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The South African Revolution

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INTRODUCTION

(i)

The account I give here of the development of the Southern African Revolution in the past decade is I believe a correct interpretation. Lack of time and space have prevented me developing a series of points: to do that it would be necessary to write a book. No doubt, too, a number of the historical evaluations I make in relation to a number of the revolutionary organisations in South Africa will be strongly contested. I can only say that my independence is shown by the fact that no single group will be entirely happy with what I write.

Yet I hope my African comrades will agree that such a discussion cannot but aid the development of a real understanding of the Southern African Revolution. Nothing is served by a repetition of a standardised history which is anyhow, in my opinion, in many respects a distortion of the truth. No revolutionary loses out from an examination of history in a critical fashion: only those who have something to hide can invoke organisational fetishism to justify their cause.

The conclusion of this essay is clear: there is a Revolution in progress in South Africa -- a revolution which is of the utmost importance for us, here today, in Australia. Our task is to launch a movement of solidarity of such dimensions that the Southern African liberation movement will receive a real aid, both financially and morally, for their heroic battle against South African and Portuguese baaskap and in the final analysis against Imperialism as a whole.

The visit of Haak, the South African Economics Minister from June 5 to 17, on an official visit is a clear case for such action. Let's organise now for massive demonstrations against his visit, and for a campaign based on solidarity with the Revolution in Southern Africa.

What is needed is not a liberal expression of sympathy, but an active solidarity with the guerrillas, a conscious identification with them in their struggle against our White "kith and kin".

In the jungles and mountains of Zimbabwe are being fought battles decisive for ourselves -- decisive because we have there a choice in microcosm of our future.

(ii)

I should perhaps also mention my credentials. I first met South African revolutionaries in London early in 1961. In August, of that year I left for South Africa where I arrived in October. I made contact there with a number of revolutionary movements, including an active sabotage group, with whom I worked for a number of months.

I left South Africa in May 1962 and returned to London where I maintained contact with the comrades I had left in South Africa, as well as some South African revolutionaries then in London.

I went to Algiers in February 1963 where I worked with the Algerian Press Service. There I was in contact with the representatives of FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAPU and to a lesser extent the ANC. I left Algeria in March 1965.

I returned to London in October 1965 and made contact in London again with Southern African revolutionary forces.

I returned to Australia in January 1968, after spending some weeks in Zambia on my way home, where I was in daily contact with Southern African revolutionary forces.

Denis FRENEY

Sydney 19.5.69

1.

REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa -- South Africa, the former Protectorates (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland), South-West Africa, Rhodesia (1) Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Angola form one unit not only geographically as part of the sub-continent of southern Africa, but also economically pivoting around the goldmines of the Rand and the capitalist economic complex of South Africa which draws human labour power from all corners of the sub-continent.

WNLA spreads its tentacles everywhere, so do all of the other labour recruiting agencies and the institutions found in the South. (2)

The white herrenfolk of South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia and Britain, supported by their US, French and German allies, hold the sub-continent in their grip -- the 32 million Africans live in a condition of economic and political slavery.

But the African masses are now rising against their oppressors and throwing off the chains that have bound them for three hundred years.

This booklet aims to provide a brief, overall coverage of that revolt; its background, its perspectives, its historic importance.

A LITTLE BIT OF HISTORY

Africa, the "dark continent", as the imperialists who conquered it would have us believe, was in fact a continent with a long and deep history, going back to the time when Europe slumbered in the depths of its own "Dark Ages". When Europe could hardly boast of a place of learning, Timbuctoo had a university with the greatest library of the time; great Empires flourished in the grasslands south of the Sahara, drawing

(1) Rhodesia, named by the British after Rhodes, is known by the Africans as Zimbabwe, after the famous ruins at Zimbabwe Fort Victoria. Botswana is former Bechuanaland; Lesotho, former Basutoland. Zambia was, before independence, Northern Rhodesia, while Malawi was known as Nyasaland.

(2) Some figures: 40% of the adult population of Lesotho work in the mines, white farms and also in industry. 30,000 men from Botswana at any one time are working in South Africa (out of total population of $\frac{1}{2}$ million). The three former British protectorates continue to use South African currency and the same integrated transport system. They have a customs

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union with South Africa. The Wilson Government bears the heavy responsibility of giving them "independence" in conditions which meant that the masses of these countries were handed over to the tender mercies of Apartheid puppets. Wilson, who in his famous Trafalgar Square speech swore to protect the African masses and fight Apartheid, has handed them over, lock-stock-and-barrel to South Africa .. WNLA - Witswatersrand Native Labour Agency recruits also in MALAWI and Rhodesia, as well as the Portuguese colonies. The role of Hastings Banda, the puppet Prime Minister of Malawi has been extremely bad. In Zimbabwe for example, Malwian supporters of Banda have been recruited as police agents against Zimbabwean sympathisers with ZAPU.

the admiration of Arab and European travellers, while in the Congo and northern Angola, the Bakongo Empire likewise impressed the first Portuguese travellers. The legendary empire of Monamatopeo, which the Portuguese heard of as they crept around the coast of southern Africa was verified by explorers, by Arab traders and today by the ruins of Zimbabwe and other great ruins, which the racists in southern Africa today feel obliged to ascribe variously to Prester John, a lost tribe of Israel, etc.. (3)

AFRICA HAS A HISTORY

Africa had a history before predatory European mercantile capitalism began to build its first empires. It was in the 16th and 17th centuries that it suffered its severest setbacks, as the tribe-nations of Western Africa, with their specifically feudalistic institutions, fell prey to the slave trade, which either turned them into slaves or enslavers, which meant that the lands were racked with intercedine warfare and the land depopulated. The slave kingdoms of Benin and elsewhere along the West African coast (variously named the Gold Coast, Slave Coast, etc..) degenerated into blood-covered monstrosities as they reflected the nature of the slave traders and their European purchasers (and not, as some racists would impute, the traditions of African civilisation and barbarism).

