which are of importance for the U.S. government, and of the U.S. corporations involved in their extraction, see *ibid*, pp. 42-49.

(37) By dealing with the particularities of the relationship between the U.S. government, U.S. Corporations and their interests in South Africa we do not wish to make the case that only the U.S. is guilty of such practices. On the contrary our general treatment of foreign investment in S.A. should prove that the conclusions drawn from the U.S. case can be extended to all countries which invest in South Africa. Canadian corporations too are directly involved in supporting the apartheid regime. At the end of 1969, direct invest-

ment by Canadian corporations in S.A. was \$70 million (a phenomenal increase over the \$32 million of 1965). At least 14 major companies are involved - for example Alcan Aluminium Ltd. (\$30 million investment); Falconbridge Nickle Mines Ltd.; Massey Ferguson Ltd.; The International Nickle Mines Ltd.; Manufacturer's Life Insurance Co.; Sun Life Insurance Co., etc. Garfield Weston has also established the seventh largest Industrial company in S.A. - Premier Milling, and the Ford Motor Company, acting directly through its Canadian subsidiary has a \$60 million investment in S.A. It must also be noted that 3 Canadian Banks, The Canadian Bank of Commerce, Bank of Montreal, and Toronto Dominion Bank, have been active participants in the secret multinational banking firm - the European - American Banking Corporation, which has raised money to provide secret loans totalling \$210 million since 1970.

The South African's incidently, also have a stake in the Canadian economy, take for example (a) The Anglo-American mining company, owns a 15% interest in Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting of Canada; and (b) through the Rothmans corporations they own substantial shares in Canadian breweries.

For greater detail concerning Canadian investment in and trade with S.A., see

(a) The Committee for a Just Canadian Policy Towards Southern Africa, *The Black Paper*, Toronto, 1970.

(b) Y.W.C.A., *Investment in Oppression*, Toronto, 1973.

(c) A.N.C., "Foreign Investments in S.A., - Canada", in *Sechaba*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1969.

(38) *Sechaba*, Vol. 7, No. 3, March 1973, p. 13.

(39) *Sechaba*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1973, p. 18.

(40) "The South African Connection" by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney, Temple Smith, London, 1972, p. 162.

(41) *Ibid*, p. 200.

(42) *Sechaba*, Vol. 7, Nos. 10, 11, 12, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1973, p. 24.

(43) A.N.C. Paper on "Economic Relations Between France and South Africa" delivered at International NGO Conference Against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa", Geneva, Sept. 2-5, 1974.

(44) A.N.C. Paper to Special Committee on Apartheid, see *Sechaba*, Vol. 8, Nos. 8, 9, Aug.-Sept., 1974, p. 14.

(45) A.N.C. Paper submitted to Bureau of World Peace Council Meeting on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascism, Berlin, GDR, 18-21, April 1975.

(46) *Sechaba*, Vol. 9, No. 2, February 1975, p. 9.

(47) Freedom Charter of South Africa.

# OBITUARY



## MONGEZI (MONKS) FEZA

The African National Congress regrets to announce the death of Mongezi Feza on December 14, 1975, after a brief illness.

Monks, as he was popularly known was a leading South African musician and staunch supporter of the liberation movement. Born in Queenstown in the Eastern Cape on May 7, 1945, Monks learnt to play the trumpet from his elder brother at the age of 11.

His talents were immediately recognised by Eric Nomvethu a leading jazz musician who invited him to join his band – **"Nomvethu's Quintet"**. That same year – 1956 – the group won 2nd. prize at the Johannesburg Jazz Festival.

He later joined Chris McGregor's **"Blue Notes"** which comprised some of South Africa's greatest jazz musicians, including Dudu Phukwane, Nick Moyake, Louis Moholo and Johnny Dyani. The group competed in the French Jazz Festival in 1962. Monks stayed on in France for six months where his talents were spotted by internationally-recognised South African jazz pianist, Dollar Brand.

For the next two and a half years he toured Europe with Brand and then went to Britain under the sponsorship of Ronnie Scott.

After three years in Britain, playing with various groups he left for Denmark where he remained for about two years.

He returned to London when Chris McGregor established his big band – **"The Brotherhood of Breath"**. He later joined **"The Spear"** as co-leader with Dudu Phukwane.



