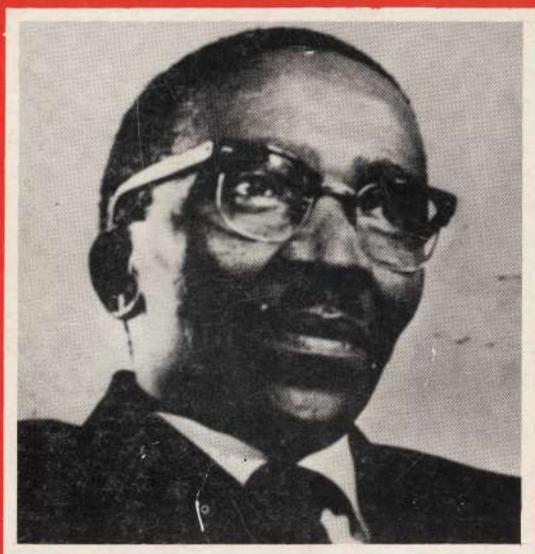


IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY IN AFRICA

I. B. Tabata



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Imperialist Conspiracy in Africa

By I. B. Tabata

*Collected and edited,
with an introduction
by D. Taylor*

Prometheus Publishing Company

Introduction

In a selection from a series of articles and speeches by I. B. Tabata, President of the Unity Movement of South Africa and its political wing, the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (*A.P.D.U.S.A.*), certain key themes dominate his thought because they are based on the recognition of the fundamental nature of the present epoch. While the articles range over a number of political events in South Africa, the African continent and beyond it, — events covering eleven years of exile from 1963 to 1974 — in the sum total they convey the flow of historical movement, a strong sense of political direction, as well as containing a very positive political directive. The motivation is clear. After being engaged for more than twenty years in the early stages of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited Blacks in South Africa, he continues to grapple with the problems of that struggle with all the urgency of one who knows that the time is not far off when it must be renewed. He sees it first of all as part of a global struggle between capitalism-imperialism in decay and socialism that in the true sense of the word nowhere yet exists but wherever the liberatory struggle takes place in different parts of the world and in different forms, there the new society is labouring to be born. Revolutionary struggle, betrayal, insidious or bloody, setbacks and renewed struggle — these constitute the essence of our epoch, and the main historical tide is flowing one way.

In the chaos of apparently separate and isolated events, the writer calls for an understanding of their inter-relationship; for a failure to make a proper assessment of the present historical developments, and the forces at work, leads to disastrous political action resulting in a betrayal of the people. The triumph of the military junta in Chile is a striking example of such a failure. The strength of imperialism, operating on an international scale, lies in its elaborate network of economic and political control. However, in this era of the escalating crises of capitalism, the big boss, U.S. imperialism has to assume more and more openly the function of policing the world and attempting ruthlessly to crush every liberatory struggle. A crucial factor in a complex international situation is the role of the present Soviet bureaucracy *vis-a-vis* U.S. imperialism. In an article: *From October to the Cultural Revolution* (Monthly Review, Nov. 1967) Tabata wrote:

“Stalin’s theory of ‘Socialism in one country’ was the first departure from Leninism. . . It dealt a reeling blow to internationalism and proletarian solidarity. . . As the mortal combats in each country took place between the socialist forces and capitalism-imperialism, the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy revealed itself as based on narrow national considerations.”

And now, in a Political Review, 1973:

“In accordance with the policy of co-existence these two powers (the U.S. and the Soviet Union) divided the world into spheres of influence. . . This agreement also covered national liberation movements and revolutionary socialist movements. . . The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had liberation movements on its soil. This was of interest to the super-powers because it was bound to affect the balance of power. Thus each side has sought to gain control over them directly or through client States in Africa. . . But the balance of power has been swinging like a pendulum as the world capitalist crisis bursts forth in different parts of the world.”

Focussing on the African arena, Tabata is impelled to look beyond South Africa to the whole complex of Southern Africa and thence to view the problems of the African States under neo-colonialism. Two important statements (included here) form a natural starting-point to his assessment of the present stage of the liberatory struggle, its potentialities and the imperialist strategy of betrayal and counter-revolution. For over the whole vast area South of the Sahara the problems are seen to be dynamically inter-related.

First, then, is the Memorandum to the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U., presented in Nov. 1963, by a delegation of three representing the Unity Movement of South Africa and its co-founder, the All-African Convention. Tabata was leader of the delegation sent from the U.M. at home to appeal for its assistance in the liberatory struggle of the Blacks. Two other South African organisations, the African National Congress and a splinter organisation, the Pan-Africanist Congress, were also represented in force. The appeal took the form of an analysis of the political situation in South Africa and the nature of the liberatory struggle up to that time. The presentation was a challenging one, a profoundly penetrating one; and its main points, especially on the imperative necessity for a principled unity in the conducting of a protracted struggle, are more than ever valid today as the struggle takes on new dimensions in Southern Africa. It clearly stated the principles, aims and policy of the Movement; what its achievements were; why it laid such stress on unity and the necessity for a complete break with the agents of imperialism in South Africa. And who its inveterate enemies were, and why.

Its definition of two *separate* struggles going on in South Africa was a provocative one. “The first is the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, in which the whole of the landless African peasantry is involved. . . On this the imperialist press maintains a calculated silence. . . Why? . . . This Movement had to be crushed at all costs. . . It is fighting against both Verwoerd (white nationalist) fascism and imperialism. . .” The second struggle is seen as a conflict between the representatives of imperialism and the Boer or Afrikaner wing, that has been in

power since 1948. A section of the Blacks had been drawn into this conflict, thus splitting unity asunder and causing a severe set back to the liberatory struggle. The issue between the Whites had been to throw out the Verwoerd Government. (It has since received wide publicity as the Anti-Apartheid struggle.) And the Memorandum adds: "Its ultimate aim, though unavowed, is *neo-colonialism*." Briefly summed up, the Memo. analysed two opposing policies amongst the leaders of the Blacks. A long tradition had tied the leaders of the African National Congress to the liberals. The logic of their position was political opportunism, collaboration with a section of the ruling-class. On the other hand, the leadership of the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement, in totally rejecting trusteeship, insisted on being independent of all herrenvolk parties. The battle between the two opposing policies in its first stages had been fully documented by Tabata in *The Awakening of a People*. Indeed it can be said to have followed a classic pattern, which, with local modifications, has characterised liberatory struggles in every continent. In this instance the agents of imperialism won over the leaders of an incipient petit-bourgeoisie amongst the Blacks. But for the mass of the oppressed workers and peasants, the policy of opportunism had disastrous consequences. By the early sixties, Verwoerd, having outwitted the liberals together with the Communist Party of S.A., was able to turn the full force of fascist attack on all sections of the Blacks. While men like Nelson Mandela were left behind in Robben Island jail, there was an exodus of Congress leaders, with their patrons.

It was against this background that the delegation of the Unity Movement of South Africa made its carefully reasoned appeal to the O.A.U., amidst the howls of those same opportunists. The Memo. virtually challenges the Committee:

"The struggle in South Africa has reached a critical stage that might decide the fate of our people for a long time to come. . . It is within the power of the independent States of Africa to give such assistance as might be used to land us in the quagmire of neo-colonialism. It is equally within their power to assist in putting the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa on the road leading to true independence."

But the time was not yet historically ripe for a reasoned appeal to be heard.

The events and problems that come under review in subsequent articles all belong to the period of neo-colonialism. They explore in some depth the effects of this huge con game perpetrated by the imperialist powers at the expense of the unliberated masses in Africa; its effects on the heads of African States, on the Organisation of African Unity and its relation to the liberatory movements in the white racist regimes, particularly in the South. In a speech Tabata gave in London as early as Feb. 1966, he voiced a thought-provoking view-point on "Rhodesia, A New Stage in the Struggle in Southern Africa." However, it is evident that the germ of it had occupied his mind while he was still in South Africa and we refer to it to indicate the continuity of his thought and purpose. It was in Jan. 1962, when it seemed to him that internal pressures in South Africa were beginning "to set all society into motion." The Unity Movement was holding what he guessed would be its last public conference, in spite of harassment by the special branch and the arrest of some of the African peasantry on their way to conference. As a member of

the All-African Convention whose five year ban had meantime expired, he was contributing to a discussion on the international situation; not a fully rounded speech, but vehement, like one thinking aloud.

Its central theme – once more – was imperialism and its operations on an international scale. It stressed the role of U.S. imperialism in relation to Europe and the Soviet Union; the function of NATO and the desperate device of the European Common Market, the latter having hardly yet impinged on the consciousness of the masses in the countries involved as it does to-day. The speech stressed the role of the U.N. and the futility of the small nations outside the Security Council voting for economic sanctions against South Africa for refusing to loosen its grip on South West Africa. This was to come straight home to the burning problem of liberation in Southern Africa. This was to recognise the fact that British and U.S. imperialism must stand guard over their vast interests in South Africa, the most highly industrialised country in Africa. The speaker concluded: "They are afraid of revolution in South Africa. For if revolution should go beyond the bounds (of capitalism), it means the loss of the whole of the continent of Africa to imperialism. Historically, South Africa must influence the fate of the rest of Africa."

The speech on Rhodesia, then, at a time of speculation over Britain's attitude to its rebel colony, sought to clarify the basic issues involved in the plans of imperialism in relation to the African States and the racist regimes. Here a few quotations will underline points that are central to the author's thinking on the problem of liberation not only of South Africa, but of the continent of Africa. Neo-colonialism is necessarily a transient stage. With it, imperialist powers after the second world war had aimed to buy time, forestall revolutions and ensure the continuance of economic control over their ex-colonies. Tabata perceived evidence of a change of plan, a renewed assault on Africa. He saw it in the series of military coups backed by imperialism or actual military intervention, in the fomenting of tribal rivalries, in the general instability of neo-colonialist States, which indeed, with the problems of the masses unsolved if not aggravated, contained the seeds of further developments. What was the reason for this change of tactic on the part of imperialism? He stated:

"A new factor has entered into the situation, the continuous unfolding of a revolutionary process on a continental scale. It is a process taking place throughout the world, in the continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa."

In this situation he stresses the strategic importance of South Africa, on the one hand as a bastion of imperialism at the toe of the continent, or on the other hand as the one country from which, when it achieves liberation, the revolutionary process could begin to spread northwards.

"It depends on which way South Africa goes, whether or not Africa shall be placed in a position to free itself from the economic stranglehold of Europe and the United States. South Africa, with its already high standard of industrial development, advanced technical know-how and mineral wealth . . . if it became free . . . I mean real freedom . . . if South Africa became a socialist State . . ."

It is in this perspective that Tabata points to the necessity of viewing the events in Rhodesia, maintained as a white racist régime, as part of the overall plans of imperialism in the complex of Southern Africa. The British ex-Protectorates are already tied economically to South Africa. Elsewhere he discusses how the new diplomacy adopted by Vorster — the “kaffir-hater” embracing Banda — also draws Malawi into the South African orbit. He concludes:

“It is time Africa (African States) shed all illusions about the policy of imperialism in Southern Africa. . . The interests of British and U.S. imperialism are inter-locked with those of South Africa. . . South Africa has shown herself all too eager to make her presence felt in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique . . . Militarily speaking she is poised on the boundaries of Zambia, the Congo and Tanzania . . .” (This was written in 1968.)

These assessments prompt him to strike at the core of the problem.

“African countries will never achieve stability within the framework of neo-colonialism. . . Whether it is against neo-colonialism or against the rulers of South Africa, the struggle is everywhere the same. The common enemy is imperialism. To understand this vital fact of a *common struggle* is all important. The problem is *how to bring these two struggles together.*”

This leads the mind inescapably back to the formulation of the appeal by the Unity Movement of South Africa to the O.A.U. in 1963. Now he is extending the lessons learnt in its battle against opportunism to a fuller understanding of the overall machinations of imperialism. He broadens the base of the challenge contained in the Memo. and the final link in the chain of his argument is implied in the following:

“The only effective defence of these (African) States lies with the oppressed masses of South Africa.”

The question is: what is the present role of the O.A.U.? It had been conceived in a spirit of idealism in the first euphoria of independence, at once to unite the States and to assist the liberatory struggles. Under neo-colonialism it could do neither. For it is still imperialism that is in control. In *Imperialism and the Liberation Movements in Africa* (1973), he states: “Imperialism is making a bid to take over control of nationalist movements directly or through client states”. As part of this plan it must seek to use the O.A.U. The revolutionary factor is seen to be at work in Southern Africa. Imperialism must gather together all its agents to abort a revolutionary confrontation in South Africa, which holds the key position. There, growing industrial unrest poses a struggle across the barricades for full democratic rights; in Namibia the thrust of peasant revolt is strong, against an illegal S.A. Government and Bantustan chiefs. The Portuguese military junta is treading volcanic ground, both at home and in Mozambique and Angola. South African armed forces are in Rhodesia and the Caprivi strip, the knife-edge of land along the Zambian border. At the same time there is a spate of double-talk from all the

centres of white power. The deception of the people is once more in the order of the day. For this not only the old collaborationist organisations are needed, but even the most vocal Bantustan chiefs in South Africa are being sent out to woo the African States.

“It is clear,” writes Tabata, “that imperialism will leave no stone unturned in preparing the biggest betrayal in Southern Africa.”

Indeed, it is time to recognise the dynamic of “the common struggle” in Africa. Even as we write, events are moving rapidly in Portugal itself, and in Mozambique with the forming of a Provisional Government. In Angola, however, international consortiums have large financial interests at stake, as well as South Africa. There are forces pulling both ways. All the greater must be the vigilance of the people.

* * *

Postscript

It should be pointed out that the articles chosen are in the main in chronological order, highlighting some key events or problems through eleven years of neo-colonialism in Africa South of the Sahara. But there is one important exception to this order. Articles 1 and 2 go straight into *medias res*, as it were. *The Ferment Deepens in South Africa* and *Political Trials Begin* are specifically chosen with reference to the arrest and trial of thirteen leading members of the Unity Movement of South Africa in 1971-2. The arrests and trial under the Terrorism Act followed immediately after a revolt of the African peasants in Pondoland in the Transkei, where many were killed and others arrested. But peasant victims are never named or counted. Members of the Unity Movement were seized in every province, in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg; in Pondoland and other parts of the Transkei. They were held incommunicado for five months and — as the 13 who were tried in the Supreme Court later testified — they were put to brutal torture in a police camp in the Transkei. The thirteen appealed against their conviction, but the Appeal was dismissed and all are incarcerated in Robben Island jail.

This trial and others are seen as an attempt by the fascist Government to contain the growing ferment by terror. They are a significant forerunner of the burst of industrial unrest in South Africa in that same year, 1972. Tabata's address to a Committee of the United Nations not only on behalf of the arrested men but of all the oppressed of South Africa and Namibia, provides the setting of legalised violence in which such trials must take place, while the Political Review explores their repercussions in a wider perspective of events in Southern Africa and Africa.

1974

Chapter 1

The Ferment Deepens in South Africa

The notoriety of the racist South African regime has once more hit the headlines in the international press.

- (a) The Special Branch in South Africa makes a nationwide swoop covering all four provinces, on the leadership of the Unity Movement of South Africa.
- (b) The racist police force monitors an item of news for international consumption (15th Feb. 1971) to the effect that "rival tribal gangs in the remote Lusikisiki (Pondoland) region of the Transkei" had a bloody encounter "in a full-scale battle". The numbers involved are variously quoted at 600 and 1000 people, of whom about fifty died. The reason also for this bloody fight is given as a quarrel over land. It is reported also that the villages in the area have been deserted and many peasants have taken to the mountain fastnesses.

On the face of it the report is a strange one. For it would be the first time in history that, in consequence of inter-tribal fights, settled tribes desert their villages and take to the forests and mountain fastnesses. Such a desperate disruption of their lives regularly happens only when the peasants of the area have been surrounded and massacred by the South African army. Of this later.

- (c) The British Government announces its decision to sell Wasp helicopters to the fascistic South African Government.
- (d) The arrest and prosecution of the Dean of the Anglican Church of Johannesburg, the very Reverend G. French Beytagh, and the arrest of several leading members of the same church have received wide publicity in the South African and the English Press. Significantly, the same press goes out of its way to make the point that these arrests are not in any way connected with the country-wide arrests of the leaders of the Unity Movement of South Africa. It is indeed true that the leaders of the church are in no way connected with the basic struggle of the oppressed in which the Unity Movement is involved. Yet it can be said that there is a point at which the paths of these two events cross. The essence of a fascist state is

that it brooks no opposition or protest whatsoever, not even from members of its own class. All democratic norms must be crushed under such a system.

Religious Persecution

The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa has traditionally played a leading role in evolving the official fascist ideology and has insisted on its implementation by the politicians in the inner fold, who now control the machinery of state power. With its dominant role, the Dutch Reformed Church was able to effect through parliamentary legislation the imposition of apartheid systematically in every sphere of life. It decreed apartheid in places of worship. It imposed on the schools a curriculum that stressed religious dogma according to the rigid, antiquated tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. And all the while the other churches, Catholic and Protestant, yielded to this process, limiting themselves to mild, ineffectual protests.

Now the Dutch Reformed Church demands the sole right of interpreting the Bible according to its tenets, an interpretation that must be imposed on the whole population. The Rev. Vorster, head of the Dutch Reformed Church and brother of Balthazar Vorster, Prime Minister of the fascist State, in a counter-blast to the resolution of the World Council of Churches, has publicly proclaimed that the people of South Africa (read Dutch Reformed Church) shall continue to interpret the holy scriptures in accordance with their traditional outlook. Meanwhile brother Vorster, the Premier, had warned that the South African Churches had better get out of the World Council of Churches, or else. His exact words were: "If they do not decide to abandon their membership, I will be failing in my duty if I do not take action against them." He might have added he would relish performing his duty as a true fascist and religious persecutor. These ominous declarations should have been heeded by the other Churches. For to defy them in a fascist state must lead to costly consequences. The present prosecution of the Dean of the Anglican Church of Johannesburg, accompanied by the police harassment and deportation of other church dignitaries is nothing short of religious persecution.

This is only one of the ramifications of the development of the South African fascist state. Hitlerite Nazism followed the very same pattern. Here we may pause to say that this is the regime that Heath, Prime Minister of England, so demonstrably pledges himself to support and supply with all the military hardware that it needs from England. For, make no mistake, it is not just the seven Wasp helicopters that are involved in this dastardly arms deal. Heath is as culpable for the consequences of the Vorster regime as were his predecessors in the thirties who not only connived at the rise of Hitlerism, but sold arms to Hitler, providing the financial support that enabled him to build up that frankenstein of an army that was to plunge England, the whole of Europe and the world in a blood-bath, causing unimaginable suffering and the death and destruction of millions.

We bring up the question of religious persecution in South Africa not only to mark the stage reached in the development of fascism in our country, but also to underline the effects on ever-widening layers of the population of a totalitarian regime that stifles every aspect of human activity and life itself. It creates an

all-pervading sense of insecurity and apprehension, a condition that must sooner or later reach a bursting-point. Such potentially explosive effects entirely escape the calculations of the rigid fascist mind set on one fanatic course. The religious persecution mentioned above is a case in point.

Large sections of the population, retreating from the harsh realities of their existence, obtain solace precisely in religion. The more the poor find the ruthlessness of their destitution unendurable, the more desperately they seek refuge in their religious faith. The fascist rulers, blind to the logic of their actions, have invaded this last refuge of the poor, who must now break out of their long habit of docility and for the first time become stirred with the spirit of protest. The arrest of their religious leaders arouses in them a sense of fighting for a cause and removes from their minds the stigma of being in jail, which the church itself had instilled in them for generations. Their religious leaders are elevated into martyrs. With all this, the stultification of their minds is at last removed, and the spirit of protest, once aroused, tends to break into other spheres. The people are now more ready to swell the volume of that larger protest against the whole nature of their existence. They become swept into the main stream of the political struggle, which alone gives meaning and purpose to their lives.*

Rejection of Inferiority

In South Africa today the ferment of resistance has acquired a qualitative change. Over the years the people have endured unimaginable sufferings. It is not simply the dire effects of their economic situation, the poverty and disease. It is also the multiplicity of inhuman laws deliberately calculated to reduce a whole people to a position of slavery in the service of the white industrial machine. In the last two decades there have been spontaneous and sporadic outbursts on the part of the oppressed all over the country and these have increased in frequency and intensity. The days are over when a harsh crack-down by the authorities was enough to cow the people and demoralise them. Today, the more brutal the crack-down in any area, the more quickly the revolt springs up anew in another, and with greater force. Each ferocious crushing of a revolt kindles a sympathetic response in other parts of the country. It would seem that by some process of social alchemy the struggle has reached the stage where the people transmit to one another their common sufferings, their spirit of resistance, and their will to survive, leaping over every barrier and impediment set up to prevent human communication – barriers that isolate town from country, village from village and human being from human being by means of the pass system, the terrors of Proclamations 400 and 413, the human isolation imposed by bannings and house-arrests, etc.

It is not to be supposed that suffering by itself is capable of bringing about this transformation. A conscious element had to be infused into it, whereby subjective experience could be illuminated by the knowledge of the processes at work which oppress the masses.

It was during the crisis of the mid-thirties when the Africans were confronted with the taking away of the last vestige of their political rights that the All-African

*The Anglican Dean was found guilty but later released. (Editor)

Convention was born. It brought together under a single federation the numerous organisations -- mainly African -- then in existence throughout the country. The very fact of bringing these organisations together on a nation-wide scale was in itself an achievement of great significance. For it laid the foundations for a truly national struggle. It provided the basis for a totally new outlook on the part of the oppressed. In their conferences the African people no longer discussed in isolation the separate problems that were the pre-occupation of their individual communities and organisations. They began to relate each problem and each piece of oppressive legislation to the sum total of their oppression.*

It was at this stage that they began to evolve a specific policy that was dynamically related to their overall oppression. This broadening of their vision led inevitably to the concept of a wider unity of all sections of the oppressed. In 1943, the All-African Convention issued a clarion call for unity to the federation of the Coloured people, namely, the Anti-C.A.D. (Anti-Coloured Affairs Department) and to the Indian organisations. Thus the Non-European Unity Movement (now the Unity Movement of South Africa) was born. From the outset it adopted the programme of the All-African Convention, which was a demand for full equality of all the people of South Africa, irrespective of colour, race or creed, together with a policy of non-collaboration with the government, by which was meant the rejection of the policy of trusteeship, segregation or apartheid. In practice it meant the rejection and boycott of all apartheid institutions created for an inferior people. No one was to assist or participate in the machinery of their own oppression. With a clearly defined policy and programme the leadership of the Unity Movement energetically turned to the people in town and country, organised them and engaged them in the struggle. But it was to take many years before the full implications of this policy were brought home to the majority of the oppressed. Nevertheless it inspired them with hope. With a perception sharpened by experience, they recognised that the new policy answered their needs and aspirations. They responded with enthusiasm and tackled the problems that immediately concerned them, such as land-hunger and expropriation.

Peasantry

The leadership of the Unity Movement understood that no serious struggle could take place without the participation of the landless African peasantry. They were by far the greatest majority and there was also the important factor of migrant labour; they were the vital work force for the mines (gold and coal), in agriculture and in industry. In a word, peasant labour was essential to the whole advanced South African economy.

The new policy captured the imagination of the peasants and laid down the basis for a series of outbursts leading up to 1960, the year of the Pondoland revolt. They applied the boycott weapon against the inferior dummy institutions with such vigour that in some villages in the "Reserves" they virtually brought the administration to a standstill. In this way they discovered their own strength. It gradually dawned on them that they had been operating the very instruments of

*See also *The Memorandum to the O.A.U.* (Editor)

their own oppression. They extended the boycott weapon to the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme, a government device for further robbing them of their stock, their grazing and agricultural land in order to smoke them out in pursuance of its forced labour policy. The Unity Movement flooded the rural areas with pamphlets and leaflets which pointed out that landlessness and their low wages were all tied up with lack of political rights. Their struggle for land, therefore, was indissolubly bound up with the whole struggle for political rights. In short, their struggle was a national struggle.

The turning-point in the peasant struggle was when the present President of the Unity Movement was arrested in 1948 at Mount Ayliff, Pondoland, in the Transkei, and was charged with inciting the people against the Rehabilitation Scheme. The peasants filled the courtroom to overflowing. The victory in that case had a far-reaching effect on their spirit of resistance. The news spread like a veld fire and everywhere the peasants rejected the fraudulent Rehabilitation Scheme, even in those areas where the Government-appointed chiefs together with white officials had hoodwinked the people into accepting it. Resistance spread throughout the Transkei; it surged over into the Witzieshoek Reserve in the Orange Free State, then back into the Glen Grey district of the Cape Province and thence across to Zululand. The brutality of the police, joined by the armed forces, became a byword; shooting, arresting, burning wherever they went. Thousands were jailed and the first peasant leaders to be exiled belonged to the All-African Convention, an affiliate of the Unity Movement.

The intensity of the peasant struggle could not but overflow into the towns. It could not be otherwise. For, by and large, the workers were the same landless peasantry, and as workers they used the same boycott weapon. The highest expression of the same ferment in the towns was the 1946 strike of the African miners, who are recruited straight from the "Reserves" and kept in compounds surrounded by barbed wire. Needless to say the army simply shot the strikers down.

Yet all this time the imperialist press in South Africa was silent. The world was not told about this struggle, the fiercest and most drawn out in recent history. The truth is, both imperialism and the Nationalist Government were united in their determination to crush this movement – the gravest threat to the whole economic structure.

As we have said, this phase of the struggle culminated in the Pondoland revolt in 1960, which was ruthlessly put down by the armed forces. During this period the people had been fired by the new policy of the Unity Movement. But they had not consolidated themselves organisationally. Neither had they anticipated the savage reprisals that the Government let loose on them, precisely because they had not fully appreciated the implications of their own actions, their own struggle. How could they? The political maturity of the masses is inevitably achieved at great cost – always with that precious blood of the nation.

A new Stage

Nevertheless something of great importance happened during this period. The people no longer rushed headlong into a situation. Self-preservation dictated greater

caution. It demanded an awareness of the forces ranged against them and the necessity to devise means of combatting them. The village committees that had been formed were extended into organisations and these grew to become the largest in the country.

With the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties a new stage opened up. During the previous period the racist regime had armed itself with draconian powers to deal with a situation charged with growing revolt. The statute book covering this period bulges with a multiplicity of savage laws calculated to close every loophole through which the people might legally defend themselves against a rampaging and trigger-happy police force backed by the army. The sum total of their laws was to put the whole of the Black population outside the rule of law. There is today only rule by proclamation, supplemented by arbitrary rule by the police and special branch, whose every whim has the backing of the law. South Africa, as far as the Black oppressed are concerned, is in a very real sense a police state.

Naturally the effects of such a regime must of necessity spill over on to the Whites themselves. There is in that country an acute state of crisis, and on all levels. Every layer of society is provoked to express its particular cause of discontent. It can be said that the whole country is seized with a pervading dis-ease, apprehension and fear. The Blacks who, after a turbulence leading up to the sixties, showed only sullen resentment, are now stiffening in their attitude to brutal repression. With the experience gained from their immediate past, they are once more gathering up their forces. It is no longer a question of an opposition to this or that law, or this or that white herrenvolk party whose policy-labels of "Segregation" or "Apartheid", etc., merely reveal their basic similarity. It is now a question of the total rejection of a whole system that has for generations kept them in a state of bondage. When Vorster cracks down on all opposition, or the very voice of protest within the white camp, including even the clergy, he is attempting to erect a monolithic machine, whipping into line all the Whites on the one side in preparation for a show-down with the oppressed Blacks, which he knows must come. While he is busy trying to drive all the Whites into the laager (stockade) he is at the same time stockpiling a monstrous arsenal and building as big an army as his limited white population will permit.

It is against this background that the item of news monitored by the South African police about what they chose to call a "tribal" gang fight acquires its true meaning. The fact is that the Government, pursuing its centuries-old practice of land robbery, expropriated the land of the people in Lusikisiki, Pondoland, only to find that they were determined to defend their last remaining bit of land. The Government had actually anticipated this after the 1960 revolt; for it had set up police-posts in the villages at strategic points and established a permanent army camp in Pondoland.

The truth is that for a long time now a war of attrition has been carried on against the Blacks of South Africa. People's imagination is mercifully limited and their memories are short, otherwise they would not be able to live with even the thought of the atrocities on human beings committed by imperialism and its lackeys throughout the world. Who, for instance, outside the oppressed black

population of South Africa, can know their daily torment in this relentless war of attrition that the racist regime has been waging against them? And who can project in their imagination what is in store for the Black man in our country in the coming period, the period for which the fascists are preparing so furiously, stockpiling their weapons of destruction in order to drown the liberation struggle in a sea of blood? How can they? — since the world at large cannot even now permit itself to look in the face the horror of napalm bombs in Vietnam that consume human flesh; the chemical warfare and the holocaust that engulfs the whole country, devouring man, beast and vegetation.

British Imperialism Steps in

The racists in South Africa and their powerful backers can contemplate with equanimity the bringing up of their monstrous engines of war in readiness to crush those who would dare to embark on a struggle for self-determination. When the racists' motives for a military build-up are seen in this light, Heath's action in selling more arms to South Africa emerges in all its treacherous cynicism. His talk about honouring the Simonstown Agreement (for naval base) is trivial and banal in the extreme. As to his argument about defending the sea-routes round the Cape and the Indian Ocean, and his solemn assurances that his seven Wasp helicopters would guard the South African shores against Soviet submarines and battleships — this is the biggest diversionary hoax of the century. This invoking of the menace of the might of the Soviet Union which is to be countered by seven Wasps would provoke contemptuous laughter if one did not relapse to the full import of Heath's real intentions. For it contains the gravest threat to the oppressed people of South Africa, and more, to the whole continent of Africa.

From our information, a helicopter of any sort is worse than useless from the point of view of reconnaissance at sea. It would be a sitting duck to any battleship or submarine. But it is a totally different matter under conditions of civil war or guerrilla warfare, especially over mountainous or wooded territory with tnick undergrowth. A wasp helicopter can be a particularly lethal weapon under certain conditions. It can carry out all the tasks that other helicopters can do. In addition, however, the Wasp is especially equipped for use in a particular terrain such as the British encountered in the East, where conditions were similar to those in South Africa. It was the British who invented the Wasp helicopter. It is one of the most fiendish inventions ever used against a people unequipped with modern weapons. It is at once deadly and economical.

Two Wasp helicopters linked with a steel chain or blade, two or three or four hundred yards apart, can sweep low over a village settlement of mud houses, for example. The steel blade rips and severs in two everything in its path, be it house, man or beast. And all that destruction is done without firing a shot. Now it so happens that the majority of the population in South Africa, the Blacks, live in the main in villages clustered together in open spaces away from forest land. Even those employed in the towns are ghettoed in separate residential locations, in houses that are no less vulnerable than the mud-huts. Is it possible to conceive of a more lethal weapon in the hands of the South African racists than these Wasp helicopters bestowed on them by the Premier of England, Mr. Edward Heath?

It is pertinent to remember that Heath is simply the spokesman of imperialism and all his actions are dictated to ensure the safety of the vast British investments in South Africa. But there are other considerations behind the tactics of the imperialists. In the context of the basic question of the global war between capitalism-imperialism and socialism, South Africa assumes a position of strategic importance. With the East, the Middle East and Latin America in ferment, this would spell the doom of capitalism as a world system. Imperialism is all the more desperate because Europe itself shows all the elements of a revolutionary resurgence at a time when American imperialism is no longer in a position to perform its self-appointed task as the gendarme of the world. Capitalism in crisis anywhere in the world moves over to fascism and fascism has only one answer, namely violence and yet more violence against all attempts at social change. But no weapons of destruction, however sophisticated, have ever been able to stop permanently the march forward of history.

APDUSA

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Political Trials Begin

On the 2nd August, 1971, fourteen (later 13 – Ed.) leading members of the Unity Movement of South Africa will appear before the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, in what is expected to be the beginning of another series of political trials of national importance. They are charged under the Terrorism Act. There are many more of our members languishing in the racist jails and held incommunicado pending the results of the first trials.

It is appropriate here to explain that the Unity Movement is not a party. It is a united front of organisations representing a cross section of the oppressed population – workers, peasants, professional organisations and civic bodies – consolidated into a federation under a single leadership, based on a well-defined policy and a minimum programme which is a demand for full democratic rights for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It is significant that the fourteen people charged under the Terrorism Act are drawn from the countryside (i.e. the Reserves or Bantustans) and the towns, and come from all three oppressed ethnic groups, African, Coloured and Indian. The very name of the Act, Terrorisms Act, is well chosen, though, like all names, to outsiders it is a mere word. Imagination cannot encompass the full meaning of what it is to live under conditions where legislators have the brazenness to set down in cold blood such an Act in the statute book. This Act is designed to enable the police force, backed by the army when necessary, to let loose a reign of terror on the whole Black population and on those Whites who may disagree with the political set-up of the country. It legalises in advance all manner of brutality, every device of torture and even murder. It legalises all the many agencies of violence in the country.

A hangman may legally charge his victim with damage to his property because the latter somehow managed to snap the rope that was hanging him. But the rest of mankind will not only rally to the defence of the victim but also applaud him for his ingenuity. We are not concerned with the rules and regulations created by the racists in South Africa for hanging all those who disagree with their obnoxious practices and inhuman laws. We are concerned with human justice, human rights and human dignity for all men wherever they are and whatever their colour.

What, then, are our men who are appearing in the forthcoming trials guilty of? For, make no mistake, according to the Terrorism Act, the men are presumed guilty

as charged by the police until they prove their innocence. Many people believe that the root of all evils in South Africa is the hatred of the White man for the Blacks and his desire to exterminate them. This might seem plausible. But such an approach misses the fundamental causes that are embodied in the very nature of the South African State which the regime seeks to maintain, perpetuate and buttress with all manner of laws, even to denying the rule of law itself. The rulers, of whatever political persuasion, conceive of South Africa as a White man's country. This does not mean that South Africa is not a class society or escapes the implications of a capitalist class society even among the Whites. The fact is that racism is a function of class exploitation. It reinforces and facilitates the most ruthless economic exploitation of the Blacks.

