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The main content of the African Revolution is the liberation of the oppressed masses in Southern Africa from the White-supremacist-fascist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

The last decade and more has witnessed the birth of no less than 41 African states to nationhood and independence. The old-style colonialism has rapidly disintegrated in the upsurge of national liberation and anti-imperialism which has swept the African Continent. Despite the enormous problems faced in the post-independence period, due in the main to the legacy of Colonialism and the continuing intrigues of international finance capital, political independence remains the single most powerful springboard from which genuine self-determination and economic progress can be launched.

Africa apart, events in Latin America and Asia demonstrate unequivocally the desire of the oppressed peoples to free themselves from the chains of imperialist bondage, no doubt, with the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. military-industrial complex as the single most burning issue of our time.

Vietnam remains America's shame and Humanity's agony.

The struggle for freedom of the millions of oppressed Africans in the Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau is taking place within the international framework of the breakdown of colonialism and the fight against neo-colonialism. It is taking place within the international context of transition to socialism.

To be able to fully appreciate both the context and perspectives of the revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa, we need to probe into the specific politico-military and economic framework within which these struggles are being conducted; to examine the main revolutionary forces and the Reactionary Alliance against them.

A full understanding and appreciation of the Southern African situation must of necessity examine the role fascist White South Africa has assumed and the motives underlying this. For it is a fact that the Republic of South Africa is the dominant power in the Reactionary Trinity with Portugal and Rhodesia against the forces for national liberation.

Why and how has the Republic of South Africa become the central pivot in the Southern African conflict ?

The essence of the answer lies in the economic development of the Republic. More particularly the GROWTH OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY from a gross output of approx. £16 m. in 1924-25 to approx. £700m. by 1965 has been the central feature of the Republic's spectacular economic development - although the mining industry in gold and diamonds is still, and will be for the next half century or so, the largest single source of foreign earnings. This increased economic development has had a three-fold effect :

- (i) An increase in the National Income from approx. £2,356 in 1961 to approx. £4,000 in 1968
- (ii) An increase in exports, which reached a record £593m. in 1966 compared with £525m. in 1965, say, and which is progressively increasing
- (iii) A process of rapidly expanding Capital Accumulation.

Clearly the need for more and more outlets for goods and capital is an urgent necessity. An analysis of South African trade indicates clearly that the Republic is now in direct competition with the developed Capitalist countries in the sphere of manufactured goods. Whilst the bulk of her exports to these countries consist mainly of primary goods with only 6% manufactured goods; 75% of her trade with the under-developed countries, however, especially the African states, is manufactured products.

Why this outward drive and what the consequences ?

The South African ruling class, both Afrikaner and (Anglo-Jewish, more so than the ruling classes of other developed capitalist countries, cannot exploit to the full the potential of the home market because of the inherent contradictions of the policy and practice of Apartheid. In real terms the share of the National Income of the African 70% of the population has steadily deteriorated from approx. 21% just after World War II to just under 19% today; while their total purchasing power share is even lower - approx. 17% to 18%.

Thus the accumulation of capital and increased production of goods cannot be contained within the national environment and has to be generated externally.

South Africa therefore is in the classical imperialist stage of a manufacturing, industrially developing country seeking markets for goods and capital. And she is succeeding through a combination of economic blackmail and military aggression.

Yet the fate of the majority of the people of the Republic - the non-whites and in particular the African people - is that of an oppressed people suffering a colonial type exploitation. With this essential difference between classical colonialism - both oppressor and oppressed have their roots within a single national environment. A fact of crucial importance in the prosecution of our armed struggle for freedom and self-determination.

The fact of South African imperialism has grave consequences for both the independent African states as well as the progress of the struggles for liberation in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. For the process of capital generation has a two-fold effect :

Firstly, it brings trade in its wake. Already trade figures indicate a steady increase in exports from approx. £65m. in 1964 to £76m. in 1965 to £97m. in 1966.

Secondly, and even more important from the long-term point of view, it is accompanied by strong political pressures on the recipient countries with the ultimate or immediate intention of either effectively neutralising them or worse still subverting them into enemies of the Freedom Movements. No doubt the long term strategic aim of the South African ruling class remains the penetration of all the independent African states North of the Limpopo.

And the demands, both immediate and long term of Capital, has necessitated a political shift in the South African situation - from Verwoerd's "verkrampste" inward-looking, isolationist policy, to Vorster's so-called "verligte" bland, aggressive, expansionist policy.