(3) Basil Davidson's books on African history offer a fascinating study of African history before the European invasion.

In Southern Africa, the Portuguese slavers came to Angola and populated Brazil. In the process they destroyed the great Bokongo civilisation. In Eastern Africa, the Portuguese tried to replace the Arab rulers of Zanzibar, succeeding, but being the next driven out.

In 1652, the Dutch, challenging the dominance of the Portuguese in the Indies and in Africa, established a fuelling station that soon became a bridgehead for a conquest. The feudal slave-owning Dutch farmers ("Boers") virtually wiped out or enslaved the Khoisan (Bushmen in racist terms) and Khoi Khoi (Hottentots) peoples. The so-called "Coloured" people are their descendants today. The Boers moved out from the Cape Peninsula and began to move eastwards, where they met the Xhosa people around the Swellendam-Montagu-Heidelberg area (not around the Great Fish river as racist history books tell). The Xhosa people resisted and the Boers had difficulty in making much progress. The Boers appear indeed as another "white" tribe without much claim to superiority, militarily, racially or otherwise over the great nation-tribes they were in contact with.

The backward, slave-owning Boers, however, became a part of world politics when Britain seized the Cape during the Napoleonic Wars after Holland had been overrun by the French. She kept the Cape as part of her booty after Waterloo, while Holland received Belgium in compensation.

The arrival of the British military in the Cape meant the arrival of the greatest world power of the time in the full throes of the Industrial Revolution. The search for raw materials, for markets, for mineral wealth became the raison d'etre for colonies, and automatically clashed with the narrow conservatism of the god-fearing Boer slave-owners. The British decided that slavery was incompatible with their "new" Empire and abolished it. (4) The Boers, rather than submit to this, headed north on the "Great Trek". The British landed in Natal and began the conquest of that area, meeting all the time with immense resistance from the great Zulu tribe-nation. Chaka, Dingaan, all the great leaders of these people, have been slandered in book and film alike. But they held at bay for decades the greatest of the world powers.

(4) Read Eric William's CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY for a demolition of the myth that British philanthropists were the driving force in its abolition. (Available in Penguin).

BRITISH AID BOERS

The Boers and the British developed a unique relationship. The British came to the aid of the Boers when in 1867 they looked like being defeated by the Africans, and even made Transvaal a Protectorate to hold off African armies. The Boers accepted this help, but when the African "menace" was defeated exerted their independence, and the British were unwilling to undergo the expense of reconquest.. it was not worth it economically .

British Imperialism adopted another guise -- one it still wears. They, the British told the Africans, were the "enemies" of the Boers -- had they not fought them, and had the Boers not fled from them? They were the Africans' friend, and would protect them against the Boers, if only they would accept the protection of the White Queen ... If however they persisted in fighting the Boers, they, the British, might also have to come to the Boers' aid and wage war on the Africans.

The "liberal" British image, the deceptive "friend", aided by the bishops with their Bibles, and the missionaries-explorers meant that the British statesmen in Westminster could achieve what had always been their goal -- Empire on the cheap. The Bible was often a more potent weapon than the gun.

First diamonds were discovered at Kimberley and that area (British Bechuanaland) annexed to the Cape Colony. The diamond millionaire Cecil Rhodes went across the Limpopo with his private army to carve out a private Empire in the land of the Mashons and Matabele, in the land he modestly named "Rhodesia". (5)

Meanwhile, immense wealth in gold deposits had been found on the Rand, and the conservative Boers were once more plagued with predatory "uitlanders" seeking fortune. Capitalism had come once more to disturb the life of the feudal slave-owners.

Cecil Rhodes mounted his own private invasion of Transvaal to try to annex this wealth to his private empire, but the "Jameson Raid" proved a fiasco. The British Government itself had then to engage on the unheard-of expense of a full-scale military campaign which became a war. The Boers put up a stolid resistance but were finally defeated. Australian troops took part in this heroic exercise in imperialist expansion.

(5) Rhodes' "British South Africa Company" which operated on a charter given by Queen Victoria, is still one of the major capitalist enterprises in South Africa.

The African people, by now with a Christianised educated elite hoped that their British "friends" would now in some way protect their interests. They requested that the British do so in the Union of South Africa Act which united the conquered Boer Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the British colonies of Natal and Cape Province. But they were quickly disillusioned -- so that in 1912 the representatives of the African peoples met in the O.F.S. and formed the African National Congress (ANC).

What was occurring elsewhere filled the African people with foreboding. Their land had been seized from them and they were forced to live on crowded "Reserves" -- copies in large part from what the Australians had done with their own aborigines. There they were forced to pay a number of taxes, carefully graded so that a large number of Africans would have to leave the land each year and seek work in the cities or on White farms. That of course was essential if the great mineral wealth of the Rand was to be tapped. The African peasant had to be transformed into a wage-slave.

The demand for cheap African labour, however, was so great that it went beyond the borders of South Africa. "Recruiting agents" followed the missionaries and the military units into Rhodesia, present-day Zambia, Malawi, and then, in agreement with the Portuguese colonialists (allies of Britain) who were spreading inland, in Mozambique and Angola. The British protectorates provided their quota, their peasants forced to seek work as taxes were raised.

The British however did not want to see an African proletariat developing in large numbers around the goldmines. They had learnt a lesson from their metropolitan working-class. As a result, the gold mine African worker was hired only for a short period. He was confined in prison-like barracks and then sent home with his miserable "savings" after his term was up. Thus it was hoped no proletariat would develop.