Now the world knows that South Africa is the most highly industrialised country in Africa. It knows that industry and commerce produce by far the largest national income which provides the luxurious living of the Whites and supports what is relatively the biggest military machine in the world, as well as a huge police force. Foreign investors, too, know that South Africa can guarantee a very high, if not the highest rate of profit anywhere, thanks to the ruthless capacity of the racist Government to depress the standard of living of the Blacks to the lowest level. What the world does not know is that this flourishing industrial complex is not able to stand on its own feet. It cannot earn enough foreign currency to buy its own raw materials. For this it has to depend entirely on the mining industry and to a lesser extent on agriculture. But the crux of the matter is that it is precisely these two industries that depend almost entirely on cheap Black Labour. This circumstance determines the whole economic, social and political structure of South Africa. All the economic activity in the country depends, in the final analysis, on the availability of an inexhaustible supply of cheap Black Labour for the mines, which are the flywheel of the economy. This fact is the key to the understanding of the multiplicity of seemingly senseless and contradictory colour laws and the fanaticism with which the racists defend and justify them with the irrationality of demented men.

The tremendous expansion of the South African economy at the end of the second world war, when new and richer gold mines were opened in the Orange Free State, created an acute and chronic shortage of labour. In the past, South Africa had always been able to supplement its labour force from the neighbouring territories as far afield as Central and East Africa, so much so that to this day fully 60% of Black Labour in the mines comes from outside South Africa. Now the shortage of labour has assumed the proportion of an acute crisis. With the granting of independence, the African States, who in turn demanded the liberation of their fellow-men in South Africa, went so far as to advocate the boycott of all South African goods. The real threat to the racists, however, lay in a far greater danger. The possibility that these States might extend the boycott to include the withholding of labour hangs over them like the sword of Damocles. The effect of such a boycott would deal a stunning blow to the South African economy. It would not only cripple the mines irreparably; it would send toppling down that whole industrial complex which carries a huge edifice with all its magnificence and luxurious living for the Whites only, not to mention their apparently impregnable

ramparts bristling with the most sophisticated armoury that gold can buy.

It was at this point that the white citizens through the ballot box handed power over to the fascist wing of the *herrenvolk*. They were deemed the most suited for the tasks ahead by reason of their tradition and political outlook. Untrammelled by any considerations of democracy, they could move over to fascistic methods, not with diffidence but with the greatest alacrity. They had to turn the screw even tighter for the regimentation of Black labour. They conceived the idea of creating a vast labour reservoir into which every able-bodied African man and woman – and indeed not so able – could be driven. From this reservoir they could be tapped through certain inescapable channels in specific quotas according to the needs of each sector of industry.

The concept itself is an inhuman one and its application must of necessity violate every norm of human decency. All the Colour legislation, which fills the statute book to bursting-point, has been directed to this end. A Black man in South Africa exists for no other purpose but to feed the Moloch of the gold mines, to toil in the White man's farms, which are heavily subsidised to earn foreign currency, and to turn the wheels of industry. For the Government to achieve this, the Black man must be stripped of every political right and indeed even of ordinary human rights. The law that disfranchised every single Black person in the whole country was designed to make him, by the very law of the land, countryless. The stated aims of this Act is to settle each ethnic group in its own area. Under it, they promptly declared the whole of South Africa a "White Group Area", with the exception of little enclaves dotted here and there and strategically placed for labour purposes, the total extent of which is less than 13% of the land area of the country.*

There is no need to torture ourselves and the reader by retailing the long list of sordid and sadistic laws that ring round the Black people of South Africa. It requires little imagination to visualise the outrage ceaselessly perpetrated on the individual man, women and child who has the misfortune to be born Black in that benighted country of ours – the sheer violence of it all. Statisticians never tire of publishing the inordinate number of Black people in prison in South Africa or tables of life expectancy and mortality. But these remain mere figures on paper. The Blacks know the reality from the book of their own grim experience. Every fifty seconds of the day round the clock a Black man or women is being arrested for failing to carry on their person a piece of paper called a Pass. (See 1968 report). According to the report of the medical officer of health, in Port Elizabeth, one of the big cities, 63% of all African children born in the segregated locations die before they reach the age of five years, of malnutrition or disease resulting from it. The people themselves have no need of such reports. They know that every three or four minutes every day of the year they bury one of their children. If this is not genocide then we do not know the meaning of the word. The people, speaking in the language of the soil, put it thus: "Our women stand astride over a yawning grave; give birth to babies who go straight from the womb into the gaping earth."

And those who survive – what happens to them? What is their prospect in life? Before they reach the age of puberty they are tied to the inescapable treadmill of

*Passage on legislation to regiment African labour is here omitted. For a further analysis see: Address to a Committee of the United Nations. (Ed.)

the industrial machine. By their mid-thirties they are sucked dry. Statistical figures give forty years as the life-expectancy for Afriancs. They are then thrown out of the industrial complex and are left to shuffle their way back to find their graves in the "Reserves" that are euphemistically called "homelands" or Bantustans. For these Bantustans are not only reservoirs of labour; they are also a vast graveyard for the dead as well as the living.

Yes, the Black population in South Africa is being physically decimated. But we ask for no pity. For the very fact that we are fighting against this evil system demonstrates the indestructibility of the spirit of man and all that is noble in him. But what of the Whites who benefit from this vile system and support it? What of the army of civil servants, the minions who have to administer the laws? They may bask in their physical well-being, but they, too, are being destroyed. They are being so spiritually and morally maimed that they hardly qualify to belong to the human race.

We know that history never poses tasks for immediate solution before any generation unless that generation has the capacity to solve them. We are proud that that responsibility should fall on us. The young men and women who are at present arraigned before the courts in South Africa, together with those still held in detention and subjected to untold tortures, belong to this generation. Their crime is that they are dedicated to bringing an end to this barbarous system.

We may well ask: Who is on trial here? One almost feels pity for the judge who is called upon to condemn the very people who by their actions prove themselves to be the repository and guardian of all that is good in humanity.

ADPUSA

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Chapter 3

Memorandum to the Organisation of African Unity

Analysis of The Political Situation in South Africa

TWO STRUGGLES

The subject of the complex political situation in South Africa is so vast that in the limited space at our disposal we can deal only with those aspects that have a bearing on the struggles of the immediate future. It is a matter of great urgency that we should understand what is the key to the situation, namely, *that there are two separate struggles going on at present in South Africa*. On the face of it they may seem to be one and the same struggle and they are often assumed to be the same by the outside world. But the fact is that they are totally different in aim, in dimension and in direction.

The first is the National Liberation Movement of the Oppressed Peoples of South Africa, in which the whole of the African peasantry in the "Reserves" is involved. The basic struggle is not one that the outside hears or reads about. Yet in the last decade it has grown in intensity throughout the country. It is a struggle far more grim than the one that is frequently published in the newspapers throughout the world.

The second struggle is the conflict between the representatives of imperialism in the South Africa and the Boer or Afrikaner fascist wing, the Nationalist Government that has been in power since 1948. It is this conflict with all its ramifications that receives publicity both in the home and the world press, though naturally it is not presented in those terms.

This has the effect of creating confusion and blurring the real political issues involved. The unfortunate fact is that a section of our oppressed people themselves has been drawn into this conflict. Some of our best men and women are sacrificing their lives in it. But they are being sacrificed on the altar of imperialism in its own defence.

Now unless we and the rest of the independent States in Africa understand the nature of these two separate and indeed ultimately opposing struggles, and in our actions are guided by this understanding, the cause of liberation of our people in South Africa will be lost and the sacrifice of our bravest fighters will have been in vain.

The first and true struggle for liberation has as its immediate objective, liberty and land. It leads to political freedom and freedom from want.

The Tactics of Imperialism

The second struggle declares as its objective the removal of the Verwoerd Nationalist Government from power. But its ultimate aim though an unavowed one, is *neo-colonialism*, that is, the loosening of some of the more obvious bonds of political slavery while ensuring the economic stranglehold of imperialism on the soil of South Africa.

Imperialism has to resort to the strategem of channelling the deep discontents of the people and harnessing their energies to its own conflicts and rivalries, thus diverting the oppressed from the true struggle for liberation. To this end they employ all the tricks and resources of publicity, devices that should be familar to us through their long history of divide and rule.

The complex political situation in South Africa can be more clearly understood, also, when we view it in the setting of the Cold War where there is a confrontation of two opposing social systems on a world scale – socialism versus imperialism.

After the Second World War British imperialism emerged so weakened that it could no longer hold down all its colonies by force of arms. It had to adopt more subtle methods in order to maintain its hold on its vast empire. It evolved a new policy of granting political independence while seeking to strengthen its economic control on its former colonies. In the intense competition between imperialism and socialism the Western imperialists in general adopted similar tactics, especially as they were confronted with the disastrous effects of the policy of French imperialism in Indo-China and Algeria. Their long history of the oppression of people of Colour has placed them at a disadvantage. Imperialism is eager to bury its shameful past.

It is in this context that the South African Nationalist Government has become a polecat in the community of the Western Nations. Its apartheid policy and its *herrenvolkism* – the myth of the master race – stinks in the nostrils of the world. Thus Verwoerd becomes a severe embarrassment to the West and has to be removed. It has become the task of imperialism to replace him with a more acceptable government, at once less obviously oppressive and at the same time capable of safeguarding its large investments.

But imperialism finds itself up against a difficulty. It is not possible to remove the Nationalist Government through the ballot. The only people in South Africa who have the vote are the three million Whites, of whom the Boer (Afrikaners) are in the majority. Now the Afrikaners have organised themselves not so much by class as by race. In every sphere they are organised separately into Afrikaner Trade Unions, Afrikaner Churches, teachers' organisations and the Afrikaner Chamber of Commerce, etc. Over all is one federal Afrikaner body (F.A.K.) which is controlled by the Broederbond, the fascist brotherhood at the core of the Nationalist Party. Through the F.A.K. the Broederbond controls all the Afrikaner organizations down to the lives of individuals. It is difficult for any Afrikaner to vote against the Nationalist Party. In the present situation then, and in the foreseeable future, it is not possible to vote into power a Government more suitable to imperialism.

But imperialism is faced with the necessity of getting rid of Verwoerd. The international situation is fast deteriorating and Verwoerd with his intransigent

policy of apartheid continues to place in jeopardy not only the large investments in South Africa but also the economic stakes that Western imperialism has placed in the continent of Africa. He endangers the vast plans of neo-colonialism.

After the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, the news of which echoed round the world, British imperialism tried to bring about the downfall of the Verwoerd Government by manipulating the stock-exchange. This plan failed. Why? In South Africa, Britain alone has more than a thousand million pounds of investments. In addition to this, about 79% of industrial and commercial activity in the country is in the hands of the English-speaking section who support the politics of British imperialism against Verwoerdism. Thus any attempt at financial manipulation recoiled first on the heads of the financiers and their local supporters.

Imperialism had to find other means of unseating Verwoerd, who in the eyes of the West is leading the country into an abyss. The organisation of demonstrations, passive resistance campaigns, pass-burnings and the threat of one-day strikes – strikes controlled from above – were calculated to cause confusion in the country in order to frighten and alarm the White electorate into rejecting the Nationalist Government.

It is in this way, also, that confusion was created amongst the oppressed people themselves, who became involved in the conflict between imperialism and Verwoerd. All this activity was given much publicity in the herrenvolk press and therefore in the world press. It was all part of the tactics of attempting to dislodge Verwoerd. And note the effects. The more imperialism tried to embarrass Verwoerd, the more viciously he hit back at the oppressed people. Many were jailed and organisations were banned.

Verwoerd on his part started an anti-Communist witch-hunt, presenting himself as a bulwark in defence of Western Civilisation. He staged the dramatic, long drawn-out Treason trial of more than 150 people, of whom the great majority were members of Black organisations. When this venture failed, he launched into a series of diabolical legislative measures culminating in the Sabotage Act and the 90-Day Detention Act (1963) which damns any protest or opposition to apartheid under the blanket term of Communism. Thus today in South Africa there is what is known as statutory Communism.

In the immediate battle against the local representatives of imperialism Verwoerd armed himself with extraordinary powers which he is now able to use in an attempt to crush the real liberatory Movement – the Movement that is fighting against both Verwoerdism and imperialism.

Vulnerability of the South African Economy

In order to appreciate the desperate plight of imperialism, it is necessary to take a look at the imperialist investments and the state of the economy in South Africa itself, which are under a constant threat because of Verwoerd's reckless apartheid policy. As we have said, Britain alone has a thousand million pounds invested in South Africa. The king-pin of the economy is the gold-mining industry and the gold-mines are dependent on cheap African labour.

In 1959, for example, a total of 62025 Whites were employed on the mines but

487,982 Africans. The mining industry – gold, diamonds, coal – is the biggest earner of foreign exchange. In 1959 it made available for direct import a sum of 215 million pounds. Although secondary industry produces by far the major part of the national income supplying the luxuries enjoyed by the whites, nevertheless it is not able to stand on its own feet. In 1959 it showed a debit balance of 175 million pounds, so that it depends for its foreign credit on the mining industry and agriculture. And these are precisely the two industries that depend almost entirely on cheap African labour. In short, it is the Africans who by their labour carry on their backs not only the gold mines and agriculture but also secondary industry, and therefore the whole of the South African economy.

Now, though all the racist laws of South Africa are geared to providing the cheap labour vital to the profits of the mines and the White farms, there is always a chronic shortage of such labour. In 1959 there were as many as 650,000 African labourers from territories outside South Africa employed on the mines and the farms. 60% of all the African mine-workers in the gold mines were recruited from the surrounding African territories. The Portuguese, for example, have a standing agreement with the Government of South Africa for the sale of 100,000 African labourers a year.

When we bear all these factors in mind, we realise the vulnerability of the whole South African economy which could be gravely crippled by the withdrawal of its labour-force. At the present moment there is a worldwide campaign for the boycott of South African products, spearheaded by the independent African States. But something far more dangerous and effective would be their boycott of LABOUR, that is, the withdrawal of mine labour supplied by the territories outside South Africa.

This is what imperialism fears most of all. It would have a most devastating effect. It would cripple both the mining industry and agriculture both of which are the sole earners of the foreign credit that secondary industry so sorely needs. With one fell blow the African States could shatter the economy of South Africa, the economy that sustains the monstrous armaments, the army, the police force and the vast arsenals of war with which the fascist Verwoerd Government is preparing to crush the liberatory Movement, and in the process precipitate war on an international scale.

In the threatening boycott of labour, imperialism sees the sword of Damocles hanging over the South African economy and also over its huge investments. Both parties in the conflict, Afrikaner fascism and imperialism, are acutely aware of the threat. But they each have their own plans for solving it. Imperialism sees its salvation in easing the sharp tensions in South Africa and in granting some concessions to the Blacks, that is, the Africans, Coloureds and Indians. They want especially to win over the goodwill of the intellectuals. They would use the Black intellectuals as their frontline of defence. They are even prepared to see a few Black faces in Parliament, though they would not allow the Africans to be in the majority, as in the independent African States. And this is a most important factor when we are considering the complex political struggle in South Africa.

A pre-condition for these imperialist plans, however, is the removal of the Nationalist Government from power and for this they will use all methods. It is in

this perspective that the machinations of the imperialist agents are revealed in a diabolical light. They are harnessing the discontent of the people, their aspirations and their willingness to sacrifice themselves, but it is a battle that has nothing to do with the struggle for liberation. The whole imperialist press in South Africa is geared to the achievement of this aim. It is in this set-up that some of our bravest men and women are being thrown to the wolves.

Verwoerd's Tactics

Verwoerd on his part sees another solution. He believes that with his military build-up he can destroy the liberatory Movement and by intensifying his apartheid laws he can further regiment labour to meet the requirements of the economy, even if the African States should withhold labour from their territories.

The Group Areas Act, for example, which separates the people into different racial pens, is designed to turn the country into a White Group Area, with pockets reserved for the Coloureds, Indians, and Africans, strategically placed throughout the country. These constitute labour reservoirs for the mines, the farms and industry.

Then there is the proposed creation of "Bantustans", which are cynically called independent States for Africans. To begin with, these so-called States can neither be States nor can they be independent. In the first place they are not viable. They comprise in all 12.9% of the land area of South Africa for the accommodation of four-fifths of the population. The so-called Parliament consists in the main of Government chiefs, who are appointed and paid by it and are liable to be dismissed if they do not carry out government orders. The main function of the chiefs is to facilitate the recruitment of labour throughout the "Bantustans" for the mines, the White farms and industry.

One of the most sinister features of these "Bantustans" is the attempt to re-establish tribalism. Every African man, woman and child is to be classified under one tribe or another, whether they work in the towns or live in the Reserves. Everyone must come under tribal law. Common law has been abolished and the right of *Habeas Corpus* for the individual has been withdrawn. The word of the chief is law. If a man fails to obey the order of a chief, he is guilty of a criminal offence. In actual practice these laws permit police terror throughout the Reserves and indeed they reinforce it.

This seemingly senseless and unnecessarily brutal regimentation is a logical concomitant of a forced labour system. The whole purpose is to enable the chiefs to draft labour in the required quantities. This is Verwoerd's reply to the problem of labour. At this moment populations are being reshuffled according to tribes that no longer exist. Each chief is armed not only with extraordinary powers but with weapons for his henchmen. Verwoerd sees in the chiefs his particular front-line of defence for herrenvolkism. They are going to be used as a fifth column for the purpose of crushing the liberatory Movement.

The Battle for Unity. Two Outlooks

To those outside South Africa it may seem strange that the oppressed people should be so blind to their own interests that they have allowed themselves to be

made use of by the rival parties of the oppressors. It is a simple matter to understand the behaviour of the chiefs who are dreaming of the dead past of tribalism and think that by attaching themselves to Verwoerd they will regain some of their long-lost power. It is a different matter, however, with the African intellectuals who have accepted the norms of present-day society.

Here it must be stated that for the last twenty years there have been two different outlooks amongst the leaders of the oppressed; there have been two divergent policies which have led to two opposing directions in the conduct of the struggle. It is precisely at this time, when a new phase in the objective situation is opening up, that it is imperative for the leaders to ask themselves in what direction their policies are leading them and the people with them.

There are those who saw the struggle as a question of pleading their cause before the *herrenvolk* and hoping for justice and a change of heart. This was specially true of the older intellectuals, who in this were following an old and honoured tradition of attachment to the liberal bourgeoisie in South Africa.

Their political struggle consisted in deputations, beginning in the days of Victoria, "the Great White Queen", and followed by innumerable other deputations to successive South African Governments. Such ideas die hard, especially when they have always received the fulsome support of the liberals who were well aware that, as long as the Africans followed this policy of humbly pleading their cause, so long were the investments of imperialism safe in South Africa.

It was this policy that was followed by the oldest political organisation, the African National Congress, established in 1912 during the crisis of the Land Act. Its leaders had an attachment to and a reliance upon the local representatives of imperialism.

But this policy of the older leaders was the source of the incapacity of the African National Congress to extend itself into a real national organisation dynamically connected with the masses of the oppressed, whose aspirations they claimed to express. To this day it has no roots amongst the peasantry anywhere in the country, though the peasantry comprise by far the greatest majority of the oppressed in South Africa. To such leaders the function of an organisation was chiefly as an instrument for bringing pressure to bear on the government in order to gain concessions. It is for the same reason that they have never appreciated the vital necessity of aligning themselves with the many people's *organisations* in the country, that is, the organisations among the peasants, the workers and the professionals. In fact about 1940 they allowed themselves to be wrenched out of the federation uniting all the African organisations, the All-African Convention (A.A.C.) to which they had belonged since its foundation during the political crisis of 1935, when the Africans were robbed of their last vestiges of parliamentary voting rights and were fobbed off with the so-called Native Representation Act.

The explanation for the policy of the African National Congress clearly lies in its attachment to the liberal bourgeoisie. This attachment had a powerful influence both upon the outlook of the leadership of the Congress, on the structure of the organisation and on the nature of the struggle. It is this reliance on the goodwill of the representatives of imperialism that dictated their repeated declarations that theirs was a non-violent struggle — even as late as the Sharpeville days of 1960. In

fact it was precisely on the issue of such attachments that the youth in the African National Congress broke away in 1959 to form the Pan Africanist Congress. Their stated reason for the break-away was that the African National Congress was too much under the influence and control of the Whites.

The All-African Convention Calls for Unity

A second trend manifested itself amongst the oppressed, marking a sharpening of political consciousness. It crystallised itself in 1943 during the ferment created by the Second World War, when the All-African Convention sent out a clarion call for the *Unity not only of all Africans but of all sections who suffered under a common oppression, the Africans, Coloureds and Indians.*

This was a revolutionary concept in the given conditions of S. Africa. The All-African Convention called for unity on the basis of a clearly-defined programme, rejecting inferiority with all its manifold forms of racial oppression and demanding full and equal rights for all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed. It enunciated that the absolute pre-condition for the creation of a truly national organisation for the successful conduct of the struggle is the complete break-away from the tutelage of white herrenvolk parties, be it liberal or any other party.

This new policy meant striking out into a completely independent path of struggle and the establishment of the Movement on a principled basis free from herrenvolk influences and ideas.

The federal organisation uniting many Coloured organisations, the National Anti-C.A.D. (that is, against the proposed Coloured Affairs Department), responded to the call for *unity* and together with the All-African Convention formed the *Non-European Unity Movement* in 1943. At the first all-in Conference there were over 150 organisations and branches represented.

The African National Congress was also invited, as well as the South African Indian Congress. In fact, for several years special seats were kept open in the Executive of the Unity Movement for the African National Congress. The South African Indian Congress, which was at that time under the complete control of the Indian merchant class leadership, was invited by the leaders of the Unity Movement to a special conference in 1944, where the question of Unity was thrashed out. The leaders of the South African Indian Congress refused to accept the demand for the full franchise, stating quite frankly that they were pledged to a policy of compromise with the Smuts Government of the day, under the old Ghandi Agreement which had placed the Indian population in a special position. The African National Congress, for its part, preferred to seek its allies amongst the liberal bourgeoisie rather than with the other sections of the oppressed.

The question of unity has been the cardinal point in the movement in South Africa for twenty years, especially as the struggle began to grow in intensity.

Negotiations for Unity

On three separate occasions between 1943 and 1949 the rank and file of the

African National Congress at their own Conferences forced a resolution demanding that its leaders must open negotiations with the federal body, the All-African Convention, with a view to restoring unity. On the first two occasions the negotiating parties, that is, the representatives from the African National Congress and the All-African Convention, agreed that the African National Congress should come back to its former position and take its place beside other African organisations in the federal body, the All-African Convention, which they agreed was to be the mouthpiece of the African people. In spite of the acceptance of unity at these two meetings, the leadership of the African National Congress chose to ignore the decision to re-unite with an organisation which was at that time being pilloried by the imperialist press in South Africa as being "extremist", "unreasonable" and "unrealistic" in its demands.

On the third occasion, in 1949, when the rank and file of Congress once more called upon its leadership to approach the All-African Convention in order to re-establish unity, a special meeting of the leadership was called at Easter. The Minutes of that meeting speak for themselves. The records show that Mr. I. B. Tabata, on behalf of the delegation for the All-African Convention, moved the following resolution:

"In view of the political crisis facing the African people today, in view of the urgent necessity to unite the people for the purpose of fighting oppression and for full democratic rights, this joint Session of the African National Congress and the All-African Convention Executives Committees, meeting in Bloemfontein this 17th day of April, 1949, resolves that this unity be based on:

- (a) A demand for full citizenship rights equal to those of the European.
- (b) A rejection of inferior status as expressed in the segregated inferior political institutions created for a so-called child-race and for the perpetuation of white domination, viz. the Native Representative Council, the Bunga, the Location Advisory Boards and any other institution of a similar nature which may be created to substitute, supplement or strengthen the existing institutions.
- (c) The acceptance of Non-collaboration, that is, the rejection of the Native Representative Council, the Bunga, the Location Advisory Boards, Native Representation Act, etc."

Here I may explain that a Bunga is simply an instrument for assisting the Native Commissioners in the rural areas, that is, the Reserves, in the work of administration. The Location Advisory Board performs the same function in the segregated urban locations. The Native Representation Council, sarcastically called a Native Parliament, has no powers of legislation or administration. These were merely toys to keep the people from demanding their right to sit in Parliament, Provincial and Municipal Councils.

The acceptance of the policy of Non-collaboration is an active policy involving the refusal to assist the oppressor in operating those separate institutions for our oppression. It means the rejection and active boycott of all separate elections under the Native Representation Act of 1936, whereby three White people were elected

by African voters to represent the whole African population in a Parliament of 153 representatives for the White minority.

At this special meeting of the Executives of the African National Congress and the All-African Convention, the delegates of the All-African Convention made a special offer in order to eliminate any wasteful spirit of rivalry at that crucial moment in our struggle. (The Nationalist Government had come to power in 1948.) They proposed that in the Executive of the united federal body, the African National Congress would be guaranteed one third of the seats and in addition, it could contest the remaining two seats, provided that the African National Congress accepted the following conditions:

1. The acceptance of the Ten-Point Programme, that is, the demand for all those rights that are enjoyed by the Whites only; the right of the full franchise, to vote and be voted into Parliament for all adults in South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed.
2. Non-collaboration with the oppressor.
3. The acceptance of the principle of *unity of all oppressed groups, Africans, Coloureds and Indians*.

It should be explained here that this was the policy that the imperialist press called extremist, revolutionary and 'unrealistic'.

Negotiations for Unity broke down. The Congress leadership could not accept the policy because (a) they were operating the very institutions, the Native Representative Council and the *Bunga* (Council) against which the Convention was calling for a boycott; (b) they were committed to supporting and organising the elections for the three White candidates to represent the African people in the White Parliament. Invariably the candidates were the liberal bourgeoisie, with whom an attachment with the Congress was of long standing. It might be mentioned here that some of the chief spokesmen for the African National Congress (ANC) were Messrs. Selope Thema, J. B. Marks and Oliver Tambo.

The failure to achieve unity at this stage was a triumph for the representatives of imperialism in South Africa, assisted by the local Communist Party, which, for its own reasons, fought to keep the African National Congress out of the Unity of all the oppressed.

These facts throw into bold relief the divergent paths followed by the two tendencies of the liberatory Movement in South Africa. They reveal in a concrete way the logic of the position of the two groups, following upon their divergent policies.

We repeat that it is of paramount importance for the leaders today to ask themselves in which direction their policies are leading the people. *Whose interests are being served objectively* by their actions? In whose battle are they calling upon the people to engage? In this new and critical phase of the struggle for liberation, and within the framework of the contest between Afrikaner fascism and the representatives of imperialism — all of which is taking place within a larger context of the confrontation of imperialism versus socialism on a world scale — it behoves the leaders to pause and take stock before it is too late.

The All-African Convention's Conception of the Struggle

The struggle as conceived by the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement in 1943 compelled them to insist on the maximum unity of all the organisations representing the different layers of society. From the outset they foresaw that in the given S. African conditions, it would not be possible for a herrenvolk Government peacefully to grant the demands of the oppressed people. It was not a question of pleading for justice against this or that racial law, or of bringing pressure on the Government to gain this or that concession. *Neither is it possible for any one section of the oppressed to gain freedom for itself only.* It is a question of a fundamental struggle against a whole system of oppression. The whole of South African society has to be re-organised from top to bottom, i.e. politically, economically and socially.

It is these aims that dictate our whole approach to the vital question of unity; our approach to the form of organisation that is necessary; our insistence on the independence of the struggle and our approach to the function of an organisation.

With this in mind the All-African Convention set itself the task of organising the oppressed on a nation-wide scale, with a single aim and programme, the Ten-Point Programme, and to bring the struggle under one leadership. The aim was to bring under one roof the unnumberable organisations, political organisations, civic bodies, teachers' associations, peasant committees and organisations and workers' organisations and to politicise them. In order to conduct a sustained struggle it was necessary for them to know not only *what* they were fighting *against*, but also to formulate clearly their positive aims in the struggle, to visualise the *goal of liberation*.

Peasantry the Key to the Liberatory Struggle

In this situation, the All-African Convention understood that it was of paramount importance, to begin with, to concentrate on winning the support of the peasantry. This was not only because the landless peasants comprise by far the greatest majority, but because they are the most exploited and oppressed and therefore constitute the greatest revolutionary potential. In addition to this there is the all-important factor of migrant labour – that peculiar situation in South Africa where not only the mines and the White farms but also heavy industry are run on peasant labour. Thus no serious struggle could take place in South Africa without the participation and co-operation of the peasantry.

The main purpose of all the segregationist or apartheid laws in South Africa has always been to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour. All the regulations and proclamations operating in the Native Reserves are designed to smoke out the Africans from their homes and force them to enter the inescapable recruiting channels that feed the economy of the country.

The so-called Rehabilitation Scheme in the Reserves, which the herrenvolk has been trying to enforce for more than fifteen years, was nothing more than an attempt to rob the peasantry still further of land and cattle and render them destitute victims of the recruiting machine.

The struggle took the form of resistance to the Rehabilitation Schemes. The first

time that the All-African Convention caught the attention of the peasants, particularly in the Transkei (Cape Province) was when they joined the battle against the Government Schemes. It brought into the struggle political consciousness, linking land hunger of the peasants with their lack of political rights.

In this way the struggle was put on the road of the true liberatory struggle with the slogan of *Land and Liberty*. In every district throughout the Transkei there existed a branch of the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) which was itself affiliated to the All-African Convention. The membership of these branches acted as cadres of the All-African Convention in the villages, carrying the policy of the organising of the peasantry into the national body.

For the first time in our political history the intellectuals were integrated with the peasantry and made common cause with them in their struggles. We formed peasant committees in the villages which served as centres of resistance to the Government schemes.

Government Attacks

The Government replied with vicious measures to suppress the Movement. But the peasants continued to resist. The police and the army were called in and surrounded the district of Mount Ayliff near Pondoland, where a leader of the All-African Convention was arrested and charged with incitement. From far and near the peasants attended his trial to demonstrate their solidarity with the All-African Convention.

The Movement spread to other districts in the Transkei and went over into Witzieshoek in the Orange Free State, where the army was called in once more to shoot and arrest the people, destroy their crops and burn their huts. Similar incidents took place in the Northern Transvaal, in Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland. The people were subjected to a reign of terror. But the Movement spread to the Glen Grey district in the Cape Province and across to Zululand in Natal. Everywhere the peasant leaders of the resistance were being exiled and thousands were put in jail. The first exiles were peasant members of the All-African Convention in the Glen Grey District.

Thereafter the Government turned its attack on the All-African Convention itself. The *Cape African Teachers' Association* was outlawed. By this time the All-African Convention had linked together the struggle against the Rehabilitation Scheme with the struggle against the Verwoerdian debased "Bantu Education". All the members of the Executive of the Cape African Teachers' Association were summarily dismissed from their posts, and later hundreds of teachers, members of the Cape African Teachers' Association, lost their jobs. In this way, the Teachers' Association was the first African organisation to be outlawed.

Yet all this time the imperialist press in South Africa was strangely silent. The world was never told about this struggle, the most fierce in the recent history in South Africa. Both imperialism and Verwoerdian fascism were united in an attempt to crush it. The army would surround a village, mow the people down, rape their women and destroy their crops in the fields.

But the Imperialist press maintained its calculated silence on such outrages. Why?

Such a struggle was undermining the very basis of the economic structure. Whoever organised the peasantry in South Africa was interfering with the vital source of labour for the mines, farms and industry, including heavy industry. This Movement had to be crushed at all costs. But even more than this was at stake.

This was the real national struggle that is fighting against both Verwoerd fascism and imperialism. It is the struggle for liberation in South Africa. In short, it is the struggle that is fighting for the overthrow of the whole political, social and economic system of the *herrenvolk*.

At this stage it is important to correct a misconception that has been created in the outside world. The dramatic event of the Sharpeville and Langa (Cape) massacres in 1960, resulting from the passive resistance campaign of the young Pan Africanist Congress, has been presented as the starting-point of the struggle of the African people for liberation. Far from this being so, the truth of the matter is that these events were an overflow, a spilling over of the tidal wave of resistance that had engulfed practically all the Reserves in the country. The interesting fact is that the men who marched in the Cape Town demonstration from Langa Location were not the townspeople. They were practically all living in the segregated barracks in the Location, that is, they were the migrant labourers who had been forced to leave their families in the Reserves. It was the grim struggle that was going on in the Reserves that influenced them to join the march.

It was at this point that the imperialist press, with a blaze of publicity, stepped in and gave a distorted picture of the events in their sum total, thus falsifying the true perspective. It gave the impression that this was the beginning of the struggle; they isolated it from the main stream and succeeded in capturing and harnessing it to the battle of imperialism against Verwoerd.

While the imperialist press has focused attention on this so-called new struggle in the towns — of which it had full control — it has kept a blanket of silence on the struggle in the Reserves. While publicising every victim of the bannings, house arrests and recently the 90-day Detention Act in the towns, so that today the English press has a compilation of over a hundred names of the detainees, the same press maintained a rigid silence firstly on the fact that for the last three years there has been in force in the Reserves a Proclamation enabling any policeman to arrest and incarcerate any African on mere suspicion, and that he can be kept in jail for an indefinite period. Under this Proclamation thousands of African peasants are languishing in jail. Secondly, the press maintained its silence about the officials of the All-African Convention. Yet during the same period, and more particularly after the Pondoland disturbances, its leaders were jailed, put under house arrest or banned.

The aim of imperialism and its press is clear. It is to shut off from the knowledge of the world the true liberatory movement, the struggle that is being carried on with great heroism particularly by the peasants in the Reserves and without any help whatsoever from any source in the outside world. The purpose of imperialism is to isolate the struggle, smother it and crush it with those armaments it has enabled Verwoerd to pile up.

The Struggle Intensifies

Nevertheless the true struggle today has reached a new level. It has acquired

depth and breadth and is moving forward with a new momentum. The All-African Convention has once more issued a call for unity. It has called upon the oppressed in all walks of life to organise themselves into a nation. For it is only as a nation acting under a single unified command that they can prove themselves equal to the demands of the present crucial situation.

The All-African Convention could now speak with greater authority which it had earned over a long period during all the struggles of the peasants. It had earned the respect of the people, not only because its leaders had been instructed to remain in the country and face persecution together with the masses, but also because it had not hesitated to criticise the masses when it had considered them to be making mistakes.

To give one example: before the ill-prepared revolt in Pondoland in 1960, the peasant leaders had come all the way to the Eastern Cape to consult the Executive of the All-African Convention. They were advised against the revolt at that time and the leaders were convinced that the Executive was right. However, the masses ignored the advice, with disastrous results.

Now the fearlessness of the Convention leaders in going against the stream has borne good fruit. Today most of these village committees that participated in the Pondoland revolt belong to the All-African Convention. In addition to this, the leaders have come as individuals into the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (A.P.D.U.S.A.), a national political organisation which is itself affiliated to the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement.

The last six months have seen the All-African Convention grow by leaps and bounds. In addition to the village committees all over the Transkei, it has now won over *The Makhuluspan*, numerically the biggest organisation in all South Africa. We have been penetrating also into the towns, where for the first time, African, Coloured and Indian workers and intellectuals are joining as individuals the new organisation.

