

The Workers' Power handbook for building the Southern Africa Liberation Committee



Front cover: Sakosi M'ji, one of the leaders
of the Soweto Student Council, joins
Krugerrand picket line at A&S in Brooklyn.

Photo by David Dugan

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Introduction

This handbook has been prepared and published by "**Workers' Power**," the revolutionary socialist, weekly newspaper. It is intended for use by the local chapters of the Southern Africa Liberation Committee (SALC) and any other group or organization which is engaged in serious solidarity work with the Southern African struggle.

A brief glance at the table of contents will give a clear idea of the areas that are covered by the handbook and an overall picture of what we are trying to achieve by publishing it. As the movement develops we intend to publish relevant new sections so that the handbook will serve as an ongoing organizer for this important political work.

It should be understood that SALC was formed on the initiative of "**Workers' Power**" but is open to all who agree on its limited basic aims. Indeed there are already numbers of non-revolutionaries seriously involved in SALC activity. Having said that, people should be under no illusion as to the standing of the political briefing sections of this handbook. They represent not only facts that will be invaluable to all SALC activists, but also the political view of "**Workers' Power**" on those questions. They cannot be viewed as SALC policy.

The liberation movement in Southern Africa will continue for some time. So will the necessity for serious solidarity work in the US. For such work will play the dual role of providing real support for the Southern African struggle and aid in the development of a movement here against the racist, imperialist American system which backs oppression across the globe. This handbook is designed to help everyone involved in solidarity work to be more effective. We, at "**Workers' Power**," appreciate all suggestions, comments and criticisms from anyone who finds this handbook at all useful. We want the next edition to be even more of a weapon in this unfolding struggle.

David Finkel,
International Editor,
"**Workers' Power**,"
March 9th, 1977.

Section 1: What Is S.A.L.C?

The Southern Africa Liberation Committee is an organization which was formed in the closing months of 1976 to organize support in the US for the liberation of Southern Africa. There are already local chapters in several major Mid-West cities which are co-ordinated thru an ad-hoc national committee resident in Detroit. SALC is composed of activists who are dedicated to both spreading the word about the liberation struggle through their communities as well as providing practical and physical support for the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Over the next year SALC is committed to spreading its activity to all the major population centers of the US.

The major emphasis of SALC in supporting the struggle in Zimbabwe is on ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and on the "Patriotic Front." In following this emphasis, SALC is guided by the simple principle that it is those who are doing the fighting who deserve the support. In Namibia, SALC puts its full support behind SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization) and in the Republic of South Africa itself SALC is supporting all those in struggle within the Black consciousness movement and the Black unions. This includes the ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan African Congress) but does not exclude other forces which are active in these areas.

Because it understands the international nature of the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa and specifically condemns the role of US government and corporations in supporting the racist minority regimes of Southern Africa, SALC is also consciously committed to the struggle against racism and in favor of Black liberation in the US. Unlike other organizations engaged in solidarity work on Southern Africa however, SALC places the majority of its energy into pursuing its activities within the working class, rather than amongst students, intellectuals or progressive sections of the middle-classes. For it is only the working class that has the actual power to force the US government and corporations to change their policies.

Finally, SALC is in principle opposed to all manifestations of sectarianism which have historically crippled solidarity movements of this type. Not only is SALC ready to work with any group or individuals to achieve progress on any of its declared aims. It is also prepared to sink its identity into an even broader movement in any city where there exists other organizations which can seriously take on the tasks that SALC has set itself. SALC exists solely and totally to further the struggle for Southern Africa Liberation. It regards any other organization or service agency (such as the American Committee on Africa) which is even partially playing such a role to be comrades in arms in a vital common struggle.



Picket line in front of South African Airways.

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document.**

Section 2: Services Available to Local S.A.L.C. Chapters

The national ad-hoc committee of SALC which operates from Detroit claims no authority to direct the work of any local chapter. It exists only to provide a service to those chapters. This section is designed to outline the services which are available from the national committee and the individuals throughout the country who, because of their expert knowledge and dedication, are working closely with the national committee on this project.

The national committee has already raised money to buy prints of two important films on the struggle in South Africa. These are "Last Grave at Dimbabza" and "There Is No Crisis Here," these films are available free to local chapters for use in both propaganda and fund-raising activities. Also available, thru an arrangement with Sun Distribution International is a range of literature (mainly inexpensive pamphlets) on Southern Africa which is as complete as any list available in the US. Free copies of Sun's Southern Africa catalogue are included with this handbook. More are available on request.

RESEARCH

The national committee also has limited research facilities at its disposal which can also be used by the local chapters. Much of this research material will be made generally available as it completed.

