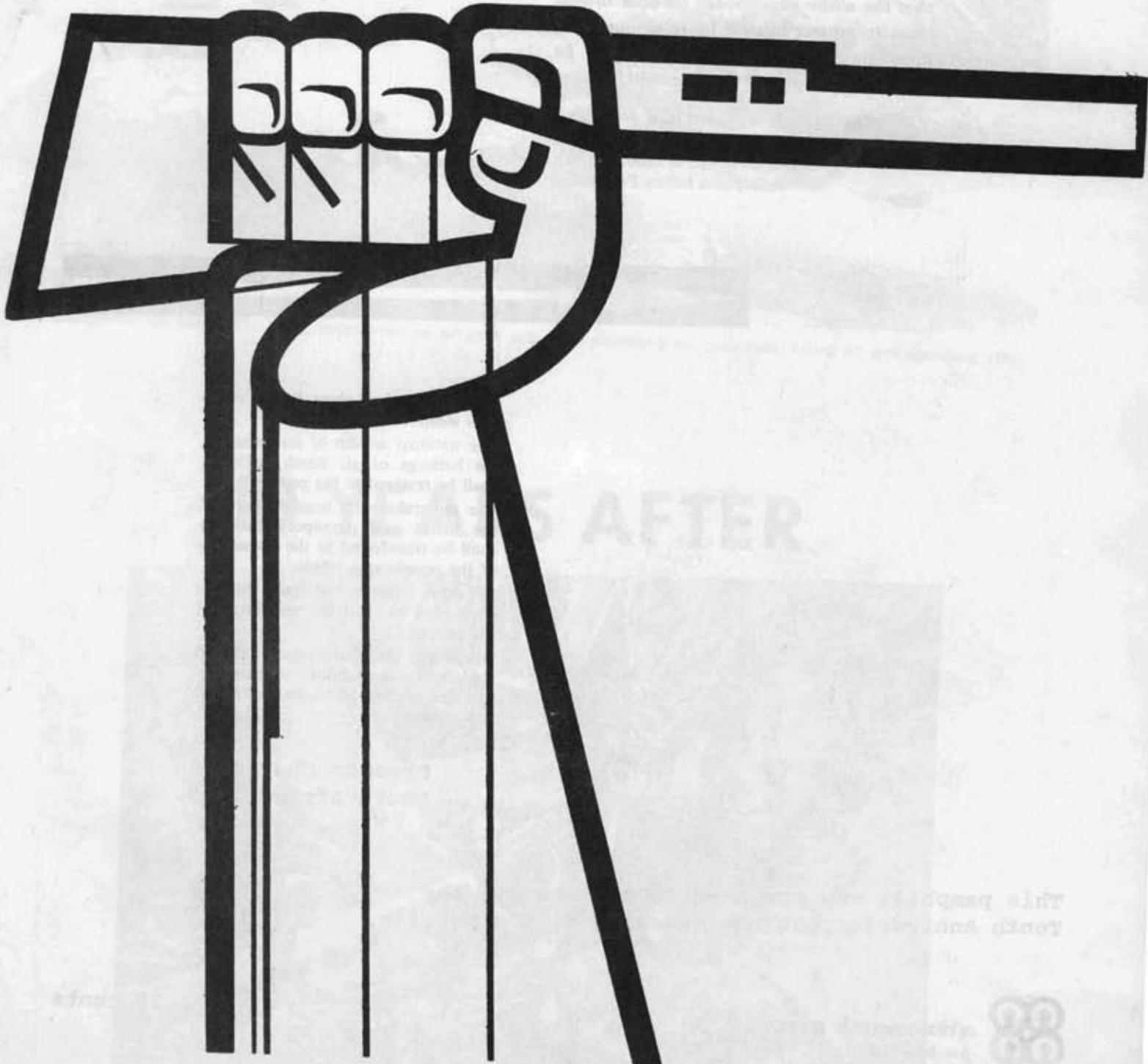


Southern AFRICA



"Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white . . . 'Keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not 'leadership', not 'guidance', but 'control', 'supremacy'. If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination . . . we say that it can be achieved by separate development."