As we write this document, news is coming in that the Verwoerd Government is letting loose its terrors on members of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa. And still the press maintains its silence.

Unity Essential to a Protracted Struggle

If the history of the last twenty years has taught us anything at all, it is that the Movement will continue to suffer unnecessary losses of our brave men and women, **UNLESS UNITY IS ACHIEVED.**

It has taught us:

- (a) Unity is a prime necessity for the successful conduct of a protracted struggle.
- (b) That a pre-condition for united struggle is a complete break with the agents of imperialism in South Africa.
- (c) That the maximum unity can only be achieved in the actual conduct of the struggle, provided that the struggle is an independent one, free from the influence of the ideas of any enemy class, and has a principled basis and a correct policy.

- (d) That a nation-wide organisation under a central command is essential for the waging of a protracted struggle for liberation.

This means that the numerous organisations must be brought under one leadership. A national political organisation, like an army, has its strategy and its tactics, which must be synchronised and put into operation under a single unified command. If this is not done, anarchy will reign, with frustration, disillusionment and wastage of human life following in its trail.

It should be added here that within the country itself, contrary to the beliefs abroad, there exists today far greater unity amongst the oppressed people of South Africa than there has been since the crisis of 1935, when all the African organisations of that time came together and decided to create the federal organisation, the All-African Convention as the mouthpiece of the African people.

Neo-Colonialism the Danger

In conclusion, we feel that it is a matter of great urgency to point out that the struggle in South Africa has reached a critical stage which might decide the course of events and the fate of our people for a long time to come.

We ask the Independent States on the continent of Africa who are committed to the assistance of their brothers in the South, to make a careful study of the complex situation in our country and to give us such assistance as will save us from the fate of NEO-COLONIALISM.

The decisions taken by them at the Addis Ababa Conference have far-reaching implications. It is for this very reason that we would urge that a full understanding of our complex political problems is of paramount importance.

It is within the power of the Independent States of Africa to give the kind of assistance that will land us in the quagmire of NEO-COLONIALISM. It is equally within their power to assist in putting the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa on the road leading to true independence, a road that leads to political liberty and freedom from want. It is a road that leads to the achievement of that society where there will be no exploitation of man by man, a society in which every man and woman shall have the opportunity to develop his or her potentialities to the utmost.

The people of South Africa cry out for aid and support from their brothers. They need it urgently. Time is running out.

“There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

Presented By:

I. B. TABATA:

PRESIDENT of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa and leader of the Delegation.

N. HONONO,
President of the All-African Convention.

Miss J. GOOL,
Chairman of the Working Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement. (now
The Unity Movement of South Africa).

November, 1963

Rhodesia: A New Stage in the Struggle in Southern Africa

(Transcript from a tape recording of a speech given at African Unity House, London, 6th February 1966)

In order to put the problem of Rhodesia into proper focus, I think we should see it in its setting as part of the Continent of Africa. In order to do this it will be necessary to deal with some of the aims of imperialism and try to understand what it is all about. It may seem a platitude to say that imperialism is a world phenomenon. Imperialism relates every event anywhere in the world with every other event. It thinks and plans on a world scale. For this reason it becomes imperative for us also to learn to think in terms of the world. For a long time our weakness has been to treat each event in isolation. We do not understand its ramifications, the relations between one event and others taking place elsewhere in the world. If it is our task to destroy imperialism as a world system, it becomes imperative for us to begin to think in terms of planning on an international scale and understand the relationship of forces in all parts of the world. It is time we acquainted ourselves with how the imperialists think and plan.

Now it is my view that, faced as we are with the problem of Rhodesia, all sorts of remedies and panaceas have been advocated, many of them quite unrealistic for the simple reason that they flow from an approach that isolates the Rhodesian problem. Rhodesia serves a particular function in relation to the complex of Southern Africa and thus to the rest of Africa. If the progressive forces had understood this and had therefore tackled the problem differently, it would not have reached its present critical stage.

Neo-Colonialism – A Plan

First, we must see from the point of view of imperialism how this situation developed. After the Second World War there was a change in the approach of Imperialism to the problem of colonies. Britain was no longer able to hold its colonies as before and the United States was seeking to muscle in on the British colonies, which had been a closed concern for British imperialism. Britain, then, adopted what is called neo-colonialism. The plan was to hand over political

administration to the local leaderships in the various countries. But Britain maintained economic control over them. In the process of granting so-called independence, according to plan, Britain succeeded in India and hoped the plan would work well in Africa also. For a long time France thought to maintain the old colonial system, but was bled white by the forces of liberation. When it was driven out of Indo-China, the United States moved in. Thus in Vietnam today we see the United States attempting to fill in what imperialism considers to be a vacuum. With their great financial and military resources the United States intend to maintain that part of the continent of Asia under their domination. They realised that the revolution in Vietnam would be carried by its own momentum and, with the inspiration from China, the chances were that the revolution would be carried to its logical conclusion. For this reason the United States stepped in to try to crush the revolution.

When Britain had shown the road of neo-colonialism in Africa, Belgium thought she would do likewise. After being defeated in Algeria, France also adopted the plan of neo-colonialism in her other territories in Africa. But things didn't work according to plan in the Congo, so imperialism intervened under the guise of the United Nations. Lumumba, not realising the actual nature and function of the United Nations Organisation, invited it to come and assist him against Western imperialist powers. You know what happened thereafter. Lumumba was slaughtered and Tshombe took over on behalf of his masters. But to this day they are still looking for a person or group of persons to run the affairs of the Congo according to their dictates.

The Revolutionary Factor

Now it turns out that even the British policy is not succeeding as it was planned. A new factor has entered into the situation. It is a new process of vital significance, a continuous revolutionary process which is taking place throughout the world. Imperialism is faced with this process unfolding in Africa, too. All the governments that imperialism thought would run its affairs for it are proving to be unstable. Indeed it is hardly possible that they should be stable.

Before we deal with this aspect of it, let us deal further for a moment with what the imperialists themselves had planned. I am of the opinion that the African States were taken **unawares** by what has happened in Rhodesia because they accepted those declarations of imperialism — concerning independence — at face value. Why (they ask) should it not grant independence to Rhodesia as it did to other States? After all, Britain was willing and able to dismantle the Rhodesian Federation, in spite of all the threats of dire consequences by Welensky. Moreover, Zambia was the richest of the three colonies. It has the copper. Yet Britain handed Zambia over to a Black Government. At the time, people wondered why it took care to leave the air-force in the hands of the Rhodesian Government. Now we know why.

If the African States had realised that the granting of independence to one state after another was according to plan, part of a scheme that embraced the whole continent of Africa, they would not have been taken unawares by what is happening today.

Strategic Importance of South Africa

Imperialism has big plans for Africa. That continent is one of the richest in the world. It supplies the raw materials for the industries of Europe and the United States. It is vital to their nuclear industry. Imperialism is bent on maintaining control in Africa. The problem is how to maintain it. South Africa at the toe of the continent is an important base for imperialism, and from there it has to work upwards. It has to maintain two places that are vitally important to it; the one is South Africa, the other is the Congo, that huge country in the centre of Africa. Whoever dominates these two, dominates the African continent as a whole. That is why there was such a clamour over the Congo, so much violence and treachery. Apart from the fact that it is one of the richest countries in Africa in mineral resources, of far greater importance is its strategic position in relation to the continent as a whole.

That is one aspect of the overall plans of imperialism. But there is another. Imperialism seeks to maintain its economic grip on Africa. At the present state of development, it is well nigh impossible for the African States, operating on a capitalist base, to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. They have to rely on Europe and the United States for capital for development, for as long as imperialism keeps its hold on Africa. In this situation South Africa again becomes the deciding issue.

It depends on which way South Africa goes, whether or not Africa shall be placed in a position to free itself from the economic stranglehold of Europe and the United States. South Africa, with its great industrial potential, with its gold mines and its already high standard of industrial development, with its technical know-how and its mineral wealth, is the one country that could, if it became free, liberate the whole of Central and East Africa to start with. By freedom I don't mean the so-called independence that has been granted to the other African States. I mean real freedom and real democracy, if South Africa became a socialist State. South Africa, then, has the potential to establish an agriculture throughout Central and East Africa capable of sustaining the development of industry.

Such a development would immediately upset the plans of imperialism whereby the continent of Africa has to remain a perpetual client of Europe. With South Africa liberated, it could then free the whole of Southern Africa and from there a revolution could sweep northwards, knocking down those separate little states that are being kept in bondage to imperialism and whose foundations are inevitably shaky at the moment, for a revolution knows no artificial boundaries. As I have said, we are witnessing a process of a continuous unfolding of revolution in the continent of Africa. The imperialists know this and must do everything in their power to counter it.

It is time that the progressive forces in Africa also fully understood this process, and understood it well, in order to counter every move of imperialism. Thus I have, I hope, established the prime importance of South Africa in the imperialist plans and also the prime importance of a South African revolution in the plans of the progressive forces in Africa. Thus everything converges around South Africa, which is the main base of imperialism.

The other States around it are simply satellite States and whatever happens to them happens in a particular way because of their relationship with South Africa. This applies equally to the British Protectorates, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, to South West Africa (Namibia) and Southern Rhodesia. It is from this starting point that we have to examine the problem of Southern Rhodesia and why it is that British imperialism has decided to put a stop to what happened to be its declared policy up to now. The territory is far poorer than Zambia economically, but it is of the utmost importance to Britain in the complex of Southern Africa.

The Role of British Imperialism

If the African States had understood this, they would not have depended on Britain to liberate Rhodesia. If we had understood this the national liberation movements also would not have depended on Britain to grant Rhodesia its majority rule. Indeed, from the very beginning – as I think everyone knows – the nationalist Movements were calling on Britain to grant them majority rule, and then called on Britain to get rid of Smith. This very attitude of mind, which is a direct result of a mistaken approach to the problem, in itself puts the nationalist Movements at a disadvantage. You will notice that Britain sat quietly watching while one government after another in Rhodesia became more and more fascistic, until Smith took over. Then Britain quietly watched Smith decapitate the nationalist Movement. Yet this was a British colony.

When the African States brought the matter up at the United Nations, Britain at first said: "This is not our concern". "Rhodesia is a free country." And when the lawyers settled down to prove the sovereignty of the country vested in Britain, and proved it conclusively, Britain turned round and said: "Well, then, the U.N. should keep out of it. It is a matter for us to solve". Meanwhile Smith took action and declared UDI on his own. He did so because he had been encouraged by the Prime Minister Wilson himself. It is true it was embarrassing for Wilson when the impatient Smith actually declared UDI. Nonetheless Wilson had stated beforehand that even if he did so, Britain would not come and shoot down what was a rebel government. It would not treat rebellion as it had always done in the past. Smith would receive different treatment. And this of course encouraged Smith to do what Britain did not expect him to do. For that matter neither did Verwoerd (Prime Minister of South Africa) expect him to do it. His declaration of independence was an embarrassment to both of them. It suited them to maintain the position as it was, without drawing it to its logical conclusion.

The point I am making is this: all that happened in Rhodesia had been planned that way and was the result of a policy which is counter to the policy set for the rest of Africa to the North. Rhodesia itself is a buffer State acting as a protection between the North and South Africa. At the same time it is a jumping-off ground for South African forces in the process of re-subjugating Africa as a whole. For there is a new policy afoot, for the reconquest of Africa. As I have said, this granting of independence to African States had results they had not reckoned on. Because a new factor, the unfolding of a revolutionary process in Africa, has emerged, they have to alter their first tactic.

Reconquest of Africa

Now when the United States intervened in Vietnam, it was because the old imperialist policy was no longer workable. In Vietnam, when the French pulled out, they had to come in to stop the revolution. From there the United States intends to turn its attention to Africa. I have on a previous occasion mentioned that one aspect of the Vietnam War has not yet been examined, namely, the United States is flying a kite in this war. American imperialism wants to know how far it will be permitted to use those atrocious methods of destruction against the people. It wants to know if, when it turns seriously to the re-conquest of Africa, it will be permitted by the world to use napalm, poison gases and the rest of the atrocities it is now letting loose on the people of Vietnam. The continent of Africa is far too precious for the imperialists to allow it to break away from their orbit. In fact, it is the life-blood of the economy of Europe and the United States, to a certain extent. These are the reasons why we are faced with the problems we have today.

Basis of Unity

The African States have been trying to unite, but they have been encountering great difficulty and always will. It is my personal view that a continental government is incapable of consummation for as long as the various States have different economic bases. It will be necessary for the various States to have a common base. And a common base today can only be a socialist base. Since you cannot turn the wheels of history backwards, since there is a ferment on the continent of Africa, and since it is not possible for any of the countries to establish themselves on the basis of the *status quo*, the only possible unity can be achieved on a different economic base altogether. A continental government is possible only on the basis of united socialist States.

In my opinion the problem needs to be clearly formulated in this way, so that the various countries should link together their fight for unity and the aims of socialism, the economic aims with the political aims. Furthermore, it becomes the primary task therefore of all those States that are dedicated to a fight for unity in the African continent to assist and actively engage in the revolutionary movements all over the continent.

The Organisation of African Unity

It is true, we have the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). But the OAU is up against many difficulties. We can say that for as long as they are able to create a climate in which all the States come under the OAU, it is possible to inhibit the most reactionary States from doing what they would like to do. But this seems as far as the OAU can go. Those States which are willing and anxious to take action in the process of liberation, will have to do so irrespective of and apart from the OAU itself. You cannot expect the OAU to play a revolutionary role, to be the spearhead of revolution in Africa.

What Smith has done in Rhodesia has first of all shown up the position of the

OAU. The leaders of some of the African States have formulated it in this way. "We have passed brave resolutions, but when a tiny little country like Rhodesia acts as it has done we are unable to move." I am glad some of the African States feel incensed at their own inaction. It means they are going to move and they must move. What is likely to happen is that those few States who are serious about their business will now begin to coalesce together and will start perhaps in a small way to do something. Joint action by a few States will expose the ultra-reactionary States and draw the neutral ones towards themselves. At the same time they will begin to seek to unite themselves with the national liberation movements, an important step that was necessary in the first place.

National Liberation Movements

The Rhodesian situation poses this question: if the African States, as States, attack Rhodesia, they will know it is not simply Rhodesia they are attacking. They are up against South Africa. They are up against Portugal. In touching Portugal, they are touching the NATO powers. They know also that they are up against British imperialism and this is what makes them hesitate. This should force them to take stock of their own position. How much easier it would have been from every point of view, diplomatically as well, if they had concentrated on helping the revolutionary forces in Southern Africa and helped them also to unite, so that they had a plan for a revolutionary undertaking for the whole of Southern Africa.

If this had been, then Rhodesia would have been face to face with nationalist revolutionary movements and not with States. Thus any country that would have come to the assistance of Rhodesia would have exposed itself as intervening in the interests of British imperialism and of imperialism as a whole. In this way the African States would have been placed in a position of vantage. They could have given all the necessary assistance to the liberation movements without being called upon to intervene directly as States. At the same time they could have stood firm at the United Nations — or anywhere else — against direct imperialistic intervention in Rhodesia. Thus their position would have been much stronger, both from the point of view of international conventions and also from the moral point of view, in that they as States did not have to invade another State. They could claim the moral right to grant assistance to save the lives of their brothers who were being slaughtered by a pirate government, that has no legal status. They could claim — and rightfully so — that the Smith regime is a group of outlaws that had taken it upon itself to let loose a reign of terror upon a defenceless people, whose only crime was to claim the right of self-government in their own country and to decide their own fate as a nation. They could at the same time assert their right as African States, i.e. as neighbour States, to demand military intervention against any state that sought to support the fascist gangsters in Rhodesia. In this way they could isolate them, inhibit imperialism from coming to their aid, and call on all anti-fascist States to seal off Verwoerd from interfering in Rhodesia, as well as forbid the NATO powers from interfering through Portugal.

What the Rhodesian situation has brought into sharp focus is the vital necessity for all those engaged in the struggle for liberation to know, first, exactly what it is they are fighting for. If they do, they are in a position to choose their allies. They

would not make the mistake of reposing their faith in those who are, in the final analysis, their real enemies. Secondly, they must know whom they are fighting against. The enemy is not always the obvious one. They must be aware of all the political and economic ramifications of imperialism. I said before that imperialism thinks on a global scale. We, too, have to learn to see a given situation or a particular event as related to other events elsewhere in the world.

Once more I repeat: Africa is on the move. We are witnessing the unfolding of a revolutionary process on a continental scale. Indeed this process is taking place throughout the world, in the continents of Asia, Latin America, and in Africa.

The events in Rhodesia have helped to hasten this process in Africa. Smith has set in motion a train of events, the scope and power of which he has no conception. It is in this light that the Rhodesian crisis should be viewed. It becomes meaningful when it is seen as part of that whole complex of the struggles and conflicts in all of Southern Africa.

Chapter 5

Verwoerd's Assassination

The assassin's knife that plunged into Verwoerd's body did more than end the life of the Prime Minister of White South Africa. It has ripped wide open the facade of white unity and revealed the irreconcilable conflicts which beset the white ruling caste in South Africa and which have penetrated right through Afrikaner Nationalism, reaching its inner core, the *Broederbond*, that secret society which epitomised the desperate fanaticism of Afrikaner Baaskap. (bossdom)

We are not at the moment concerned with the individual who wielded the assassin's knife, though this in itself provides fascinating speculation. It is interesting to note that the racist South African press is trying to create the impression of a mystery man, at one moment said to be the son of a Greek or Portuguese and an African woman, or again said to have an Egyptian father. In other words, he has black blood in his veins. But the questions that stare one in the face are: how does a Black in South Africa come to be in the white sanctuary? How did he pass through the bristling army of Vorster's secret service and the army of armed guards surrounding Parliament? According to them this assassin is a foreigner, and a Black at that, newly arrived in South Africa. How did it come about that the many ware (pure-blooded) Afrikaners were passed over and he was chosen for employment as parliamentary messenger by Verwoerd's own civil service? To add to the mystery, he is known to have received large sums of money from a bank in Pretoria prior to his coming to South Africa.

We are not at this moment concerned with what bloody hand used the assassin as an instrument. We are concerned with the political setting of this deed and the dynamics of the unfolding situation in South Africa. The fact is, that behind the facade of great prosperity, economic boom and the apparent stability of White domination, looms a dark cloud over White South Africa. The spectre of the Black man rising to claim his rights haunts them. The whole of South African society is charged with tremendous tensions.

White South Africa is in a political sense living out of step with the world. In the midst of an atomic age it is inevitably attached to the industrial complex of the Western world, but nevertheless clings to political ideas that belong to a feudal age. Four-fifths of the population, comprising the oppressed Blacks, have been forcibly thrust back into tribalism in order to facilitate exploitation, while the rest of the

colonial world in the East, and Middle East and Africa is forging a path towards true independence.

The oppressed Blacks, regarding themselves as part of the forward movement throughout the colonial world, can no longer tolerate their condition of serfdom. They are gathering their forces to break through the shackles of oppression. In this process spontaneous outbursts inevitably take place. Verwoerd's only reply has been violence and more violence, so that today the whole country has been turned into one vast concentration camp for the Blacks. The Verwoerd regime governs by naked force which penetrates every aspect of life in South Africa. Present-day legislation itself serves one purpose — to legalise this state of violence, regimentation of a people, torture and downright murder. It is the force and power of the growing movement of the oppressed population from below that has created the crisis within the white ruling caste. Their great problem is how to meet this crisis.

As we have said elsewhere, the key to the understanding of the complex South African problem is that there are two struggles on two different levels going on simultaneously. Their aims are diametrically opposed to each other. The first, and the most relentless and fierce, is that between the Black oppressed and the White *herrenvolk*. The white-controlled press of all shades of political opinion does its best to conceal this struggle, though everything that takes place within the white group is directly influenced by it. Even the intensity of their own internal quarrels springs from the main battle, nay, the ceaseless war between oppressor and oppressed.

The second struggle is between the two main sections of the white ruling caste. It concerns two different methods of maintaining white domination. There is no doubt about their common aim — that is the perpetuation of exploitation and oppression of the Blacks. The differences in their approach to the problem are imbedded in the history of South Africa, dating back to the days when, after both the English and the Boer (now *Afrikaner*) invaders had defeated the African tribes, the English subsequently crushed the small, separatist, feudalistic Boer Republics. Having discovered the rich mineral resources of the land, and conscious of the high industrial potential of South Africa, the English ruthlessly carried out their conquest of both Blacks and Boers and proceed to unify the whole country into a single political and economic unit. Having achieved this, after the Boer War they forthwith installed the Boers as junior partners in the all-out exploitation of the Blacks. As it is not our intention to pursue this aspect of the matter, we shall return to the present-day conflict.

Politically, white South Africa is an independent state in which only the white minority have the franchise. This means that only one-fifth of the population decides which section of the white rulers shall sit in Parliament. Economically, South Africa is a colony of Britain. Its riches are owned in the main by British financiers, with American financiers fast infiltrating the economic scene, while at the same time gobbling up Britain and turning it into semi-colony of this colossal octopus.

Nearly 79% of all economic activity in South Africa is in the hands of the British-speaking section of the Whites and is dynamically linked up with the British economy. This factor determines their political approach and reinforces their

traditional outlook, i.e. the so-called British democracy. But again, for reasons of the earlier betrayal of the Black man by the British Government in the 1910 Act of Union with its entrenched colour-bar and in the Smuts sell-out in the passing of the Native Acts of 1936, this English section, though economically the most powerful group, cannot be returned to power through the ballot.

This is the section – the Oppenheimer mining group together with the white liberals – that constitutes the spokesman of imperialism, i.e. of international finance. Its time-honoured methods have a well-recognised pattern in British colonial rule throughout the world.

- (a) It creates a set of circumstances which in themselves force the conquered people into a position where they must ceaselessly toil for the greater profit of the imperial investors.
- (b) It has a system of built-in safety valves to head off an outright explosion on the part of the oppressed. This involves a large-scale deception of the people through their ties with the liberals through education, the pulpit and the press, etc. An important part of the system is the winning over or outright buying over of the intellectuals, so as to leave the discontented masses leaderless.
- (c) It is a past-master in the use of 'divide and rule'. For 300 years it succeeded in South Africa in keeping the Black oppressed, the Africans, the Coloureds and the Indians, in separate and hostile camps, until the Unity Movement of South Africa burst through the walls of racism. For the first time (1943) the Unity Movement created a machinery for unifying the organisations of the different sections, emphasising the indivisibility of oppression and uniting their struggles for a common goal – the liberation of all the oppressed. This concept of unity, unity on a principled basis and completely independent of the liberals or any other government grants, spelt the doom of herrenvolkism and shook the very foundations of white domination.

As the crisis in South African society deepens, the clash between the two methods of white domination is sharpened. The English-speaking section believe that their methods will not only ward off the impending explosion but will also stave off the economic crisis that looms behind the apparent present-day boom. They believe, too, that the racial excesses of the Afrikaner apartheid policy seriously interfere with the natural economic expansion of the country and that theirs will provide a more efficient method for maintaining high profits.

The Afrikaners (Nationalists) on the other hand, when confronted with a crisis fall back on their old traditions – tie the kaffir (nigger) to the wagon wheel and lash him with a whip. This means, in modern political language, employing fascistic methods, dispensing with parliamentary procedures and ruling the Africans by proclamation and the use of naked force. This is the meaning of all their legislation today, beginning with the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts, which deprive the whole Black population not only of citizenship but of the right to belong to South Africa. It is the meaning of their 90-Day Detention Act, now replaced by the 180-Day Detention Law; their Bantu Education Act, their Job

Reservation, their Proclamation 400 applied to Africans, which authorises any policeman to arrest without warrant any Black man or woman at any time of the day or night and hold him in jail indefinitely, without trial. This is the meaning of their Native Laws Amendment Act of 1964, Verwoerd's crowning apartheid law, which re-introduced a system of chattel slavery without the mitigating aspect of that vile system whereby the slaveowner in his own interest found it more profitable at least to keep his chattel alive.

The Verwoerd regime represents the Afrikaner petit-bourgeois, backed by the white collar worker and the large semi-illiterate civil service. It got into power through the appeal to fanatic Afrikaner racialism as against the English "Rooineks", and a vicious race propaganda against the whole of the oppressed Blacks. In order to appreciate the process at work, it is necessary to go into some details as to the methods they used to get into power and maintain it. Realising that they were numerically more than the English-speaking section, the Afrikaners proceeded to organise themselves along racial lines. They whipped up the anti-English prejudices nursed since the days of the Boer War. In every sphere they set up purely Afrikaans organisations. They had their separate Afrikaans churches, trade unions, teachers' associations, schools and students' organisations, an Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce and banks, and then united them all under the blanket-cover of the F.A.K., a cultural federal body dedicated to the advancement of the Volk (the people). At the core of Afrikanerdom was the secret Broederbond (Brotherhood) which penetrated every sphere of activity, placing their own men in key positions in State and other concerns. This secret body also controlled the Afrikaans federal organisation, the F.A.K.

The leading church personalities belonged to the Broederbond; the future cabinet ministers, the leading Afrikaans industrialists and trade union leaders all belonged to it. The churches had a special function in this scheme of things. Through the pulpit they infused the spirit of Afrikanerdom – which means racism. Each minister acquainted himself with the lives of his flock and frowned on any individual who was lacking in racist zeal.

The intellectuals, including leading figures in the Afrikaans universities, provided the pseudo-theoretical justification for the barbarity of the Afrikaner outlook and policy. And in this they were backed by their religious leaders who provided the biblical justification for the immorality of their vile racist creed.

The Afrikaner industrialists utilized this situation to advance their own economic interests. They supplied large funds to the Broederbond which, in addition to its other activities, organised such campaigns as "Boycott English firms"; "Boycott Coolie (Indian) Shops", "Support your own (Afrikaner) enterprises", insurance companies, burial societies and the like.

In all this orgy of racialism, they set aside a special day of the year on which they came from far and wide to celebrate their vengeance on the Blacks at Blood River – Dingaans Day. On this day their political and religious leaders froth at the mouth extolling the virtues of racism and claiming that the hand of God is visible in the fulfilment of their nefarious deeds. It is against this background that the present-day conflicts between the English-speaking representatives in South Africa and Afrikaner Nationalism must be seen.

All seemed to go well for Afrikanerdom until they captured political power in 1948. Even after this they continued to move upwards to their pinnacle of power. But then the class interests within Afrikanerdom began to assert themselves and cracks began to appear in the monolithic structure. While they kept the facade of unity, behind the scenes internal dissensions and rivalries emerged. International finance, fearing that the Verwoerdian granite policy was putting into jeopardy their vast investments in South Africa, took a hand in the affairs of that country. It is true that in its usual manner of double-dealing imperialism adopted a dual policy. It openly criticised Verwoerd's apartheid policy while continuing to underwrite his regime and indeed arm it to the hilt, since there was no alternative government in sight more politically suitable to them.

At the same time, however, they started a policy of undermining it. Oppenheimer, the mining tycoon of South Africa, whose multi-concerns are interlocked with British and American capital, threw the door wide open for the new Afrikaner financiers. He offered them participation in a big way in the mining industry and thus drove a wedge between the Afrikaner financier and the rest of Afrikanerdom. With their new status, the dictates of self-interest clashed with their allegiance to the sacred Volk; they withdrew their financial support of the Broederbond, the very core of Afrikanerdom and its driving force.

The next crack in the granite facade came from another and unexpected quarter. The Archbishop of Cape Town, Jooste de Blank, that astute British-trained churchman and politician, threw a spanner into the holy of holies, the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church. Using the Cottesloe World Conference of Churches as a platform, he condemned the Afrikaans churches for their use of "Holy Writ" to cloak their immoral apartheid policy and practice. He drove the smug church dogmatists into a defensive position and their consciences were all the more ready to be pricked since their own financiers had deserted and followed the golden calf.

A few of the highly placed churchmen were moved to call for a review of the whole position of the Church. They voiced their opposition to the misuse of the scriptures for political purposes. They went further and revolted against the iron grip of the secret Broederbond over the Church. The Broederbond replied by demanding the demotion of the rebels, or even outright expulsion. Acrimonious feelings ran high within the Afrikaans Churches. Some bold spirits went so far as to demand a public enquiry into the operations of this secret organisation operating within the Church. So deep and widespread is the influence of the Church on the lives of the Afrikaners that such a dispute could not but spill over into every sphere of Afrikanerdom. The Cabinet itself was forced to take up the matter. So great is the influence of the Church that, although it is estimated that 80% of the members of Parliament belong to the Broederbond, Verwoerd, who was himself once a leader of it, was forced to agree to the investigation of this secret body. Of course it would be naïve to expect any startling revelations to come out of the enquiry of the Broederbond by the Broederbond. But the very fact that such an inquiry was forced on them revealed that Afrikanerdom had travelled a long way from that monolithic structure, where it was sacrilege even to breathe a word of dissent, let alone vote against that all-powerful secret society and still remain within the bosom of Afrikanerdom.

Always the first to catch the straws in the wind, the Afrikaner intellectuals began to be beset by doubts and misgivings about their previous positions. This in itself reflected the extent of the crack. Although in the Afrikaner general struggle for power, the intellectual occupied an unusually important position, now, when faced with a crisis, he reveals the natural traits of the petit-bourgeois, a propensity to vacillation, always looking ahead to see which group or class is likely to win and provide the security so dear to him. Anonymous pamphlets began to appear, first at Stellenbosch University (Cape) and these were critical of the rigidity of the policies of the extreme Afrikaner fanatics. These provided yet another battleground and touched off disputes amongst the various Afrikaans newspapers, which were manned by intellectuals. It must be remembered that Dr. Verwoerd himself, an ex-university lecturer at Stellenbosch University, had worked his way up in the political world through the editorship of the *Transvaaler*, one of the extremist newspapers.

All these internal dissensions have a momentum of their own. The sharper these become, the more the extremists are pushed to the limits. These are precisely what are taking place within the government party (Nationalist) in South Africa. The fire-eater of yesterday is today regarded as a tame lamb. And so the process goes on. It is pertinent here to recall the events of the last eighteen years since the Nationalists came into power. Malan, who, in his time, was regarded as a Nationalist hothead, brought the Afrikaner Nationalist Party into power in 1948. But he had been nurtured in the spirit of parliamentarism and for that reason he was deposed by his own followers. Strijdom, the fire-eater who stepped into his shoes, after a short reign died just in time. It was inevitable that his place should be filled by Dr. Verwoerd, the head of the Broederbond itself. But under the inexorable law of progression operating in a period of world crisis and the enormous pressure of the liberatory movement within South Africa, Verwoerd himself began to appear tame in the eyes of some of his fiery followers. Strange as it may seem, this fanatic proponent of apartheid, who was notorious for his granite policy, his utter disregard for the life of a Black man in the pursuance of his genocidal schemes, was actually dubbed a "kaffirboetie" (kaffir-lover) by the still more extreme members of his party.

It was a foregone conclusion that after his assassination, Verwoerd would be succeeded by John Balthazar Vorster, that rabid racist and Hitler-worshipper, for whom only one name is appropriate – the butcher. The unanimity with which Vorster was elected prime minister should not deceive anybody. It is a desperate attempt on the part of the inner circles to conceal the flashing knife-blades behind the scenes. It is significant that the only candidate put up in opposition to him was Ben Schoeman, a man who was once an admirer of the pro-British General Smuts. The very fact that his name was proposed indicates the pull of the new Afrikaner financiers who have become a factor to be reckoned with. He would have been a compromise candidate, marking a half-way house on a road to a unification between the Afrikaner nouveaux riches and international finance capital. He would have been a useful stopgap until a premier was found who would express the coming together of a Rupert, tobacco-king and the symbol of a new Afrikaner finance group, and Oppenheimer, the South African representative of international

finance, both of whom are vitally concerned with full expansion of the South African economy, freed from the artificial barriers imposed on it by the Verwoerd-Vorster political dogmas.

The appointment of Vorster as premier solves nothing. It only demonstrates that within the small circle of parliamentarism and senators responsible for electing their leader, who automatically became prime minister, the Broederbonders are still in the majority. How could it be otherwise, since practically all of them occupy their positions thanks to the Broederbond? But this does not by any means reflect the present relationship of forces within the wider circles of Afrikanerdom, and much less within the white section as a whole. Vorster's election will simply intensify the internecine strife.

Imperialism will not let the situation rest at that. It must take over real power, through whatever agency is willing to do its bidding, whether Afrikaans or English-speaking. This does not, of course, imply that international financiers will automatically withdraw their capital, now that Vorster is in power. On the contrary, if we know the nature of the beast, with its habits both of doubledealing and ruthlessness, imperialism will continue to pump capital into the South African economy and supply more arms to the already bursting arsenal of that country. But the same imperialism will not scruple to throw to the wolves the same Vorster and his ilk, should another power arise that is more amenable to its policies and can guarantee its large investments in South Africa.

We have mentioned above that the conflicts within the white minority section arise from two different methods of maintaining white domination. The growing militancy of the oppressed masses of South Africa, their determination to break the shackles that bind them, exacerbates these conflicts. We know, of course, that as against the oppressed, the herrenvolk always stand together. Any threat from that quarter immediately makes them close their ranks. The assassination of Verwoerd is not going to make any difference to the bondage that weighs upon the Black man. It is not this group or that group of the herrenvolk parties that will relieve the pestilence of poverty, the relentless exploitation, the deprivation of human dignity and the sheer violence that is an integral part of the existing system of the society.

In the final analysis, it is the oppressed people themselves who will rise up and liberate themselves. This is not to say that all white people are evil or are exploiters. But the burden of lifting the age-long yoke rests squarely on the oppressed masses. It is their will and power that will draw in those Whites who will be prepared to throw in their lot in the struggle for the achievement of a new South African society, where men will not be judged by the colour of their skins, but by worth; a society freed from the sickness and corruption of racism; a society where the main purpose will be to satisfy the human needs of all its citizens, and men will unite in building a harmonious society.

OUR SLOGAN IS: WE BUILD A NATION.

APDUSA: Sept. – Oct., 1966

The Problems of Africa

The various independent States in Africa are each grappling with problems that confront the whole continent. It is true many of the leaders have become aware of this fact today, and the very idea of a continental unity which gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) sprang from this recognition and marks a groping towards the achievement of a solution that is vital to their survival. But something much more is required than a vague indeterminate groping, if we are to achieve our goal.

What is required is a precise knowledge of all the forces ranged against the development of our continent. For this we must evolve an instrument of analysis and develop a philosophy that will not only enable us clearly to understand our present situation and the attendant problems but also provide us with guide-lines for charting the development of our continent as a whole.