In a very real sense therefore the Republic exhibits all the features of an imperialist power with a powerful ruling class channelising its own interest through a fascist state organ with vast interests in the Republic itself, in South West Africa which it has forcibly annexed despite the U.N. resolution of 1966 terminating her mandate, in Zimbabwe where it is now the dominant partner as a result of UDI exceeding even British and American capital interest; in Angola where it is involved in partnership with Portuguese, West German, British and American capital in exploiting mineral and oil deposits; in Mozambique where she is part of the international capitalist consortium constructing the Cabora Bassa Dam; in the former High Commission territories of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland; in Malawi where Banda, apart from openly supporting its aggressive military designs against the liberation movements, has given it senior rights to investment and so-called development schemes; in Katanga and Congo (Kinshasha) where it is in alliance with the international finance group of Union Miniere. And to a limited degree in the capitalist countries themselves.

Yet within the Republic the brutal repression of the national aspirations of the oppressed peoples is being intensified. Since Vorster assumed power we have witnessed, inter alia, the wholesale transformation of education on racist state-run lines administered by racially exclusive organs such as Bantu Affairs Department, the Indian Affairs Department and the Coloured Affairs Department; a tightening of influx control, Race Classification and Group Areas regulations; the abandonment of the Rule of Law through 180-day Detention-without-Trial Clause; the passing of the Terrorism Act and finally the setting up of that monster of repression and terror - the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). We have witnessed during this year mass detentions, trials and convictions of our ANC and SWAPO patriots; inhuman interrogations and torture and above all the murder, during detention of 5 brave sons of the South African revolution - Caleb Mayekiso, James Lenkoe, Nichodimus Kgoathe, Solomon Modipane and recently Imam Haroun.

The same systematic process of armed repression is being conducted in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau where the fascist armies of Portugal's dictatorship are using NATO fire-power including NAPALM to quell and murder a people in revolt. Whilst the ruling clique of Smith have illegally executed and are in the process of doing so, brave militants of ZAPU conducting armed revolutionary struggle. These are symptoms of a deep crisis for the ruling circles of the Southern African sub-continent.

The Republic of South Africa is arming to the teeth whilst deliberately injecting a war hysteria into its white supporters. Defence estimates have rocketed from some £22m. in 1960-61 to above £127½m. in 1966-67 while in the same period expenditure on the police force has risen from about £18m. to £43m.

It is the Republic of South Africa which of necessity forms the bastion of Reaction in the Unholy Trinity with Portugal and Rhodesia. Albeit unwillingly, but necessarily.

Simply because both Portugal and Smith's Rhodesia are incapable of sustaining and containing a long-drawn out military-political offensive or defence against the Freedom Movements.

Portugal, the last of the classical colonialist powers on African soil, the weakest and most backward of the

Imperialist countries has committed some 120,000 troops in defence of her colonial interests. Unable to compete against powerful rivals, she depends wholly on these colonies as outlets for goods, consumer and capital, as well as the supply of raw materials. But the liberation movements in these countries are stretching her resources to dangerous limits. What with a continuous, chronic defect in her balance of payments and the fact that approx. 45% of her GNP is now being consumed in the prosecution of her barbarous wars against freedom, Portugal simply cannot stand the pace. Hence, Portugal is being forced to share a larger and larger slice of her potential colonialist interests in Angola and Mozambique with British, American, West German and South African capitalism.

Fascist Rhodesia on the other hand has become in reality a satellite of fascist South Africa. In seeking a larger share from the exploitation of the African majority through the declaration of UDI, the local ruling class has merely changed majority shareholders from the British ruling class to the South African. With the added complication that the traditional partners in exploitation, South Africa and Great Britain, have been forced by international pressure into opposite camps. For the time being at least.

But behind the forces of local reaction stand the armed might of the great imperialist powers -- Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, West Germany and Japan. White supremacist and colonialist rule in Southern Africa is in direct alliance, and an integral part of international imperialism. A crucial point to bear in mind when looking at the perspectives of change in Southern Africa. There may be internal conflicts and embarrassments, but against the Forces of Progress, Reaction stands united !

Clearly, South Africa's own manpower resources are critical despite her military and economic strength. As Basil Davidson wrote (Le Monde Diplomatique November 1968) "Crudely there are about 29 million Africans in those great contested regions west and south of the Zambesi, but fewer than 4 million whites. Less crudely, the balance is still worse, for the whites available for long term military service are nearly all in a position of value to the South African economy...."

It is precisely the objective consequences of South Africa's imperialist development which creates explosive conditions for her downfall by the determined onslaught of an armed revolutionary People's War. The Republic is now involved, economically and militarily in South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique and above all in Zimbabwe where it has more than 17,000 troops to bolster the Smith forces against the freedom fighters of the ZAPU/ANC Alliance. In the face of inherent Portuguese and White Rhodesian weaknesses the defence of vital economic interests rests increasingly with South Africa.