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd,
Prime Minister of the Union of
South Africa, in January 1963,
in a speech before Parliament



The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

Freedom Charter
South Africa 1955.

This pamphlet was prepared to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville.



africa research group
p.o. box 213
cambridge, mass. 02138

25 cents

21 MARCH 1960



Sharpeville: On March 21, 1960, police fired on Africans who were protesting the pass laws, killing 67 and wounding 186

10 YEARS AFTER



Background

White South Africans like to believe that they arrived in South Africa at the same time that black South Africans arrived--in the middle of the 17th century. This is not true. From the beginning, the whites invaded and took what already belonged to the Africans. The whites completely exterminated one of the nations--the Khoi--living in the southern plains, and forced another group into the desert farther north. The whites did not always win, but in the end, the superior military strength of the whites enabled them to defeat several different nations of Africans until the whole area now known as South Africa was brought under white rule.

In the middle of the 19th century, diamonds were discovered in South Africa. The diamond fields were seized by the British and overseas companies began to mine the diamonds. About twenty years later (1880's) gold was discovered near Johannesburg and again there was a flood of investment coming from overseas --this time both the United States and Britain were involved. The patterns of labor exploitation that exist in South Africa today were established at this time. Men from American corporations were asked by the South African government, and they willingly accepted, to write the racist mining codes which are still used.

Whites drove Africans off their ancestral land with unfair taxation--backed up by their guns, of course. When they arrived in the cities, their lives be-

came even more controlled. Laws were made which divided the land into different sections --only 13% reserved for Africans although they outnumber whites by 4 to 1. African workers were not allowed to bring their families with them since only the men who could offer their labor were allowed into the cities. That pattern still exists and is rigorously enforced by the police. Few African families can spend a lifetime together.

The early development of the mines by overseas investors gave the first push to South Africa's growth. Encouraged by high profits, American businessmen began investing in other South African industries (eg. automobiles, electronics, etc.) Again, high profits depended on a large supply of cheap labor...the African population was exploited as it had been in the mines. More and more laws were passed that took away all the rights of African workers. They were forced to work for whites in order to survive.



Section 5 (1) (b) of the Bantu (South African racist word for African) Administration Act:

Any African can be removed from his home to any other place for as long as the Minister of Bantu Administration wants. The Minister does not have to give any reason for his action, and the African cannot object to the decision.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

The living conditions of black South Africans cannot be discussed in the abstract. The very real and constant oppression under which they live contrasts sharply with the profits and privileges of the whites.

In the "Portuguese" territories Africans are not only deprived of basic rights in their country but are brutally exploited so that the Portuguese ruling class and their allies can profit. In Angola 98% of the population is illiterate and 50% of African babies die at birth. The schools in these territories are totally separated by race and African children are taught Portuguese in an attempt to separate them from their own culture. In Mozambique, African men are 'sold' to recruiters from South African, American and British mining corporations to work in the Southern African mines. Part of the wages are paid directly to the Portuguese in exchange. Workers in the mines average 31 cents a day. This means the workers receive enough to buy what 31¢ will buy in the U.S. With that they must support themselves and their families back home. Although they work hundreds of miles from home they are not compensated for this hardship. Africans are regarded as commodities to be bought, used and disposed of. African incomes! No African can hold a position as a skilled or semi-skilled worker - all the better jobs are reserved for whites. Most

Africans are forbidden to join trade unions. The punishment for going on strike is at least three years or a fine equal to 12 times an African's yearly income! According to the South African Minister of Labor, the wage rate must be fixed at a high enough rate to attract "Europeans" so that the "White man with his superior knowledge [can] retain that work against the non-white with his inferior civilization."