Disruption by Imperialism

Generally speaking, a nation is able to contend with the problems that arise as a result of its natural development. Within itself it contains individuals or sections of the population who, basing themselves on the national culture, are able to evolve a system of ideas that is necessary for the further development of the nation. Africa was deprived of this process. Imperialism violently disrupted the natural development of society, imposed its own civilization and culture, while at the same time deliberately and artificially arresting the development of the indigenous populations, who were excluded from the enjoyment of the fruits of that civilization. The whole continent, carved up in a huge act of vandalism, was turned into vassal States of the Western imperialist powers and the peoples became helots serving their new masters. The continent suffered the manifold deprivations of a rapacious colonialism.

In the sum total of the process of disruption and dispossession, the African people tend to feel themselves rootless, belonging neither to the old – which was destroyed – nor to the new, from which they have been excluded. In this situation they fall back on mystical concepts to bolster up their sense of identity. Some look back to an idyllic past, covering up their reactionary outlook with such

phrases as “developing the African Personality”, or with the fancy word ‘Negritude’. All of this, when stripped of its flowery decoration, turns out in practice to be no more than pursuing what the South African racist herrenvolk has decreed for its Black slaves as “developing along their own lines” – a vicious system of racialism which imperialism as a whole has imposed on all people of colour throughout the world.

Others are frantically reaching out to attach themselves to Western imperialism. They in turn cover up their reactionary practices with such terms as “African Socialism”, a meaningless shibboleth masquerading as a modern scientific concept. It is as ridiculous as talking about African mathematics or African physics. “African Socialism” – if the term has any meaning at all – must bear the same relation to scientific socialism as witchcraft to scientific medicine. The truth is, in practice, the programme of this so-called African Socialism is drawn up by imperialist economists, those ‘experts’ and advisers whose sole task is to strengthen the chains of bondage and subordinate the whole economy of the country to that of Western imperialism.

Africa: Part of Mankind

Our first task is to know ourselves, who we are and what we are. We have no need to be apologetic about our being. We have no need to prove our being. We have no need to prove ourselves, least of all to the ex-colonialists. We are part of the human species; we (i.e. our States) are born at a particular stage of development, the product of a particular conjuncture of historical forces in the development of mankind. In the context of world economy that has long outstripped its national boundaries, and a highly developed means of communication, no one country or people can live in isolation, uninfluenced by the processes that are actually world-embracing. Africa is part of that world, with all its contradictions, its convulsions, its uneven development. We cannot escape the logic of this situation. We cannot retreat into an isolated limbo of our own blackness. We have to face up squarely to our problems as they are, to the enormous problems of belonging to that world. As an inseparable part of it we have our contribution to make, though, due to the accident of history and the machinations of imperialism, we belong to a backward continent that has a big leeway to make up. This does not mean that we have to be slavish imitators of a civilisation that is in the process of playing itself out; nor does it mean that we require centuries to catch up. The very fact of belonging rules this out. What we have to bear in mind is that there is no need to go outside the mainstream in search of something uniquely African or some other mystique as a way out of our difficulties. Mankind possesses a body of knowledge which is our heritage. It has accumulated an arsenal of ideas from which we can draw our weapons to forge the path of our development. But first of all we must clearly define which of the ideas are suitable for our progress. To do this we must be aware of our position and how and why it came about.

Imperialist Machinations

Most of the countries in Africa were granted political independence. It is of

some importance to understand that this tactic on the part of imperialism was forced on it by the exigencies of the post-war situation. It is true the imperialist powers were so weakened by the last world war that they could no longer hold down their empires by force of arms. It is also true that the indigenous populations struggled for their independence. It is essential to note, however, that in all this imperialism had a carefully worked-out plan. It was aware that it was comparatively easier for the leaders of the nationalist organisations to mobilise the population against a foreign ruler or invader whom they could readily identify by the colour of his skin.

In granting independence imperialism reckoned on two things, and this was part of the plan. It removed itself from the scene and allowed the local leaders to take over the reins of state, with the express purpose of drawing in the leadership and making them junior partners in the exploitation of the African population, thus leaving the masses leaderless for the continuation of the struggle for real independence. If the leaders should prove to be recalcitrant, it presented them with problems of far greater magnitude. Having left them with States that are hardly viable, imperialism confronts them with enormous difficulties. It so manipulates the world market that all the basic problems of running a poverty-stricken State appear in their worst form. Some States look to rapid industrialisation as a means of solving their problems. To do this they need to raise huge loans, but the more they borrow, the more they lose their independence. Thus the leaders put the country in pawn to imperialism.

This treacherous pretence of giving political independence, while intensifying its economic grip becomes all the more apparent when we consider that over the centuries imperialism had carefully disabled each country by a systematic deprivation in every sphere, both human and material, so that to begin with it is faced with almost insuperable tasks.

The continent had been carved up into a multiplicity of states. Agriculture was one of the most primitive, and where there were minerals, the country was denuded of them for the enrichment of the colonial powers. Likewise where there was a profitable crop for export, such as the cocoa of Ghana, the policy was to maintain a single-crop economy, which exposed the country to all the vicissitudes of a manipulated market. Diversification of the economy and the development of industry were deliberately held back. Communication within each country and between the countries was practically non-existent. Roads and railways were built mostly to transport the natural wealth of the country out of it.

At the time of pulling out, imperialism saw to it that nowhere was there a national state in the modern sense of the word. As if to make doubly sure of its continued stranglehold, imperialism employed the familiar device of divide and rule. In each country it left warring factions, as it had done in India. In Uganda it created little states (kingdoms) within a state. In Nigeria it left a constitution that ensured internecine tribal and regional strife. And for the most part in the rest of Africa it left behind, not states in the sense of a nation, but a collection of tribal groups, whose separate affiliations had been carefully nurtured to provide a source of dissension within the country. Above all it left behind it the burden of mass illiteracy with all its attendant evils, a deplorable lack of medical facilities and a

sheer poverty of culture in a modern industrial age.

Inherited Democratic Noose

There is yet another noose that imperialism has bequeathed to the ex-colonies – the better to strangle them with. The heirs of this vaunted independence are victims of a so-called democratic system of the West. Imperialism leaves them with a constitution that entrenches a state machinery with all its paraphernalia of a standing army, police force, judiciary and civil service, not to speak of the apparatus of their extra-state control, the CIA, M.I.5 and their equivalents. The Africans inherit this without suspecting that this state machinery was in the first place created in the metropolitan countries as an instrument of oppression in a class society and that it was brought over to the colonial world for the specific purpose of keeping the indigenous population in subjection.

This state machinery cannot be used for any other purpose but the subjugation of the majority by a minority. Such a standing army and a police force are the quintessence of organised violence against the population. The very fact of their existence separate and apart from the masses is proof of their basic function. It is confirmation of the existence of a privileged (oppressor) class whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the masses.

Those leaders who have sold out to imperialism find this machinery most useful, and indeed essential, to their continued existence in so far as they are the servants of imperialism and therefore the enemies of the people. They can outdo their masters in the use of this instrument of violence against the population, who, in their increasing disillusionment, must want to get rid of such leaders.

On the other hand, those leaders who are still committed to the cause of independence must find themselves prisoners of the state machinery taken over from the imperialists. The logic of the situation is that imperialism is capable of utilizing from a distance that same state machinery – an African army – to overthrow any leader or government that refuses to bow to its purpose, in spite of the fact that such a leader had been popularly elected to his position. This use of military coups is all the more easy because the army and police force are the only properly organised, disciplined and centrally controlled units in the country. In most African states there are no parties organised on a national scale, on the basis of a clearly formulated ideology and policy, and which can mobilise the mass of the people in defence of the Government that carries out that policy. For as long as that army stands apart from the population, especially under the leadership of Sandhurst-trained officers, White or Black, so long will imperialism be able to topple the elected political leaders and continue to use the army to keep its iron hoof on the neck of Africa.

It is true that Africa realised that it is impossible to use such a state machinery for the purpose of acquiring real independence. An instrument of oppression cannot possibly be turned into an instrument of liberation, however much individual leaders may be filled with ideals. A standing army cannot be the expression of popular aspirations. For one thing, the soldier in the barracks, standing apart from the people, is not subject to the same daily stresses and strains

as the population. His business is simply to obey his officer's commands. Thus, in the final analysis, any military coup is really the decision of the commanding officers. What emerges from this is at best a dictatorship of officers. The whole operation comes from above and is divorced from the people.

Now the question is: when the army has carried out a successful coup, who is to govern the country? Some governing body must be found; for as a general rule the army officers are not equipped for this task. Whatever motives they may claim in overthrowing the existing government, the methods they have adopted exclude the participation of the people and cannot solve the problems of the country. Confusion reigns. The people, lacking a conscious leadership, are left floundering. In such a situation the doors are thrown wide open for the old reactionary politicians, or for the wily imperialism to effectively take over the reins of government, as in Ghana.

The Dilemma

Yet Africa is faced with a dilemma. It needs an army for self-defence. Such an army can only be the population itself, i.e. an armed people, doubly armed with clearly defined aims and aspirations, ready to defend itself against attack either from within or without. This presupposes a party which provides a conscious leadership, a leadership that is dynamically linked with the people and sensitive to their needs. But with things as they are today in Africa, where each country has inherited a social structure, a class society riddled with contradictions, it is impossible to arm the population as a whole. Thus the first necessity for the liberation of the peoples of Africa is to examine the source of the existing contradictions, the class structure of society with all its ramifications, with a view to abolishing them. They have to re-assess their position and consider what they have to do in order to get out of the impasse in which they find themselves. This is a pre-requisite for welding the population into a unit, a nation capable of defending itself arms in hand.

It must be realised that most of the nationalist organisations that led the struggle to the stage of negotiated independence are totally inadequate for the new tasks of reconstruction. They either have to undergo a complete political re-orientation, or new parties have to be formed with a new outlook, capable of grappling with the complexities of the new stage of development. We have said above that mankind has a body of knowledge that is our heritage. It is up to us to choose which ideas are necessary for our progress. The world is divided into two economic systems, the capitalist-imperialist and the socialist system. Africa has to choose which of these is suitable for its own development. The choice itself will decide the overall strategy that must be followed in the day-to-day development.

It has to be borne in mind that in the present epoch the world productive forces are bursting asunder the capitalist integument, with all its social and political relationships. Other continents, which only yesterday were regarded as backward, have forged an extremely rapid development along the socialist path. Today they are regarded as world powers. From purely economic considerations, it is impossible for Africa to lift itself up by its own bootstraps and attain real independence, unless it takes the socialist road.

This does not mean following slavishly in the footsteps of the existing socialist States, nor subordinating its economy and therefore surrendering its independence to these States. Neither does it mean pursuing the chimera of African Socialism. It means the application of the principles of scientific socialism to the living realities in the African continent. Only thus could a beginning be made towards the solution of its manifold problems on every level. Although the general problems of oppression and exploitation are the same the world over, yet each country has its own specific features, its own past, its own traditions, all of which determine its specific programme for development.

To take but one example: the States of Africa, having been divided amongst the different imperialist powers, have different backgrounds and are at different levels of development. This in itself need not be a source of dissension. The problems they all have in common far outweigh their differences and are more than sufficient to unify them, provided they are agreed on the goal of socialism and the general strategy for attaining it.

As we have said above, imperialism carefully disabled the continent by a systematic deprivation in every sphere, both human and material. In an age of automation and nuclear physics, Africa is still forced to use primitive tools, the hoe and the ox-drawn wagon of the middle ages. Likewise in the field of thought, Africa has a philosophical equipment more suited to the past, at the very time when the urgency and complexity of its problems demand the most sophisticated tools of analysis and up-to-date ideological weapons. In tackling our problems we still employ the methods of the old logic, the simple static logic of Aristotle, when every field of science today demands the methods of the dialectic. That is why it is difficult for us to grapple with philosophical problems. In short, Africa needs leaders who are steeped in dialectical materialism.

If socialism is the path we must follow to achieve progress and independence, we must acquaint ourselves more and more with the analytical tool of the dialectic. If we use it properly, our difficulties, which at the moment seem to be insuperable, will be seen as not beyond our capabilities. In a fast-changing world the process of learning too, is accelerated. And at this stage of the world conflict between the two systems, every trick with which imperialism assails us, and thinks to confound us, serves only to quicken our political consciousness. This is the process that is taking place in all the developing countries in Asia, Latin America and in the African continent. This is what it means to belong to the mainstream of human progress, to the world where the struggle towards liberation and true independence cannot be held back.

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Dilemma of the OUA and the Liberation Movements

The Spanish Civil War of 1936 was a testing ground for the new weapons of destruction by the big powers. Hitler Germany, in particular, seized the opportunity to try out not only the effect of bombing populations but to test the effectiveness of those military stratagems and tactics that were to prove so devastating in the 1939-45 World War. Man's memory is mercifully short, otherwise the world would be filled with mentally deranged people who still remember the indescribable horrors of that war. The great powers led the world into a war in the name of the defence of democracy and against fascism. Since then we have witnessed the same big powers ceaselessly destroying the forces of democracy, and building up and maintaining fascistic regimes all over the world in an attempt to stem the tide of real liberation, political and economic, of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In Vietnam today the United States of America, backed by Australia and with the timid support of Britain, is perpetrating horrors unprecedented in history. In addition to its obvious aims, the United States is using Vietnam as a laboratory not only for testing her latest and most diabolical weapons of destruction, short of the atom bomb, but also as a probe to see how far the split in the socialist camp has gone, and therefore how far she can escalate the war without having the bombs unleashed on her own crowded cities. At the same time she is testing world-opinion to see how far she can with impunity commit acts that should outrage all humanity, how far she can continue to use poison gases that cause abortion and blindness and how far she can continue to rain napalm bombs that burn to a cinder, man, beast and all vegetation. She must know all this before she turns her full attention to other parts of Asia and Latin America, and in particular to the re-subjugation of Africa. For the continent of Africa contains all the minerals necessary for the vast nuclear industry in the United States of America.

Imperialist Penetration

At the moment imperialism is using the method of penetration on two levels, on the level of the independent States and on the level of the National Liberatory

Movements. We have already commented on how Britain granted political independence to its colonies in Africa, while entrenching themselves in their economic stranglehold over them. This involved buying over the leaderships of the various countries and incorporating them as junior partners in the super-exploitation of the continent. This is neo-colonialism in action. But the plan has misfired. War had released the subterranean forces of masses straining to burst through the physical and spiritual encrustations of age-old bondage. The words Democracy and Independence struck deep into their consciousness and awakened an indomitable determination to translate them into reality. This is a process that has its own logic.

In yet another way the plan misfired. Some of the leaders refused to have their countries used as client states by imperialism. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, where the British first tried out the experiment in Africa, proved to be recalcitrant, refusing to be embroiled in the neo-colonialist policies. From the very first days of the independence of his country, he proclaimed that Ghana's independence was meaningless without the independence of all Africa. From then on he used to their full capacity the limited resources left over after imperialism had drained the country, in order to assist the unliberated countries in Africa.

He is passionately devoted to the idea of economic independence, which alone would make independence meaningful. As he sees it, no one country in Africa can achieve this aim in isolation. All African States, individually, lack the necessary resources, technical and otherwise. And some are barely viable, so completely had the country been raped during the centuries of colonialism. This in turn led him to conceive the idea of African unity and he became an indefatigable proponent of the vital necessity of continental unity.

His leading role in the formation and direction of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) earned him the hatred of imperialism which launched a poison propaganda campaign against him. All their guns were aimed at him because he became the embodiment of the idea of wrenching Ghana from the economic grip of the Western economy. The logic of this further led him towards a belief in the socialist reconstruction and unity of all Africa as the only way of survival. Whether his methods could, or could not, succeed in the given circumstances is not here the point. The fact is that imperialism saw him as the symbol of all that was dangerous to it.

In this he was not alone. Sekou Touré, head of Guinea, the first of the French colonial African States to break out of the orbit of the French hegemony, soon threw in his lot with the other progressive African French or British ex-colonies. This tendency finally led to the formation of the OAU. Although the charter creating this august body lists a number of imposing objectives, it has become associated in the minds of the people of Africa with two aims only, namely, (a) the creation of a union government for the continent, and (b) the liberation of those parts of Africa still groaning under the yoke of foreign domination. It is these two aims that we propose to discuss in this short article. The question that arises is: can the OAU, as now constituted, achieve these professed aims?

It cannot be disputed that the OAU is at present in a state of disarray and confusion. The source of this confusion is to be found internally, i.e. within the

organisation itself, as well as the external forces acting on it. The centrifugal forces operating within the organisation arise from the fact that the various States are not only at different stages of development – a factor which often decides the degree of dependence on imperialism – but that they have different aims, often conflicting aims, because they are facing and developing in opposite directions. It is this factor more than any other that provides imperialism with the opportunity to obtain a footing in the organisation and cause disruption within it. It also enables it to set one group of States against another inside the organisation. Imperialism is assiduously and incessantly manipulating different African States or sections of the populations within the same state – the army, civil service, trade unions and intellectuals – in order to sow confusion and disrupt the OAU. Meanwhile the African countries show a remarkable insistence on sticking to one of the clauses in its charter, namely, non-interference in the affairs of one State by another. Thus they have hamstrung themselves and are unable to protect themselves against the never-ceasing interference in the affairs of Africa by imperialism. The numerous coups that have been taking place in Africa (incidentally also in Latin America) as well as the disintegration of the OAU itself are evidence of its tactics.

It is unpleasant to single out any particular state as an example. But in this case we are compelled to do so in order to illustrate our point. Let us take events in the Congo, for example. When Belgian imperialism was forced to retreat in face of the gathering nationalist movement in that vast country most richly endowed with natural resources, American imperialism, seeking its share of the loot, stepped in under cover of the United Nations. In the process, Lumumba was murdered, while the African countries helplessly looked on, apparently fearing to violate their own charter. After a long period of internal chaos while the vultures fought over the spoils and the economy of the country ground almost to a standstill, the events went full circle. The Congolese threw out Tshombe, the imperialist stoge, who did not scruple even to employing White mercenaries from South Africa and Rhodesia in order to slaughter his own people. The Government unified the country, bringing it under central command. Now the imperialists are busy once more. The same mercenaries that served Tshombe have returned to fight the Congolese Government. Imperialism is busy training other mercenaries in Europe to join them in the attempt to carve up the country and wrench the richest province, Katanga, away from the Congo.

Once more the OAU is hamstrung by its own charter. The Congo without Katanga at this stage of its development is like a body without a heart. In other words, imperialism is committing murder on an African country while the African sister States are prevented by the principles of non-intervention from coming to its aid. Yet all Africa knows that the Congo is one of the key positions in an Africa that seeks to obtain real independence. It also holds a strategic position for the domination of Africa. With the Congo as a base, imperialism can dominate the whole of Central Africa.

The inability to take action even in the most obvious instance where sheer self-preservation demands it, this passivity which is tantamount to suicide, cannot be explained simply as a desire to adhere to the non-interference clause in the Charter. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the continual appeal to this

clause is a pretext or cover used by client states to conceal the fact that they are compelled to serve the interests of imperialism. Under such conditions it is impossible for the OAU to formulate a clearly defined policy and principles that are essential to its effective functioning. Every crisis brings to the fore the internal conflicts. It cannot be otherwise, because it is composed of States that are looking in opposite directions, a fact that must result in a condition of paralysis in the face of every emergency.

The Nationalist Organisations

The state of paralysis due to the lack of a clear policy cannot but be transmitted through the agencies of the OAU to the nationalist movements of the unliberated countries. It has to be admitted that the majority of the African States in the OAU have a rightist orientation and this is reflected in their behaviour towards the nationalist movements. It determines the nature of the assistance given to them and which movements receive this aid. The failure of these movements to produce the required results is not due so much to lack of funds. The problem is that of political orientation on the part of the OAU. The most glaring example was graphically demonstrated in a grotesque situation where the arch-imperialist stooge, Tshombe, who employed White South African mercenaries, had a representative in the African Liberation Committee that not only decided on the affairs of the liberatory movements in general but sat in judgment on which Black South African organisation shall be recognised. We might add here what is little known to the African States, namely, that Verwoerd's Special Branch (the political section of the police force) had printed copies of what purported to be the Minutes of the Committee of Nine translated into Afrikaans. When the officials, organisers and members of the Unity Movement were interrogated in detention under the 90-Day Detention Act, they were confronted with what their leaders had said at the meeting of the Committee of Nine. This clearly points to some unholy alliances. In such a situation imperialism is able to step in and, using its influence on certain States, to sabotage the revolutionary movement in Africa.

It is common knowledge that the African States, including the OAU, have not the facilities to know exactly what goes on in each of the unliberated countries. It is imperialism alone that has the full information, not only because it is in actual occupation of these countries but it has other agencies for investigation. Thus it presents to the world its own version of the set-up in each country. It also holds up for public view those organisations that are most amenable to its control. In this way the OAU is manoeuvred into a position where it supports precisely those movements that are of imperialist choice. Thus the money of Africa is spent in furthering the cause of neo-colonialism.

There are those who mourn what they call the demise of the OAU, regarding it as a retrograde step. What they forget is that the mere existence of an organisation is not in itself a sign of progress. Unity may be good or it may be harmful. It all depends on the policy of the organisation — what it actually does and the degree of influence it exerts on society in the propagation of its ideas. The present state of disintegration in the OAU is by no means a retrograde step. What has happened is

that historical events have sharply brought the internal contradictions into the open and hastened the process that was inherent in it from the beginning. And in so far as this is true, then it's well that it happened. The proclaimed aims of the OAU cannot be destroyed, no matter what happens to the organisation itself. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does political life not permit it. The present crisis is going to force all thinking Africa to take stock of its past and the present, re-examine the OAU itself, look into its failures and the causes of its disintegration.

Two Courses Open

It is abundantly clear that if Africa is to survive there must be a new re-groupment of forces, either within or without, i.e. outside the OAU. If the present OAU is maintained, it would have to be clearly understood that its functions are limited to those tasks that are within its capability to achieve: such as trade, intercommunications and cultural development, etc. It is essential to be aware that, as at present constituted, the OAU is totally unsuited to the task of liberating the still unliberated territories, or achieving a continental government. These tasks can be performed only by those States that are capable of evolving a unified policy, that is to say, those States that are committed to a revolutionary policy, dedicated to the elimination of imperialism and neo-colonialism from the soil of Africa.

For this two courses are open to the progressive States. The first is that they remain within the OAU. If they do, they will have to make a clear demarcation between those functions that can be performed by it and those that they and they alone can carry out. This means that the progressive States will have consciously to form such a block as would enable them so to influence policy that it will be through them that the nationalist movements will have contact with the OAU. The other alternative is for the progressive States to coalesce and take a fresh mandate for the liberation of the rest of Africa. This course would have the apparent disadvantage of going it alone and thus increasing the financial burden on each State. It will also give the appearance of setting themselves up against the others. But, appearances apart, it is a fact that at this very moment, imperialism is setting one group against another. The advantage of this course, on the other hand, is that these States would then be free to formulate a positive policy and act upon it, untrammelled by those who are facing in the opposite direction. There is no need for the progressive States to be on the defensive, against the accusation of a split. In politics splits are not always condemnable. They are sometimes inevitable and even justifiable where a question of principle is involved. It is a matter of the survival of the African continent. It is a matter of life and death. Either we die as slaves or live with the dignity of men who control their own destiny.

May we try to enumerate what we consider to be some of the shortcomings of the past? There has been no proper or effective liaison between the OAU and the nationalist movements. There was no machinery for a proper discussion of the problems of liberation between them or their representatives. Consequently, as far as the movements know, there was no overall plan for liberation, no working out of a proper strategy. Thus each nationalist movement had to paddle its own canoe,

and the aid given was dissipated and rendered completely ineffectual. It is our view that if there had been an overall strategy, the OAU decision on the Rhodesian problem, for instance, would have been a different one. It discussed the question of military confrontation with the Smith regime. But on a more sober assessment it became clear that such an attack would immediately draw to its defence South Africa, Portugal and through it the NATO powers, backed by the United States.

Britain has made its stand abundantly clear. It will not tolerate any interference with its creation, the rebel Smith regime. Earlier this year we demonstrated this point. Long before Smith came to power, first the British Tory Government and then Labour watched the successive Rhodesian prime ministers whittle away the rights of the African majority, and in true Verwoerdian style decapitate the leadership of the Zimbabwe nationalist organisations. At the appropriate moment Wilson informed Smith that no matter what he did, force of arms would not be used against him. This seemingly inexplicable behaviour by the Labour Government is explainable only by reference to an overall imperialist plan for Africa. Rhodesia is part of that plan. All the tactics they use in this small bit of territory of little economic value are part of a general strategy. What is involved are their vast investments in South Africa, Zambia, the Congo, as well as Angola and South West Africa (Namibia).

The more we look into this situation, the more it becomes evident that, in its narrower context, the Rhodesian question has become, not a matter of the rights of the Zimbabwe Africans, but an issue between Wilson-Smith and Zambia. Because of its large copper resources, a mineral in great demand for the industries of the Western powers, Zambia is the one African country that can more than balance its foreign trade. This affords it a degree of independence of action that is anathema to imperialism. This explains why Britain allowed the Smith regime to try to choke Zambia through the railways and all avenues to the sea, the coal and even the threat of cutting off hydro-electric power. From the logic of Britain's actions no other conclusion can be drawn except that, in the eyes of imperialism, Zambia is the "rebel" — and not the Smith regime.

A Fresh Approach

It seems to us that there is a necessity for the African States and the nationalist movements to shift their angle of vision on this problem of Rhodesia. We, too, must view it in its larger context. Such an approach would enable us to alter our plans and methods. If we are to succeed, we must see the struggle for liberation in all Southern Africa as different aspects of one and the same struggle. Such a perspective would dictate new relationships not only between the independent African States and the nationalist movements, but amongst the nationalist movements themselves. An understanding of this would bring to the fore in its acutest form the necessity for common planning and united action on the part of the nationalist movements.

It is not necessary here to spell out what could be done. What would be called for is supplying all the necessary assistance to the oppressed masses, who will themselves carry through the struggle. In this context the word "masses" does not

refer only to the people of Zimbabwe, for the struggle against the Smith regime is not their concern alone. It is the concern of all the oppressed throughout all Southern Africa. The job of the independent States of Africa is to appeal to, arouse and give assistance to their oppressed brothers, while at the same time using those diplomatic channels open to them, to stop imperialism from using their armies for the maintenance of white domination over the Black peoples of Africa.

If the OAU is to survive, it will have to measure up to these tasks. History does not stand still. Either the Organisation of African Unity must evolve as an instrument for forging a path to true independence and liberty for all the peoples of Africa, or it will perish, giving way to some other organisation more suited to carrying out the needs of the time. The idea that inspired the formation of the OAU was not a mere dream that arose in the mind of an individual. It was an expression of the vital necessities of this historical period. Africa is at the cross-roads. It is a groaning continent, struggling to catch up with the most advanced countries with whose economy it is dynamically linked. It can do this only as a united continent, ready and able to meet the rest of the world on a footing of equality. This is possible only if it unites on the basis of socialist states.

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Chapter 8

Imperialism—The World Crisis Deepens

The year 1967 was characterised by a series of events whose cumulative effect revealed a mounting world crisis which cannot be resolved within the present international framework in which Western imperialism dominates the greater part of our planet. The main events which, each in its own way, claimed the attention of the world, were:

1. The Vietnam War which occupied the centre of international affairs.

This is not fortuitous. Its implications are so potent that they intimately affect the lives of people in all the continents. The heroism of the Vietnamese people, their dedication to the cause of liberty and their indomitable spirit have served as a shining example to the oppressed and exploited of the world, while the inability of the mightiest power to defeat them has posed the problem of the very existence of capitalism-imperialism for any length of time.

2. The ruthless toppling of progressive heads of States and the installation of imperialistic hangers-on in Africa and Latin America.

This has revealed the increasing role of the United States imperialism as the international gendarme policing all corners of the developing world in the interest of international capitalism-imperialism. Connected with this is the strong bid by the same imperialist powers to control not only the Organisation of the Latin American States (OAS) but also the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and through it the nationalist movements and freedom fighters in Africa.

3. The crisis of the sterling.

This crisis which led to the devaluation of the English pound still continues, despite all attempts by the United States to give blood transfusions to the British economy. A blood-sucker is by its nature incapable of saving its hosts through blood donations, even though its own continued existence depends on their being kept alive. All these events are symptoms of the same sickness, the crisis of world capitalism.

It has long been obvious that the war in Vietnam is a war of aggression by the United States. It is equally obvious that American imperialism, with all its might, is unable to win this war on the basis of its strategy imposed upon it by its desire to hide the real nature of its intervention. The aggressor is faced with two unpalatable alternatives: either to escalate the war, widen the field of battle beyond the confines of Vietnam and thereby proclaim to the world that the U.S.A. is engaged in a war of conquest, or else withdraw from Vietnam altogether. Both these courses are fraught with grave consequences for imperialism in general and the U.S. in particular. An escalation poses the danger of a third world war, the logic of which may force China and the Soviet Union to take up their positions on the same side. Even the most blood-thirsty of the imperialists are realistic enough to know that the relation of forces is against them and that such a war would spell the doom of capitalism as a world system. The question then is, why does the United States not pull out of Vietnam and save herself the enormous expenses involved in the war as well as the odious stigma which is increasing by the day? In fact some optimists believe it would be a simple matter for her to do so and leave the Vietnamese to sort out their own problems by themselves. Such a view flows from a lack of understanding of the original reasons for American involvement in the aggressive war against the people of Vietnam.

The Vietnam war cannot be viewed as in the nature of an episode, even though at the moment the field of battle is confined to that peninsula. It is a focal point in the preliminary stages in the clash between capitalism-imperialism on the one hand and socialism on the other. A cursory glance at the developments following on the second world war confirms this view. American imperialism, which emerged as the unchallenged leader of the Western bloc, has made the containment of communism the chief plank of its foreign policy. That is why it established military bases in strategic places all over the East with the express purpose of not only neutralising the influence of revolutionary China but also mounting a military threat to her very existence. In this strategy is to be found the cause of all the wars, beginning with the Korean war and including the so-called civil wars in the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America. What is at stake is not simply the lives of the people in these trouble spots, but the continued existence of capitalism-imperialism. By its very nature capitalism demands the expansion of its base, but from the time that the Soviet Union broke away from its orbit 50 years ago, followed by China, that base has been fast shrinking. It is this 'calamitous' fact that imperialism is faced with. Even before the end of the second world war it became evident that the greatest imperial powers would not be able to maintain their colonies and these once powerful octopuses that had stretched their tentacles to the furthest corners of the world would be faced with the prospect of having to shrink back into their own geographical confines.

Ironically, this fear was graphically expressed by the French Communist Party paper, 'L'Humanite', when the leader of the Party, Thorez, was the Vice-Premier of France, i.e. when that Party was one of the guardians of the assets of the French bourgeoisie. It was during the Franco-Vietnam war. Proclaiming that France should not be reduced to "its own small metropolitan territory", the Paper went on: "Are we, after having lost Syria and Lebanon yesterday, to lose Indo-China (Vietnam)

tomorrow and North Africa the day after?" (*War and Revolution in Vietnam*, by Doug Jennes). History has shown how desperately France tried to hold on to her colonies. She had to be forcibly evicted from Vietnam and North Africa in spite of the huge amount of financial aid pumped into her coffers by the U.S. It is of interest to note that, once the combined forces of the Socialist and Communist Parties succeeded in staving off the revolution in France, the bourgeoisie took over political power in the person of De Gaulle. This, however, did not stop the process of the disintegration of the French Empire.

The same sentiment was expressed by Churchill, perhaps more elegantly, when he said: "I shall not preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." But the same forces that wrecked the French Empire operated with equal potency in rocking the mighty British Empire. The 2nd World War not only shattered the productive forces but also weakened and undermined the fundamental productive apparatus of Europe and Britain. Yet it does not follow that that class which is historically bankrupt in the economic sense, loses instantaneously and automatically the instruments of rule. Britain was traditionally the workshop of the world and the city of London the world's banker. This gave her a special status in her relations with other countries. It was this fact that enabled her to make a partial recovery from her complete bankruptcy after the war. For a long time she was able to maintain a facade of well being, while the foundations of her former status had crumbled beyond repair. The British financiers, realising they were faced with a crisis beyond the capabilities of the Tory Government to solve, decided it was time the Labour Party came to power and lent the weight of her powerful press to this end. Wasn't it the Labour Party that had saved their investments in India and wouldn't it in the name of socialism (British) pull off the same trick again?

Unfortunately for them not even the well-tryed Labour guardian of the interests of the British bourgeoisie could succeed this time. It was not simply a problem of the British Empire that faced them but a crisis of world capitalism. The aged Empire no longer had the resources, the reserves, the vitality and the resilience of its earlier times. Historically the whole system is outmoded. It is not because of the mini-stature of a Wilson that he cannot stop the folding-up of the empire, it is the immensity of the problems, the insoluble tasks he had set himself. Unable any longer to maintain a presence in her colonies or bases strategically placed throughout the world to guard the manifold interests of her financiers, Britain, like France, has been forced to roll back. She can no longer afford to hold down even a little Aden or a Yemen. The dethronement of King Sterling, which has become merely one money against many others, dramatically expresses the fall of the empire and signifies the real position of Great Britain as one country amongst many others.

The collapse of the British Empire presents manifold problems for imperialism. As they would put it: there must be no power vacuum created by the withdrawal of Britain from her traditional sphere of influence. Since no other country has the capacity to step into her shoes, American imperialism has perforce to take over the lucrative assets as well as the liabilities in its attempt to save the system as a whole. This is what imposes upon the U.S. the functions of being the gendarme of the world. Because of her colossal power, her enormous resources, the onus of

defending capitalism-imperialism falls primarily on her shoulders. This is why the situation in Vietnam puts her on the horns of a dilemma. From every point of view she cannot afford to pull out of the war, for it is much more than the war in Vietnam that is at stake. An unconditional withdrawal would signify the beginning of a rolling-back of American imperialism to its own shores and this spells death to it. Imperialism by nature must export capital to foreign countries, penetrate and control their economies and if necessary occupy them for the purpose of guarding its own investments. A withdrawal in Vietnam would inevitably lead to the toppling of her puppet regimes, a revolutionary resurgence and an irresistible drive for self-determination on the part of the indigenous populations who would then find the presence of the U.S. bases in their countries intolerable. This is the dilemma of world imperialism.