Nevertheless, around the cities grew up "locations", "townships" where large numbers of Africans lived -- servants to the White bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy or (workers) in shops, offices in menial or low clerical jobs. Regulations were employed to keep the numbers down - Pass Laws, Group Areas Acts, etc. They were regrouped in fenced-in townships well away from the city centre, built to be easily controlled by the military and starved out if necessary in time of revolt.... Against this rising burden, the urban African, the migrant worker, the peasant demanded a removal of the ubiquitous controls placed on every feature of life, demanded in fact the simple freedom to exist as workers on the same terms as the white worker.

The "liberal" British bourgeoisie in South Africa sought to maintain its domination of the African by a series of "freedoms" which entrapped most African leaders. African political organisations had liberty (within well-defined limits) to speak, write and organise. The Africans were in fact allowed to act out the charade of political freedom without even the fiction of parliamentary institutions. The few Africans allowed to vote for representatives in the Cape had of course not even the leverage of the workers here in Australia today. A whole series of "consultative" bodies were set up -- Native Representative Council etc.

The First World War saw the development of radicalism among the White, mainly British-emigrant workers. A Communist Party was founded, and in the twenties men like S.P. Bunting took Bolshevism among the African people. The upsurge of militancy among the White South African workers which reached a peak in the 1920 Rand miners strike, but never after that reached any proportions. In the Thirties, a trotskyist movement developed based particularly on Jewish intellectuals and the Lenin Club. They attracted a brilliant African intellectual, I. B. Tabata, and a large number of "Coloured" intellectuals.

The All-African Convention (AAC), called in 1935 to fight the attempt to take away the franchise from the small number of Africans in the Cape, included at first the ANC, which, however later broke away, as the AAC came under the influence of Tabata and other intellectuals.

The struggle between the AAC and the ANC for leadership of the African movement in the period 1935-1950 is largely unwritten, except in the polemical literature of the AAC and in Eddie Roux's famous book TIME WITHOUT ROPE. Yet in the author's opinion, it is true that the AAC, which followed a line of non-collaboration and boycott of all the "baboon parliaments" set up by the Smuts regime, was far more militant than the ANC which was, to say the least, hesitant on this vital question. The AAC built up a large following, particularly in the Transkei and Ciskei, and through its sister organisation "Anti-CAD" among the coloured people, the NEUM was certainly dominant up to 1950. (6)

(6) The Anti-CAD was formed among the Coloured people of the Cape in the Forties to fight the formation of the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD). The NEUM (Non-European Unity Movement) was formed from the alliance of the AAC, anti-CAD and an Indian group in the late Forties. The main strength of

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the NEUM was among African and Coloured intellectuals and teachers in the Cape, and among peasants in the Transkei and Ciskei.

From 1950 on, however, the ANC, with a more radical leadership, began massive passive resistance campaigns against new pass laws, etc. The AAC, while defending its principled line of "non-collaboration" against the opportunistic ANC line, took a sectarian position in opposition to the tactics of the ANC (certainly wide open to criticism) and quickly lost touch with the mass movement, and turned inwards on itself, splitting disastrously.

It isolated itself from the mass movement, rather than proposing alternative mass campaigns (and launching them) with better tactics. Thus by 1955, the ANC had near hegemony over the mass movement, despite all its mistakes. At the same time, the banned CPSA entered into the ANC, and with the younger leadership revitalised and modernised it. They formed the Congress Alliance (7) and effectively had a major influence on it (as did the competing force in the ANC, the "liberals" both black and white.)

In 1948, the Nationalist Party led by Dr. Malan, had swept the old United Party out of office.

The Nationalist Party represented the interests of a new rising layer in South African white society. The Afrikaanders had until the twenties and thirties remained a backward rural population. Some had drifted to the cities and become "poor whites" living on the fringe of Anglo-Saxon society. A small minority had formed a capitalist class. Yet the Afrikaanders maintained their own culture and religion and in the thirties particularly a nascent nationalism arose taking up the traditions of the past, but transposing them into the present. A literary movement developed; the Afrikaander language was to be modernised and developed consciously as an expression of this new upsurge. Ideologists turned to the slave-owning past, the fundamentalist Bible, and to the blossoming fascist movements in Europe for inspiration.

(7) The Congress Alliance consists of the ANC, the Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress and the COD. (Congress of Democrats - a White organisation).

All three sources made them Nazi sympathisers during World War II, during which they developed their own racist mythology. Historically speaking, this movement represented the interests of the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie which began to blossom after the war, especially after 1948 when the State machine was put at its disposal and special concessions offered it. While the old, still dominant, Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie were unhappy, they found a working agreement possible and admired the efficiency with which the Nationalists pursued their goals. The new State ideology of "Apartheid", only an extension of the "reserves" of Smuts, fitted in both with the traditions of the Boers and provided thus the "mass base", but also fitted in with the needs of developing capitalism, especially in the Fifties. The various Acts introduced to implement Apartheid were no crazy excesses, but logical results of the development of South African society.

South Africa, as in all advanced capitalist countries, in the 50's underwent an unprecedented boom, in which incidentally State aid to industry played a major role.

But capitalism always breeds its own gravedigger, and the urban African population continued to swell. The South African rulers, always conscious of this, determined on a policy to consciously limit and severely control all elements of the non-European population.

The Bantu Education Act meant the "return to barbarism" and physically preventing the African from gaining the fruits of universal civilisation. Consciously, the regime sought to turn the African to the state of semi-barbaric peasantry.

The "liberal" Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie expressed concern at the speed with which the Afrikaaners were going. They were shown to be justified by the events of Sharpeville in 1960.