Specific research on things like the involvement of local companies in Southern Africa, the record of local legislators on these questions, etc. will also be done on request. However our resources are limited and only serious requests for information which cannot be traced locally should be made.

SPEAKERS

Through its connections with the various liberation organizations themselves, the national committee is in a position to use its good offices to arrange speakers from Zimbabwe and South Africa for local chapters. For similar reasons it is also able to provide information on the actual course of the struggle in Southern Africa which is not available thru the American press. This information will be published in various forms and made available to the local chapters.

FUND RAISING

The national committee is making strenuous efforts to raise money for its work and the work of the local chapters from charitable agencies of various kinds. It is

also committed to trying to raise money for the liberation itself from sources outside the movement. This kind of activity will also be a vital component of the work of local chapters. The national committee is also committed to making available to the local chapters various items such as buttons, posters, leaflets, SALC stationary, membership cards, etc. Indeed all those necessary items which can be produced centrally both more cheaply and more efficiently.



This "Smash Apartheid" poster is available from Sun Distribution.

CO-ORDINATION

Finally the national committee will make every effort to ensure that the various SALC chapters are working along the same lines and with the same emphasis at the same time. It is always the case that activities are more effective when they are taking place in more than one place and when the mistakes of one local chapter do not have to be repeated in every other. However the national committee will only be able to fulfill its responsibilities in this area if there is a high level of feed-back from the local chapters on the success of the various initiatives that will be suggested at various times over the next period. It should also be clearly understood that no SALC chapter will be obliged to follow the particular emphasis suggested by the national committee. For it will often be the case that specific local conditions make a different emphasis more effective at a particular point in time.

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Section 3: Organizing a Local S.A.L.C. Chapter

It is impossible to set up a chapter without a small core of people who are committed to SALC from the beginning. Most chapters will therefore have to start with a number (at least four or five) committed supporters of "Workers' Power." Unless these people are ready and able to put in a lot of unexciting, grinding, nitty gritty work and keep on doing it for a long time, no matter what the disappointments are, there will be no successful chapter. If this core of people is solid, hard-working and committed to the struggle in Africa however, success is assured.

"ORGANIZING COMMITTEE"

This core represents the charter members of the local chapter but from day one, even before the chapter is established, this group must immediately invite others who are known to have a serious interest in this work to join this "organizing committee" and help work out the next steps. In this early stage two other things are important. If at all possible the "organizing committee" should be a multi-racial committee, for new organizations acquire their reputation early and a SALC chapter which is regarded as either just a white group or just a Black group will face real limitations as it develops. Also, except in exceptional circumstances no-one on this "organizing committee" should be there as a representative of some separate political or community organization. For this will slow down the committee as representatives must report back, interfere with the sense of solidarity that such a new and tiny committee requires, tend to make the committee revolve around discussion rather than activity and create a sense of different levels of membership and therefore a lack of unity.

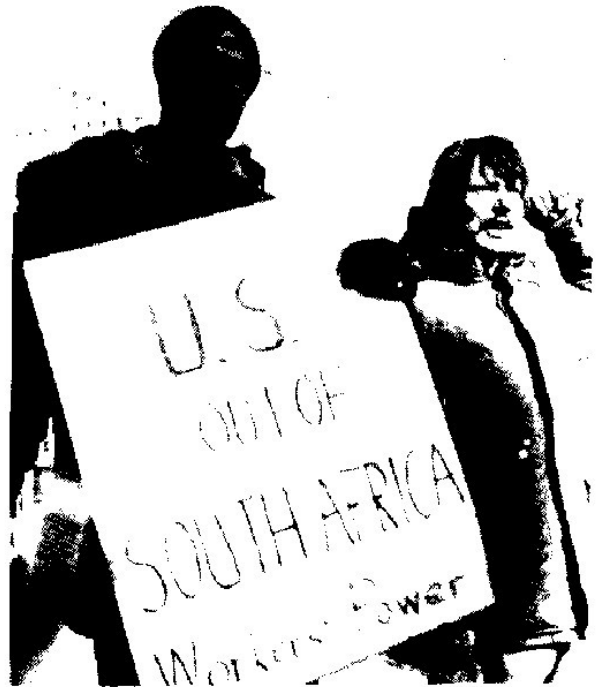
LAUNCHING THE CHAPTER

The chapter itself should be launched at or after a big event that has been put together by the organizing committee. Such an event might be a public meeting with a speaker from Southern Africa or a large showing of one of films. There are other sections of this handbook about organizing such events, but either way, the local chapter should start with some sense of momentum. As soon as it is launched the chapter must start projecting itself and organizing itself as an activist organization. It must make plans, very modest at first, and prove it can carry them through. It must not bite off more than it can chew, but it must deliver on what it says it will do.