While the outcome of the hot war in the Far East is in the balance, imperialism has launched a cold war in Africa for the re-conquest of the continent. It is on the cards that the cold war might be transformed into a hot war as the Israeli-Arab conflict has shown, and the increasing spate of roaming brigands – the so-called mercenaries who turn out to be officers seconded by their various countries. All Africa is swarming with the secret agents of the imperialist countries. Their main purpose is to discover the weak spots in each African country, sow dissension within and between states. If economic penetration can no longer be followed by the presence of foreign military troops, international financiers must have their own puppets at the head in the various states. To achieve this end, they must create division, foster tribalism, encourage the growth and encrustation of an elite class within African society and, where necessary, engineer military coups. As a concomitant part of this process, imperialism must seek not to destroy the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (this would be inconvenient) but to take it over, control it and use it for its own purpose. The advantages of this policy are obvious and manifold. Just as the enlightened bourgeoisie no longer seeks to destroy trade unions in their countries today but finds it more convenient to buy over the leadership and enlist its services in the subjugation of the working-class, so would it prove infinitely simpler and less costly to collar the already existing OAU and bend it to its purpose.

Amongst other things, imperialism would seek to use the Organisation of African Unity as an instrument for aborting the struggle for liberation in the unliberated countries. This can be done in many ways. It can maintain the posture of supporting the struggle for freedom, while effectively sabotaging it by quickly choking off all those revolutionary movements that have the capacity to launch and win the struggle for freedom and thus rid themselves of the stranglehold of imperialism and neo-colonialism in their respective countries.

It is our view that the year will witness the deepening of the crisis of capitalism; the sharpening of the conflict between capitalism and socialism, thus forcing all countries, including African States, to take up their positions with a clear consciousness of their true interests.

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The Non-Aligned Conference

The present Summit Conference of the non-aligned States being held in Lusaka, Zambia, is rightly regarded as one of the most important conferences of the developing world. Its importance lies not so much in the greater number of States who are attending the Conference, but in its historical significance at this juncture. A period is coming to a close, the period of the successful application of the policy of neo-colonialism, and imperialism recognises the necessity to adopt a new strategy, particularly in Africa.

After a decade of political independence it behoves the developing States to take a close look — a severe look — at what independence has really brought them and their people. In this decade of neo-colonialism they witnessed the rich nations (powers) becoming richer and the poorer nations becoming for the most part poorer. Development has been slow and imperialism has been able to continue its exploitation of the resources of its ex-colonies to its own benefit. We can understand therefore that this Non-Aligned Conference will be deeply concerned with the problem of economic development and how to hasten it. But let it be said that any approach to this vital problem which would divorce the economic from the political would lead to futility. To ignore their inter-relation is like trying to steer a ship that lacks a rudder, without direction. The States would find themselves more than ever exposed to the machinations of imperialism.

Now the concept of non-alignment flows from an awareness that there is a global war going on, a war to the death between two contending systems, capitalism-imperialism and socialism. It is a protracted war that takes many forms: a cold war, a period of brinkmanship, a shooting war and a ceaseless economic war. The smaller nations speak of a war between two super-power blocs, led by the United States and the Soviet Union. This formulation, however, blurs the basic issues. Understandably the developing nations in an attempt to get away from domination by their former imperial masters, and fearing to fall into the clutches of other new masters, declared themselves emphatically for non-alignment. But what is non-alignment? Can they in the circumstances really steer clear of the economic as well as political implications of this global conflict? Can they stand outside a process that engulfs the whole world? It is of vital importance to understand the

profound issues involved in this global conflict which concerns all of us and indeed the welfare of mankind.

The leaderships of the developing countries have to ask themselves what role they must play in this development. They must stop evading the issues by hiding behind words like "super-blocs". It is necessary for them to come to grips with the realities of the situation. The question has to be answered: are we to embrace the system of capitalism-imperialism or consciously take part in what is a world revolutionary process leading to socialism? There is no other alternative and no half-way house. It is true that most of the leaders have come to realise that it is impossible for them to satisfy the needs of the people on the present basis of capitalist economy. It is this realisation that has prompted a number of them to introduce innovations in their economy and to urge the desirability of self-reliance, etc. But imperialism is aware of the dangers of a new strategy. It is dropping all pretences on a broad front. The time is past when the imperialists would woo their victims. They are now weighing up the question of a direct confrontation in Africa. It is in this situation that S.Africa must be seen for what it is — a valuable base for imperialism.

White Racist Regimes

Another problem, then, in the forefront of the Conference deliberations is the continued existence of white racist regimes in the Southern part of the continent. This is a key problem. This situation holds a grave threat to the continued existence of the independent African States. It is a major problem to remove this threat.

It is imperative for us to understand that imperialism has no intention of letting Africa out of its grip. Africa contains all the minerals necessary for the nuclear industry of the advanced European countries. Its technology and its wars demand a continual draining of such minerals out of the continent of Africa. Just as the Middle East, which produces petroleum, the lifeblood of European industry, can never be allowed freedom to dispose of its own mineral resources, so must the rest of Africa be held in thrall. In the plans of imperialism for Africa, it will do nothing to jeopardise South Africa. Here we recall Sir Alex Douglas Hume's warning to the Black members of the Commonwealth: "We will show ourselves . . . to be aware of the sensitivity of the Commonwealth on racial matters . . . But I must ask them to remember that Britain cannot take risks with its life." The spokesman of British imperialism thus makes it quite clear that her "life", her real interests are dynamically bound up with racist S.Africa. She may find it expedient to denounce S.Africa's *apartheid* policy at the United Nations, but the plain fact is that she has always, and must always, underwrite the fascistic regime of South Africa.

In a boom decade for S.Africa its trade with Western European countries and the U.S. has grown by leaps and bounds and not least in the sale of arms. In 1966 Britain's investments in S.Africa totalled 2,190 million rand. In 1968 it exported to S.Africa a total of R450 million and imported from it R476 million (Europe Year Book — 1970). More than half of the top hundred companies in Britain have a stake in S.Africa. The giant British Coy., ICI, already operates in S.Africa two factories, manufacturing small arms, munitions and military explosives expressly for the S.African Government. The ICI has a 42.5% stake in the £112 million South

African explosives and Chemical Industries. This Company operates for an annual fee, paid by the S.African Government, two munition factories in the Transvaal.

What is true of Britain is true of imperialism as a whole. In 1968 imports from S.Africa to the U.S. totalled R332 million, while its exports to the U.S. totalled R104 million. Trade with Western Germany has been steadily mounting. In 1968 imports from W.Germany totalled R253 million, while exports were R101 million. With Japan also trade has been mounting. In 1968 imports totalled R123 million and exports were as much as R204 million. It is well known that every imperialist country has sold arms to S.Africa and France claims the honour of being the most blatant in this traffic. These figures speak a language of their own and reveal the full meaning of the otherwise inexplicable contradictory actions of the major imperialist powers at the U.N. whenever the African, Asian and Latin American States clamour for action to be taken against S.Africa. They also explain why Britain publicly declares her willingness to underwrite the regime by her promise to sell her more arms. They put into clear perspective that telling British gesture of combined naval manoeuvres with S.African forces. And British imperialism is doing more than this. It is bent on pulling S.Africa out of her isolation, taking the smell out of the polecat of nations. It may surprise many that in 1968, for example, S.African exports to Africa mounted to R250.4 million, while imports were over R120 million. Vorster, the S.African prime minister, is even undertaking diplomatic offensives with neighbouring African countries as well as Europe, and it is stretching its wings as far as Latin America. We have to acknowledge the fact that so successful is S.African diplomacy, she is in effect represented at all the conferences of the OAU and the non-aligned countries. Even more striking is the fact that South Africa is able with impunity to bring its armed forces to the very border of Zambia, threatening it along the whole western, southern and eastern flanks. Its aeroplanes deliberately and provocatively violate Zambian airspace. The very geographical juxta-position of South Africa and Zambia in the present circumstances, places the two countries in military confrontation. Symbolically, Zambia-Tanzania and South Africa are seen to present the two opposing forces of liberation and the capitalist-imperialist system of oppression and exploitation. It is in this setting that the Non-Aligned States must find their place. Zambia, which is surrounded by the enemy, holds aloft the banner of all of them. With this concept they will be the better able to solve the grave problems confronting them.

What is to be done?

The answer does not lie in brave resolutions nor verbal pressures on South Africa or imperialism as a whole. To those they are impervious. We must look facts, even bitter facts, in the face. We have to acknowledge that, as things are today, the member States of the OAU, with all the will in the world, cannot effectively come to the aid of Zambia-Tanzania if attacked by the military might of South Africa. Neither is it practicable for the Non-Aligned States to do so. There is only one defence against fascist South Africa. That is, the power and the will of her own oppressed millions to overthrow the exploitive minority regime. The Non-Aligned States have to find ways of assisting by every possible means the liberatory forces in South Africa. The oppressed people of South Africa are more ready than is

generally assumed. It is this power which, properly channelled, will overthrow the fascist regime and destroy the base of imperialism in South Africa. This alone will ensure security for the independent African States, and open the way to a vast economic development of the African Continent.

Even as we put this forward, however, we must hasten to sound a note of warning. The last decade of neo-colonism has taught us many lessons in connection with the support of nationalist movements. In all good faith the independent States of Africa were willing to give generous support to certain movements. Unable to stop this support, imperialism sought to nullify their efforts and frustrate their aims. In other words, imperialism cynically saw to it that the support was invariably given to those movements which were politically orientated towards neo-colonialism. Through its mass propaganda media and its skilled agents, it created a compelling climate for this tragically misdirected support. By their very nature such movements could not conduct the real liberatory struggle in Southern Africa.

The Non-Aligned States have another function they can perform. They can profitably assist one another economically in a manner that would help to overcome their separateness which it was in the interest of imperialism always to impose on its victims. And this process can be extended in a manner that could have far-reaching ramifications and prove to be a vital weapon in their hands. As an example of what we mean, let us consider the case of Botswana, an underdeveloped country that is groaning within the stranglehold of South Africa. At first glance it would appear that Botswana is heavily indebted to South Africa, but a more careful examination of the situation reveals a totally different picture. It is South Africa that is heavily dependent on the man-power of Botswana and other adjacent territories.

The Vulnerability of the South African Economy

In spite of its present boom conditions and in spite of its flourishing manufacturing industry, the modern South African economy still shows the strong vestiges of its beginnings from the time of the discovery of gold and diamonds, an economy based on mining. To this day, the manufacturing industry, which earns by far the biggest national income, cannot stand on its own feet. That is to say it is running at a loss in so far as the balance of trade is concerned. It cannot pay for the import of its raw materials. For this it is dependent on the enormous profits of the gold-mining industry and on agriculture. But these two industries are precisely the ones that depend almost entirely on the exploitation of cheap Black Labour. The point that concerns us here is: where does this labour come from? Fully 80 percent of Black labour in the mines comes from outside South Africa, and a substantial percentage of that comes from Botswana.

It is precisely this problem of its dependence on a vast cheap Black Labour force that is the Achilles heel of the South African economy. The withdrawal of that labour force would mean the collapse of the South African economy.

Now we know that Botswana has mineral resources that have not been tapped. We know, too, that it has no indigenous financiers capable of exploiting the mineral wealth. This is where the independent African States, as states, could step in. They

could supply capital on terms favourable to Botswana, as well as the technical know-how, in order to prevent the giant imperialist companies from seizing the monopoly. It is highly undesirable that prospecting and mining rights should be farmed out to giant concerns like Anglo-American, R.S.T. etc., companies already operating in South Africa. It is in their interest to retard the development in Botswana whenever the labour demands would threaten to disrupt the South African economy. If the Botswana Government, acting in concert with other Governments, undertook the development of its own minerals, it would utilize its own man-power. This would have the effect of robbing South Africa of the labour that it at present drains out of the country. At the same time it would compete with South Africa for the labour drawn from the other neighbouring territories.

Such a development will release Botswana from the clutches of South Africa and give her that necessary freedom to choose her own allies i.e. take her place alongside the progressive independent nations without fear of economic reprisals from her aggressive neighbour. At the same time it would be to the benefit of the independent nations. But even more than this is involved. It would strike a blow for freedom in as much as the inevitable crisis in the South African economy will help the South African oppressed to take a step nearer their goal. Thus the united action of the independent States will draw them into the main current of that global struggle for the liberation of man from oppression and exploitation and open up on an unprecedented scale economic development in which production will be for the satisfaction of the needs of all men.

THE UNITY MOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Lusaka.

Zambia. Sept. 1970

Conspiracy against Southern Africa's Liberation

Reviewing the international situation leads one to conclude that the struggle of capitalism-imperialism versus socialism is dividing the world roughly into three main groupings: the highly industrialised Western Capitalist States headed by the U.S.A., the socialist states of which the Soviet Union is the most advanced; and what is termed the underdeveloped countries, which fall in-between and cannot escape being pulled to either side despite protestations of non-alignment.

The nature of the involvement of these under-developed states is revealed by Walter W. Rostow in the "New York Times" (5th Jan. 1969). He lists the outstanding achievements of the Kennedy and Johnson administration. The first on the list of successes is Cuba. He says, "First we worked to isolate Castro. We have worked bilaterally and otherwise with some of the countries under pressure from infiltration from Cuba and managed to prevent the achievement of a guerilla war base on the mainland of Latin America, which was – and remained – Castro's main objective. Some quiet preventive medicine was done here. There are many problems ahead, Castro is a nuisance, dangerous still – but manageable . . .".

On Vietnam, Rostow makes a startling revelation: "We had a side understanding with the Soviet Union that they would take responsibility for keeping Hanoi out of Laos but Khrushchev could not or would not implement that agreement." He is even more startling when he says: "Despite Vietnam and other crises, we have managed to move our relations with the Soviet Union from one of across-the-board hostility to a relationship in which we isolate areas of common interest of both sides and work systematically in those areas to produce agreement." This is what the Soviet Union calls "the policy of co-existence" which is designed to prevent a direct military confrontation, in areas as far-flung as Vietnam, Latin America, the Middle-East and the Continent of Africa.

Middle-East War

The Arab-Israeli war is vitally important to imperialism because Middle-East oil must continue to flow to Europe on imperialism's own terms. After the U.A.R. had fully controlled the Suez Canal and had made a bid to unite the oil states, imperialism redoubled its subversion of the whole area. U.S. imperialism armed

Israel to the teeth, encouraged her to go to war and helped her to win it by the presence of an American flotilla, jamming Egypt's radio system, decoding Egypt's secret messages, passing the information to Israel and thus bringing about the loss of all Egypt's planes and her military might within six days. It is also known that both the United States and the Soviet Union were well informed of the impending Israeli attack but did nothing to alert the Arabs.

Whilst the role of American imperialism in all this is obvious, it is not so clear why the Soviet Union behaved in this fashion. Since the formation of the O.A.U. an important part of the Arab world has become politically bound up with the rest of Africa. The appearance of the Soviet Union on the scene has created confusion and greater rifts within the O.A.U. The O.A.U. has now become part of the battle-ground between Capitalism and Socialism as well as being drawn into the side ideological quarrels of the Soviet Union and the Republic of China on the various forms of Socialism.

A corollary to the subversion of the O.A.U. and sowing disunity among African states is the capture of Nationalist Organisations belonging to the unliberated countries. There the aim is threefold:

- (a) to use them to sow confusion and enmity amongst African States;
- (b) to turn them into instruments of foreign policy of the major powers;
- (c) to use them as a means of staving off the revolutionary process, in other words, to sabotage the revolution in Southern Africa.

Instruments of Foreign Policy

On the question of turning Nationalist Movements into instruments of foreign policy, it is our opinion that the Soviet Union has taken over complete control of some Nationalist Organisations. The most obvious is the African National Congress of South Africa. This bid to control started when Russia joined the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), when she also sought, on ideological grounds, to exclude China and thus embroiled the third world in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Russia packed the Conference by transporting large delegations favourably disposed to her and as a result split the organisation. With her funds Russia managed to retain a skeletal body almost exclusively of her supporters and a veto clause was restored to ensure Russian domination. This body became Russia's mouthpiece of foreign policy on Nationalist Movements.

A Mr Spatak, a leading Soviet diplomat, is at AAPSO headquarters in Cairo and is reputed to be virtual boss there. In January 1969, AAPSO held a conference of selected nationalist organisations in Khartoum with all expenses paid by Russia. Despite the poor response, the African Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. had to postpone its scheduled January meeting to February in deference to the Russian-convened Conference. Thereupon, there followed another conference in Morogoro, also consisting exclusively of the Russian-backed Nationalist Movements. This time the participants were bolder in their megalomaniac claims.

In one of their resolutions they request "all governments of the world" (not progressive governments, mark you) "to recognise as the sole official and legitimate

authorities of their respective countries, the following fighting movements.” They go on to name the chosen six. Elsewhere the conference calls on all governments to recognise the liberation Movements named above as the *alternative and future governments of the territories concerned*. They have hardly begun to see the end of the struggle – some like the ANC of South Africa have not yet fired a single shot in their country – but they are already deciding who the Government shall be and apportioning portfolios amongst themselves. Nationalist Committees are going to be set up in all countries of the world and offices established for the favoured six, plus AAPSO, and the World Council of Peace has been appointed to function as an *ad hoc* mobilization committee operating from Cairo for the implementation of conference decisions. Significantly the Secretary-General of this committee is the Secretary-General of the Russian-controlled AAPSO. It is clear where the directives come from and who will supply the funds for this global venture.

“Armed Struggle Worthless”

The adroit handling of this whole scheme reveals a hand skilled in the art of manipulation and deception. The attention of the Russian-controlled nationalist organisations is being turned away from the scene of battle in their own respective countries and their gaze fixed upon distant pastures; their energies will be dissipated in fruitless activities in all the capitals of the world, protesting against sports team going to play in South Africa, furiously organising demonstrations on this or that apartheid law and generally maintaining a facade of high militancy; anything and everything but going back to South Africa to fight for their liberation. Our information is that one of the main occupations of this Mr Spatak who controls AAPSO is quietly to convince individual leaders of the worthlessness of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. No country in Black Africa was ever liberated through armed struggle which only results in unnecessary bloodshed, he says. The only effective method is to bring pressure upon the South African and Portuguese Governments by arousing world opinion against them. In these words Mr Spatak merely confirms what we know to be the political position of Russia vis-a-vis the liberation struggle. We had known all along that the Soviet Union has “a side agreement” with the United States whereby they will help each other to maintain “peace” in their respective spheres of influence. They will not tolerate any interference with their main strategic positions. In Southern Africa, South Africa constitutes a vital base for imperialism, both from a military and an economic point of view. Russia is bound by the rules not to interfere in that domain. At best, the two sides may countenance a controlled armed struggle in the Portuguese territories as indeed the United States did in Angola for a while. But under no circumstances will imperialism tolerate an outright assault on its citadel – South Africa – and for that very reason the Soviet Union will not permit, let alone support, a revolutionary struggle in that country. If this basic fact is grasped, then all the seemingly contradictory actions of the major powers and the movements under their control become clear. The pieces of the jig-saw puzzle fall into place.

An Imperialist Plot

Sometime ago American imperialism was reputed to be assisting the freedom

struggle in Angola. She has given large sums of money to South African freedom fighters and has shown a marked interest in providing financial assistance to the OAU itself. The Soviet Union is known to have trained freedom fighters including South Africans. Most of Africa rejoiced at the announcement that the members of the African National Congress of South Africa were fighting in Rhodesia. To them this was the beginning of an assault on South Africa itself. Few people asked the question: how does it come about that an organisation completely under the joint control of the Soviet Union and Great Britain should now launch an attack on a British territory which constitutes the front line of imperialism's fortress? Still fewer people concluded that the announcement was part of a huge plot and a trap. We do not believe that the A.N.C. of South Africa ever intended to fight a conventional war against the combined forces of Rhodesia and South Africa. The pitifully small numbers it sent in supports this view. Such a venture would amount to criminal suicide. The idea of making the announcement could only have come from their political mentors to achieve a double purpose:

- (a) to reveal to the Congress its own impotence so as to stop the clamour of the trained men to go home.
- (b) And this is important – the greatly exaggerated publicity giving the impression that large numbers of armed South African freedom fighters were fighting their way through Rhodesia to South Africa. The trigger-happy South African racists seized the opportunity to brazenly take occupation of Rhodesia with the tacit approval of British imperialism.

For all military purposes South Africa's boundaries now extend to the Zambezi in the North and by agreement with Portugal to the Northern boundary of Mozambique in the East and the borders of the Congo in the West . . . It is of course true that the leadership of Congress abroad benefited from all the publicity. But the struggle for liberation in South Africa suffered a tremendous setback.

The most interesting thing in all this is that most of the African States did not recognise the snare . . . The logic of the situation now is that those few countries which seek to escape from this stranglehold and come out in opposition to these machinations will be accused by their gullible fellowmen of betraying the struggle. Imperialism with the able assistance of the Soviet Union has entrapped Africa in the coils of a vast conspiracy. The client states will beat the drums in support of the plan in the fond belief that their benefactors are making a contribution to the struggle for freedom. They will pour scorn on the true defenders of the revolution. They will be used to isolate them, little knowing that by so doing they themselves are being used as instruments for betraying the revolution in Southern Africa. The contiguity of Zambia and Tanzania to the unliberated countries places them in a position where they could not only give shelter to all freedom fighters but serve as a corridor to the battle fields. The wrath of the enemy will be concentrated on them. All methods will be used to isolate them and create conditions favourable to crushing them piecemeal.

The situation would appear to be hopeless, but this is only to those who pinned their faith on the ability of the OAU, as at present constituted, to save Africa, that

is to say, only those who underestimated the power of imperialism. Sooner or later racist South Africa must seek to destroy those spheres of non-racialism that constitute a source of inspiration to the oppressed majority within her borders. In that event the OAU will be helpless to come to their aid. The only effective defence of these independent states lies with the oppressed masses of South Africa itself.

Forces of liberation are in South Africa, but here again we are constrained to spend time showing how the same conspiracy against the people of South Africa so succeeded that imperialism aided by the Soviet Union managed to persuade Africa — that same Africa that is so dedicated to the struggle for freedom of their brothers in the South — to act and still continue to act in such a way as actually to strengthen imperialism in South Africa. This may seem paradoxical but is nonetheless true.

The Role Of The Communist Party Of South Africa

(Editorial note: we refer the reader also to: *Who Are The Wreckers Of Unity?* (1974). This indicates the continuity of the role of the C.P. of South Africa abroad in relation to the Congress leadership in exile. By long tradition, also, the African National Congress leaders received the support of the South African liberals. (See: Memo. of the Unity Movement to the OAU, 1963) The present article refers to a ruling concerning the ANC taken at a secret meeting of the C.P. of South Africa "Centre" with instructions to the so-called Congress Alliance, which had been formed by the C.P. in the mid-fifties to counter the influence of the Unity Movement of South Africa. Tabata's *The Awakening Of A People* amplifies the struggle preceding this counter-move.)

Amongst the Rivonia Trial documents (S.A. 1963) were Minutes of a meeting of "The Centre", the most authoritative organ of the Communist Party of South Africa. It was concerned with formulating a policy to be presented to the Congress Alliance consisting of the C.P., the African National Congress (leadership); the Congress of Democrats, a group of South African liberals; the Indian Congress, dominated by the merchant-class, and the Coloured People's Congress, a C.P. group. The minutes of the meeting state: "A picture depicts the ANC as a collaborationist organisation dominated by non-Africans. It is essential that this picture be corrected. All sections of the democratic movement in this country should fully understand and appreciate this need and co-operate in seeing that, particularly in Free Africa, the African National Congress of South Africa . . . comes forward and is accepted as the recognised spokesman of the entire democratic movement in this country. *We ask all our members concerned in the various organisations to give unqualified support to this ruling.*" (Their emphasis.) . . .

Those who know that the C.P. of South Africa takes its orders from Moscow, realise all too well where this instruction comes from. History has shown how thoroughly the injunction has been carried out by the C.P. and the liberal functionaries. The Soviet Union produced the largest funds to enable them to launch a propaganda assault on all Africa as well as Europe and Asia. As was the case at home, the executive of the Congress in Dar-es-Salaam continued to maintain two political wings, the major one attached to Moscow and the minority one to

London . . . The channelling of funds through old and trusted C.P. members . . . was part and parcel of the means used to maintain control. . . Many African States belonging to the OAU were pressurized to fall in line with the plan. It is indisputable that amongst the South African organisations the African National Congress has received by far the greatest financial aid, despite the fact that in seven long years it has produced no results. The irony of it all is that the ANC does not need what must be to them pin money. . .

Some few African States who have turned away from the ANC have pinned their faith on the Pan Africanist Congress – (a splinter group that broke away from the ANC in South Africa and received recognition from the Liberation Committee of the OAU in 1963. ED.) What they do not realise is that this fragmented, unprincipled but vociferous group has more members outside than inside South Africa. It is a head without a body. The point we are making is that, so long as Africa spends its monies in support of these organisations, so long will imperialism feel assured that the revolution will be aborted and its investments in South Africa safe. And the matter does not end there. A state of tension cannot continue indefinitely. Any procrastination on the part of the revolutionary forces is tantamount to strengthening the position of racist South Africa and imperialism as a whole in Africa.

The Real Struggle in South Africa

Let us make it plain that, as far as the policy of the OAU is concerned, we see it as due in part to a lack of knowledge of the facts about the complex situation in South Africa, such as the relationship of forces as between the organisations of the oppressed; their respective programmes and principles. Many of the mistakes made are due to an inadequate understanding of the precise relationship of forces as between the whole of the oppressed and the oppressor. They have no means of acquiring this knowledge, for they depend for their information on the imperialist press and committed publicists whose job it is to distort facts and bolster up their iniquitous system. How are the African States to know for instance, that the widely publicised Sharpeville was a minor incident as compared to the numerous slaughters that have been taking place long before and after it? How are they to know about the Masabalala massacre, the Bulhoek, the Pondoland, the Sekhukhuniland genocides, to mention but a few! What of the heroic struggles of the people in which they were forced to face machine guns and Saracens (mobile armoured vehicles) with sticks, assegais and bare hands, struggles which have increased in frequency in the last decade? How is the outside world to know of the numerous organisations, big and small, that have sprung up in the last few years, all formed for the purpose of self-defence and to launch a struggle for freedom? Who outside South Africa knows that the biggest organisations in the country are peasant organisations, the same peasants who have borne the brunt of oppression, exploitation, starvation and torture, torture because they have at last raised their voice in protest against the unbearable conditions of their existence? NO. No one knows outside South Africa. It does not suit the book of imperialism to mention all these facts. Does anyone know outside the country, that out of need for self-defence, most of these organisations and all the biggest ones joined

forces with the other organisations of the oppressed, federated in the Unity Movement of South Africa?

The Unity Movement Leadership

This arrangement, i.e. this form of organisation, has yielded the best possible results. It aims to:

- (a) eliminate destructive competition among member organisations,
- (b) facilitate the dissemination of ideas throughout the country;
- (c) unite town and country, worker and peasant in the prosecution of the struggle, placing before the population the same policy and programme;
- (d) draw the leaders of the various organisations into one single leadership and thus pool their intellectual resources, their experience to enrich the leadership.

Thus we can state without boasting that the leadership of the Unity Movement of South Africa is comparable in quality and integrity to the best in the continent of Africa. We are not of course making a comparison between individuals. We refer only to the leadership as a corporate group. *Because of our form of organisation*, each member of the leadership is a leader of his particular organisation where he gained no mean experience in organising and leading men. In addition to this, South Africa is a highly industrialised country so that even those who never received formal education have, by virtue of their involvement in industry, acquired a measure of sophistication. And lastly, there are comparatively much larger numbers of highly educated people amongst whom individual leaders spring up. The choice is greater.

What then can be done to help the struggle in South Africa? In South Africa there is a power capable of challenging the white racist regime. This is not a facile assertion but a considered statement born of long experience and a knowledge of the situation. Whether the retrogressive forces in Africa or the OAU like it or not, the plain fact is that at the moment the main political stream in South Africa is constituted by those organisations which are banded together in the Unity Movement of South Africa.

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The Triangle of Intrigue: The Various Faces of Crisis in South Africa

The crisis facing South Africa today is producing convulsions which have gripped all social layers of the population. Its effects are felt far beyond the borders of the country. It manifests itself in different forms giving rise to events which, on the face of it, are unrelated. The events we single out are:

- a) The political trials taking place of the leadership and members of the Unity Movement of South Africa and, simultaneously, of the Dean of Johannesburg.
- b) The latest diplomatic thrust by racist South Africa in the form of a "Dialogue" which threatened to rock the O.A.U. (Incidentally, the idea did not spring from the brain of the South African racists. It is foreign to their way of thinking, even though it flows logically from the objective conditions of the country and its own economic position *vis-a-vis* imperialism.)
- c) The "Talks" between the British Tory Government and the Rhodesian criminal usurpers, euphemistically called rebels by their masters and fellow-conspirators.

All these events flow from the same cause. They are manifestations of a deep-going crisis in South Africa which in turn reflects the crisis of British imperialism. When the racist police swoop on the leadership and members of the Unity Movement of South Africa, at the same time as they were arresting the Dean of Johannesburg and harassing the members of the Church, the English press gave wide publicity to the Dean. Even now when the two trials are taking place at the same time, the major British press agencies give maximum publicity to the Dean's trial. When they do mention the other trial, it is of thirteen nameless and faceless people. This may seem all the more strange to a superficial observer, since the Dean and the 13 members of the Unity Movement are charged under the same Act, the Terrorism Act. Is it because the 13 men are Blacks and the Dean is a white man? No. The imperialist press is never blinded by colour issues. The reason is much more fundamental. The people involved in the two trials represent two different forces: the one, the official opposition and the other the outlawed. For reasons of political tactics Prime Minister Vorster bundles all his opponents together and paints them with the colours of those most hated by the electorate. Imperialism, however, has the task of separating, while not dissociating its representatives from the rest. The

prosecution of the Dean is seen by imperialism as the culmination of the struggle of the official opposition, popularly known as the anti-apartheid struggle. For a decade or more the press has placed this struggle at the centre of all political activity in South Africa. Its aim is the ousting of the Afrikaner Party from power and replacing it with the English-speaking section of the ruling-class.

The thirteen faceless accused in the Pietermaritzburg trial represent the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom. By its very nature it is a struggle against all forms of racism, whether it goes by the name of segregation, apartheid, "development along their own lines", Bantustans (for Africans) or any other "stans". In short, it is a struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism. This is the force that is stubbornly making an impact in South Africa, as it is in Africa and in the rest of the developing world. Just as the now famous Bandung Conference sounded the tocsin for a new epoch, which ushered in the period of granting political independence to the old colonies, that is to say, the period of neo-colonialism, so now the burgeoning of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is the precursor of a new era, at the time when imperialism is poised for a reconquest of Africa.

S.Africa today is in the grip of a deepening economic and political crisis. It is a creeping paralysis which infests every fibre of the state organism. It is no longer able to reconcile the opposing forces. To maintain their system, the rulers resort to the use of open, naked force. All democratic norms and the rules of law have been abolished. Force breeds a counter-force — a vicious spiralling circle that undermines the stability of the system. But instability drives away the capital that is vital to the economy and plunges the country deeper into crisis. It is in this situation that the astute British imperialists proffered advice to the dull-witted, myopic, race-baiting rulers of S.Africa to turn their attention towards Black Africa and win its support.

The Dialogue

The idea of a dialogue with a Black man does not come naturally to S.African white racists. In fact it is so repugnant to them that when the *verkramptes* (extreme right wing of Afrikaner Nationalist Party) jeered at an official who had been treated to a sumptuous dinner in Malawi, the latter was moved to retort: "For the good of my country I am prepared even to eat with a kaffir." Stark realities have a way of compelling even a proud nose to stick itself in what it regards as odious mire.

S.Africa, though no longer a member of the Commonwealth, has always enjoyed and still enjoys the position of a favoured nation. Britain is the biggest importer of S.African goods as well as being the biggest investor in S.Africa itself. But now Britain, faced with a growing economic crisis, is seeking to enter the European Common Market. The other six members of the Market insist that as a condition for her entry, Britain must slough off her Commonwealth appendages like Australia, New Zealand, and her attachment to S.Africa. This leaves the favoured trading partners high and dry at a time when the S.African economy has reached the stage where it must increase its volume of exports or collapse.

The question is where to export. Her stage of technological development renders her unable to compete with the most highly developed industrial nations for a

European market. What countries are left open to her? The most natural trading partner is the continent of Africa. All other things being equal, her industrial capacity puts her in a position to become the heart of the continent, supplying it with manufactured goods while drawing from it raw materials. Indeed she could supplant most of the European import and export trade with Africa and herself assume the position of chief banker of the continent. But the condition for this is that she should cease being a slave state, whereby a Black man by virtue of his colour is doomed to perpetual slavery and exists for no other purpose but to minister to the needs of the White master, The African States feel that South Africa's political and economic set-up is in itself an assault on the dignity of all Black men in the continent of Africa and on their countries.

South Africa's problem is how to maintain her present political, social and economic structure and at the same time acquire African markets which are vital to her survival. To put it another way: how to get the co-operation of African States in maintaining the master-slave relationship, a *sine qua non* for the continued existence of a flourishing economy and the luxurious living for the Whites-only country. To achieve this, Vorster will even dine with a "kaffir". This is the kernel of the problem that gave birth to the idea of the "dialogue". Whoever agrees to the dialogue with South Africa must know he is thereby selling the birthright of his fellow Black men in S. Africa for a mess of pottage and, in the final analysis, that of his own people who will thereafter occupy an inferior economic and political status within the orbit of the S. African white racist empire.

Talks in Rhodesia

To appreciate what is involved in the "Talks" in Rhodesia between the usurpers and the representatives of British imperialism, it is necessary to know the background of the events that led up to them as well as the general strategy of imperialism *vis-a-vis* Africa since the end of the second world war. It is common knowledge that when the Central African Federation was dismantled, Britain handed to the white minority regime practically all the military hardware under her control in the area. At that time few realised the full significance of that act and still fewer saw it as fitting into an overall strategy involving the whole complex of States in Southern Africa.

Churchill, the imperialist hero of the 2nd world war, once proclaimed that he would not preside over the liquidation of the British empire. Without his permission, however, historical forces proceeded to remove him from the helm and to dismantle the old empire. War, that locomotive of history, had set into motion an irresistible tide of national liberation stretching from the Far East, the Middle East and the continent of Africa. As we have said elsewhere Britain decided on a new strategy that would enable her to continue her exploitation of the colonies without the responsibility of occupation. American imperialism had applied this policy for over a century in Latin America with success. There seemed to be no reason why it should not work in Africa as well. Historically, however, the idyllic stage of neo-colonialism had come too late on the scene to entrench itself. But the imperialists had taken precautions to safeguard themselves against such an

eventuality. It is now clear that the blueprint for Africa had a dividing line drawn across Southern Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean; from the northern boundary of Angola in the West through the Zambezi River in the South and to the northern tip of Mozambique in the East. Granting independence to African States stopped short at the white minority regimes in the South. This explains the transfer of military equipment to Rhodesia at the time of the break-up of the Federation.