The NAC had in 1958 split, with the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress by some former ANC Youth League leaders (Sobukwe etc.). The PAC rebelled in a confused fashion against the passive tactics the ANC had adopted in the various campaigns of the 1950's and, as well, against the White Communists and White Liberals who played an important role in policy-making in the ANC. They tried to develop the boycott as a campaign, without much success, although some individual PAC men played an important role in the Alexandria Bus Boycott, one of the few successful campaigns of the

1950's. (8)

The PAC's chief claim to fame came in the anti-pass demonstrations they called in March 1960. In fact, they imitated the same tactics that had been proved a dead-end by the ANC. Sobukwe and others surrendered themselves to the police in an effort to "flood the prisons" as a moral protest. Only some 50 PAC supporters joined Sobukwe on that day. He still, nearly ten years later, remains in racist prisons. However, at Sharpeville, a township of the industrial town of Verengigen to the south of Johannesburg, a crowd assembled and was ruthlessly massacred by the racist police.

There was a spontaneous reaction among the African masses. Everywhere the African masses rose up. A huge 30,000 strong march passed through the Cape towards Capetown. Significantly, white liberals such as Patrick Duncan placed themselves at the head of this march and were able to stop any clash with the police and saw it quietly disperse. They did this by the influence they had on inexperienced PAC leaders. Yet before it dispersed, the Verwoerd regime was forced to suspend all pass laws in the Cape!

Elsewhere, the African masses, without real leadership, passed on to the attack. The first sabotage attempts were made by unknown Africans on railways, electricity stations, etc. The sudden upsurge had not only taken the ruling class by surprise, it also took the African leaders. As a result, after some weeks, a State of Emergency was declared, "order" restored and thousands of progressives of all shades thrown into prison. The mass organisations were banned.

The shooting at Sharpeville had shattered the myths of non-violence and legalism. A whole period was now at an end. It rested only with the militants and leaders to understand that.

The pre-Sharpeville era was a curious one. The whole generation of leaders had been brought up in a period of legality. No matter the utter powerlessness of the organisations, they would still, with police harassment, carry on their publications, their meetings, their campaigns. Even though

(8) The boycott of buses in Alexandria, an African "township" outside Johannesburg arose from a rise in fares. Hundreds of African workers rose hours early to walk many miles to the city and back. Most leaders were young intellectuals in PAC or in a group later to be known as the Socialist League.

the CPSA was banned in 1951, very few of its members suffered imprisonment (the "Treason Trial" which took in a wide range of persons was eventually defeated in legal battle), while the COD served as a virtual CPSA, and the newspaper NEW AGE continued to appear.

Certainly, the savagery of police repression grew, particularly in the countryside, in the struggles against Bantu Education and the other Acts. And below the surface of "legality" was the massive discatorship over the masses -- through Pass Laws etc. Yet, the all-pervasive legalism of the early sixties, was a major factor in the failure of the different "sabotage" groups which emerged. Another was the very nature of their activity.

After the release of most detainees in 1960-1, the different organisations began to consider their position. "Non-violence" most of them considered was now impractical. It was necessary therefore to resort to "violence". Yet this was still seen as "protest" and as a form of moral pressure on the Whites and the world. Thus, "sabotage" was confined to destroying electricity pylons, telephone booths and symbolic centres of power.

Certainly, among some, this was seen as a training ground for revolutionaries, who would at a later stage turn to guerrilla warfare. Militants were smuggled out of the country for military training first in a trickle, then in a flood.

Dignaan's Day -- December 16, 1961 was the birth of UMKONTO WE SIZWE (9), the military wing of the ANC with widespread sabotage acts throughout the country.

Earlier, the National Committee of Liberation (NCL) a mixture of ex-Communists, left liberals and independent socialists, had planned a series of acts: the first one was to saw down an electricity pylon outside Johannesburg with hacksaws!

Other groups developed. The National Liberation Front or YCC based upon Capetown students and intellectuals led by Dr. Neville Alexander, who had broken with the sterile positions of the NEUM (which refused to face up to the change in the situation) developed a network, including South West Africa, which began to discuss guerrilla warfare, but was broken up early.

(9) Sotho for "Spear of the Nation"

PAC militants finally developed a movement POQO which carried out attacks, especially in Paarl, before it was destroyed by mass arrests.

Most of these movements were formed by White urban Africans and Coloureds.

In the "reserves" there had in the Fifties and early Sixties been a number of significant struggles: in the Transkei the Pondoland revolted and many Pondos maintained their existence in the hills for months defying the army. In fact, the Pondoland revolt was an embryonic form of guerrilla action. Although it consisted at first of raids on puppet chiefs, a number of whom were killed, the inevitable massive repression drove many of the peasants into the hills, from which they maintained contact with the peasants still on the land. Its similarities with the way the "Mau-Mau" peasant revolt began in Kenya are many. (10).

Nevertheless, the Pondoland revolt, like the Zeerust and the Sekhuhuniland revolts earlier (11) failed to develop into guerilla struggles and were repressed.

The sabotage movements were finally broken up by the racists by 1964 and South African racism set down to a comfortable existence, all opposition in prison, in exile, or dead.

The centre of resistance moves from South Africa to the thousands of highly trained guerrillas in independent Africa waiting to return home.

THE NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

There exists a rich literature and polemic on the nature of the South African Revolution, which, however, is not readily available. Much of the discussion goes back to the Thirties, particularly among the Trotskyist groups.

The role of the White working class has been the subject of much discussion. The experience of the Rand 1920 strike led to speculation of a united front of white and black workers against their common enemy. However, the evolution of the white working class soon led to an end of such illusions.

(10) In this respect, anyone interested in the history of the Mau-Mau should read "The Mau-Mau seen from Inside" - an autobiography of the Peasant Revolt in Kenya written by Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama (Monthly Review Press, 116 West 14th St., New York, NY 10011, U.S.A.-1966)

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(11) As a general reference for the peasant revolts in South Africa, read Govan Mbeki SOUTH AFRICA: THE PEASANT'S REVOLT (Penguin African Library). Mbeki is an ANC leader.