DIVIDING THE JOBS

From the beginning the chapter must develop people who are specifically responsible for clearly defined areas of activity. The chapter must have a convenor or

chairperson to make sure its meetings are well organized and that SALC gets a reputation as an organization which "takes care of business." It needs someone to start developing links with the press, another to be responsible for links with trade union locals, another to keep in touch with community organizations, etc. Also a good fund raiser is worth their weight in gold. These jobs must be filled from the beginning and in the likely event that the people who are ready to take them on have little experience, there must be regular discussion by the whole chapter on their roles and tasks so that they can develop as effective operatives for SALC.



Brooklyn demonstrators in January.

BUILDING THE CHAPTER

Before going on to the physical organization of regular (though not too often) chapter meetings, something should be said about the overall purpose of the SALC chapters. They exist to educate and act around the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. It is this purpose that will decide the agenda for specific meetings for example. But any effective organization must have other things that keep it together and in the case of SALC the social and informal aspects of its existence will be very important. Social functions should be organized, not necessarily on a grand and formal scale, for these functions which provide fun and a place for informal discussion, create the cement that

will keep the group together over the ups and downs of the coming years.

Everything that follows about organizing SALC meetings will be unuseable without that sense of solidarity and collective responsibility, which this sort of element provides.

CALLING AND HOLDING LOCAL SALC MEETINGS

Meetings reach people you don't know yet. You need to get the word out. Set the meeting time and place well in advance, two weeks ahead so people can plan to be there. Get a centrally located meeting place with a familiar address in the right part of town. Meeting rooms at many motels can be obtained for as low as \$25. If you want a meeting to be large and well publicized,

press coverage is important (See section 11). This will not only promote the meeting, but will also publicize SALC among people in general. Many meetings will not be that large in scope and will be mostly aimed at forwarding the development of your local SALC chapter.

GETTING THE WORD OUT

A printed notice or leaflet is the best and easiest way to publicize your events. They should be passed out and posted in places like large factories and other work places, community centers, clubs, churches, etc. Call and make sure the notices are getting distributed and not sitting in somebody's living room or car. As your organization grows you should develop a local mailing list of your supporters. All this publicity should be completed 3 or 4 days before your meeting. This can not only get the word out but can generate some real interest in the meetings as people get the feeling of motion going on.

GET EVERYONE THERE

Get your friends and fellow workers out! This will be the core of the meeting no matter how much publicity you do. A personal approach is always the most effective. Divide up your list of interested people among those actively involved and get each one to call as many names as possible. This call should explain to people what the meeting is about and can persuade people to come. People should also be pushed to call their friends and co-workers. Calls should be made one week ahead of time and another the day before as a reminder.

HOLDING MEETINGS

Meetings need to be organized in such a way that they are a step forward. Meetings that are all talk and no action will eventually bore or turn people off. When you plan a meeting, have a few specific items in mind that need to be discussed and acted upon. Let people know before hand what the meeting will be about, and the sort of activities that will follow.

Some meetings you have might be just to publicize the SALC, getting people clear on the program of action and how to argue for it with other people. A point to be

stressed is the need for organization. Keeping people informed and active is the key to a successful SALC chapter. Meetings are an important way of sharing information, planning strategies, seeing that jobs get done, and creating that fighting spirit of real solidarity movement.

DETAILS OF THE MEETING

- **The Chairperson**—This person must see that the meeting flows along and does not get bogged down or sidetracked. It should be clear from the start what items of business will be taken up at the meeting. The chair should also see that if a decision needs to be made, it is and not postponed or forgotten after the discussion.

- **The Speakers**—At each meeting the main items on the agenda should be presented by speakers who are prepared in advance. This should include reports on events in Southern Africa and activities of other chapters.

- **Registration**—Inside the meeting room there should be a table at the door prior to the meeting with someone staffing it. They should have a sign up sheet so that anyone who enters can sign up. The sheet should ask for the person's name, address, phone, and occupation. It should be explained that this information is strictly confidential and will only be used for notification of other SALC events and activities.

- **Literature Table**—There should also be a table with SALC literature, buttons, posters, etc. People should be encouraged to take multiple copies for general distributions.

Section 4: ZANU Support and Support for Black Unions

The Main Tasks for S.A.L.C. in the Formation Period

In most areas right now our work should be centered around Zimbabwe. That is where the sharpest struggle is taking place now. Virtually every day there is something on the TV news or in the newspapers about the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. The U.S. is steadily being forced to take a more direct role in attempting to impose a neo-colonial solution.

SHOE DRIVE

We believe the SALC in as many cities as possible should build a campaign to collect shoes and other supplies for ZANU. We already have an official letter from ZANU asking us to collect supplies which is reproduced at the end of this section.

feet and legs to swell to the point where it is difficult to walk let alone function as a guerilla fighter.