South Africa must be built up as a springboard for operations against Africa, whether these be in the form of economic penetration or military attack. In short, S. Africa is a valuable imperialist ally in the battle for the re-conquest of Africa. The rest, i.e. the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia, constitute a *cordon sanitaire* for the main imperialists base. It is in this setting that the Smith-Heath talks must be seen. They are not the shadow-boxing of "so-called talks". They are real and aggressive talks plotting against Africa. Their urgency flows from Britain's own economic difficulties, as mentioned above, as well as her desire to avoid obvious or blatant involvement in a Southern African conflict. Hitherto it had been considered sufficient for the NATO powers to supply military aid and for the U.S. to pump dollars into the economic arteries of Portugal to guarantee the safety of her colonies. But the latest events indicate that in spite of all this the strain is too great for the tottering fascist regime. When the Pope gave audience to freedom fighters from the Portuguese colonies, he was in effect giving notice that it is time for imperialism to change tactics, if not strategy. New methods must be evolved. British imperialism is now working on the assumption that Portugal's two flanks are on the point of collapse. This is what lends urgency to the Rhodesian talks. Before the floodgates are smashed, Britain must erect firm dykes further down and then pull out of the area. The talks are not bi-lateral but three-cornered. The actors are Britain, South Africa and Rhodesia in that order of importance. Rhodesia is theoretically still a British colony, but the South African military forces are in occupation — an embarrassing situation to Britain but necessary to her interests. The long-drawn out discussions are not about the rights of the Africans in Rhodesia. These don't even come into the picture. No black face is to be seen there. They are concerned with finding a formula for a face-saving device to enable Britain to pull out with some dignity and leave it to Rhodesia officially to invite South African "military advisers" — a term used these days to designate foreign military forces of occupation in defence of an unpopular regime.

It would be most unwise to believe that the question of the dialogue was settled once and for all at the last O.A.U. Conference. The problem has come to stay and will continue to present itself in many different forms. Africa can expect grave difficulties in the coming period. One thing is certain. Britain and France are going to use their power and influence to cajole, browbeat and even dragoon African States into line.

Those who resist will find themselves subjected to economic blackmail, political subversion and internal confusion masterminded from outside, as a prelude to a carefully manipulated coup. In addition to these there is another form of blackmail that will be used against those states contiguous to the racist regimes. There will be a hotting up of the climate in that area with threats of invasion, increased violation of air-space and a multiplicity of border incidents. With Britain out of the area, the

task of defending the Rhodesian flank will fall on South Africa. From a distance Britain, in concert with her European allies, will arm South Africa to the teeth with the most sophisticated weaponry.

These are some of the difficulties which Africa has to face in the immediate future. Ways and means have to be found to meet them, or face vassalage. Africa has the capacity to meet the challenge. The broad historical tide is still in her favour.

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Address to a Committee of the United Nations by the Unity Movement of South Africa

Your Excellency, The Chairman,
Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must thank you for the opportunity afforded me to address this august gathering.

The people now on trial in South Africa reflect the composition of the Unity Movement. They are drawn from all the social layers of the oppressed population, peasants, workers, clerks, teachers and lawyers. All of them belong to organisations that are affiliated to the Unity Movement of South Africa.

The United Nations Organisation, through its various agencies, has heard a great deal about the mammoth trial taking place in the Supreme Court of racist South Africa of the leadership and members of the Unity Movement charged under the Terrorism Act. South African papers refer to it as a mammoth trial which may well continue into 1972. One of them reports that it is the longest trial of its kind in South African history. A great deal has been told of the brutal tortures to which our people have been subjected during the period of their detention. In ten months, two of the detained men have died. Mr. Cutshela, a peasant from Pondoland, died after prolonged torture while Mr Timol of Johannesburg, (not a member of the Unity Movement of South Africa) is reported to have committed suicide by jumping out of a window 10 storeys high during interrogation. Let me declare now that the current opinion among the oppressed people of South Africa is that Mr Timol died at the hands of the police and that his body was thrown out of the window.

I am not now concerned with the evidence to support or disprove this or that contention. I am concerned with drawing attention to two facts:

- (1) that a human being, a young life, met a violent death under circumstances which are part and parcel of a systematic violence that is daily rained upon a whole Black population; and that there have been an inordinate number of these mysterious deaths since the Terrorism Act came into force.
- (2) That the credibility gap as revealed in the case of Mr Timol's death throws a blinding light on the attitudes of the population towards the herrenvolk

rulers with their minions who administer the fascistic laws. It moreover reveals the wide divergence in outlook, the alienation and the ensuing hostility towards the rulers.

It is not my intention to go into the sordid details describing the methods of torture; how the police suspend our men on trees by their handcuffed arms and sjambok them, how they pull them by their genitals and subject them to electric shock to get them to talk and to append their signatures to police-prepared statements. All these brutal methods have already been made public.

What I want to show is that legalised violence and systematized torture are an inseparable part of the way of life of fascist South Africa. They are the warp and woof of that whole herrenvolk edifice erected upon the present economic, political and social structure.

South Africa is conceived as a white man's country by the herrenvolk rulers of whatever political persuasion. It is a slave state for the Blacks and a paradise for the whites. All the laws of the country are designed to maintain and buttress such a state. An examination of the laws in the statute book of South Africa reveals the nature of the state. Through them it is possible to see the fascistic intent of the legislation against the oppressed Black population, the callous contempt for human rights and utter disregard for human life. It is a truism to say that all economic and political power in South Africa is concentrated in the hands of a small white minority. It is almost platitudinous to repeat that a Black man exists for no other purpose but to create wealth for the enjoyment of the master race and super-profits for foreign investors. Yet these are the stark facts which are responsible for all the evils that beset the Black man, all the suffering, the violence that he has to endure every moment of his life. In truth, his position is that of a beast of burden, no more or less.

I am here primarily to talk about our men who are standing trial in South Africa charged with:

- (a) Attempting to overthrow the State by force of arms with the assistance of a foreign power.
- (b) Recruiting men for military and political training in a foreign country.
- (c) Collecting funds to assist in the recruitment.
- (d) Harboursing trained terrorists

If convicted, all of them are faced with a possible death sentence. The crucial questions are: what kind of state is it that the men are (said) to be attempting to overthrow? What kind of laws are these that they have violated? All legislation in South Africa against the Black man falls roughly into *three main categories*. There is a set of laws which is designed,

- (a) to strip the whole Black population of every vestige of political rights and even human rights.
- (b) to close every avenue leading to their economic advancement.
- (c) to render them countryless, that is, to declare all Black people foreigners in the country of their birth.

The First Set of Laws

The series of laws that gradually took away the franchise so that today there is not a single Black man or woman with a right to vote for any member of Parliament, Provincial Council or municipal Council was designed to make the Black people voiceless and politically defenceless. They have no means of influencing the legislature in any way whatsoever. Moreover the whole African population is ruled by proclamation issued by the Head of State in his capacity as Supreme Chief of all Natives, in practice, by the Minister of Native Affairs.

Industrial legislation with its various Amendments has created a situation whereby a Black man today is by definition not a worker. This may seem strange to those outsiders who know that in practically every branch of industry and commerce, Black workers are by far the greatest majority. This seeming inconsistency has its own diabolical logic. If Black people were recognised by law as workers, they would be entitled to all the rights and privileges of workers, that is the right to collective bargaining, the right to sell their labour-power to the highest bidder, the right to strike, etc. They are therefore not permitted to form a trade or join a trade union. It is illegal for them to go on strike under any circumstances. They are no longer permitted to perform a job above unskilled labour. They are not permitted to trade or manufacture any goods for sale on their own behalf in any urban areas.

The Group Areas Act which falls under this category was ostensibly designed to settle the different ethnic groups in separate areas. In terms of this Act, the whole of the Republic of South Africa was declared a white group area, with the exception of little enclaves dotted strategically here and there for labour purposes, the total extent of which constitute less than 13 per cent of the country. This means that the whites who comprise less than 20 per cent of the population occupy and own 87 per cent of the land. Even this monstrous robbery does not reveal the full extent of the privations and destitution that must follow in the wake of this inhuman Act. According to their own official statistics, 75% of all land in the Reserves (Bantustans) is pure mountain country, hilly and broken and badly eroded. Only 25% is free from erosion. This means that out of the 13% of the total area for occupation by the Blacks, only 25% is fit for agricultural purposes. These facts alone belie the vaunted intention of the Act, namely to settle the Blacks in their own country, the Bantustans. The legislators knew full well that it is a physical impossibility to accommodate more than 80% of the population in these enclaves. But then, it was never their intention to drive all the Black people out of the white group area. What would happen to their mines, their industries and commerce, to their white farms and transport?

The aim of the Act was to declare the whole Black population as aliens, foreigners in the country of their birth. They were however not to be driven out of the country, nor are they in fact allowed to leave the country. They were simply to be robbed of all rights of occupation, of ownership of any property within the country or even the right to travel from one part of the country to another. Where they live in the country, they have to live by permit and that permit is issued on condition that they are employed by a white man. Those few who inherited

property from their forbears, can no longer occupy those properties as of right. Their title deeds are not worth the paper they are written on.

The Re-Settlement Act, a twin Act of the Group Areas Act, empowers the Authorities to remove any African from any place to any other place. In terms of this law, hundreds of thousands of villagers have been uprooted from their ancestral home. It is necessary only for a group of white farmers to complain of shortage of labour in their district for the Native Affairs Department to issue removal notices to all inhabitants of a particular village. On the appointed day, army trucks accompanied by bull-dozers move in to remove man, woman and child with their belongings. Those who refuse will have their household goods buried under the rubble of their bull-dozed houses. At their destination somewhere in the vicinity of the white farms, they will find army tents which they must erect as temporary shelters until such time as they can save from their miserable earnings enough money to put up their own structures. No compensation is paid for their demolished homes. The place chosen for their new settlement is invariably arid land so that they cannot keep stock nor produce enough food to support themselves. They must survive only by working for the white farmers.

The iniquitous Pass System is an indispensable instrument for the enforcement of these draconian laws. Every Black man or woman must carry a pass to show that he or she is permitted to stay where he is. Such permission is given only if he is employed by a white man. He may not travel or walk out of his yard without a pass. Failure to produce a pass on demand by a policeman at any time of the day or night, in the streets or in your sleeping quarters, is an offence. Prisons are full to overflowing with pass-law offenders.

Groups of farmers come together and with the permission of the Government build their own private prisons from which they draw cheap prison labour. During reaping seasons police raids for passes increase. These, then, are the conditions created by the first set of laws.

The Purpose of the Second Set of Laws

It is abundantly clear that the laws described above seek to turn South Africa into one huge prison or concentration camp for the Black man. A concentration camp must be surrounded by barbed-wire, booby traps and a rampart bristling with weapons of destruction to prevent anybody from escaping. The second set of laws is designed to prohibit the whole Black population from attempting to change or even protest against the conditions created by the first set. The most notorious of these are:

- (a) The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 which prescribes a penalty of 3 years and whipping, on conviction, for any offence "committed by way of protest or in support of any campaign . . . for the repeal or modification of any law". A protest against the notorious pass-laws, or a demonstration against discrimination in wages or the demand for the right to form trade unions may send any Black man or woman to jail for 3 years and whipping.

- (b) The Sabotage Act of 1962 makes it an offence punishable by hanging, the contravention of “any law to enter upon any land or building to further or encourage the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or economic change in the Republic.” If Black workers on strike enter factory grounds to demonstrate against the appalling conditions of work and low wages, they are guilty on two counts:
- (i) going on strike,
 - (ii) entering upon any land for the purpose of achieving “an economic change” namely, discrimination in the wages structure.
- (c) The Terrorism Act makes it an offence to commit any act which has the effect of “embarrassing the administration of the affairs of State.”

This clause of the Act has been applied by the police with a malevolence and ruthlessness bordering on vicious sadism, particularly against the peasantry in the “Reserves” throughout the country. If the peasants refuse to obey the order of a Government-appointed chief, they are liable to a charge under this law. The minimum penalty is five years and the maximum death. If they refuse to co-operate in the culling of their stock because they know that this is intended to smoke them out of their homes, to be conscripted as cheap labour on the white farms and mines, the same dire fate awaits them. If they protest against the activities of the Bungas (Government Rural Councils) or refuse to elect representatives to them or to co-operate with them, they are “embarrassing the Administration of the affairs of State” – a phrase that might spell death to them. This law, in this one phrase, is so vague, so wide and so all-embracing that it covers every sphere of life and activities of the peasants. Can anyone living outside the villages of Black South Africa ever know or even imagine what it means to live “under the shadow of death”, where at the whim of any white policeman, any Black man or woman can be faced with a prosecution under this Act – the very mention of which strikes terror in the hearts of the bravest?

The same Terrorism Act prescribes the same vicious penalties for any act, deemed to be furthering or encouraging “the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social and economic change in co-operation with, or with the assistance of any foreign or international body or institution.”

It is known that in the present trials of the leadership and members of the Unity Movement, the prosecution repeatedly associates the accused with what they call “Zambian Agents”. These so-called agents or terrorists as they sometimes call them, are known to everybody, including the prosecution, to be South Africans who are members of the Unity Movement of South Africa. The reasons for referring to them as Zambian agents are firstly to implicate and indict Zambia as a State and secondly, to bring the accused well within the provisions, that is, the ominous phrase “In co-operation with or with the assistance of a foreign power”. This may earn them the sentence of death.

All over the world, there are institutions and bodies devoted to welfare work and humanitarian causes, such as the Red Cross, Christian Aid, Defence and Aid, World Council of Churches, to mention but a few. If a man is accused of “protecting or

supporting any campaign . . . for the repeal or modification of any law” and if the prosecution can prove that any of these bodies rendered him or his destitute family some humanitarian assistance, the accused is liable on conviction to a minimum penalty of 5 years and a maximum of death.

Lastly, may I mention here, that if a petitioner from South Africa addresses the United Nations Organisation or any of its agencies as part of a campaign for the “achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or economic change” in South Africa, he is guilty of a crime punishable with death! For such a person will be doing so “in co-operation with an international body”. This, then, is the second set of laws, the ramparts bristling with the most vicious weaponry to defend the South African Belsens and Dachaus created by the first set of laws described above.

The Third Set of Laws

It needs very little imagination to realise that no nation, no people can tolerate indefinitely the kind of life prescribed for the Black man by the fascist legislators. All present-day autocrats, dictators and fascists, no matter how myopic and dull-witted, cannot but be aware of the historic process. They know that their reign must sooner or later come to an end. All that they can try to do is to delay the evil day. All this is what the herrenvolk in South Africa are desperately trying to do. They know they can no longer rule the country except by open, naked violence. Thus they find it necessary to legalise violence, torture and even murder. The Third Set of Laws in the Statute Book of South Africa is designed for this purpose.

By legislation, they outlaw the rule of law. In its stead they substitute “rule by the police force” not as a corporate body but by individual white policemen. In such a situation the more vicious, that is to say, the more brutalised and dehumanised the policeman, the higher are his chances of promotion. The police have unlimited power over the public, particularly over the Africans, who in addition are ruled by proclamation issued by an individual minister. A proclamation which is not subject to review even by their own Parliament. No African is of right protected by any law of the country.

The General Laws Amendment Act of 1966 provided for the arrest and detention of suspected people. But within 14 days they had to be brought before a judge of the Supreme Court who decided whether there was a prima facie case for his detention or prosecution. At this stage police activities still came under the jurisdiction of the Courts.

In 1967, the Terrorism Act reversed the position. Clause 6 of the Act gives power to the police who may secretly arrest on suspicion any man or woman, at any time of the day or night, hold him in detention indefinitely and incommunicado. No one may visit him, no lawyer, friend or relative may see him. His closest kin are not permitted even to know where he is being detained. In the countryside particularly, people just disappear and nobody knows where they are. Often the police just refuse to acknowledge that they have been arrested. No court can demand that the detainees be brought to trial or released. There is no authority to force the police to give any reason whatsoever for the arrest of any person. The

police rule supreme. There have been cases where the accused were brought to trial after a long period of detention and the judge found them not guilty and acquitted them. Yet the police promptly arrested them in the same court and locked them up indefinitely. The judge was powerless to intervene. Where the activities of the police are concerned the law courts including the Supreme Courts are irrelevant. Not even Parliament has any right to know what is going on.

A recent case illustrates the point. Last month a medical student was in detention when his father received an anonymous call informing him that his son was seen lying injured in a hospital. On enquiry, the father was told no such person had been admitted. He, however, went to search and peering through the fanlight, saw his son half naked with injuries on his body and guarded by two Special Branch men. He immediately applied for an interdict to allow a private doctor to examine him. A judge of the Supreme Court instructed the police accordingly, whereupon the police removed the son to a prison hospital where he could not be seen by anybody except the state official. Section 6 of the Terrorism Act bars the courts from interfering with the activities of the police. It is clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that the legislature deliberately gave unfettered powers to the police over the population.

Following a principle of law, namely that a man intends the natural and foreseeable consequence of his actions, we must conclude that the legislature intended to give the police full rein to do what they are doing. They legalise in advance all the brutalities, acts of torture perpetrated on detainees. The police can hold a person, torture him until he attaches his signature to a statement prepared by them, incriminating himself and others. Since there is no time limit and no one is permitted to see him, they can hold him until all the evidence of physical and mental torture, all the scars have disappeared before they bring him to trial. In addition, they can issue dire threats that if he has any intention to complain of maltreatment before the court, he should remember that after conviction, he will be entirely at their mercy. Besides, they, the police, have the right to arrest and detain his wife and family and "give them the works" as they put it. How many men under such circumstances would venture to lay a charge of torture against the police? Under these circumstances, it is possible for a man to be murdered in detention and the relatives would not even know he is dead. It is my firm belief that when the people of South Africa take over power from the present tyrannical regime, many of them will rush to the bastilles of the racists, only to discover from the records the bitter truth that their relatives died many years before then.

It is clear from the above that the racist Government of South Africa holds its own law courts in contempt, in fact, the trials themselves are a tragic farce, a travesty of justice. The herrenvolk, unable anymore to hold the oppressed people in bondage, have abandoned their judicial system and handed over all power to the police whose gestapo methods have been given legal sanction. This, then, is the South Africa that is staging the mammoth trial of our men. Since it began, many other people have been caught in the dragnet of yet another police swoop. We may expect many more trials of this nature. This is the obnoxious system that South Africa is forcibly imposing also upon a foreign country, Namibia. (Declared by the U.N. to be illegally held by South Africa – Ed.)

It is not within the frame of reference of this paper to deal with what the oppressed Black people are doing to free themselves from this state of slavery and thralldom. I shall mention only the effects of this system on the whole Black population.*

*For the high rate of infant mortality in the black ghettos see "Political Trials Begin" which concludes with the following words "The men speaking in the language of the soil, put it thus: 'Our women stand astride over a yawning grave; give birth to babies who go straight from the womb into gaping earth.'" (Ed.)

This is the South Africa, this is the regime that the major Western powers want to preserve by giving it every kind of support. It is the Western powers with their large investments, their capital, their expertise that sustain and maintain this genocidal regime. It is to this South Africa that Britain, the United States, France and West Germany supply the most sophisticated weapons of destruction. The plea that the arms are for South Africa's defence against a foreign enemy does not mitigate the crime. For it implies that this genocidal South Africa must be defended, protected and maintained. What could be more criminal, more inhuman than to defend this iniquitous system, a system that is so brutalising, dehumanizing and degrading to men?

I have not come here to plead with the United Nations Organization to free our people in South Africa. This would be self-deception and worse, the deception of the people. We know full well that the U.N.O. will not and cannot do so. Constituted as a two-chamber body as it is, it is not possible for the United Nations to carry out any fundamental tasks which are against the interests of the big powers. Even if the General Assembly were to pass a resolution to free South Africa by 99.9% majority vote, such a resolution would be nullified in the Security Council by a veto of one or other of the big powers who have vested interests in the status quo in that country. My appeal is directed to those countries that are normally referred to as the third world together with those revolutionary socialist countries which do not aspire to colonise others. We are not asking them to come and free us. We are simply saying that it is easily within their capacity to put us in a position to free ourselves. We are not asking for resolutions in the United Nations Organisation. We are asking the states individually and collectively to give us that assistance which they can so easily afford, assistance which can mean all the difference between our continued vassalage and complete freedom.

I thank you

November, 1971

Industrial Unrest in South Africa

The latest wave of strikes by Black workers in South Africa has been the subject of wide comment in newspapers all over the world. In South Africa itself it is on the lips of many a household. It has struck a feeling of deep concern, almost panic, among the white *herrenvolk*. This is not surprising, for the industrialists perceive it as the tip of the iceberg. Europe can read the signs from her own history. Though separated in time by centuries, the events in South Africa recall all too clearly the turbulent history of the early development of capitalism.

With the rise of trade, commerce and manufacture in England, the powers that be instituted a series of Enclosure Acts on the populace. These Acts deprived the people of their inalienable rights to the commonages and the strips of land they cultivated from time immemorial. The ever-increasing looms and spindles demanded more and more bales of wool. Humans had to be pushed off the land to give way to sheep. Men had to be released from the shackles of feudalism, driven to the towns where they had to be enchained by the machine as slaves of capitalism. This was the period that presaged the rise of industrial-capitalism. As a condition for its growth, capitalism had to destroy feudalism as a system with all its feudal relationships.

When the British conquered South Africa and imposed a capitalistic system, they grabbed the land, robbed the people of their cattle and other stock, and created "Reserves" wherein they impounded the Black population leaving only one escape route from these Enclosures – the route that led to the shackles of farm labour and enslavement by capital invested in trade and commerce. Those same "Reserves" were later to serve as labour reservoirs to feed the industrial machine and the mine Moloch. The development in South Africa was, however, different from that of Europe.

In addition to the English there were also the Dutch conquerors, the Boers, who brought their own system into the country, the feudal system. Thus a partnership between the White conquerors was formed for the joint exploitation of the Black people and their land. A compromise was reached which resulted in a strange deformation of the development of capitalism. It is this deformation of the development that has produced those all too common excesses resulting in periodic explosive situations that plagued the country throughout the development of capitalism in South Africa. It gave rise to intensive exploitation yielding super

profit on the one hand and dire poverty on the other, a situation that called forth the use of fascistic methods long before the internal dynamics of capitalism demanded the imposition of fascism. The British struck a compromise with the feudalism of the Boers who had established feudal relations in the form of the squatter system on their large farms, a system which became the norm for the whole country.

In addition to this the accident of colour was exploited to serve as a convenient dividing line between the Black serf and the White overlord. Thus racism was built into the social, political and economic fabric as an instrument of super-exploitation. Racialism is not natural to man. It is deliberately cultivated to facilitate and intensify exploitation as well as to blur the class divisions between the exploiter and exploited. The marriage of convenience between the capitalism of the English and Boer feudalism was not without its stresses and strains. With the expansion of manufacturing and mining industries, a demand for a greater supply of labour arose. The 1913 Land Act was passed which *inter alia* abolished the squatter system. This was the capitalist method of releasing labour from the land to make it available for industry. In 1922, the White mineworkers launched a successful strike for the introduction of apartheid and job reservation in the mining industry. Prime Minister Smuts, acting in the interests international finance capital, shot down the White workers. As a result, his party lost the election to a coalition of the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party which proceeded to enshrine in the statute book job reservation and apartheid in the mining industry. This set the pattern for the whole of industry and for the whole of the economic activities in the country. Every Government thereafter pursued this policy and gradually extended it to all spheres of life, social and political. When the Nationalist Government once more returned to power in 1948, it applied the same policy with a ruthlessness, typical of a fascist mind, untrammelled by any need to pay lip-service to democratic principles. This is the setting in which capitalism developed in South Africa from a mercantile economy to an industrial economy. Throughout this development the ruling class managed to maintain feudal relationships between Black and White. Indeed they tried to turn the clock of history further back. At the time they were building heavy industry on the basis of migrant Black labour, they were re-creating tribalism by legislation. The Bantu Authorities Act passed in the second half of the 20th century required that every African, including those residing in the towns and employed in industry, shall belong to one or other of the ancient tribal units and shall come under the jurisdiction of a tribal chief whose seat is in the "Reserves" or Bantustans. This alone is a complete negation of any form of democracy in all spheres of life.

Through a series of calculated legislation, the Black man was reduced to a being without any rights of any kind, not even elementary human rights. The Group Areas Act deprived him of the right to belong to South Africa. He was legally presumed to belong to the enclosures, the "Reserves" which he did not own, for they were "Crown Land". By this Act every Black man, woman and child became foreigners in the country of their birth. The Settlement of Disputes Act and other laws including the Anti-Communism and Terrorism Acts denied him all rights and privileges of a worker. By definition a Black man or woman is not a worker but a work-seeker whether he is in actual employment or not, who must register with a

labour Bureau from the age of 16. He is not permitted to form trade unions. Any strike by Africans is illegal. By law he is not allowed to sell his labour power to the highest bidder. He may not seek work. He has to report at a labour recruiting agency which decides where he shall work. These agencies are situated in the tribal Reserves. In short, an African in South Africa is regarded as a non-human, an anthropoid whose sole purpose of existence is to hold the plough, mine the minerals, and turn the wheels of industry, that is to say, create wealth and make super-profits for his masters. This, in brief, is the background to the present wave of strikes by Black workers in South Africa. It will be seen therefore that the wave of strikes cannot help but raise the basic and fundamental questions of political rights in general and in particular, the whole status of the Black man and woman in industry as workers with all the rights that pertain to their position in the economy.

The recent strikes were confined to Natal, specifically around Durban. There were about 50,000 African and Indian workers involved, affecting well over a hundred factories. It was the unexpectedness and the ease with which the strikes rapidly escalated covering a whole range of economic activities, including municipal employees, domestic workers and airport labourers, that created panic, not only amongst the ruling fascistic clique and employers in general, but also amongst the White working class. Stanley Uys reporting for *The Guardian* (Feb. 1973) writes, "Panicky White employers in Durban are reporting more stoppages by their Black workers every day. The strikes have spread so rapidly that employers in other cities are wondering when it will be their turn. Most of them have realised belatedly that they have lost all contact with their workers . . . The wide-ranging nature of the strikes shows how general is the labour unrest. All the strikes are illegal, but the police have avoided mass arrests because they fear this will provide further troubles". He also adds, "South Africa's industrial 'peace' has not been disturbed on such a scale for 12 years".

With their gaze fixed on the ever mounting profits, the employers lived in a state of euphoria in the belief that the draconian laws that ring round the Black workers will ensure industrial peace for the foreseeable future. They woke up one morning from their Rip van Winkel slumber to discover that their idyllic world had vanished. They shriek: what has gone wrong? What has happened to "our natives"? No one had the answers. No one had ever bothered to think how the Black workers managed to exist on the pittance they receive for wages: how they survived the brutality of the laws that govern them. Now something had to be done and done quickly. But what! For the first time they were face to face with the problems they themselves had helped to create over the years.

What were the problems? The over-all effect of every government's policy was to reduce the whole Black population to a state of penury with the express purpose of forcing the people to seek employment at depressed wages. The whole economy was built on the basis of forced labour. It flourished. Industry grew by leaps and bounds. As international capital came pouring in to reap the super-profits, more Blacks were sucked into the labour force and it is estimated that in the next 20 years they will be in the region of nine-tenths. With the steep rise in the cost of living, due to spiralling inflation, the whole Black population is in a desperate plight. Ruling-class sociologists are forced to admit this fact although they try to

cover up its nakedness underneath the jargon of poverty datum lines. They arbitrarily fix a figure which is supposed to be the amount necessary for a family to live on. Its arbitrariness is revealed when they fix one figure for a Black family at R70-62 cents and another for the Whites at R170 (a Rand = 10 shillings) as though food and other necessities cost less for the Blacks. Even on their basis the picture that emerges is bleak. "Of the thirteen sectors of the economy, only two pay Africans above the poverty-datum line (PDL) and these are insurance and banking" which pay an average of R77 and R71 a month respectively. The number of people employed in these two sectors is so negligible that one wonders why it was mentioned at all, except to hide the fact that the whole Black population exists (not lives) on less than starvation wages. That they hold up these as an example of an acceptable rate of pay is in itself an indictment of the whole wage system for the Black man. Let us take a concrete example. The gold-mining industry is the biggest employer in the whole country. In 1972 its bill of wages for Blacks according to the *Financial Mail* was R95 million. Its profits before tax were R548 million and this was R212 million or 63 percent more than that of 1971. Profits made by the industry are more than five times the bill of wages paid to the Black employees. The increase alone in profits over the previous year is more than twice the wages of the Blacks. The mines pay their employees an average of R21 per month. There is an unwritten law in South Africa that all wages paid to the Blacks in whatever industry must be related to the wages paid by the gold mines to its Black employees. The rationale is that if the gap is too great the mines — the mainstay of the economy — will be deprived of labour.

An important point to remember about the economy of South Africa is that, although secondary industry provides by far the biggest share of the national income, it is not able to maintain itself in that it cannot earn foreign currency to purchase its own raw materials. For this purpose it relies entirely on the mining industry and the heavily subsidised agriculture. As it happens these two are the biggest employers of Black labour and depend almost entirely on cheap Black labour. Any meaningful increase of wages to provide even a semblance of a living wage would require a re-structuring of the country's economy and a completely different approach to it. Vorster, the racist Prime Minister, has already given a stern warning that any big increase in wages, White or Black, will send inflation rocketing to uncontrollable proportions and will create a crisis of unemployment. But the fact is there is a crisis now of stark starvation amongst two-thirds of the working population caused by the ever-mounting and uncontrollable inflation.

There is yet another running sore in the sick economy of S.Africa — the critical shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour resulting from expansion. The Job Reservation Act forbids Blacks from entering skilled trades. The Act was devised to protect the white labour aristocracy, while at the same time buying over the white working class whose trade unions connived at or vigorously supported the Colour-bar laws against the Blacks. Job reservation has now recoiled on the economy with a vengeance. Unwilling or politically unable to abolish the Act, the Government has been forced to resort to the tactic of granting mass exemptions to employers for the hire of Blacks where white workers were not available. White trade unions see this as a threat to their protected position. There is at this moment

a battle raging amongst the White trade unions. The Afrikaner die-hards demand stronger measures against the dilution of skilled labour, arguing that if this process is allowed to go on, it must lead to Black and White working at the same bench. The others, realising that they are unable to stop the process and conscious of the fact that the white workers constitute a small minority of the labour force and that their powers of bargaining are thereby diminished, advocate a new policy. They demand the right to organise Black workers into trade unions that will become adjuncts of the White trade unions.

The employers on their part are highly disturbed at the new discovery that there is no contact or communication between them and the vast majority of their workers. There is no machinery for negotiation in times of need. At a meeting called by the Natal Employers' Association, the 'Rand Daily Mail' of 29th Nov., 1972, reports that businessmen and industrialists showed deep concern at the lack of communication with Africans and felt that "the vacuum in the field of labour relations is precipitating an inflammable and unpredictable situation." The Chairman, Mr. George Palmer, editor of the 'Financial Mail', summed up the concern of the meeting thus: "I would not like to predict what would happen today if we were to have another bus boycott in Johannesburg and again find that we have no leaders, no representatives, no spokesmen with whom to negotiate." Dealing with the spiralling inflation, he said: "What will happen to the unprotected, unrepresented African worker in a situation where prices are going to rise at 8% a year? How long will he tolerate that situation, when he finds it difficult to pay his municipal rent? We are playing with fire if we do not introduce machinery now to deal with this situation." Mr. Palmer ended by saying that the employers, together with the White trade unions, should work out some form of representation for all African workers. "Only then will there be any hope of influencing the Government to change its policy."

And what is the Government's policy on this issue? It is to create 'Homeland' unions in the "Reserves" with labour diplomats from the Bantustans negotiating labour problems with the White racist Government. A pipe dream! Out of this world! This may seem a light-minded refusal to face realities on the part of the racist government. The reverse is the truth. For the first time the *Broederbond* diehards have come face to face with the realities of life; with the concrete and dire consequences of their apartheid policy. Vorster knows that any change in the direction of the liberalization of industry must of necessity lead to liberalization in all spheres of life, political, economic, social — the negation of the apartheid policy. He knows, too, that the present situation must lead to industrial chaos. The fact is, Vorster with his regime is caught on the horns of a dilemma. What stands out clearly is that the change cannot be held back much longer. Historical forces are battering the walls of apartheid. The only question is: what kind of change is on the order of the day?

The racists have played all their trump cards. They have nothing left in their hand but brute force which they know all too well how to use. But brute force has never been known to stop the march of history indefinitely. On the contrary it tends to hasten it. The ruling-class has few alternative choices. Racist S. Africa has little reserves to fall back on. Her position *vis-a-vis* the world leaves her little room

for manoeuvring. Consequently, the crisis that faces her is much more likely to intensify rather than diminish. The world crisis of capitalism-imperialism finds her exposed in her position of isolation. Britain, her chief trading partner and biggest importer of her products, is forced by her economic difficulties to turn to the European Common Market. But the condition for joining it is that she must sacrifice South Africa and other members of the Commonwealth which had previously enjoyed a position of favoured nations. Gone are the days when South Africa was the Eldorado of international finance capital which must now take flight in search of calmer climes. Dark clouds now loom over the horizon of the once sunny South Africa.

There is yet another sword of Damocles that hangs over the economy of South Africa — the boycott from Black Africa. As a highly industrialised state, South Africa needs foreign markets to survive. Her natural trading partners should have been the independent states of Africa to whom she could export all her industrial products. But her apartheid policy is anathema and an insult to the dignity of Black Africa, an impudent arrogance that makes even dialogue impossible at this stage. Her backing of the Rhodesian racist regime has further complicated her problem, Smith's irreversible blunder in closing the border (with Zambia) will have dire consequences not only for Rhodesia but for South Africa itself. It was a monumental piece of stupidity which confirms the saying: "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." By that act Vorster's protégé sealed the fate of the two racist regimes in the southern tip of Africa. In closing the trade route, he also cut off all means of communication, all commercial intercourse with the South. If Zambia weathers the storm and successfully establishes viable trade routes to the seas via other African states, it will be a matter of time when Botswana will find it a feasible proposal to loosen South Africa's deadly grip on her economy and link up with her Northern neighbours.