What then are the prospects for radical transformation leading to People's Power in Southern Africa ? Who comprise the main revolutionary forces for the destruction of the white-supremacist-fascist-colonialist regimes ? Which are the Popular Movements that form the effective striking arm of the masses of oppressed peoples ? What is the main ideological content of these struggles ? What is their progress thus far ?

Firstly, some general, but pertinent observations. Although each of the struggles in Southern Africa is specific with variations in intensity, duration, tempo and historical development, Southern Africa together with Guinea-Bissau must be seen as a single complex to be liberated by a

series of military and political actions, with armed action undoubtedly, as the principal weapon for change.

Broadly speaking, despite qualitative changes that are occurring or may occur during the actual prosecution of the struggles, the main content of the Southern African Revolution is the liberation of the broad masses of the African people and other oppressed minority groups, from fascist tyranny. This is the minimum pre-requisite for progressive change and development. For us in South Africa, the Freedom Charter forms the basis of our Revolutionary effort as well as the springboard from which higher forms of development can be successfully launched. Despite this fact, however, the struggles are of necessity and in reality anti-imperialist struggles and socialist orientated. In Guinea-Bissau, for example, the political-economic and social reconstruction that is being instituted, during the actual prosecution of the struggle, is markedly socialist in character and undoubtedly anti-capitalist.

The Revolutionary Movements conducting the actual struggles against the forces of Reaction are those who have won over the allegiance of the broad masses of the people, by a correct programme of principles and action and by a tried, tested and revolutionary leadership who have been able to provide the scientifically correct strategy and tactics for the prosecution of a people's struggle. Today these movements are the ANC in South Africa, ZAPU in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in South West Africa, MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. Neither enemy nor ally has been able to deny this assertion.

For the Unholy Alliance the growing strength and achievements of these movements, especially of the patriots fighting Portuguese Colonialism, is assuming crisis proportions.

In Guinea-Bissau PAIGC units are now in control of two-thirds of the national territory; in Mozambique FRELIMO militants have liberated the entire Northern Provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, whilst extending their offensive to the Tete Province, agriculturally the richest Mozambique location as well as the site of the internationally financed Cabora Bassa Dam. In Angola, MPLA forces are now simultaneously engaging Portuguese forces on four different fronts.

Apart from liberating large areas, the various movements have also been consolidating these gains through programmes of reconstruction aimed at education, housing, medical welfare, agrarian reform and co-operative ventures.

In South West Africa frantic efforts are being made by the fascist South African regime in intimidating the people, especially in the Caprivi area where SWAPO forces have been engaging enemy forces. The same time armed militants of SWAPO have been subjected to brutal torture during detention after arrest.

In August 1967 the joint military offensive by ANC-ZAPU units in Wankie scored immediate dramatic successes against the Smith forces so much so that South Africa was forced to intervene militarily. Despite some 17,000 South African forces massive arms supplies to the Smith clique, the ANC-ZAPU guerrillas have now extended the theatre of operation to Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Clearly the ANC-ZAPU Alliance in the military field has

demonstrated the ability of our militants not only to mount successive actions but maintain it. Despite the terror tactics within the Republic of South Africa, the spirit of our people remains undaunted. Witness for example the unrest and challenge by the non-white student body in the tribal colleges especially Fort Hare, the organisation of the revolutionary movement underground in South Africa leading to the continuous and successful nationwide dissemination of revolutionary propaganda calling upon the people to be resolved, to resist and prepare for the armed struggle. Witness the stirring strike by the Durban dock workers in the full knowledge of what this entails, the spirited protest of the non-white doctors against unequal pay and last but not least the victory of progressive coloured opinion over government appointed stooges in the recent Coloured elections.

The achievements of the armed freedom movements in Southern Africa though modest now are certainly impressive forming undoubtedly the basis for the successful smashing of reaction. We have no illusions that the struggle in Southern Africa and particularly in South Africa will be bitter and long. But we have no doubt whatsoever that with co-ordination and co-operation of the revolutionary efforts of all the peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau as lead by SWAPO, FRELIMO, ZAPU, MPLA, PAIGC and ANC, victory will be ours.

The broad purpose of our military struggle is simply the complete political and economic emancipation of all our peoples and the construction of a democratic non-racial South Africa in accordance with provisions of our programme - the Free Charter. Our programme together with our revolutionary theory, provides us with a strategic framework for the solution of the basic tasks of our revolution.

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