By presenting our drive for shoes this way we give people an easy but very important way to aid the guerilla struggle. Anyone who even donates a pair of shoes is taking a step toward becoming involved in supporting the liberation movements.

Shoes are also something it is easy to collect. Almost everyone has an old pair of shoes in their closet. We are making it as easy as possible to take that first step toward actively supporting the liberation of Southern Africa. And we are doing it on a clear political view of the necessity of armed struggle.



Zanu Freedom Fighters need shoes and supplies to win.

Liberation News Service

We want to stress collecting shoes, though of course we will accept any donations we can get. Without shoes the guerilla fighters frequently get a painful and infectious food disease in the rainy season which results from the bites of a ground flea. This disease causes the

The drive for shoes should be built as a serious campaign. It should culminate in a door to door collection of shoes. This requires careful planning and preparation.

Throughout the shoe drive we have to keep in mind

that we are not just trying to collect shoes for ZANU. We are also trying to build the SALC and the political view that SALC represents. At every stage of the campaign we have to be aware of that. It means every time we talk to someone we're not just trying to get them to give shoes but also to involve them in the work and discussion of the politics of the situation. At the very least we should get a name and address for everyone who donates shoes. We will judge the success of the shoe drive as much or more for what it does to build the SALC as how many pairs of shoes we collect.

PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN

The first step in the campaign is to decide on a geographical area where your door to door collecting will take place. If there is a Red Tide in your city the decision should be made in consultation with them so they can simultaneously carry out the shoe campaign at one or more high schools in the area. Our target area should be a Black working class area. If possible it should be one where we already have some contacts either through our union work or prior Southern Africa work.

After we've picked our target area we should decide which weekends we will do the door to door collecting. Probably we should choose somewhere between two to four weekends about a month away so that we have enough time to prepare the drive.

SPONSORS AND COLLECTION POINTS

When we know our area and our dates we should try to line up sponsors and collection points in the target area.

We should approach any prominent individuals we think might agree to join in sponsoring the shoe drive. Ministers, union officers, Black political leaders, community leaders can all be approached. We can even ask organizations like the NAACP to co-sponsor. In short, any person or group who might agree to co-sponsor and whose name would be helpful should at least be asked.

At the same time we can ask churches and small businesses in the area to agree to be shoe collection centers. This would involve agreeing to have a shoe box on their premises and being listed on the leaflet as a place to bring shoes for ZANU. When we approach these people we should have a copy of the ZANU letter ready to show them.

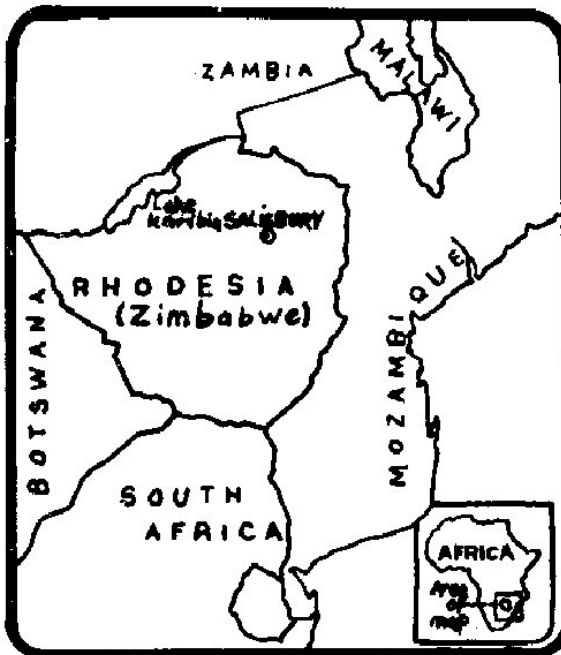
When speaking to the churches we should also ask if someone can come to their services to announce the shoe drive. If possible we should announce that we'll be back the next week to pick up all the shoes that people bring in.

Different cities will have different degrees of success in lining up sponsors and collection points. While we'll certainly try to get all the sponsors we can, we must be clear in advance that we will go ahead with the shoe collecting with or without sponsors.

LEAFLETING

When you've got as many sponsors and collection points as you think you can you're ready to put out the

first leaflet. We suggest a two sided leaflet—the front an appeal for shoes with collection points and sponsors and the dates you'll be collecting. On the back, a fact sheet on ZANU and the struggle in Zimbabwe. A fact sheet you can use is included at the back of this section.



It's important to include a phone number where people can call to have someone come and pick up shoes from them. Even if they only have one pair of shoes we want the chance to meet with them, talk with them about the work of the committee, and try to get them involved.