The White workers represent a labour aristocracy which in fact forms an exploitive sector of the society in its direct employment of African domestic labour and also its action as "foremen" of African labour. Its privileged position is dependent on the continuation of the present system. Not to say that there are not, among white workers, elements who will side with the African Revolution. Certainly, also, many Anglo-Saxon workers of recent migration will pack their bags for safer climes, as will professional layers. But the vast majority of White workers will be on the other side of the barricades.

White liberals have also been a keen subject for discussion. Many, particularly in the ANC and CPSA, saw them as possible allies. Others such as the NEUM and the trotskysts saw them as the enemy, representatives of British imperialism, and as even the worst enemy.

It seems that the last is nearest the truth. Certainly, individual liberals, even groups, will identify themselves completely with the African masses -- but then they cease to be liberals. (12) The liberal Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie as such, however, is the worst enemy in many ways, because it poses as a wise friend.

Is the revolution to be a socialist or a democratic revolution? (13)

That is a more complex question than it may seem. Certainly, most of the demands around which the African masses will be mobilised best: for land, for democratic rights -- to live where they want, to say and do what they want -- for equal wages for equal work, are in fact traditionally democratic demands, fulfilled by a limited, bourgeois political revolution.

(12) Many individual liberals have played heroic roles in the resistance in the past.

(13) The CPSA in its journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST has taken differing positions on this question. While maintaining the old Khrushchevian formulation of a "National Democratic Revolution", in its programme, it has also developed towards a formulation of Socialist Revolution.

But in South Africa, to achieve these demands means a radical revolutionary overthrow of the whole economic system.

It is inconceivable for these demands to be really achieved outside a socialist revolution, if we consider that the demand for land means seizure of most White land and its redistribution (or formation into self-managed co-operatives and collectives), while equality in wages, living facilities etc., means structural changes in the whole system of the economy.

But while these democratic demands automatically point to a socialist revolution for their fulfillment, it is necessary to consciously speak in terms of socialist revolution right now, and of demanding the expropriation of all those on the other side of the barricades and of false friends.

The South African Revolution, in short, must be seen as a democratic revolution which must grow immediately, even before victory, into a socialist revolution.

Lastly, on the form of the Revolution. The vast majority of revolutionary organisations have in the last few years accepted that the Revolution must be based essentially on guerrilla warfare, based first of all in the Reserves, spreading to the White Farm areas and finally reaching its conclusion in the cities. Not to say, struggle will not develop in the city until the final act .. but it will be subordinate to the rural guerilla struggle.

FROM RURAL GUERRILLA TO URBAN INSURRECTION

For many years, however, the reverse was the accepted pattern. South Africa is an advanced capitalist country -- or rather a country with a dominant advanced capitalist sector. Power rests in the industries, and in the cities. The African worker would therefore it was argued, make the Revolution.

Yet the scheme failed to take account of the specifics of the situation. In the cities, the actual African population living there was only between 50-60% of the total population. They were confined in vast specially constructed townships built like prison camps, surrounded by wire, with all essential services easily cut off. A passive general strike to bring down the racist regime is in these conditions sheer utopianism. Any successful urban revolution has, in history, depended on the breakdown on the armed forces of the State or at least a large part of their neutralisation. Such is inconceivable when the armed forces of the State consist in large part of the militarily-trained male White population.

Could it lead to economic collapse? Certainly, a general strike of long duration could mean a severe shock. But even supposing there was collapse of the Rand etc., does anyone seriously think that the racists would resign power? At best, there could be hope (as there was in 1960) some minor, and short-lived, concessions.

The only model with any validity is of guerilla groups establishing bases in mountainous regions in the Reserves (Sekhuhuniland and the Transkei are obvious ones), linking up with the peasants there, and building up a network linking them with the whole country, with new bases developing from those consolidated. Thus a Peoples Army will be constructed able to challenge the might of the White Army -- the revolutionary urban guerrillas will cleanse the cities of collaborators and unite the people behind them. The stage for the urban insurrection will be set.

The guerrillas are there, waiting in other African countries. Yet between them and their homeland lies hundreds if not thousands of miles of "buffer" States -- Rhodesia, Botswana, etc.

That explains why the South African liberation fighters are now fighting in Rhodesia, alongside their comrades the Zimbabwe guerrillas.

The Revolution in South Africa -- the revolutionary guerrilla war -- is of necessity one whole; it is incapable of division. That is something dictated by imperialism and the "unholy" alliance. The diverse forces of liberation, must be united in common strategy and struggle if they wish to defeat the combined forces of reaction. (14)

SITUATION IN RHODESIA

Until 1945, Rhodesia (then southern Rhodesia) was a quiet backwater, with little economic development taking place; a few colonialist planters and emigrant Boers were dominant.

In the post-war period, however, the British Labour Government, experimenting in Labour Imperialism, encouraged large-scale migration and economic development. The result was that, during the Fifties Rhodesia passed through a boom, marked by the growth of the tobacco industry. (15)

(14) The "Unholy Alliance" of Vorster-Salazar-Smith (with British, US, West German and French aid, is well exposed in the booklet GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY printed by the A.N.C. Talk of a Southern Atlantic Treaty Organisation was prevalent some years ago. Judging by present press reports there are definite moves afoot to expand such a proposed SATO to include Australia.