In Johannesburg, the richest and largest city in Africa, 1/3 of the population (all Africans) live below the poverty line. \$180.00 per child per year is spent on white children's education while only \$14.30 is spent on the education of black children. The South African government, in a blatant attempt to isolate the African population, has adopted a policy of sending urban Africans

back to the reserves or "Bantustans" (these consist of 13% of the country's most arid land). Average annual income in the reserves is \$36 and malnutrition and starvation is very common.

In South West Africa, which is illegally controlled by South Africa, only 1/5 of African school children attend school and then seldom for more than two years. Blacks in South West Africa live in areas called Police Zones. Permanent African settlements are forbidden by law, making it almost impossible for Africans to join together in communities which can support themselves and organise themselves against the white oppressors. In the mining towns (South West Africa is very rich in certain metals) African workers from the same area are separated so that communication and cooperation is difficult. The conditions of illiteracy, poor health and forced separation are the ugly products of the vicious exploitation of Africans. The struggle against the white regime is a struggle against a system designed to dehumanise.

In South Africa racial inequality is the law! This system is called apartheid which means "separateness". South Africa is a highly industrialized country and a whole series of laws exist that govern every aspect of the lives of black South Africans. Following the massacre at Sharpeville (1960) these laws were made even harsher. Some of the worst come under the heading of job reservation. These set minimum wages for whites and maximum wages for blacks. White incomes are 15 times more than black incomes.

The line is clear between black and white in South Africa. The white man, whether he is South African, American or European lives and prospers because of the forced oppression of the black man. Investment in southern Africa is very profitable because of the use of cheap black labor, wages often being below starvation level for a family. Corporations not only profit from the system but actually support its racist goals.



IMPERIALISM

South Africa plays the key role in bringing the white-run countries together against the forces of black Africa. South African troops help guard the Zimbabwe border against the guerrillas coming in from Zambia. Two South African battalions are fighting with Portuguese troops against the liberation movement in Mozambique. South Africans operate helicopters for the Portuguese in Angola.

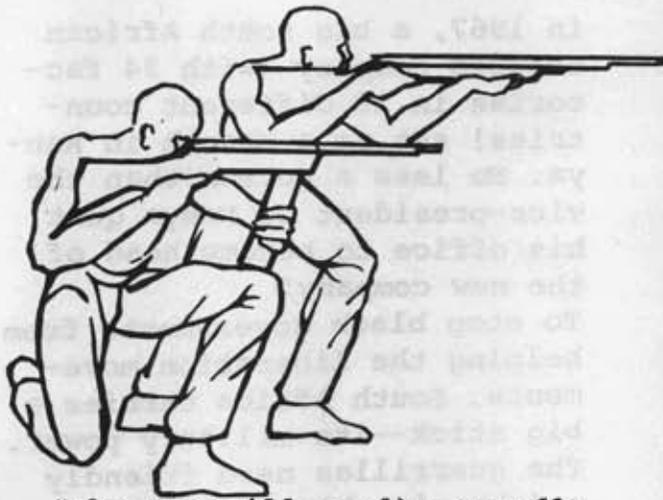
South Africa's policy toward black Africa has two parts: the carrot and the stick. Military power is South Africa's big stick, but in the long run, the ruling elite is banking on the carrot, formally called "outward policy." "Outward policy" gushed from the offices of government and big business with phrases like those you might hear in the U.S.: "African states need leadership;" "we have a duty;" "we must help them improve themselves," etc. Nixon recently praised this policy for contributing to the "stability" of Africa. A \$6 million fund was set up to aid friendly African nations.

The major purpose of the "outward policy" is to help large South African corporations, which need new areas to market their products and set up branch offices. Large South African companies are busy setting up factories in at least 10 black African countries, including Zambia, Malawi, Kenya and the Congo. The South African strategy is also to get in tight with the black elites in these countries and make them identify with South African interests. For example,

in 1967, a big South African tobacco company (with 34 factories in 20 different countries) set up a branch in Kenya. No less a person than the vice-president of Kenya quit his office to become head of the new company!