While we should have copies of the ZANU letter available to show people it really isn't appropriate for mass distribution as a leaflet. Talking about comrades and Marx and Mao could put off people we hope to reach.

The two weeks or so before the first collection weekend we should leaflet the area as widely as we can. If we do a really good job when we go door to door many people will already have heard about the shoes for ZANU drive.

GOING DOOR TO DOOR

Finally, we'll be ready to start going door to door. We'll mobilize everyone we possibly can.

If possible at least leave a leaflet every place you call. If someone says they'd like to think about it or can you come back later—take their name and address and come back next weekend. Be sure to get everyone's name and address who contributes.

While we're collecting we should always remember to take the time to talk to anyone who is at all interested. It would be well worth staying with one person an hour if there is a chance he or she might get active with the SALC.

It would be a good idea to have an event like a film showing and/or a party scheduled for the end of the drive. We could invite everyone we'd met during the collecting to come.

If the first collection campaign is a success you can consider planning a second for another area.

NEWSLETTER

We should aim to follow up the shoe campaign with a local SALC newsletter. This can be no more elaborate than a one page fold over or even two sides of an 8½x11 sheet of paper. You can combine news you get from Workers' Power and some of the sources listed in Section 13 with news of local events. It probably will come out only on an irregular basis whenever there is some event either locally or in Africa that requires it.

If you can tell the people you are getting shoes from that this newsletter will be sent to them it will make getting their names and addresses a lot easier as well as keeping them in touch with the SALC.

PLANT COLLECTIONS FOR ZANU

In some places we have people who can organize shoe collections within their plants. Mostly this will only be possible where people have been there a long time and know other people in the plant they can get to help.

When we decide on a collection at a plant we should prepare it just as carefully as the neighborhood collection. This means setting dates, getting sponsors, and finally mobilizing people to actually go around the locker rooms and collect shoes.

Just as in the community work we want to make a big effort to involve people with the SALC. At a minimum we must try to insure that everyone who contributes gets invited to the event that's planned for the end of the drive and gets a copy of the SALC newsletter when it comes out.

SUPPORT FOR BLACK UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In addition to the shoes for ZANU campaign we would like to begin building support in American unions for the Black unions in South Africa.

These unions exist in a precarious semi-legal situation. Employers can in no way be legally forced to bargain with them. However some employers have been forced to bargain with them by the Black workers' strikes and even in one case by international trade union support. Contrary to what American corporations who operate in South Africa say they can recognize the Black unions. They simply don't want to because real unions for Black workers would threaten their super profits.

MONEY FOR BLACK UNIONS

These unions are always desperately short of funds. Most of their members are already living below the poverty line and can't afford much in the way of dues. Most of the funds they can get from the outside come with political strings attached like that from the

AFL—CIO dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

We can send money to these unions through the Methodist Church or other agencies which operate in South Africa. Even very small amounts of money can help. \$1380 would support an organizer for a Black union for a year.



Black miners on strike in South Africa.

Soon we hope to be able to give the local chapters the names of the Black unions operating in the Southern Africa plants of such US corporate giants as GM, Coca Cola, Ford, Chrysler, and US Steel.

We have already learned about two South African auto workers' unions. The National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers represents the "coloured" (mixed ancestry) workers and has members at Ford and GM that we know of. It is helping African workers to organize the United Auto and Rubber Workers of South Africa which has members at Ford, GM and Chrysler.

If we can't find specific unions for the other companies, we will at least be able to provide a list of the main Black unions and the cities they operate in.

People in each union local will have to decide how far they can go in raising support for the Black unions. Where that is possible it would be great if the local officially sent a contribution. Short of that we may be able to collect at meetings of rank and file groups, at film showings for union members, hold raffles to benefit the Black unions or just go around with cans and collect.

MOTIONS AT UNION MEETINGS

In some locals it may even be possible to introduce motions at union meetings calling on the employer to get out of South Africa because investments there support apartheid. We would also actively support a motion calling on U.S. corporations to pay African

workers U.S. union wages, but we think the demand that the corporations get out altogether is far better.



Black workers at a strike meeting in Natal. The new wave of black resistance has spread since illegal black unions won wage increases in 1973. These workers represent the revolutionary future of South Africa.

At the same time that we are raising money or introducing motions at union meetings we should take every chance to talk to people about the liberation struggles. It may be that some people we meet in our unions will want to join the SALC. Others may never join but will come to some of its public events. Still others won't come to anything but may begin to understand a lot more about apartheid and U.S. support for South Africa.

-Fact Sheet on ZANU-

WHO'S FIGHTING IN ZIMBABWE—AND WHY

WHAT IS ZIMBABWE?