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(15) Between 1945 and 1959 industrial production in Southern Rhodesia trebled. In South Africa for the same period industrial production increased annually by 30% p.a. until 1955 and by 20% p.a. from 1955 to 1959. (J.P. Martin in THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION - FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, Spring 1959)

As a result, it was only in 1957 that the first nationalist party was formed -- the ANC -- under inspiration of young intellectuals returning from South African universities and schools. The immediate cause was the demand for self-government from the local colonialists and the formation of the Central African Federation under Welensky.

The Rhodesian nationalists found that their agitation met with widespread audience among the African people. As a result, a State of Emergency was declared in 1959 and some of the young leaders thrown in prison; the ANC banned, and its property seized. Another party, the National Democratic Party, led by Joshua Nkomo was formed by the ANC militants: it soon after was banned. A third Party, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) was formed; it in turn was banned and its resources confiscated. The ZAPU leaders refused to form a new party, and substituted a Peoples Caretaker Council (PCC) while ZAPU concentrated on underground organisation. Finally, Nkomo and others were put in detention camps and any legal nationalist activity effectively banned. Within less than 7 years of its formation, it was faced with the need for revolutionary preparation and sent militants for military training. Its headquarters were outside, in Tanzania then Zambia.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR BEGINS

The revolutionary war began with a vengeance in August 1967 when a large force of ZAPU and ANC armed forces crossed the border and began a struggle which led to many killed and wounded among Rhodesian forces. From that "mini-invasion" have been established a number of guerrilla units which have established links with the peasantry. Main centres as far as can be ascertained are in the Wankie Game Reserve, around Bulawayo, in the north, near the Portuguese frontier (Tete) and to the east of the Kariba dam.

The consolidation of these bases, the development of new ones, strengthening links with the peasantry, development of political education among other peasant groups, re-establishing urban networks: all these are tasks being carried out in the present stage.

IT IS LIKELY THAT THIS YEAR WILL SEE A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA WAR IN ZIMBABWE.

It seems clear now that the ANC and ZAPU have adopted the pattern of guerrilla warfare. Previously there were concepts of commando raids -- i.e. the excursion of commando groups into Rhodesia to attack and destroy a certain objective, then to return to base outside the country. Such a strategy was in fact an extension of the "sabotage" tactic adopted earlier, by the ANC, and equally shortsighted as it did not really challenge the framework of racist rule and above all tried to short-cut the necessary patient and arduous work of building up guerrilla bases inside the country.

When the commando raids had patently failed, the August 1967 operation was conceived as a "mini-invasion" to fight through to South Africa (16). That too was patently impossible as even the few thousand trained men could not hope to openly defeat a racist army yet in open conflict. Guerrilla warfare means subterfuge, fighting only when certain or near-certain of victory, conserving forces until favourable opportunities arise. In the early stages particularly, the main activity is organisational and political: military confrontations have a strictly limited function.

Nevertheless, the active confrontation of the two forces, and a number of victories marked up by the revolutionary forces, before they were forced to take up classical guerrilla tactics acted as a real boost to morale. For the first time for decades, Black had fought and beaten the Herrenfolk.

(16) The ANC-ZAPU military operation in August 1967 was stated in a press release dated 19 August 1967 in the following terms: "Furious fighting has been and is still taking place in various parts of Southern Rhodesia. From the thirteenth of this month the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the White oppressor's army in Rhodesia. Only last night the Rhodesian regime admitted having engaged in a six-hour battle yesterday. In fact, the fighting in the area has been going on continuously for a full six days.

"Both the Rhodesian and South African regimes have admitted that South African Freedom Fighters belonging to the African National Congress have been involved in these courageous battles, fighting their way to strike at the Boers themselves in South Africa. We wish to declare here that the fighting that is presently going on in the Wankie area is indeed being carried out by a combined force of ZAPU and ANC which marched into the country as comrades-in-arms, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of these combined forces to fight the common settler enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting areas."

Zimbabwe is a large country with an African population of some 4½ million against 200,000 whites. It has a few main roads which act as its main arteries. Over half the land -- the wealthy half -- is in the hands of the White population, really only of 3,000 families. The African population is crowded onto the other half, which is largely tsetse-fly ridden or arid.

The role of Britain is of course an important factor. Britain has been verbally against Smith's "independence", but in fact has turned a blind eye. THE ONLY LIKELIHOOD OF BRITISH INTERVENTION IS TO SAVE MR. WILSON'S "KITH AND KIN" FROM THE ADVANCING AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Any close observer will have long ago ruled out the intervention of the British before that date.

Smith is already receiving aid from South Africa -- "policemen" are already fighting around Wankie. Talk is also around of Smith mobilising mercenaries to help him.

It should not be assumed therefore that the Zimbabwe Revolution has only to settle accounts with the 200,000 Whites alone. It must fight the united might of Southern African reaction and, in the final analysis, of world imperialism.

The Revolution in Angola and Mozambique is far further advanced than that in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Already, in the past years large areas have been liberated: the MPLA (17) recently moved its headquarters inside Angola and FRELIMO (18) held its congress in Mozambique.