At the time of his death he was a member of "Jabula – Spear" a group that developed from "The Spear" and led by Julien Bahulo. His remains were sent by the musicians who had worked with him and

his many friends to Queenstown where he was buried. The following poem by Cecil Rajendra of Malaysia demonstrates the deep love cultivated among his many followers during his all too short life: –

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## Pure Gold

(for Mongezi Feza)

*We're stoned to silence  
by the sudden stillness  
of your horn  
Impossible to accept  
you're gone*

*If men were merely  
measured in feet & inches  
they might say  
you were small  
But we who were blessed  
with flashes  
of your genius  
found you ten feet tall*

*Through trumpet  
or penny-whistle  
you spoke more  
of the tortured  
twisted dreams  
of your people  
than a 1,000 reams  
of U.N. documents  
on what they call  
'The South African Problem'*

*We're stoned to silence  
by the sudden stillness  
of your horn  
Impossible to accept  
you're gone*

*With trousers rolled up  
and cheeks puffed out  
like an adder  
you stung us  
with your music . . .  
I well remember  
you never doing  
as you were told  
always ad-libbing  
you just breathed in  
the dust  
of your townships  
and blew pure gold . . .*

*But they killed you  
with neglect  
your pain like your music  
they labelled  
an exile's exaggeration  
You who gave everything  
asked for nothing  
save a little respect  
for your music & your nation*

*And I am stoned to silence  
by the sudden stillness  
of your horn  
Impossible to accept  
you're gone*

# SOUTH AFRICA:

## Africa South of the Equator

Racist Prime Minister, John Balthazar Vorster, once arrogantly stated: "Israel ate Arabs before lunch ... I will eat them (the African States) before breakfast ... I will hit them so hard that they will never forget ..."

Now, however, after the debacle of the racist forces in Angola, he is singing a new tune. The racists have been hit so hard by the forces of MPLA that they are looking for ways to get out of the mess they have got themselves into. Inside the country wide sections of the white public, including increasing numbers of Nationalist Party supporters and sections of its press are questioning the racist regime's wisdom in invading Angola in support of the counter-revolutionary elements there.

In blind panic, the regime is taking on new powers to suppress internal opposition and to threaten independent Africa. The law to suppress internal opposition not through the courts of law but by a "Parliamentary Commission" was dealt with in our last issue.

At the time of writing, the racist Parliament is discussing a Bill to amend the Defence Act in terms of which South Africa is defined as all the areas South of the Equator.

In effect this means that "South Africa" will include Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville, Angola and Namibia on the West Coast of Africa; Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique on the East Coast, as well as Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho.

The purpose of the amendment is to legalise, in South Africa, armed racist intervention in these countries without recourse to Parliament.

In the words of its architect, racist Defence Minister Piet Botha, this amendment is necessary to empower his armed forces to invade these African states "to counteract any threat to security".

Under the existing Defence Act, South African military personnel have to sign papers stating that they are crossing the SA border "voluntarily" should they be needed to do so.

Service in the defence of the apartheid Republic is defined in the Bill to include "the prevention or suppression of any



armed conflict outside the Republic which in the opinion of the State President, may be a threat to the security of the Republic."

This will enable the racists to enter Zimbabwe at will should the forces of liberation launch large scale guerilla warfare or enter Mozambique on the side of counter revolution should any attempt be made by any group against the Frelimo Government.

More important, it will enable the racists to send in not only regular troops but conscripts into Angola even if such troops or conscripts don't volunteer to do service in such a war.

Noting the dangers inherent in this vicious amending Bill the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Alfred Nzo, cabled the Secretaries-General of the OAU and the United Nations urging them to act in defence of independent Africa.

The full text of the cables state:

"Racist parliament presently discussing Bill to legalise SA regime's armed aggression against independent African States and is seeking to arrogantly annex all African States south of the equator. Bill also seeks to justify its naked invasion of People's Republic of Angola and continued armed occupation of Namibia. ANC (South Africa) urges urgent international action to curb aggressive imperialist intention of Vorster regime against independent and sovereign states in the interests of peace and security."



After the inevitable rebirth  
there is only loneliness  
a necessary pain  
as quiet as a deep lake  
whose waters from the eternal  
spring

Trace a straight path  
through the maze of  
centuries of colonial dreams.

By  
K. K. Bositsile.

K. K. Bositsile.

# Angola

**A luta  
continua**