Zimbabwe, or "Rhodesia" as it is called by the people who run it, is a country of six million people in Southern Africa. About 96% of the country is Black. But all the political power, the wealth and the best land is reserved for the 4% white minority.

WHAT IS THE WAR ABOUT?

Six million Black people in Zimbabwe want political freedom. They want to run their own country as they see fit. Most of the tiny white minority think they should have all the power forever. The government of Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, has rounded up tens of thousands of Black villagers into concentration camps. Political prisoners are hanged in secret without their families' knowledge. Black bus drivers who went on strike in December were heavily fined and sentenced to prison terms. These are just a few examples.

WHO'S FIGHTING?

There is a strong movement for national freedom in Zimbabwe. The best-organized, most militant Zimbabwean liberation movement is called ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union). Since the only way to win freedom in Zimbabwe is through an armed struggle, ZANU has organized a liberation army called ZIPA (Zimbabwean People's Army). ZIPA is an army of tens of thousands of Zimbabwean men and women, who have fled from their country to join ZIPA. ZANU

has formed a "Patriotic Front" with the other important Zimbabwean nationalist organization ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) to unite the struggle for freedom.

IS THIS A RACE WAR?

No. The Black liberation army is not fighting against white people. It is fighting for national independence. The racists in Zimbabwe are those who say that only whites should have power! The Ian Smith government says the Black freedom fighters are terrorists who murder innocent Black civilians and missionaries. However, these murders have been committed by troops of the Rhodesian army, disguised as guerillas.

WHAT DOES THIS HAVE TO DO WITH US?

The United States government is heavily involved. It claims it supports majority rule. But the facts are different.

- The U.S. government keeps the racist state alive by importing Rhodesian chrome.
- The oil for Rhodesia is secretly supplied by Mobil Oil through a pipeline from South Africa.
- Hundreds of American men are being recruited as mercenaries for the Rhodesian racist army. The U.S. government allows this recruiting to go on at an office right in the heart of Washington, D.C.

Black and white working people in America have no stake in keeping the racist Rhodesian government in power. The sooner the liberation army fighting for independence wins, the better off we will be. Otherwise our government may turn Zimbabwe into another Vietnam.



Let us Liberate
and
Rebuild Zimbabwe

PAMBERI ne CHIMURENGA

Z. A. N. U.

Zimbabwe African National Union

UNITED STATES - CANADA - CARRIBBEAN

89-09 162nd STREET
SUITE 3D
JAMAICA, N. Y. 11432
(212) 291-8039

January 25, 1977

SOUTHERN AFRICA LIBERATION COMMITTEE
149 Ford
Highland Park, MI 48203

Comrades,


You are all invited to join hands in ZANU's campaign for shoes, tampax (for our women guerillas), clothes, raincoats, hats, wrist-watches, thermo-flasks, Marxist books (Lenin, Mao, etc.), writing pens, pencils, papers, typewriters, cigarettes, etc. which we are carrying-out throughout North America.

The war against Ian Smith and his clique is a war which all progressive peoples of the world can join in on the side of ZANU. It is a just, revolutionary war.

Please send all the articles you collect to:

Tapson Mawere
Chief Representative
#3 D
89-09, 162nd Street
Jamaica
New York, NY 11432

Pamben Nechimurenga,



E. Mudadirwa Zvobgo
Publicity Secretary
North America District

Section 5: Other Activities for S.A.L.C.

While we feel that our main initial focus will be on support for ZANU there are a number of activities that local chapters can run either in conjunction with the ZANU campaign or immediately after it.

KRUGERRAND

Around Christmas time there was a media blitz for the South African Krugerrand. It was being sold widely in Department Stores as a Christmas gift and the theme of the advertising campaign was "buy an ounce of pure love." The Krugerrand is a South African gold coin containing an ounce of South African gold.



Give an ounce of pure love
for Christmas.

An ad for the Krugerrand in the Wall Street Journal. It says you can find out who in your neighborhood is selling this blood money by calling toll-free: 800-243-8000

Since Christmas the TV ads have stopped and sales now seem to be pretty well limited to banks and stock brokers like Merrill Lynch. It is still possible to carry on Krugerrand protests by targeting Merrill Lynch as Cleveland has or a bank as New York has done with Republic National Bank.

Areas that tried to start Krugerrand activity after the Christmas advertising campaign was over haven't had much success. For the present local chapters that haven't already started work around the Krugerrand should probably concentrate on other things.

We have heard that a new promotion is being planned to sell the Krugerrand primarily as a jewelry pendant. NBC-TV has agreed to meet with the Committee to Stop the Krugerrand before running any

more Krugerrand commercials so we may get advance warning when this new selling drive starts.