The movements in the Portuguese colonies developed out of student movements in Lisbon, among African students. At first, literary movements (19) they became nationalist, and made contact with PCP (20) operated underground and returned to their homelands with a wide marxist culture, yet without being stalinist. The Angolans, including Angistinho Neto, formed a

- (17) MPLA - Angolan Peoples Liberation Movement
(18) FRELIMO - Mozambique Liberation Front
(19) A number of the Angolan leaders are well-known poets in the Portuguese language.
(20) The Portuguese Communist Party has been underground since 1923. Isolated from the remainder of the European CP's, it has evolved a revolutionary tradition markedly more left than other CP's. (including the Spanish).

group which later became the MPLA and in February 1961 launched a movement in the capital, Luanda, which ended up as a virtual insurrection. They moved out to the surrounding countryside, and developed guerrilla warfare. In the north, among the Bakongo people, a spontaneous revolt broke out, in which the Portuguese planters were driven out and many killed. For many months, the Portuguese were not in control of large areas of Angola. The revolt was gradually put down, except for scattered guerrilla groups active still today around Luanda and in the north. Further difficulties arose when Roberto Holden, a leader of a Bakongo migrant group in the Congo where many Angolans had fled to safety or work took control of the Bakongo revolt. Holden was backed at the time by the assassins of Lumumba, who had headed the first government of independent Congo. They provided Holden with resources and with a camp for refugees and to train an army. The Americans, who were backing Adoula's regime in the Congo showed interest in Holden. The MPLA meanwhile has hindered in its efforts to develop a network in the Congo to keep in touch with Angola and bring in arms for its guerrillas. In 1963, they were finally expelled. Fortunately, soon after a revolution occurred in Congo-Brazzaville (21), and the MPLA was given a base there. From there, the MPLA began a guerrilla war in 1964 in the enclave of Cabinda (22). But still its militants were being arrested as they tried to cross Congo-Leopoldville.

The independence of Zambia in October 1964 meant that the eastern side of Angola now had a common frontier with an independent African nation. Hence, in 1966 a new front was launched by the MPLA - the "eastern front". Within months, large tracts of a largely roadless area had been liberated. The Portuguese had been taken by surprise. They could only reply by bombing villages and trying to terrorise the population. But as a whole, a large slice of the country has been liberated, and guerrilla struggle is now taking place in all parts of the land, stretching Portuguese military resources to the maximum.

(21) Congo-Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) was former Belgian Congo, Congo-Brazzaville was the former French Congo. Leopoldville and Brazzaville face each other across the Stanley Pool on the Congo River.

(22) Cabinda is a small area north of the Congo River and is divided off from the rest of Angola by Congos Brazza and Kinshasa which have a narrow strip of land to the sea on either side of the Congo river. Cabinda is considered as part of Angola. Large petrol deposits have been discovered there - South African capital plays a large role in their exploitation.

In liberated areas, peoples committees have been established with the aim of developing self-managing local communities. The MPLA has developed the Angolan Revolution to a stage now where its victory is only a question of time.

In Mozambique, the struggle began later -- in September 1964. The FRELIMO which had been formed some time before had been carefully preparing for guerrilla war. Political cadres had been quietly entering the country from bases in Tanzania and developing consciousness among the peasantry in the north of Mozambique. The FRELIMO leadership, including independent marxists of the calibre of Marcelino dos Santos, was conscious of the danger of tribal divisions being used by the Portuguese and in all spheres of political and military training was mixed tribal groups (although when they returned, they were formed into tribal groupings, with a few non-members of that tribe, to better win the confidence of the people). It is hard to find a more competent example of developing revolutionary guerrillas than the FRELIMO example. Well prepared politically, militarily and organisationally, the FRELIMO quickly established strong bases in the northern most provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa among the Makonde people, who had a history of long resistance to the Portuguese. Besieging the Portuguese in their few military bases FRELIMO had declared most of these two provinces as liberated territory, while military activities were now centred on the vital "waist" of Mozambique in Zambesie province and in Tete province bordering Zambia. Political preparation is occurring elsewhere.

FRELIMO remains a Front, with a rightwing under US influence. It is sure however that the fighters are under the leadership of those pledged to a complete revolution.

The liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies have also set a magnificent example in coordinated action. The MPLA, FRELIMO and the PAIGC (23) have been for nearly ten years linked in the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organisations in Portuguese Colonies) and have given mutual aid in their struggle against their common enemy, as well as working out a joint to disperse his forces to the maximum. As a result, Portuguese forces

(23) The PAIGC - African Independence Part of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands - is led by the brilliant Amical Cabral and has liberated a large sector of the third Portuguese colony in Africa, the West African "Portuguese" Guinea, (Guinea-Bissau) PAIGC headquarters are now inside Guinea Bissau. Cabral, an agronomist by training, has been instrumental in almost doubling rice production (under war conditions) in liberated areas.

have to fight in three widely separated parts of Africa, on numerous fronts in each of them. Their example in coordinated action has set an example to both ZAPU and ANC (24).

The Southern Africa Revolution must be seen as part of the African Revolution, and finally of the World Revolution. The African Revolution, since 1965, has suffered many setbacks. The overthrow of Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Mobido Keita, the victory of the Right in Kenya, the defeat of the Congolese and Sudanese Revolutions, the defeat of UAR in the Six Day War, the counter-revolution in Congo-Brazzaville, the Nigeria-Biafran war -- all have been catastrophic on the general evolution of Africa and mark real successes for Imperialism. Only the developing revolutions in Southern Africa have provided a counter. Yet they too, inevitably, feel the effects of the retreat of the African Revolution as a whole. The OAU, established when the African Revolution was in upsurge, is now in the hands of the counter-revolution. While pledged to give military aid through its Liberation Committee, the OAU has in fact done all possible to limit and contain that aid. Tanzania insists that all aid, including that from the Worker States, pass through the Liberation Committee. The result is delay and confusion, at the least.

The evolution in certain key African countries also causes concern. The split in the TANU (25) leadership in Tanzania meant a less sympathetic (in fact) response from that country.

Until recently, and still to a large extent, the Zambian police were British-officered and seized and prosecuted any arms shipment they uncovered coming down the "Great North Road". The South African and Rhodesian Whites working on the copperfields are openly pro-Smith and provide ready-made spies and saboteurs. A few dozen White railway technicians have on a number of occasions tied up Zambian railways by striking. Liberation movements' camps in Zambia are strictly controlled and no arms allowed.