This brings into sharp focus another aspect of the boycott weapon in the hands of Africa. We have mentioned above that goldmining is the mainstay of South Africa's industry. It is often referred to as the flywheel of the country's economy. For many years South Africa has had to recruit as much as 60 per cent of her mine labour from as far afield as what were then Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, Tanganyika now Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique to make up for the shortage in the country. According to an official of the Chamber of Mines, the percentage of foreign labour has risen to 80 per cent. Independent Tanzania and Zambia have put a stop to such recruitment of their nationals. Portugal, which is under contract to supply 100,000-150,000 labourers a year from her colonies, may soon find it difficult for her to fulfil her part of the bargain due to the intensification of the liberation struggle by the colonial peoples. This, by the way, is one reason why the South African soldiery is fighting in Mozambique and Angola to maintain Portuguese colonialism. In this front, too, the prospects for South Africa are not very bright. But she has a powerful army and the means to dig in on this front especially if she has the tacit support of Western imperialism, an imperialism which is fully aware of the repercussions on the South African economy of a victory of the liberation forces in that part of Southern Africa.

It is within the framework of all these forces that we must assess the meaning of

the strike wave by the Black workers in South Africa; its specific weight and direction, its immediate aims as well as its long-term perspectives. In pre-industrial Europe all class struggles were fought under the banner of religion. In present-day South Africa the class-struggle dons the visage of a "tickey"* increase, thereby giving the impression of being straight-jacketed in the narrow limited confines of economic gains. The truth is that the unbearable economic pressures have served as a trigger, a call to enter the lists in a battle whose aim is far wider than it appears to the superficial observer. In the given conditions of South Africa, where the Black workers are hemmed in by a veritable mass of apartheid laws, any struggle assumes the nature of a political struggle. For the Black man, a demand for equal pay for equal work is a political demand, for it implies equal status for all workers, regardless of colour. The act of striking in itself calls into question the laws that make it illegal for him to do so. Thus any strike immediately puts on the agenda of the day the denial of his rights as a worker and his status as a member of the society. In short, it raises the whole question of his democratic rights. This is the unstated long-term objective that is clearly understood by the contestants on both sides of the barricades. It is worthy of note that in the last couple of years, the wave of workers' strikes has alternated and sometimes taken place simultaneously with the waves of strikes and mass protests by the students. The latter have been consistently explicit about their aims, namely, the abolition of apartheid in education. One thing common in all the strikes is that all the Black sections of the oppressed, African, Coloured and Indian, made common cause. On the student front, the White students too, in Cape Town and Witwatersrand universities, came out in the face of police brutality, not in defence of their own privileged positions but in support of the Black students' demands.

It may seem strange to some that we call attention to so natural a phenomenon, namely that people of different ethnic groups stand side by side in a struggle against a common enemy. But if we know the history of the policy of divide and rule in South Africa, its crippling effects on the minds of the old leaderships, the devastating consequences of such a policy on the struggle of the oppressed, we shall appreciate the extent of the political development and the terrain that has been conquered. This is not by accident. From its inception in 1943, the Unity Movement of South Africa carried on an intensive campaign for

- (a) the eradication of the slave mentality, and
- (b) the breakdown of the racial walls that separated the oppressed.

The Movement believed that these were some of the main barriers to the development of a truly national movement. "Oppression is indivisible and no one section can achieve liberation without the others", the movement taught. But it emphasised that unity is meaningless, even dangerous, if it is not based on principles. It is clear that these lessons have been absorbed and become the thinking of the population. Amongst the students today it is a matter of pride that they use the term "Black" to designate all the sections of the oppressed people.

The boldness of action on the part of the workers during the strikes throughout

* "tickey" is a small coin.

the country reveals that they have sloughed off the slave mentality and this is true of that whole area of Southern Africa including Namibia which is subject to the same racist laws. The strike of the Namibian workers was not merely an economic strike, neither was it carried out by only one tribal group – the Ovambos, as the newspapers tried to make out. It was a protest by the workers of Namibia against occupation by a foreign power – South Africa, with all its pernicious apartheid laws. In other words, it was a step in the direction of self-determination. The striking workers in South Africa did not raise unequivocally the demand for the right to form trade unions. The students still only raised the demand for the abolition of apartheid in education, but the direction is unmistakable and it was indicated by the Black students' organisation (SASO) when in a different context, they roundly condemned the Bantustans in the clearest political terms. There is no doubt that the immediate objective of the present struggle is the attainment of full democratic rights. This is confirmed also in a negative way by the quislings who serve in the various "stans" and also in the various "Baboon parliaments". Even they are no longer able to defend their position. When addressing the public, they inveigh against apartheid, "demand" at the very least, self-determination and with tongue in cheek "demand" full democratic rights. But it must be understood that there is a difference between the immediate objectives of the struggle in South Africa and those in Namibia.

In Namibia, the people are fighting to get rid of foreign rule in the same way as the rest of Black Africa. If and when they achieve their goal, they, like most of Black Africa, will be faced with the problem of welding the country into a single national state. South Africa is already a national state, a capitalist bourgeois state. But the vast majority of the population in the country have never enjoyed those rights which belong to a capitalist state. They are at the moment fighting for them. In other words, the immediate objective of the struggle is the acquisition of bourgeois democratic rights which are enjoyed only by the White minority. But the struggle for the attainment of these rights cannot be carried out under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Only the proletariat working in conjunction with the peasantry, the petty shop-keepers and the intellectuals can lead the struggle to a successful conclusion. That is to say, that though the political content is bourgeois democracy its methods of attaining it will be proletarian.

Bourgeois democracy can be consummated in the process of the developing proletarian revolution. This will be a transient stage. In the period of decaying capitalism, it cannot stabilise itself. If it did, the revolution will be a failure, for it will mean the ushering in of neo-colonialism, in which the people will lose those rights they had fought for with such heroism and self-sacrifice. In fact, the chances are that the revolutionary leadership will be destroyed in the wave of reaction. The only safeguard against neo-colonialism and counter-revolution is a continuous revolution leading to a successful proletarian revolution which will abolish exploitation of man by man. Only then will they be able to control their own destiny.

It will be seen from the above outline that such a struggle presents problems of the greatest magnitude. It raises questions of the seizure of power; who seizes power and how; what to do with state power once it is seized. All this requires a

leadership that understands the historical necessity and the role of the different classes in society, what their real interests are and what they are capable of doing. It requires a leadership that knows the role of a state and state machinery, that knows the differences between a bourgeois state and a proletarian state, and above all that knows that a bourgeois state machinery was created as an instrument of domination of the majority by a minority. It is therefore not possible to use the same machinery for the purpose of freeing the masses.

It is evident that without a leadership that has a clearly defined ideology, a socialist outlook, it will not be possible to achieve the desired revolution in South Africa. As we have indicated, the Black workers in South Africa have no rights whatsoever, not even the right to form trade unions, even though they constitute by far the largest majority of the work-force. They are treated as though they were nameless beasts of burden, identifiable only by numbers. Through the strikes they asserted their manhood. The employers themselves are already talking in terms of granting them trade union rights, or at least creating some machinery for negotiation. Overnight they have become men and women capable of wielding power by virtue of their position as producers. The industrialists are already accusing them of holding the country to ransom. The Blacks have entered the stage as a working-class recognised as such. Conscious of their power and their class interests as a proletariat, they will play their proper role in the developing national revolutionary struggle for democratic rights. But even as the struggle unfolds and draws nearer to its goal, it will become clear to them that democracy under a capitalist-imperialist system is a mockery and a sham. Their class interests demand the abolition of the exploitation of labour by capital and the establishment of a workers' state which alone can create a basis for democracy for the majority.

Lusaka

23 Feb. '73

Chapter 14

A Political Review— Imperialism and the Liberation Movements in Africa

In dealing with such a vast subject it is difficult to know where to start. So many events of significance have taken place of late that it would be impossible to deal with all of them. Since our main aim is to place our struggle within the framework of these events, we shall select only those which have a direct bearing on our struggle and have an impact on it. We shall divide the subject roughly under several headings:—

- (a) The relationship of forces among the big powers and their influence on the liberation movements.
- (b) The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the liberation movements.
- (c) The strategy of imperialism vis-a-vis the liberation movements.
- (d) The racist regimes in Africa.
- (e) The crisis in South Africa.
- (f) Our activities abroad.

As you can see, each one of these headings could occupy us for a whole afternoon. It is impossible to deal exhaustively with any one of them. We shall do no more than make a cursory mention of some of these items to supply the background to our own struggles and bring into proper focus the inter-connection between the various national struggles on the one hand and, on the other, the struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism.

Until very recently we have become accustomed to thinking in terms of two super-powers which constituted the axis round which all major events revolved, namely the United States representing the imperialist forces and the Soviet Union representing the forces of socialism. In accordance with the policy of co-existence these two powers divided the world into spheres of influence. America was to have global hegemony over the rest of the capitalist world and by virtue of this position became the gendarme guarding the interests of capitalism-imperialism. The more sensitive points in this empire are Vietnam in the Far East, the Middle East, Latin America and Southern Africa. The Soviet Union for its part has complete hegemony over Socialist Eastern Europe. This agreement also covered national liberation movements, as well as revolutionary socialist movements wherever they

are. That is to say, each power would do nothing to jeopardise the interests of the other. It was with this understanding that the Soviet Union could move against Czechoslovakia and the United States could invade Vietnam, and depose heads of states in Latin America with impunity.

The OAU which emerges as part of the so-called Third World had liberation movements on its soil. This was of interest to the super-powers because it was bound to affect the balance of power. Thus each side sought to gain control over them directly or through client states in Africa. This was the position when the Rabat Conference of the OAU was held. On reviewing the African situation immediately after that Conference, we came to the conclusion that the OAU had taken a decisive turn to the right – right even on its own terms. We said then that the voice of imperialism was clearly audible at that Conference. We anticipated that two things would follow:—

- (a) that the OAU would make more funds available to the liberation movements:
- (b) that steps would be taken to contain the liberation movements and those that were obviously to the left would either be lopped off or brought under control in the name of UNITY.

It is our view that this prognosis has been proved correct to the hilt. We shall return to this later. The point to keep in mind is that the main battle facing mankind is the struggle between socialism and capitalism-imperialism. All conflicts, wherever they are, are simply aspects of this global struggle. It has been said that the possession of nuclear weapons by both sides of the contestants serves as a deterrent to war. There could be nothing further from the truth. The fact is that ever since peace was declared at the end of the Second World War, there have been continuous wars. It is true that the possession of nuclear weapons has made a direct confrontation between the two major powers impracticable. But it has not in the least minimised the conflicts between them – conflicts that arise out of the necessity to widen their spheres of influence. In other words, the tendency now is for the major powers to fight their battles through their client States in the Third World and on a limited scale, strictly confined to specific areas. The Israeli-Arab War is an example of this while the Vietnam experience has more than demonstrated the necessity for this policy. In the last couple of years the balance of power has been swinging like a pendulum as the world capitalist crisis bursts forth now here and now there in different parts of the world.

When U.S. imperialism could no longer afford to treat China as a semi-colonial country; when she could no longer keep her out of the United Nations, she took a complete about-turn and admitted her into the club of super-powers. The idea was to enable her to play the Soviet Union off against China. The first fruits of this manoeuvre were that Moscow and Peking did more than anybody else to put Nixon back into power with a mandate to continue to act as the gendarme of the world. This period was short-lived. Vietnam dethroned Nixon. It is not the Watergate incident that broke him. This, in any case, took place before his election. It was his senseless bombing and other inhuman excesses in Vietnam that exacerbated matters

and ultimately served as the last straw. It is not our purpose at this moment to deal with that particular situation and Nixon's role in it. For a proper assessment one would have to show the clash of interests of the different groups of U.S. financiers; the specific interests of the particular group whose dictates Nixon served. It would be necessary too, to show the basis for the broader conflict which reflects itself in the head-on collision between Congress and the White House. Finally it would be necessary to show the overall effects of the Vietnam War on the economy, and most important, the political effect of the hostility of the population to the war. In truth, Vietnam has done more than dethrone Nixon and damage the image of the presidency. It has shaken to its foundation the very seat of western imperialism.

Nixon's election with a large majority was the highest point of the pendulum-swing in favour of imperialism. It was in its wake that U.S. diplomacy succeeded in getting the Soviet Union out of Egypt, out of the Sudan and certainly unwelcome to Libya, in other words, practically out of the Arab world. This in turn brought to an end the Soviet Union's grip over the so-called authentic movements in Africa. From now on U.S. imperialism took the initiative in a two-pronged policy IN A BID –

- (a) to take over control of nationalist movements directly or through client states and
- (b) to direct the struggle of the liberation movements, by allowing the unsuspected European countries that had no colonialist past – to take over the movements, and
- (c) to contain the struggle of the liberation movements by allowing these countries to grant massive aid to the movements that are amenable to persuasion.

From now on the conferences of Liberation Movements are no longer going to be under the auspices of the Soviet Union. The so-called neutral countries such as Scandanavia will be entrusted with the task of assisting and guiding the hand-picked movements in Africa towards the achievement of "independence".

The Oslo Conference was the forerunner of many to come. It announced as its purpose the drawing up of a strategy for the liberation of the unliberated countries of Africa. This is to say that liberation movements in Africa go to Europe to plan the strategy for liberating Africa from Europe. We may add here that this strategy has already been worked out, covering all unliberated countries, from Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia right down to South Africa. The assassination of Cabral is part and parcel of this decided strategy of liberation. If the independent African countries are now being asked to attend the conference to work out the so-called strategy of liberation, it is because they are needed to help sell the idea and also put it into practical operation. Imperialism has realised that the tottering Portuguese regime is unable to maintain her power over her colonies in spite of massive financial and military aid to her. So it plans to make a retreat, the better to entrench itself. It instructed Portugal to offer independence to Guinea-Bissau on condition that the PAIGC gives up all claim to the adjacent islands, which are reserved as bases for imperialism in its military strategy of

containing Africa and keeping open the sea routes to the Indian Ocean. Imperialism knew that Cabral would not buy such a plan at any price, let alone sell it to his people. So Black people had to be found from the same country to assassinate him.

Now why do they need the independent African States to carry out the rest of their scheme? What is Africa to gain by it? Let us take the example of the Oslo Conference. It was supposed to afford movements an opportunity to discuss strategy. The Independent States were also invited to participate, as though there was not an OAU in existence, whose function is precisely to discuss that strategy. Some independent countries attended conference, for it afforded them a grand opportunity to make diplomatic contacts. Zambia, for example, brought up the question of border closure by Rhodesia and the problems posed by the necessity to find alternative trade routes. This was a chance, if not to make friends, at least to neutralise those who are known to be friendly to the enemy. In this way the conference was useful to some independent States. But imperialism, too, needed the presence of independent Africa. For their co-operation is indispensable for putting the plans into operation. Big money is being offered by European countries. It has become popular today to support "the cause". Even the British Labour Party has made spectacular promises of aid if it is brought back into power, such as granting huge sums of money; what it is going to do about South Africa and how it will support the liberation movements — all this if it comes back into power. Yes, it has become popular today to support "the cause". But does anybody ever ask: what cause is this that is being brandished by imperialism? What kind of independence are they selling?

It will be remembered that since the Rabat Conference the OAU has gone all out to achieve unity amongst the organisations from the same country. A point worthy of note is that it is precisely those individuals who are rightists in their own countries who are the most vociferous in this clamour for unity. They do not raise the question of the political basis upon which unity could be built, nor do they raise the question of the immediate aims that must be achieved by this unity. It would appear to be unity for its own sake and at all costs. This clamour for unity rose in crescendo till it reached a climax at the end of last year. Deserters from the various organisations, particularly the flotsam and jetsam from South Africa, made a desperate spurt to gather their forces together to form a new organisation to be presented to the OAU in response to its call for unity. Such a motley collection of self-seekers, opportunists and downright traitors had to be seen to be believed.

It is not necessary at this meeting to elaborate on the importance of principled unity and how dangerous unprincipled unity can be. It is precisely this dangerous weapon of unprincipled unity that imperialism plans to use against the struggle of the oppressed in Southern Africa. Once the African countries accept this policy, it is they who will enforce it on the movements. It is they who will decide what movements shall be considered for unity. In short, it will be they who will decide who is fit to lead or represent the struggle in any one of the unliberated countries. We already have some idea of how dangerous such a situation can be. The African Liberation Committee of the OAU has a practice of making decisions by what they call "the principle of unanimity". This means that a single delegate can hold up or block any decision. We know in our case, for instance, that in the last two meetings

of the Liberation Committee, were it not for this practice, the Unity Movement of South Africa would long ago have been accepted as a recognised organisation by the OAU.

There are two points that need to be examined here. They are:—

- (a) the so-called “principle of unanimity” and,
- (b) the question of unprincipled unity.

Both are fraught with grave danger to the movements. Let us start with the first. It is known that South Africa is spending to the tune of £2 million a year on espionage and subversion. Let us suppose she decided to turn her attention to those agencies of the OAU which are in charge of the affairs of the liberation movements. She would not need to deal with the states or countries that are represented in the special agency. In order to subvert any movement, it would be sufficient for her to concentrate on only one delegate at an appropriate conference.

We shall now examine the second point, namely, the question of unprincipled unity. We, in South Africa, have long ago discovered from practical experience, how potent the weapon of united action is in the struggle and how frightened the racists are of the unity of the oppressed. We know also how devastating unprincipled unity can be. Consequently we have always approached the problem of unity with the greatest circumspection, making certain that we mobilise and weld together only those organisations which accept the minimum demand, namely, full equality and full democratic rights for all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed. Before we proceed any further with this question, let us introduce a closely-related problem, namely, the kind of quality of leadership.

The chief weapons that imperialism uses against the colonial peoples are the control of the mind and the policy of divide and rule. The oppressor knows that the pre-condition for the launching of a sustained struggle for liberty on the part of the enslaved is the liberation of the mind. The most important part of the technique of domination is the control of the minds of the intelligentsia amongst the oppressed, and also the ability on the part of the oppressor to impose leaders of its own choosing upon the oppressed. The oppressor always sets the most backward elements up against the more progressive, thus confusing the masses, dividing them and reducing their struggle to naught. As against this, the oppressed in self-defence always seek to close their ranks. Whenever the clamour for united action mounts to such a degree that all attempts to divide the people are of no avail, the oppressor changes tactics, shouts the loudest for unity and tries to promote his protégés to positions of leadership. Such a situation is now arising with increasing rapidity in the whole area of Southern Africa from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, down to South Africa. In each country the call for unity is being raised by the more progressive sections who, in most cases, have a clearer idea of the specific historic requirements in their country. The population in all these countries are responding to the call with increasing enthusiasm. It is this situation that has placed imperialism in an acute predicament and calls for quick yet carefully considered counter-action on its part. We already discern the strategy which is taking shape in the most important bastion of imperialism in Africa, namely South Africa, and its buffer state, Rhodesia.

Racist Rhodesia is gradually being drawn into the orbit of South Africa. This is not because she wishes to be a satellite or that South Africa particularly wants to swallow her embarrassing neighbour. Both countries have an economy based on racial exploitation, consequently their political and social structures follow a similar pattern. The less developed Rhodesia sees her future cast in the same mould as South Africa. Inescapably she has embarked upon a road that leads to complete apartheid. Thus we can see even in embryonic form, from what happens in White Rhodesia, the shape of things to come.

Let us pause a while and take a look at events as they have been unfolding in Zimbabwe. For quite some time the OAU has been expressing disappointment at the inability of ZAPU and ZANU to show spectacular results. The African Liberation Committee then set about trying to unite the two organisations without success. Then Frolizi was formed by members who had resigned from both organisations. Some independent states were so thrilled that they pressed for the financial support of the new organisation even before it could be recognised by the OAU. The African Liberation Committee duly voted funds to what it called the "Front for Zimbabwe". The public had the impression that Frolizi came into being as a result of the clamour for unity on the part of the masses both at home and abroad. It was known that the leadership of Frolizi consisted of some of the old leaders of ZAPU and ZANU plus some radical young men. No one expected any political changes or surprises of any kind. But, in due course, Frolizi worked out and published a socialistic programme and policy. At the next Conference of the African Liberation Committee, Frolizi was summarily dropped. It is not clear to us what reasons the former strong supporters gave for their change of allegiance. All we know is that, at this Conference, they vehemently advocated the complete withdrawal of financial support from Frolizi. And this was done. So great was the disappointment of some of the members that when the African Liberation Committee tried to unite the Zimbabwe organisations, Frolizi was not even considered. It would seem that in so far as the OAU is concerned, it does not exist. Since no one believes that Frolizi suddenly died out overnight, the explanation for this behaviour must be sought in the politics of both the African Liberation Committee and Frolizi itself.

While all this was going on, the imperialist press with great fanfare suddenly presented a Bishop Muzorewa as an important political personage. Nobody outside the church had ever heard of him. But he was cast in the role of being the only authentic opposition of the Smith regime, and the mouthpiece of the Black people of Zimbabwe. He won the support of the World Council of Churches; the admiration of the Liberals of the Western World; the powerful backing of imperialism. Why? Because the good Bishop knows only one thing besides religion, namely, he wants freedom. What kind of freedom? He has not had time to work that one out properly. He will formulate a programme and policy with the help of his friends only after he is freed of Smith. This is why imperialism will help unite the people of Zimbabwe behind the Bishop. His build-up by the imperialist press was so great that there were some even amongst the African Liberation Committee who were prepared to dump the Zimbabwe organisations, the movements that have been fighting for liberty, and give support to the Bishop.

In South Africa we already have a Unity Movement which unites the people's

organisations on a programmatic and principled basis. Its policy uncompromisingly rejects all assumptions of White superiority and Black inferiority. It unconditionally rejects all apartheid institutions created for an inferior race. It rejects:—

- (a) separate development, for it implies inequality and alienation from the people of some part of their country.
- (b) multinationalism, for it means maintaining separate nationalities within the same nation, and by implication means the perpetuation of white supremacy.

It unequivocally demands equal opportunities for all citizens and full democratic rights for all irrespective of colour, creed or sex. These are the principles that bind all the organisations affiliated to the Unity Movement. No organisation which demands less is allowed to become an affiliate. The enunciation of the principles and programme (normally referred to as the minimum programme) divided the population into two main camps. It created a clear demarcation between the oppressor and the oppressed, emphasizing the irreconcilability of interests between the two. It also created a division amongst the oppressed, between those who had sloughed off the slave mentality and demanded the right, as a people, to decide their own fate in the country of their birth and those who continued to accept the doctrine of white superiority. On these principles there could be no compromise or concessions of any kind. In fact, the *sine qua non* for the development of the struggle is the deepening of these differences and the irreconcilability of the interests and therefore the viewpoints of the oppressor and the oppressed. There can be no unity which implies concessions to the oppressor on these fundamentals. It is the duty of a conscious leadership to win the masses over to its point of view.

The recent events in South Africa which led to a crisis on both the political and economic level have amply demonstrated the correctness of the policy of the Unity Movement. Broader layers amongst the oppressed are rejecting white domination in all its ramifications. They are rejecting the political tutelage of the white liberals. Ever increasing layers of the population, the peasants, the workers and intellectuals are turning towards united action of the oppressed — a unity based on the recognition of the irreconcilability of interests between themselves and the oppressors. The leading cadres in South Africa are fully conscious of the fact that what is at issue here, is nothing short of a struggle for power. This is the situation that faces imperialism in racist South Africa, imperialism which is fully aware of the potency of the call for principled unity, based on a revolutionary programme. It must take steps to counter this threat. Imperialism has already worked out its strategy and its mass media have been geared to put forward the new line. British imperialism has always worked on the principle that if you cannot stop a dangerous torrent, you must create channels to lead it to waste. The press is peddling the line that opposition to the present racist regime in South Africa is not to be found amongst the official parliamentary opposition nor in the various political parties and organisations of the people. It is to be found in the Bantustans. It goes on to point out that the Bantustan leaders (the chiefs) are the **only ones who have put forward an alternative to the Government**; and that with their clamour for more land, they have put the racist Government into a quandary.

But imperialism knows that it cannot sell this line in South Africa any more. As far back as 1935-36, when Hertzog robbed the Blacks of their last remaining vote and offered land in exchange, the people of South Africa rejected this horse deal. They maintained that political rights were the only guarantee for the achievement of their demand — land for the people. As for the chiefs being the spearhead of the genuine opposition, imperialism knows and the people know, that the chiefs together with the Bantustans are the creatures of Verwoerd, created by him for the specific purpose of diverting the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, a struggle whose aim is to regain their fatherland and to establish a state in which the people as a whole shall decide their own fate and that of the entire country. Nevertheless imperialism hopes to swing independent Africa to its side in the hope that it will be Africa, backed by Europe, that will not only sell this line to the oppressed Blacks in South Africa but will do everything necessary to put it into operation.

Not so long ago imperialism prevailed upon the South African racist regime to enter into a dialogue with independent Black Africa. Although the idea was repugnant to the Boers, Vorster found it expedient to try it out. But Africa rejected the manoeuvre with the contempt it deserved. The same imperialism can now be expected to persuade the racists to send the Bantustan quisling-chiefs as ambassadors for South Africa, in an attempt to lend respectability to the apartheid policy. Those who believe that chiefs Matanzima and Buthelezi are an embarrassment to the racists must think such an idea as far-fetched. But that is only because they have never understood the real function of Bantustans. They have not realised the extent to which the chiefs and the whole of the tribal hierarchy have a stake (admittedly a primitive one) in separate development and, by virtue of this fact, they constitute the first line of defence for the citadel of apartheid, in the same way as the Black intellectual and petty shopkeeper constitute, politically, a defensive phalanx for capitalism as against the forces of socialism. The failure on the part of our supporters and allies, not only to understand these basic factors but also the true nature of the struggle in South Africa, constitutes the gravest threat to the cause of liberation in our country.

This, then, is the line that Europe is expected to sell to independent African States. If they accept it, they will have to put it into effect. Already, the African Liberation Committee of the OAU has armed itself with powers to decide which organisations in each unliberated country shall be regarded as representing that country. Only those liberation movements which are willing to operate within the overall strategy accepted by the African Liberation Committee will receive recognition and support. Those that are unacceptable and therefore unrecognised will be disbanded. In the Accra conference of the African Liberation Committee (ALC) there was already talk emanating from certain quarters about “locking up” those freedom fighters who do not belong to recognised movements. This is a new voice, reflecting a trend which, only a few short years ago, would have been inconceivable in OAU circles. It marks a hardening of attitude amongst the extreme right wing in the OAU.

To sum up then, imperialism offers help to independent Africa as well as to Liberation Movements, on condition that they recognise and acknowledge its

primary interests in Southern Africa. We have pointed out above that Portugal offered independence to Guinea Bissau provided that the PAIGC forfeits any claim to the Cape Verde Islands. Likewise imperialism is prepared to bargain with Black Africa provided she forfeits her right to champion the cause of her brothers or interfere in any way in the affairs of South Africa. How far it will succeed in its plans, remains to be seen.

It would appear that at the present moment, the pendulum is still swinging in its favour. If we are to judge by the latest decision of the African Liberation Committee and the Summit in Addis Ababa on both the political as well as financial levels, imperialism has every reason to be satisfied. The African Liberation Committee in its Accra Conference took the unprecedented step of reversing a decision which had been sanctioned by a Summit of Heads of States and Governments whereby the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA) was asked to make a formal application for recognition. This decision followed a widely publicised trial (1971) of UMSA cadres charged under the Terrorism Act with attempting to overthrow the government by violence. In the course of the trial, the longest of its kind, it became abundantly clear that those organisations united under the banner of the Unity Movement were actively engaged in the struggle despite martial law. They were accused of being responsible for the Pondoland peasant revolt which was ruthlessly crushed by the army. These facts became common knowledge throughout the world. This is the reason why most people, including those in the Secretariat, believed that the fresh application for recognition was a mere formality. Acceptance was taken for granted. Recognition by the OAU of the Unity Movement of South Africa would have meant a new turn, a direct relationship between the militant organisations inside South Africa and the OAU. It is not difficult to imagine the tremendous fillip such support and material assistance from abroad would have given to the struggle at home. But, as we have said, the African Liberation Committee took an unprecedented step in reversing this trend, which suggests the strength of the right wing at this juncture.

Another pointer which clearly reveals the present thinking of the OAU, and its real political position, is the way the funds were allocated to liberation movements at the last Conference in Addis Ababa. It is of interest to note that the OAU allocation follows the same pattern as the Scandinavian Countries and that of the World Council of Churches. These allocations express political attitudes more clearly than stated aims. Let us mention as an example, a news item emanating from Stockholm and widely publicised in Europe and Africa. Times of Zambia (18/2/73) announces: "The Swedish International Development Association has announced it will give K25,000 for purchase of food-stuffs by exiled members of the A.N.C. operating in Zambia and Tanzania. Zapu of Rhodesia will get K8,500 in similar aid. Swedish help to nationalist movements in Africa is being increased to a record K5 million in the 1973-74 budget. *About one-third of this will be earmarked for the PAIGC movement in Portuguese Guinea*". (our emphasis). It will be remembered that, as mentioned above, imperialism has already decided that Portugal's continued war in this area is pointless. It can only serve as a drain on American and NATO aid as well as inhibit the flow of capital. To continue the quotation from the Times of Zambia: "Sweden recently ended a seven-year-old

boycott on purchase of South African wines and spirits after the State Liquor Monopoly declared, it was no longer effective and *was also harming Swedish exports to the Republic*". (our emphasis) This statement was made just before the Oslo Conference which was to plan strategy for liberation of unliberated Africa. It was a declaration which can be taken to express the standpoint of all Scandinavian countries, that is to say, of European social democracy which traditionally played the role of saviour of capitalism-imperialism at every critical turn of history. Social democracy which is in power in Scandinavia is making its position clear to Africa. It is not really concerned with the trivial wine imports or equally trivial exports to South Africa. What it wants to establish unequivocally is that:—

- (a) Capitalism-imperialism has a prior claim to South Africa. This supersedes the right of self-determination of the Black oppressed in South Africa.
- (b) That South Africa with its White usurpers belongs to Europe. We see here a variation of Portugal's claim to what she calls her "overseas provinces in Africa".
- (c) That if Africa conceded these points, then social democracy is prepared to assist her to "liberate the rest of Africa".

Let us take a look at the World Council of Churches (WCC), the way it allocates its funds and why?

Organised Western religion, that is, the church, has always been the handmaiden of capitalism. At every critical stage in its development, the church has played a crucial role. When the slave trade filled the coffers of Europe, the leaders of all the national churches blessed the ships that set sail for Africa to collect the slaves. But when chattel slavery no longer served the interests of capital, that is, when it became a drag on, and an obstacle to the development of rising capitalism, the same churches found the strongest moral reasons for the condemnation of the whole system of chattel slavery. With the expansion of capitalism, a need arose for the conquest of foreign markets.

In the conquest of the whole of Africa, the various national churches played leading roles on behalf of their respective countries. As capitalism transcended national boundaries, as imperialism arose, leading to violent conflicts, that is imperialist wars, each national church blessed the soldiery of its own state. Morality was always seen to be on the side of capital. That which is done in the interests of capital, is just and moral. Today in the complex world of highly developed industrialism, in a world of big industrial combines which are multi-national in composition and international in character, it is often very difficult for the layman to discern the true interests or requirements of finance capital. But the church politician has not departed one whit from his former role. The churches keep abreast of events, adjust themselves to the dynamic of change and by their actions reflect this development. The coming into being of the World Council of Churches in itself mirrors the basic economic trends of the times. Capital, operating as finance capital, can no longer be confined to national boundaries, hence the creation of the larger unit, the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) and the Common Market for Western Europe. The churches

too seek to serve not the interests of national capital but capitalism as a world system. Henceforth the World Council of Churches enters the arena not only as the defender of the faith but as the prime defender of capitalism. That which succours capitalism and promotes its preservation is the very quintessence of morality. In the interests of the peaceful flow of finance capital, Portugal's old type of colonialism must give way to neocolonialism. The World Council of Churches will leave no stone unturned to effect this change which, as it hopes, will help prolong the life of capitalism-imperialism. This is what the churches envisage when they talk of liberation for Africans. But in an advanced industrial country, like South Africa, where the struggle for freedom is dynamically linked with the struggle for socialism, the churches will oppose, with might and main, any development of a truly national movement for real liberation of the people of South Africa.

The churches believe they must be involved in the major world developments, otherwise they will be rendered irrelevant. The nature of their involvement is revealed in the way they allocate funds to various nationalist organisations. The following is quoted from a document prepared by "The Secretary of the United Nations" for the Oslo Conference of the 9-14th April, 1973.

Grants to Liberation Movements in Southern Africa.

U.S. Dollars

Liberation Movements recognised by the OAU and related institutions	1970-1971	1972
PAIGC	45,000	25,000
MPLA	45,000	10,000
FNLA	27,500	10,000
Mozambique Institute	35,000	25,000
SWAPO	30,000	20,000
Lutuli Memorial Foundation	15,000	2,500
Zimbabwe Liberation Movements	30,000	—
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (S.A.)	—	12,500
UNITA	17,000	6,000
Africa 2000, Zambia	20,000	—
Africa Bureau, London	2,500	—
Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	5,000	2,000
etc. etc.		

Most of the funds go to the opponents of Portugal's colonialism. Only a tiny portion goes to South African freedom fighters. Judging from the meagre amounts given it would appear that the South African nationalist organisations are not expected to launch a struggle for their rights. The allowances are barely enough to feed their trained men who are kept in various camps in different countries in Africa. In fact some cynics proclaim that the South African trained cadres are paid NOT to go home and fight.

All this is happening at a time when the racists in South Africa are staging the longest trial of its kind in the judicial history of the country. All of the accused whether peasant, worker, teacher, lawyer or clerk are staunch members of the various organisations that are affiliated to the Unity Movement of South Africa. The state set out to show not only the engagement of these organisations in the struggle but more significantly, the kind of "subversive struggle" they are engaged in. It did this by quoting from numerous documents issued by the Unity Movement over a period of more than 15 years. The leaders abroad of the UMSA in a plea to the OAU for aid in November 1963, (produced in Court) had themselves spelled out the aims of their struggle as follows: "It is within the power of the independent States of Africa to give such assistance as might be used to land us in the quagmire of neo-colonialism. It is equally within their power to assist in putting the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa on the road leading to true independence, a road that leads to political liberty and freedom from want. It is a road that leads to the achievement of the society where there will be no exploitation of man by man, a society in which every man and woman shall have the opportunity to develop his or her potentialities to the utmost". Needless to say these aims are a negation of neo-colonialism and in direct opposition to those of the World Council of Churches. Little wonder that those South African liberation organisations which banded themselves under the banner of the Unity Movement have received not a cent from the WCC despite their gallant effort which earned them the admiration of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Let us now turn to the OAU allocation of funds to liberation Movements:

PAIGC	25%
FRELIMO	25%
MPLA & FNLA	25%
Unified Military Command	20%
SWAPO	10%
PAC & ANC	5%
Other Liberation Movements	5%

The pattern is the same as that followed by the World Council of Churches. Here too, the South African organisations are starved of funds, making it extremely difficult even to lay down the basis for a sustained struggle. Here too, there is not a penny or cent for any of the organisations federated in the Unity Movement of South Africa. In fact, the right wing elements are making strenuous efforts to exclude the Unity Movement from any aid by the OAU and other international funding organisations. This in itself reveals the close political ties between the right wing of the OAU and the WCC. But this does not mean that the interests and the policies of the OAU and the World Council of Churches are identical. They are not and cannot be. At best this can only reflect the pendulum-swing at a given time in the OAU. It is characteristic of any right wing elements amongst the petty bourgeois to seek allies in the camp of the bourgeoisie. But in the case of the African continent which is struggling against neo-colonialism, any alliance with imperialism can only be in the nature of an "alliance" between the horse-rider and his mount.