If a new Krugerrand promotion on the scale of the last one starts, the chapters in every area should be ready to act. There is a very good chance of a national day of demonstration against the Krugerrand. Our N.Y. experience [see section 6] has shown the way the issue of the Krugerrand can grab people's imagination. It dramatizes the whole issue of U.S. support for South Africa better than anything else we have found.

DEL MONTE

There is a boycott of Del Monte Sardines underway. Del Monte Sardines are fished off the coast of Namibia and packed at Walvis Bay, a part of Namibia the Vorster government claims is South Africa territory.

Del Monte buys the sardines from Overstone South West Industries Ltd. which packs them at Walvis Bay. Del Monte buys about \$1.4 million worth of sardines from Overstone every year.

The workers in the canneries earn an average of \$30 per month. Most of them are contract laborers who are separated from their families and forced to live in dorm houses where sixteen men sleep on eight two-tiered concrete bunks.

The directors of Overstone are prominent members of Vorster's Nationalist Party. Overstone holds the Holiday Inn franchise for South Africa and Namibia. In 1971 the Namibian fishing companies paid the South African occupation administration \$4.9 million in taxes.

By buying these sardines from Overstone Del Monte provides financial support to the apartheid regime and strengthens South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

You can check the supermarkets in your area to see whether Del Monte sardines are being sold. They are not sold in all areas.

If the sardines are being sold in your city the boycott can be an excellent activity for your chapter. If you set up a militant picket line at a supermarket in a Black community asking people not to shop there you can seriously hurt their business. After one or two days of picketing many stores will agree to stop selling the sardines. At the same time the picket lines are a good way to meet people and build a reputation in the community.

We suggest that the demand be "Stop Selling Del Monte Sardines," not "Stop selling all Del Monte products." We think we can actually get stores to stop selling the sardines. But there are so many Del Monte products that it is unlikely that anything short of a massive sustained boycott could win this demand. We don't want the committees to be faced with the choice of getting bogged down in a sustained boycott with little chance of success or giving up in defeat.

If the Del Monte Sardine boycott works well it can be an excellent way of building the committee. If we can quickly begin getting supermarkets to take the sardines off the shelf it will be a big boost for people's enthusiasm and self-confidence.



Families of Namibian contract laborers who pack Del-Monte sardines exist on \$30/month the men earn.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) will introduce a bill in this session of Congress to deny U.S. corporations the credits against their U.S. taxes they now receive for the taxes they pay the South African government. This bill will be backed by the Congressional Black Caucus.

It will be opposed by the Carter administration even though the Democratic Party platform called for "tax disincentives to U.S. corporations operating in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia." This bill has little or no chance of passage.

It is possible that there will be a compromise measure to deny tax credits only for taxes paid in Namibia. This would leave the bulk of U.S. investment in South Africa unaffected. Some liberals believe such a compromise bill could pass because the U.S. has accepted the ruling of the International Court of Justice that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal.

After Rangel introduces his bill the SALC chapters can start organizing support for it. We can send delegations to see Congressmen and Senators to ask them to support it, hold picket lines at their offices if they refuse, collect petitions, etc.

When the Carter administration comes out against the bill we can begin attacking them. We should demand that Black Democrats who have endorsed the bill now condemn Carter. If Carter or any high administration official visits our city we should be there to demonstrate against their South Africa policy.

Andrew Young may be especially embarrassed by this kind of attention. He has devoted considerable effort to building up a reputation as a supporter of African Liberation. He is at the center of U.S. efforts to bring a negotiated settlement to Zimbabwe. Yet he will side with Carter and argue that U.S. companies should stay in South Africa and work for reform.

BANKS

U.S. banks have loaned the South African government \$2 billion. Citibank alone has loans of \$300 million to the South African government (see chart on bank loans in section 12).

In addition to the banks listed in the chart the First National Bank of Chicago, the Central Illinois Bank and the First National Bank of Louisville have lent South African government or government controlled corporations money.

Some banks have pledged to stop making loans to South Africa as a result of protests. But it would take a major campaign indeed to force the giant N.Y. banks like Chase Manhattan or Citibank to stop lending to South Africa. While your committee may want to do some activity around banks we don't think it would be wise to get tied down in a long term campaign with so little chance of success.

AUTO COMPANIES

The Big 3 Auto makers are among the largest U.S. investors in South Africa. But many people seem to feel that they are just too big to move. We have already had a militant picket line at the GM world headquarters in Detroit. But we could probably picket every day for a year with little or no results.

The auto companies may be too big to feel any pressure but their local dealers are not. Black dealers or dealers that sell heavily to Blacks may be very sensitive on the issue of South Africa. You can locate dealers who rely on Black customers for a large part of their business by checking out who advertises on the Black radio stations or in the Black newspapers.