To stop black governments from helping the liberation movements, South Africa carries a big stick--its military power. The guerrillas need friendly neighboring black countries where they can house their bases and training camps. Also, they need some way to enter their own country. They can't fly in. They have no planes. The whites--as in Vietnam--control the air.

Take the case of Zambia. Because of its geographic position, Zambia's help has been crucial to the liberation movements. To stop Zambian aid, South Africa has often threatened to attack Zambia. In 1968, South African newspapers reported that the army was drawing up plans for a lightning attack on Zambia--something like Israel's attack on the Arab countries during the famous six-day war. In fact, several Israeli



"the guerrilla walks proudly
on the land
while the little Portuguese
commands the clouds..."

This verse is proudly sung by school children in the liberated villages of Guinea-Bissau, West Africa. Their song, their new school and teacher, and bright future have been made possible by the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Each day the Portuguese come from the sky to attack their villages with the airplanes and bombs given to Portugal by the United States and others. But these jet planes and napalm bombs cannot defeat the people of Guinea-Bissau. As the bombs fall,

Armed struggle

the children and their songs grow...the people's army will win. In Guinea-Bissau, the people have joined together and driven the Portuguese colonialists from over two-thirds of their country. They shall certainly liberate the rest.

In other countries of Africa, where European invaders maintain control over the African people, armed struggles are being waged to secure freedom and independence. In southern Africa guerrilla fighters are struggling against white exploiters in countries which stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean. The United States is an ally of Portugal and South Africa....

The U.S. does not want the African people to be free. The struggle of the African people is our struggle too... we live in the belly of the whale.

THE HEROIC GUERRILLA FIGHTER

For almost three years the ANC, Africa National Congress of South Africa, guerrillas have been living and fighting in Zimbabwe. These brave South Africans are fighting with their brothers and sisters from the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) to defeat

the whites who own the mines and factories and farms where Africans must work. The ANC/ZAPU freedom fighters must fight both the Rhodesian and South African armies in Zimbabwe. In South Africa, ANC cadres organize the people. It is a very difficult struggle, but it will grow and will certainly win. It is part of a larger struggle throughout southern Africa.

In Namibia (SWA) ANC guerrillas fight beside SWAPO freedom fighters. In Namibia, as in the other countries of Africa ruled by whites, U.S. corporations are against the freedom fighters. Two huge American corporations, Newmont Mining and AMAX, own their own town of Tsumeb. It is a police state which the guerrillas are fighting--a police state whose rulers own the mines, the factories and the people themselves.



PORTUGAL: AMERIKA'S NATO FRIEND

In the country of Angola, a Portuguese colony (Overseas Province they call it), the MPLA has driven the Portuguese colonialists from one-third of the country. The MPLA, led by Agostinho Neto, must fight not only the Portuguese army with its American weapons and planes, but also the South African army, and the huge U.S. corporations in Angola. Gulf Oil, for example, maintains its own small army and cooperates with the Portuguese.

FRELIMO has driven the Portuguese and their South African supporters from the northern provinces of Mozambique. FRELIMO is also fighting in Tete province in central Mozambique, where the huge Cabora Bassa hydroelectric dam is being built with South African, W. German, Japanese and American help. The leader of FRELIMO, Eduardo Monlane, was assassinated last year. His death did not stop the liberation movement...the man can kill a revolutionary, but he can't stop a revolution.

PEOPLE'S ARMY....PEOPLE'S WAR

The most advanced liberation struggle is being waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau against the Portuguese occupiers of their country. The peoples army, under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, has now liberated over 2/3 of the country. Cabral and the PAIGC are in the vanguard of those fighting for their independence throughout the world.