There are of course occasions when imperialism in the interests of its long-term gains, finds it necessary to give temporary support to a nationalist movement in its struggle against the conqueror, but this in no way signifies an identity of interests. It should not make a liberation movement feel under an obligation to imperialism any more than does a captive sheep feel indebted to the lion for saving it from instant death at the jaws of a wolf. The respite only serves to sharpen the appetite of the predatory "saviour".

Independent African States are no sooner born than they find it impossible to be confined within the narrow limits of their various nation states artificially created and bequeathed to them by the departing Western powers. They no sooner don the swaddling clothes of nationhood than they are catapulted into a cataclysmic world. Amidst world social and political upheavals they must find a way to survive. They can only do this by banding themselves together on a continental scale. The creation of the Organisation of African Unity, which brings together the separate national states in Africa and the extension of this idea on a world-wide scale, to constitute "The Third World", was an historic necessity. From its inception "The Third World" declared itself "non-aligned". Now it has dawned upon them that it is impossible to be non-aligned within the very belly of the imperialist monster. Positive action has to be taken to loosen the grip of imperialism to ensure a measure of independent action on the part of "The Third World". Africa, for instance, has discovered that it is the object of exploitation by Western capital. She possesses all the minerals that are needed to feed Western nuclear industry. Africa and the Mid-East produce the motive power (petroleum) to turn the wheels of the developed countries' economy. Oil from this region constitutes the arteries, the life-blood of the European as well as the North American economy. It is for this reason that imperialism is committed to a policy of keeping the "underdeveloped world" in a state of neo-colonialism. The cornerstone of this policy is the reliance on a section of the indigenous population to do the bidding of imperialism; at all times to subvert any serious attempt on the part of the population to free themselves from foreign domination. In addition, imperialism has planted Zionist Israel on the soil of the Arab countries to take care of the Middle East and North Africa, and to disrupt any attempt on the part of the oil producers to come together and especially to take full control over their natural resources and employ them as a weapon in their fight against imperialism. In the South imperialism has backed and built up South Africa as a power nucleus for all racist minority regimes, for the specific purpose of dominating this area and disrupting all efforts to pool their resources. Israel is to the Northern part of Africa what South Africa is to Black Africa in the South. Just as the Palestinian struggle is the spearhead not only of the Arab struggle against Zionism but also the struggle against imperialism; just as it serves as a uniting force for all Arab states, so too does the struggle for liberation in South Africa — the struggle led by the organisations united under the banner of the Unity Movement of South Africa — serve as a spearhead not only for the battle against the racist minority regimes but also against neo-colonialism and imperialism. It also serves as a catalyst for uniting all of Africa from the "Cape to Cairo".

It is the duty of imperialism to maintain and support Zionist Israel in the North and South Africa in the South as against the Continent of Africa. It is its duty too

to plant its own agents within Africa itself to divert the struggle against imperialism into harmless channels. But, in the nuclear age events follow upon one another with such rapidity that lessons that used to take decades to absorb are learnt within a matter of months. Under the impact of the hammer blows of history, the agents of imperialism in Africa are being unmasked and their machinations exposed. Arab Africa and the Middle East are closing their ranks and mobilizing all their resources, including oil, for the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. In this climate, it is beginning to dawn on Africa that there is nothing in common between herself and imperialism and its agents. A prognosis for the near future is for a more militant stance on the part of the OAU. This is especially so, following upon the international repercussions of Nixon's dethronement; a blow at the very seat of imperialist might and a crippling of the machinery for policing the world. There are signs to support this view emanating from those African States bordering South Africa and therefore most vulnerable to her pressures. They have come out unequivocally in condemnation of the racist regime's policy of apartheid and openly declared their solidarity with the African States to the North. This alone is a clear indication of the direction of the pendulum-swing.

Let us turn to South Africa to find out what is going on there. South Africa's economy is built on slave labour. Its political and social structure is based on apartheid; that is to say, on a master and slave relationship. Colour-bar in industry laid the basis for apartheid in the social and political spheres. South Africa is today faced with a deep-going crisis in the economic and political fields. This has been building up over the years. The period after the world war found South Africa, like most colonial countries throughout the world, faced with a political crisis. The herrenvolk (master race) with their Whites-only franchise, put the more fascist section of the White ruling class into power in 1948. It was hoped that with their known penchant for the use of the sjambok (whip), they would soon put the Black man in his place. Since then, waves of crises have appeared every decade. There was the crisis of 1959-61 leading up to the shooting of the Blacks in Natal, to Sharpeville and the Pondoland revolt. This period showed a transformation in the quality of the struggle. The only reply the herrenvolk had to every crisis was force and more brute force. For the next decade the racist regime filled the Statute book with one law after another, legalizing violence primarily against the Blacks. By the end of the period they had legislated the police force into the position of supreme rulers. The courts, including the Supreme Court, may not intervene in the activities of the police unless the latter permit them to. The "rule of law" was legislated out of existence, that is, outlawed. The notorious Terrorism Act which permits the police to detain people indefinitely incommunicado, and to torture and murder people with impunity, was the crowning point in the process. It now transpires that it was also the turning point in the history of South Africa.

Every government, particularly a minority government, is able to rule if it is seen to rule by the consent of the majority. Although in a capitalist society, government is, in the final analysis, based on force, that force is as far as possible, never in full evidence. Every one knows that the state has at its command instruments of tremendous force and violence but nobody knows its full extent or measure. This fact imposes a powerful psychological effect on the population and makes it fear to

be at cross-purposes with the state. This mystique is a fundamental necessity in the art of government in a Western-type of state. The population always feels that the government has unknown and "unknowable" reserves which it is capable of using against the people, should the need arise. The Terrorism Act in South Africa destroyed this mystique and banished it once and for all. The Boers through the Terrorism Act let loose violence on the population. Terror stalked the land. Secret torture chambers and murders of political dissenters became part of everyday life. Nothing was left to the imagination. All was stark, brutal and naked for everyone to see. Death itself became the daily companion. The result of the sum total of all this is the very reverse of what was expected. The mystique of the superiority of the White man, the mystique of his limitless power and that of the White man's state — all have now vanished into thin air.

The crisis of the new decade, that is, 1970-72 ushered in by the Pondoland peasant revolt revealed a new quality in the struggle and in the attitudes of the oppressed. Immediately after the revolt the Special Branch arrested about 200 leaders and members of the Unity Movement throughout South Africa, detained them incommunicado for many months. Mr. Cutshela, a peasant from Pondoland, died under torture during interrogation. The Trial that followed sparked off a series of events which finally escalated into strikes by Black workers leading to a serious industrial and political crisis. Although all the thirteen involved in the case belonged to organisations affiliated to the Unity Movement of South Africa, the population in general reacted sharply to the arrests. It was as if they had been looking for an opportunity to give vent to their wrath against the government. Protests came from practically every layer of society. Student organisations pledged themselves to assist in raising funds for the defence of the Unity Movement cadres. Black students broadened the protest to include a protest against the whole system of Bantu education. They were strongly and defiantly supported by the White students of NUSAS. The climate created by protests in turn gave rise to a series of industrial strikes — a protest against starvation wages and apartheid in industry. The prisoners themselves carried on their own protests in jail and made history in this regard. They brought a petition against the chief jailer in Robben Island. The petition was heard in the Supreme Court. Thus for the first time, the public heard or read of the happenings in the security prisons on Robben Island which are by law shrouded in deep secrecy. Three of the men belonging to the group were temporarily lodged in a Pretoria jail where they fought for and won for the whole prison block, the right to have proper food, exercise and relaxation according to regulations. In face of the limitless powers of the police including the power of life and death over prisoners, it was an act of great courage for the men on Robben Island to institute a case against the police. But this was not the courage of individual men. It was the courage of a whole people, the oppressed Black people of South Africa, expressed through the actions of individuals. Only a few short years ago, the same individuals would never have dreamed of performing the same acts. This was because they were members of a different population, that is, of a population different in quality to what it is today. The most striking symptom of the change that has taken place in South Africa is the relationship between the police and the Black youth, particularly the students. Hitherto, the authority rested

on the assumption of their superiority as members of the master-race. Today that superiority has been rejected. The all-powerful god of yesterday whose every word was a command, now finds his right to command, challenged. His ever-present and obtrusive pistol no longer holds any terror for the Black youth. Forced to meet the Black student as man to man, the police flounder and feel unsure of themselves. It is not uncommon these days for Black students to refuse to plead in court on the ground that: "This is a White man's court and a White man's laws. There can be no justice for the Black man". This reveals a serious breakdown of the law following upon the government's abolition of the "Rule of law". The Black population in South Africa is now psychologically ready to embark upon a sustained struggle for the attainment of their political demands.

The present crisis that faces South Africa is incapable of a solution on the basis of the present-day economic, social and political structure. As we have said in an article on "Industrial Unrest in South Africa": "Any meaningful increase of wages to provide even a semblance of a living wage would require a restructuring of the country's economy and a completely different approach to it". In short, it would mean the abolition of the apartheid policy in toto. Thus the herrenvolk has run into a cul-de-sac. It is faced with a permanent and ever-deepening crisis at all levels. For a full decade the country has lived in a state of emergency, that is to say, under martial law. No country can continue to live in this way indefinitely. Society itself must seek a resolution of the problem one way or the other. The overturn of the present regime has become a compelling necessity. Thus the problem of power is posed in all its magnitude by the events themselves. In such a milieu, only that party which has a clear programme that answers to the needs of the times and shows a readiness to defend that programme arms in hand, will be able to rally the people to its banners.

A duty devolves on those of us abroad who are not subject to the daily reign of terror to turn our full attention to the home-front, mobilise the population on the basis of our programme and policy for the execution of our major task, that is, the overthrow of the racist regime and the seizure of power in order to establish a true democratic society in our country.

September, 1973

Chapter 15

Who are the Wreckers of Unity?

A long document purporting to come from the African National Congress of South Africa dealing with the question of unity and a United Front was presented to the Mogadishu Conference of the African Liberation Committee (1973) and subsequently distributed amongst Liberation Movements. From the outset the document makes an explicit promise to elucidate the ideas of the ANC on the subject, before dealing with the question of Unity with the Pan Africanist Congress. It states: "We would like to begin my clarifying ANC policy and practice on the question of Unity or a United Front in general before dealing with Unity with the PAC today". The promise was sadly unfulfilled on both counts. Of the fifteen pages of this strange document, seven of them which are supposed to deal with the question of Unity with the PAC, beginning from page 9 to the end, turned out to be a diatribe against Potlako Leballo. Nowhere are the political differences shown, which keep the African National Congress and the PAC apart. This is not accidental as will be shown later. In the first eight pages there is a great deal about unity and united front but one waits in vain for clarification of "ANC policy and practice on the question of *Unity* or a *United Front in General* . . ." Nowhere do we see a statement of the ANC's policy on the question of a united front. It is impossible to deduce it from its practice as exemplified by the numerous examples quoted in the document. Under the heading "The ANC and Unity", we read "Unity of the anti-racist and anti-colonialist forces in South Africa, Southern Africa, Africa and the democratic and Anti-colonialist forces of the world has been and still is the very cornerstone of the policy of the ANC. Even a cursory glance at its history and activities confirms this". After mentioning its attendance at the Bandung Conference it gives an imposing list of international organisations on which the African National Congress is represented: "The African Peoples' Conference, Pafmecca, WIDF, WPC, WEDY, WETU, AAPSO, AAT, UF, AAWC, PAYM, the Anti-Apartheid Movements" etc. etc. Then the document makes a strange boast: "In all these activities the ANC acted on its own initiative and without having to be prompted and urged". Is it so unusual for an independent liberation movement to act "on its own initiative and without prompting"?

The mere mention of the fact that the ANC is represented on international organisations and that it also works in close collaboration with liberation movements

from other countries does not in any way enlighten us on "ANC policy on United Fronts in general", much less on its political objection to a united front with the PAC or any of the many South African liberatory organisations.

The obscurantism, the confusion and the mystification in the document are not due to inability, on the part of the writer, to express himself clearly on such a simple and straightforward political question. It is due to the necessity to hide the innate dishonesty of the document as well as a number of other things, such as:—

- (a) The real authorship of the document.
- (b) The unprincipled attitude on the question of the United Front.
- (c) The real purpose of the document, which has nothing to do with unity with the PAC.
- (d) The cover-up of a strategic retreat on the part of those who control the ANC.

The Authorship of the Document

During the Rivonia Trials the police were in possession of an inordinate number of documents and a vast amount of information. The Congress Alliance was so infiltrated by police spies that the man who kept the post office box key and collected the post every day was a White policeman seconded from the police force. It is he who identified publications and gave evidence that many circulars were written by the Communist Party of South Africa and published in the name of the African National Congress. Among the documents produced in evidence were the Minutes of a meeting of what is called "The Centre", the most authoritative body of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The meeting was concerned with formulating a policy to be presented to the Congress Alliance consisting of the Communist Party, the Congress of Democrats (COD), a group of White liberals; the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), an Indian organisation dominated by the Indian merchant-class; the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), a group created by the Communist Party to represent the Coloured people in the Alliance. One of the problems that confronted the CPSA was that its protégé, the ANC, was being publicly accused of being a stooge organisation. Thus the minutes of the meeting of "The Centre" contain, inter alia, the following: "A picture . . . has been taken advantage of . . . to depict the ANC as a collaboratorist organisation dominated by non-Africans. It is essential that this picture be corrected. All sections of the democratic movement in this country should fully understand and appreciate this need, and cooperate in seeing that *particularly in Free Africa*, the African National Congress of South Africa, both in theory and practice, comes forward and is accepted as the recognised spokesman of the entire democratic movement in this country. *We ask all members concerned in the various organisations to give unqualified support to this ruling*". (their own emphasis). At this stage the Communist Party was confident that the African National Congress was under its complete control. It felt it was better to capture and exercise the leadership of the Black population in the guise of the African National Congress rather than under its own name.

That this ruling of the Communist Party Centre has been faithfully carried out

is confirmed by the spate of books and articles in every conceivable magazine or periodical throughout the world, written by the South African liberals of the COD or the CP boosting the ANC. It is always they and not Congress itself, who tell the world what the ANC is or is not, what it does or does not do. The present article under review is of that genre. It is written in the same strain. It is clearly a member of the Communist Party, though judging from the language, a Black one who wrote in the typical fashion of the CP: "Internally, the history of the ANC as the leading National liberatory organisation . . ." and again, "By the end of the Defiance Campaign the foundation had been firmly set for an alliance and Unity in policy and action under the leadership of the ANC of every section of the population". It does not strike the writer that the question may be asked: If Congress had accomplished under its leadership, an alliance and unity of *every section of the population* in South Africa, why did they all leave the country? Why did they fail to effect a revolutionary overturn? Then again "When they, (the PAC) did break away, they broke away from a well-established and militant United Front under the leadership of the ANC". At every conceivable turn, the African National Congress has to be reminded that *it* is the leader. If this is a United Front that has been formed, how does it come about that the leadership rests only with one of the constituent parts and not with the united front itself?

As we have indicated above, all these political contortions are due to the necessity to hide the real purpose of the document. The Communist Party of South Africa is not concerned with discussing Unity with the PAC or with any other organisation in South Africa other than those it already controls. It has long been the policy of the CPSA to seek to control every organisation of the oppressed people in South Africa. If it cannot control it, then it must destroy it.

It is common knowledge that the African National Congress abroad is not and cannot be master in its own house. Even on the question of unity which is demanded by the O.A.U., it is not in a position to make up its own mind and take an independent decision. The ANC abroad has long been an instrument of foreign policy for a big power because it depended heavily on it for financial support. It is not simply the largeness of the amounts of money but the method of making the support available that ensures control of the Congress. The monies come to the ANC via the Communist Party of South Africa. The old and trusted Black officials of the Party who are at the same time members of the Executive of the ANC, receive and administer the money as they think fit. They are not obliged to account for it to the organisation which does not even know how much money was donated for its use. Since these donations constitute the main source of the ANC revenue, it is obvious that it is impossible for this organisation to make independent decisions.

The Devisive Role of The CPSA

From the outset we would like to make it clear for the benefit of those misguided people who will be taken in by the defensive charge that we are witch-hunting Communists; that our criticism of the Communist Party of South Africa is due to our opposition to Communism as an alternate system to capitalism-imperialism -we say emphatically that we have no intention of competing with Verwoerd-Vorster in this regard. Our charge against the Communist Party of South Africa is that its mem-

bers, especially the leadership which consists of White petit-bourgeois intellectuals, are nothing but radical liberals of the South African type, which means they are tainted in various degrees with racialism. This is why it is possible for them, in times of crisis, to unite with the other dyed-in-the-wool White liberals to save the system of segregation or apartheid, in short, herrenvolkism in South Africa.

We shall, by way of illustration, make a quick reference to two critical periods of our life in South Africa — the year 1936 when the coalition of the Boer and British Parties robbed the Black man of the last vestige of voting rights and threw him out of the body politic. Then there was 1948, the year when the present Boer Nationalist Party came into power.

The 1936 disenfranchisement and Land Acts caused such a stir amongst the oppressed that the whole of the herrenvolk felt threatened. The two Acts, calculated as they were to rob the Black man of all political rights as well as his land, intimately affected every section of the population. The spirit of revolt permeated the ranks of the oppressed to such an extent that even the most conservative elements, the chiefs, were moved to register protests against their masters. This spirit crystallised in the formation of the All-African Convention, a federal body which brought under its wing all the then existing African organisations, numbering in the region of 150 organisations, big and small. The All-African Convention (AAC) was known as the mouthpiece of the African section of the oppressed. Its immediate task was to mobilise the African population for the purpose of defeating the Slave Bills before the Whites-only Parliament. The African people at their mammoth Conference in December 1935, had rejected the bills *in toto*. In 1936, the herrenvolk rushed the bills through their Parliament in the midst of widespread opposition and a deep-going resentment which for the first time created visible signs of concern and fear in the ranks of the oppressors. At the end of that session of Parliament, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, appealed to the whites of every political persuasion to rally together behind the coalition Government and issued a warning that if the Blacks continue to reject these laws, they would be as dead as if they had never passed the 3rd reading of Parliament. This was the first time that the Whites-only legislature had passed such controversial laws without any legal means to enforce them. The young progressives in the All-African Convention seized the opportunity with both hands and advocated a boycott of the apartheid institutions specially created for a child race; a boycott of the elections of the 3 whites (the Judas leader-goats) to represent the Black population in a Whites-only Assembly of 153 and a boycott of those white senators to be nominated by the Government in addition to those who were to be communally elected by the electoral colleges to represent the Blacks. There was no law to force the Black population to elect these white leader-goats or to compel them to accept and operate the apartheid institutions. The population could defy these Government laws and bring its policy to naught without any fear of prosecution. It was a golden opportunity for mobilising the masses in defiance of an oppressive law and revealing to them their own power, born of united action. It was an unprecedented chance for the unfolding of a process of radicalization.

It was at this historic moment that the petit bourgeoisie both in the Communist Party and amongst the white liberals seized the occasion to demonstrate their

usefulness and their indispensability to the herrenvolk Government and to the oppressors as a whole, as well as benefiting themselves materially. In the South African milieu, not a single White in either of these groups stood a chance of ever being elected to Parliament on a Whites-only vote, but this inferior apartheid voting system brought the much coveted membership of parliament for once within their reach. For, to whom would the Blacks give their vote but to their White "patrons"? Thus it came about that the leadership of the Communist Party of South Africa and the white liberals joined forces to betray the cause of the oppressed. To achieve their aims, they had to destroy the hard-won unity of the Black masses. They had to break the boycott. To effect this they needed a well-known African organisation to use as an instrument. Thus the age-old friendship between the white liberals and the leaders of Congress was put to use with devastating effects. The Black members of the Communist Party within the Congress leadership were also roped in to pull the African National Congress out of the All-African Convention, the newly-created mouthpiece of the African section. Once the ANC was outside the federal body and no longer bound by the boycott decision, it could then be used not only to discredit the All-African Convention's policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor, but as an instrument for the election of its patrons.

The Nationalist Party (the Boers) Comes to Power In 1948

It is important to mention that for many years the rank and file of the African National Congress refused to accept the break away from the All-African Convention. From time to time they would move a resolution in their Conference calling upon the ANC to elect people to meet representatives of the AAC to discuss unity between the two bodies. In spite of the strong desire to unite on the part of the African people, including the rank and file of the African National Congress, it was not possible for them to do so, because, by this time, the CPSA and the liberals had gained control of the ANC. Between them they had enough money to keep the Congress engaged in one political adventurist activity after another, thus diverting attention from unity and a principled struggle.

We shall briefly refer to the last of the attempts to achieve unity. It was in December, 1948, the year the Nationalist Party, the fascistic wing of the herrenvolk, came to power. We quote:—

"At the Joint Conference of the ANC and the AAC held on the 17th Dec., 1948, in Bloemfontein, the Convention spokesman, Mr. I.B. Tabata, presented the proposals on the basis of which Convention considered that Unity should be effected. They were:

- (a) The acceptance of the 10-Point Programme, which implies full equality of all men irrespective of race, colour or creed, and direct representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, etc;
- (b) The acceptance of the principle of the unity of all oppressed groups (African, Coloured, Indian) against oppression;
- (c) The acceptance of the policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor (i.e. the rejection of all segregated and inferior political institutions for Blacks); the maintenance of the federal structure of the All-African Convention.

“In order that nothing should stand in the way of unity, and also to belie the accusation that the two bodies are divided by rivalry between the leaders, the Convention offered to guarantee to Congress a certain number of seats in the Executive. Congress members could in addition contest the remaining seats . . . There was only one proviso to all this, namely, that Congress should accept the principled basis of unity. On this basis the Convention wanted to bring about Unity there and then.”

No agreement was reached and the meeting adjourned to Easter, 1949 . . . Only two items were discussed: the policy of non-collaboration as a basis for unity and the form of organisation required to put this into effect.

(The Convention delegates moved a resolution virtually the same as before. See also the Memorandum of the Unity Movement to the OAU, 1963. The Congress leadership could not accept the policy of non-collaboration and the federal structure. They were already operating the segregated institutions.Ed.)

The fact that these negotiations broke down is not so much a commentary on the stand of the African National Congress, particularly its membership, on the crucial question of unity, as it is a measure of the Communist Party and the white liberal influence over the ANC. The rejection of these proposals clearly reveals an unprincipled political attitude towards unity and the united front on the part of the CPSA. The patrons of the ANC eschewed principled politics and revealed themselves to be dire enemies of the unity of the oppressed. Even the so-called Alliance consisting of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), the Congress of Democrats (COD), the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured Peoples' Congress (CPC), was the brain child of the CPSA and the COD. It was created as a counter to the Unity Movement of South Africa, at that time known as the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). It was a bogus unity specially conceived as a means of breaking the principled unity of the oppressed.

The Impact of Caetano's Fall

The whole area of Southern Africa is going through an acute crisis. Once more, South Africa itself, the very hub of the racist minority régimes, suffers from a chronic economic, political and social crisis for which there is no solution within the present frame-work. The uncontrollable spiralling of inflation, the frequent industrial strikes by Black workers, strikes which rapidly spread the moment they start, the inability of an economy based on slave labour to carry any meaningful increase of wages for the Black worker so that he gets something in the region of a living wage — all these things point to a crisis which must deepen with the passage of time and the inability of the rulers to solve it without restructuring the whole pattern of production and distribution of wealth.

The sudden collapse of the Caetano régime threatens to leave exposed the whole of the Eastern flank of Rhodesia and the North Eastern Transvaal and the Orange Free State down to Natal and Swaziland. The juggernaut of history is steadily rolling towards South Africa from the Zambezi, from Angola and Mozambique to within her own borders, on the Southern banks of the Limpopo. The relentless struggle waged by the Liberation Movements in all the Portuguese colonies in Africa has

driven the lesson home to the imperialists that the old style colonialism is no longer possible. But the change over from the old to the new, that is, neo-colonialism has come too late and is likely to produce difficulties. The swing of the pendulum must tend to go beyond the limits of neo-colonialism. Such an eventuality will produce a serious state of emergency and an acute political crisis in all Southern Africa. It was for fear of this happening that British imperialism in desperation expressed a hope that Zambia, Tanzania and Zaire will use their good offices to help solve the problem arising out of the fall of Caetano's fascist régime. No doubt she was thinking in terms of the oil in Angola and the vast investments of imperialism in South Africa, and not least, the grave threat these events pose to the continued existence of South Africa as a bastion of Western imperialism. There is, of course, also the question of the Cabora Bassa dam and the much more important matter of the contract whereby Portugal supplies 100,000-150,000 labourers to the South African gold mines. The sudden withdrawal of this labour force will have a crippling effect on the gold-mining industry and therefore on the South African industry as a whole.

Preparation for a Strategic Retreat

The wheel of history has turned full circle. South Africa is once more faced with a crisis, this time far worse than those of 1936 and 1948 or even the 1960s. It is a crisis compounded of not only internal difficulties but also of international monetary and economic disorders accompanied by mounting inflation. Because of South Africa's key role in Africa, South of the Sahara, it is the duty of imperialism to come to its rescue. One of the conditions of the détente between the super-powers is that both sides offer mutual aid to each other for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo* in their respective spheres of influence. This means that Western imperialism can expect some form of help from the leading socialist state in the matter of aborting the revolution in South Africa. American imperialism has long ago laid the basis for rescue-operations, if and when racist South Africa is in danger. For the last 3 or 4 years, quislings from the various Bantustans have been invited to tour the United States for the express purpose of popularising apartheid.

While pretending to condemn the apartheid policy, US imperialism evolved a method of making the same apartheid palatable. It drew an artificial distinction between what it called "petty apartheid" and "grand apartheid". The former is described as meaning the display of notice-boards excluding blacks from entering parks, using Whites-only conveniences, benches, buses, trains, etc. It vociferously denounced this as being offensive, degrading, abhorrent and insulting to the intelligence. But "grand apartheid" is something else again. It is something noble and, moreover, beneficial to all sections of the population in South Africa. It means creating separate residential areas for different colours, separate civic amenities, separate political and civil rights — in a word, the creation of Bantustans, etc. In this way, white domination will be maintained and its continued existence ensured by the interspersing within white South Africa of numerous antagonistic mini-tribal states. The fact that all the evils of apartheid flow precisely from this so-called "grand apartheid" is to them of no moment. The hypocrisy, the cynicism and the callousness of suggesting that there is something noble about committing mass murder and genocide while individual killing is degrading, flow directly from the position

of the US as the international gendarme. This is clearly an announcement that US imperialism supports Vorster's apartheid and that it is prepared to use the Bantustans as a weapon in defence of its investments and of the racist regime in South Africa. Friendly states, client states, political parties, collaborationist organisations and individual stooges are all going to be pressurised to come to the rescue of the South African racist régime. The Communist Party of South Africa, acting in accordance with the desires of its patron and in consonance with the spirit of the détente, will join hands with the South African liberals of the COD who will be obeying, as always, the dictates of British imperialism, for the purpose of saving herrenvolkism from the impending revolution. It is in preparation for this task that the so-called Congress document was written on "the call for Unity and a United Front". The document was intended to inform the African Liberation Committee of the OAU that the ANC can have no unity with the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) or any of the organisations united under the banner of the *Unity Movement of South Africa*. It was also intended to pave the way for the presentation before the ALC of the defunct Congress Alliance as the South African United Front. It is extremely important for the Communist Party of South Africa and the South African liberals of the Congress of Democrats (COD) to have both of them together with the ANC, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the Coloured Peoples' Congress (CPC) officially accepted by the OAU as the Liberation Front for South Africa. This official recognition will be like a trading licence authorising them to sell our birthright.

One thing is clear. Whatever the joint plan of the CPSA and the liberals is, it cannot succeed in South Africa any more. The people have paid too dearly for the bitter lessons they have had to learn. It took them a long time to assimilate the lessons. At the end of the fifties, some of the Congress Youth League under the leadership of Sobukwe broke away from the African National Congress. Their stated reason for doing so was that the ANC "was too much under the control of the whites". Sobukwe believed that so long as the ANC exists, and the liberals and the CP of South Africa can use it as an instrument of disruption, so long will the African people remain disunited. When Sobukwe launched his non-violence campaign, it was with the express purpose of winning people away from the ANC. He paid dearly for it on Robben Island in what was virtually an indeterminate sentence.

At the beginning of the sixties, on his return from his trip to Africa, Nelson Mandela realised that the existence of the so-called Congress Alliance was a barrier to African unity. In other words, it was a divisive element. But, unlike Sobukwe, he thought that the ANC could still play a useful role in uniting the people, provided that the leadership of the organisation was restored to the Africans who alone had the constitutional right to be members. Thus Mandela fought for the disbandment of the Alliance and succeeded. For this, he paid the price of life imprisonment on Robben Island. But this did not prevent the cynical CP from cashing in on his imprisonment. They literally feasted on his immurement. With him safely put away, they turned him into an idol for the worship of all good young CP-ites. His name was good value for the recruitment of fresh blood.

Today we can say we know of no one, of the known African leaders, who will voluntarily accept the so-called Congress Alliance except Oliver Tambo, the acting President of the ANC.

In discussing the political situation at home last September, we said: "Not so long ago imperialism prevailed upon the South African racist regime to enter into a dialogue with independent Black Africa. Although the idea was repugnant to the Boers, Vorster found it expedient to try it out . . . The same imperialism can now be expected to persuade the racists to send the Bantustan quisling-Chiefs as ambassadors for South Africa, in an attempt to lend respectability to the apartheid policy. Those who believe that chiefs Matanzima and Buthelezi are an embarrassment to the racists must think such an idea far-fetched. But that is only because they have never understood the real function of the Bantustans. They have never realised the extent to which the chiefs and the whole of the tribal hierarchy have a stake in separate development, and by virtue of this fact, they constitute the first line of defence for the citadel of apartheid." Matanzima, as reported in the *Cape Times* of 26th March, 1974, confirms this view. He says: "In times of trouble in South Africa, our forces will fight side by side with the Republican forces in defence of our neighbouring states (tribal mini-states). If the Transkei is conquered, the enemy will find a stepping stone into the Republic. If the Republic falls, it will be the fall of the Transkei". Clearly, Matanzima sees an identity of interests between himself and Vorster.

The vociferous Gatsha Buthelezi will not be left behind in proving his loyalty. When the oil-producing Arab states decided to use oil as a weapon against their enemies, Buthelezi hastened to squeal on behalf of racist South Africa. The argument was the old and hoary one, namely, that the Africans will be the worst sufferers if oil is withheld from Vorster's regime. But more interesting is the fact that the ink was scarcely dry when our prognostications as to the role of the Bantustan quisling — chiefs was confirmed. Buthelezi, armed with a South African passport, produced himself in Zambia and Tanzania, the two countries Vorster regards as his direct enemies. Thereafter he also visited the seat of the OAU in Addis Abba. While on this tour, he also met Mr. Oliver Tambo, acting President of the ANC. It is not to be supposed that chief Gatsha Buthelezi came all the way from South Africa just to have a cup of tea with Tambo. The question we ask is: what secrets can there be between Oliver Tambo and Vorster's emissary — secrets that are kept from South African Freedom Fighters?

It would seem that what imperialism is prepared to offer to Southern Africa today is somewhat different from what it was prepared to offer to the rest of Africa right down to the Zambezi. It would appear that the old form of neo-colonialism is not regarded as safe or suitable for the remaining Southernmost parts. The military junta in Portugal is offering its African Colonies a federation with Portugal. In other words, the African countries (ex-colonies) shall be Bantustans of Portugal. The same arrangement is being mooted in South Africa. It is reported that all the Bantustans and all the white parties in South Africa, except the ruling Nationalist Party, (some of its members secretly subscribe to the same view) have been persuaded to advocate a federation of all the tribal states with White South Africa.

That Western imperialism has made a firm decision on the question of a dialogue as the best means of rescuing racist South Africa, is beyond doubt. The only problem is how to prepare the ground and work out the rules in such a way as to ensure that the basis and the starting point of the dialogue shall be the Bantustans and their federation in a complex dominated by white racist South Africa. At no time should

the Black man's claim to the soil of South Africa as a whole ever reach the agenda or in anyway ever come under discussion. It is clear from this that imperialism will leave no stone unturned in preparing for the biggest betrayal in Southern Africa. Since the success of their plan depends on the deception of the people and disunity among the organisations engaged in the fight for liberation, imperialism will naturally turn to its old, tried and tested stooges. On the home front, the organisations that fit both these requirements are the Communist Party of South Africa and the liberals of the Congress of Democrats. But even they can no longer provide sufficient cover on their own. They can still resuscitate the Congress Alliance, but for it to stand any chance of being acceptable as an instrument of betrayal, it will require the blessing, the recognition and support of the African Liberation Committee of the OAU.

The issues involved are grave and the stakes are high. Africa is called upon to render full and unqualified support to the true struggle for liberation as embodied in the Ten Point Programme which is a demand for full and equal democratic rights for all and the policy of non-collaboration with the oppressor, adopted by all those organisations in South Africa who have banded themselves together under the banner of the *Unity Movement of South Africa*.

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This challenging Book is by the author of *The Awakening of a People*. I.B. Tabata is president of the Unity Movement of South Africa and of The African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA) and is at present in exile. On the basis of historical materialism, he explores the ramifications of imperialist conspiracy in a period of mounting political and economic crises, concentrating more especially on the liberatory struggle in Southern Africa.

As an indefatigable organiser, orator and writer, he has played an important part in the national struggle of the oppressed Blacks of South Africa for more than thirty years. Co-founder of the All-African Convention in 1935, he was one of the young militants who laid the foundations of the Unity Movement in 1943, which unites all sections in the liberatory struggle. His uncompromising principles have made exile another battleground for him.

He has addressed the Organisation of African Unity several times. With the arrest, torture and trial under the Terrorism Act of 13 leading members of the Unity Movement in 1971, he visited Europe and England and addressed a Committee of the United Nations in 1972.

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