(24) We should mention also the situation in South-West Africa. The major organisation SWAPA (South-West African Peoples Organisation) began a guerrilla movement early in 1967 which despite heavy repression survived. The Committee of Liberation of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) however ordered the halt to military operations so that the UNO committee appointed to administer South-West Africa after the decision to withdraw South Africa's mandate was withdrawn could operate. It of course did nothing, after being refused entry by South Africa and remains a dead letter to this day. SWAPA leaders however followed the OAU instruction and called on an end to the fight. One SWAPO

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(24) cont'd

leader, Tobias Heanieko however refused this instruction and left for South West Africa. He was killed by South African forces however before he reached his country. (25) TANU - Tanzanian African National Union -- led by President Nyerere. The split referred to is the exiling of Oscar Kambona, formerly number two to Nyerere.

Zambia economically is linked with South Africa and Rhodesia. When she began to cut her imports from Rhodesia as part of the boycott, imports from South Africa rose.

The well-meaning Kuanda, caught between the opposing forces of the African Revolution and counter-revolution has maintained his position. But the tensions in Zambia remain enormous, worsened by growing tribal antagonisms. The only hope really, in the long run, is a complete break with imperialism and nationalisation of the coppermines. But while the liberation movements are allowed even the meagre freedom of action they are today, they are grateful. The race against time is on in deadly earnest.

The Southern African Revolution is key to the whole future of Africa. Not only because it contains the advanced capitalist sector of the continent and therefore economically is the most powerful sector, but the Southern African Revolution also can when victory is near begin to settle accounts for the African masses with the vast range of puppets and black exploiters imperialism has foisted on their backs.

The solidarity movement with the Southern African Revolution in Australia has been to say the least, pitiful. Yet we must come to understand that the struggle of the liberation fighters in Southern Africa is also our fight, not only in the abstract sense that any liberation struggle anywhere in the world is our struggle, but more specifically of immediate concern.

Australia is a white country. The seed of racism has taken deep roots here. It is in fact the major ideological buttress to our participation in the Vietnam War and all our anti-Asian policies.

The "Yellow Hordes" theory reminds me of the final argument of the racist South Africa .. "how would you like your daughter to marry a Kaffir?"

Many times in South Africa, racists said to me, "oh, yes, but you wiped all or yours (or nearly all of them) out in the

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first place." In other words -- you have already completed your genocide.

South African Whites look upon Australia as their last real friend...psychologically too a really powerful movement in support of the southern African liberation fighters.

Defence and aid, is all very good and necessary, but we need too a powerful, militant movement whose main slogan must be all forms of aid to the military battle for liberation.

Little research has been done on Australia's economic links with South Africa or, for that matter, with the other parts of southern Africa under racist domination. That reflects the neglect of this question on the Left as a whole. The imminent arrival of the South African Minister for Economic Affairs on an official visit to this country, points however to the racist regimes in both South Africa and Australia desiring even stronger ties. It is obvious that economic ties are to be strengthened. It was significant however that shortly before the visit was announced, there was a report in the daily press of a proposal for the formation of a South Africa-Australia alliance. Could we be on the verge of a new stage in open collaboration between the Gorton and Vorster regimes?

Certainly, there exists a powerful "Rhodesia Lobby" on the extreme Right of the Liberal-Country Part (Kent-Hughes, Killen, etc..) which has been actively promoting links with Rhodesia and South Africa (both Killen and Kent-Hughes recently visited Rhodesia); a lobby which is reported to have powerful links with Cabinet members.

Because Australia and South Africa are competitors in most of their major products or Australia is self-sufficient (in citrus and vineyard products for example), trade is not the major link between the two.

Rather Australian support is psychological in its major impact: Australians are regarded as "white brothers" fighting against the "Black/Yellow/Red Peril" whose moral support is all-important and limits the feeling of isolation.

One of the major forms of moral support is in the sports arena. Our cricket teams visit South Africa to play all-white teams there; it sneaks across the border to pay a visit while it's there. Our Rugby teams, our athletes all include South Africa in their itinerary.

It is clear now that the Gorton regime, pushed by the Rhodesia Lobby and encouraged by the apathy of opponents of the racist regimes in southern Africa, is now preparing to forge closer links with the South African herrenfolk.

It is time for the Left to react in a real way -- time for students and workers to go onto the streets in their thousands to fight this effort of the Liberal-Country Party Government to forge an alliance with the racists and exploiters in Southern Africa.

We must go beyond expressions of sympathy and enter into active militant solidarity with the Southern African Revolution.

GIVE A GUERRILLA A GUN -- that should be our slogan.

Some addresses and publications :

SECAHBA, official organ of ANC (SA) aprox. \$4 a year from 49 Rathbone St., London W1, UK. Available in most Left bookshops in Australia.

MAYIBUYE, a weekly roneoed bulletin of the ANC(SA) P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka, Zambia

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, organ of CPSA, 52 Palmerston Rd., London, SW14, U.K. 60 cents a year. Available most Left bookshops in Australia.

UNITY NEWSLETTER, P.O. Box 2572, Lusaka, Zambia. A duplicated bulletin of independent freedom fighters from SA.

ZIMBABWE REVIEW, Box 1657, Lusaka, Zambia (ZAPU bulletin)

THE GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY (on British, US, French and West German links with SA), published by ANC (SA), Box 2239, Dar-es-Salaam, TANZANIA

SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA, weekly news digest, ANC, Box 2239, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. \$6 a year

THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA: WHOM DOES IT SERVE? from ANC, P.O. Box 680, Morogoro, Tanzania...exposes PAC leaders.

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION, published in English six times a year. P.O. Box 15274, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Sub. rate on application.

MPLA may be contacted.. Anibel de Melo, P.O. Box 1595, Lusaka ZAMBIA;

PAIGC, B.P. 298, Conakry, GUINEA

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