There is no point to our struggle if our only goal is to drive out the Portuguese. We want to drive them out, but we are also struggling to end the exploitation of our people.

corporations

More than 450 U.S. corporations are in South Africa. Most of the giants are there (G.E., Ford, G.M....). The investments of these corporations total over \$1.6 billion. Britain has even more invested in apartheid --the British economy depends on profits from South Africa. Because American corporations control much of British industry (e.g., over 50% of the auto industry), they have a

U.S. businessmen and white South Africans reinforce and profit from apartheid. Above all they cry out for "law and order"....keep things as they are, maintain the present system. This system means different things to different people: to the white South Africans it is "separate development"; U.S. corporations refer to it as "favorable investment climate"; Africans,



greater interest in South Africa than they admit. The corporations know why they support South Africa.... Profits!

How big are these profits? Very big! U.S. corporations make a profit which is twice the rate of profit in the U.S. itself. Over the past decades, American corporations have made higher profits in South Africa than anywhere else in the world! Profits are high because African workers are paid only a fraction of the wealth they produce.

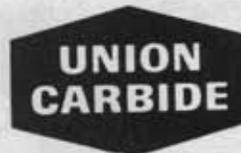
black men and women in America, and others opposed to racism, call apartheid what it really is...racism, fascism and imperialism.

The American auto makers (GM, Ford, Chrysler...) are good examples of how corporations support apartheid. Their huge plants employ Africans at very low wages.... On the average, whites are paid over 5 times as much as Africans. No Africans can hold skilled jobs. These jobs are for whites only...by law. These laws are made by the white government and agreed to by the corpora-

tions. These factories can be used by white South Africa to make tanks, planes, jeeps and other weapons to use against African freedom fighters, when an "emergency" arises. They also make the cars, the trucks and busses which keep white South Africa moving. Other American factories make the tires, refine the gasoline, make the tractors and plows for the white man's farms. Despite all this, the U.S. corporations still maintain that their factories help everyone.

According to the Public Relations man of the Weyerhause Corporation: "Should the Bantus (Africans) who have been provided with both literacy and well-paid technological employment through our South African investment be told to dispose of their passes and to head back to the reserves?...our employees would lose their middle class incomes, their new status, their educational and training programs and their chances to achieve full human dignity."

Such statements are not only nonsense, they are deliberate lies. An occasional refrigerator does not make a middle class...there is no African middle class in South Africa. There is only an African working class...the middle of this African class can hardly be termed a 'middle class', as its income is only a little above subsistence. Passes are no privilege....They are a way to control the movements of Africans! They are dog tags! White corporate America defines its own humanity in terms of refrigerators, so why not use the same definitions for Africans living under apartheid? For a few Africans to get refrigerators by kissing whitey hardly means achieving "full human dignity!" Just as a Coca Cola does not quench the thirst for freedom!



THE DISCOVERY COMPANY



Mobil



MOBIL DELIVERS OIL TO PORTUGUESE BASES

U.S. government

U.S. foreign policy in southern Africa has always represented those Americans who have an active stake there--American businessmen. Since the beginning of this century, Americans have operated companies in South Africa. These same Americans have been responsible for determining United States policy on apartheid. For example, in 1946, the United States blocked attempts of the U.N. to take stern action against South Africa. At that time, the U.S. Secretary of State, James Byrnes, was a director of one of the largest mining companies in southern Africa. In the U.N., the United States delegate who vetoed the strong action on South Africa was John Foster Dulles. At the same time he was a partner in the law firm which represented Byrnes mining company. The connection between profits and politics is very clear!

In the 25 years since that time black South Africans have suffered more and more each year, while the United States continues to oppose any meaningful action against the white regime. Its own policy can only be called "soft" on apartheid. Early this year (1970) President Nixon stated his policy on southern Africa. As usual, it condemned apartheid (the U.S. has always been able to talk about racism). But at the same time, Nixon stated strongly that the U.S. was totally opposed to violence in southern Africa.

Once again the United States contented itself with mouthing nice-sounding criticisms of the southern African governments. Why is Nixon so strongly opposed to violence in southern Africa? Because there is no way to change what is happening in southern Africa without using violence against the regimes in power. In all these countries, peaceful opposition to racism is illegal, and all opposition parties have been banned. Africans are not allowed to organize against the regimes in an open way. President Nixon, by saying that he is opposed to violence, is really saying that he is quite happy to see the real violence of apartheid continue forever.

This policy comes as no surprise. In the last ten years, more and more American corporations have seen that there are good profits to be made in southern Africa. For example, in the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique, U.S. oil companies have important oil fields. To protect those companies, the U.S. supplies Portugal with most of its weapons--from planes to guns --and trains Portuguese army officers.





"The United States is unalterably opposed to apartheid!"

Oh come on Richard...not as 'unalterably opposed' as you are to Cuba, or China, or the Black Panther Party, or socialism, or racial equality, or young people, or students, or

RACISM: U.S.A.

Ten years ago the first Civil Rights sit-ins were staged in Greensboro, North Carolina. This was almost one hundred years after the abolition of slavery. In 1970, Bobby Seale, a black man, was chained, gagged and beaten in the Federal Court of Julius Hoffman in Chicago, U.S.A.

THE ASSASSINATION OF FRED HAMPTON, BLACK PANTHER



FRED HAMPTON



Racism crosses national borders. The ruling class has international power, and exploits the people who have the least visible power. But, if we know that the guerrilla fighters in southern Africa, the Pathet Lao, the Vietcong, the Palestine Liberation fighters are all struggling against the same oppression, our struggle against the most powerful imperialist nation in the world means much more to us. Racism is world-wide, but so is the struggle against it. We have the people on our side, and the people will win!

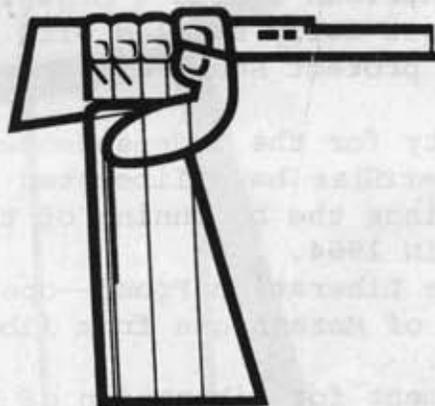
From the Black Panther newspaper.

SEIZE THE TIME

THE CONCLUSION IS ONLY THE BEGINNING

"We don't want to call attention to our activities in South Africa and cause a whole mob of black militants and radical students to picket our offices in the U.S."
(quoted in Wall Street Journal)

It is important that these corporations, institutions and men be identified. Imperialism ceases to be an abstraction when we know its names. The people will move against their enemies....



WE SHALL WIN!

A.MANDLA

NGAWETHU!

POWER TO THE

PEOPLE!

When the white man came to Africa, he not only stole the land, he also gave the African countries white man's names. The Africans who are fighting for their liberation use African names for their countries. Because we support the African struggle, we will use the African names.

NAMIBIA--South West Africa--a country which is illegally controlled by the government of South Africa.

ZIMBABWE--Rhodesia--a country which is governed by the illegitimate white racist government of Ian Smith.

These are the names of the liberation movements which we will talk about in this pamphlet.

ANC--African National Congress--organizes people in South Africa to fight against their racist oppressors. ANC guerrillas are fighting in Zimbabwe in an alliance with ZAPU.

ZAPU--Zimbabwe African People's Union--organizes and carries on guerrilla activities in Zimbabwe. ZAPU works closely with the ANC.

SWAPO--South West African People's Organization--guerrillas have almost daily battles with South African troops who protect South Africa's military bases in Namibia.

PAIGC--African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde--guerrillas have liberated 3/4 to 4/5 of the territory since the beginning of the guerrilla and mass movement in 1964.

FRELIMO--Mozambique Liberation Front--operating in the northern third of Mozambique from liberated areas within the country.

MPLA--Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola--fighting in 15 provinces of Angola. One of their most important struggles is in Cabinda Province, where Gulf oil controls much of the land.