We can picket these dealers demanding they write a letter to their company protesting their investments in South Africa. We can ask them to display this letter in their showroom together with a sign like "This Dealer opposes GM's investment in South Africa."

This may not be enough to convince the auto companies to get out of South Africa but it may begin to worry them a little.

What this section has outlined is a broad range of activities local Southern Africa Liberation Committee chapters can take up either in addition to the drive for shoes for ZANU or after that drive has finished. Please let Detroit know what you decide to do and how it goes. We want to know both what works and what doesn't. That way your experience can be shared with committees in other cities and you can share in their experience.

Section 6: The New York Anti—Krugerrand Campaign—Building a Southern Africa Liberation Movement

This section was written by Steve Burns,
one of the founders of the
Committee to Stop the Krugerrand.

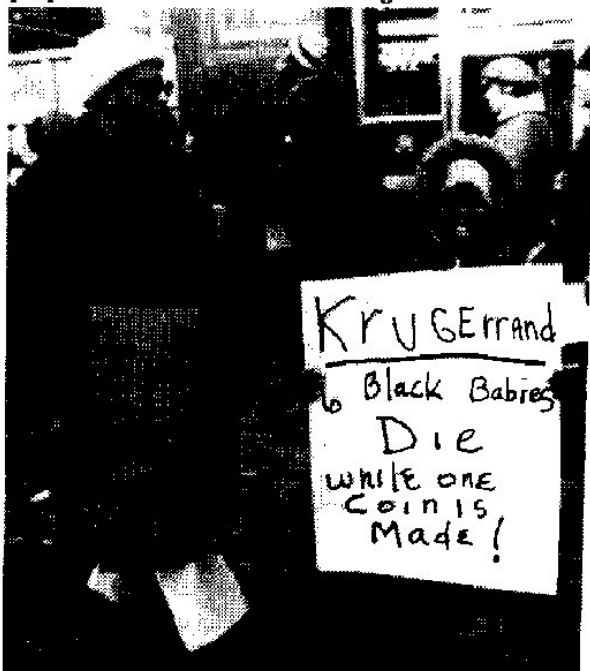
Four months ago New York supporters of Workers' Power began building a campaign against the Krugerrand. We had few contacts to work with, no ongoing Southern Africa work, and not even a periphery of people already interested in Southern Africa. Since then we have built a solid Committee to Stop the Krugerrand with an often active periphery numbering in the hundreds.

The Committee has adopted the principles of the Southern Africa Liberation Committee—support for the liberation movements, US out of Southern Africa, and support for Black liberation in the U.S. While it still has to be solidified, the growth of the Committee to Stop the Krugerrand is a huge step toward building a movement to support the liberation of southern Africa.

We have learned a number of political and organizational lessons from our work. What follows are those lessons which hopefully will aid others in their work.

LESSONS

The most important lesson relates to the politics behind the campaign. We were originally skeptical that an anti-Krugerrand campaign could politically move people. Who the hell cares about gold coins? No one



could afford them—it was so small, so removed from everyone's daily experience that few would listen. We were wrong. A remarkably large number of people—almost all blacks and many whites whom we came in contact with—were attracted to or politically agreed with the issue **because they agreed with the politics behind the campaign**; support the liberation fighters; end apartheid and U.S. corporations out; fight racism here.

From the first demonstration at A&S department store in late November until today, people have willingly stopped, talked with us, agreed, and—occasionally—either signed up to help, joined the demonstration, or refused to shop at a particular store selling the coin. People were particularly incensed at A&S, a huge department store in downtown Brooklyn with a majority Black clientele, selling Krugerrands, but each demonstration site has served as a training ground for new people.

The campaign itself has emphasized two important themes: the value of boldness and creativity in our agitation and the necessity of following up action with social and educational gatherings.

BOLDNESS AND CREATIVITY

When first hearing about the Krugerrand at A&S, we were hesitant about pushing a boycott at the store, preferring a middle ground of "protest" that would lead to a boycott if there was a solid response. This tentativeness was immediately overcome when our new periphery just ignored it and **began** the action with chants to boycott—chants heeded by many shoppers.

This political militancy has been reflected at each store and bank by other creative tactics as well. We have made certain to go inside each of them to officially protest, often loudly, their racist policies.

In A&S, for example, we gathered around the coin department and began yelling so loudly at the clerks that store detectives and police were all over us in a minute. While careful to avoid arrest, we also didn't just walk away. We then demanded—and got—a hastily called meeting with the top brass, who slyly but nevertheless nervously pushed up their date for negotiations over the Krugerrand.

In the banks we've been quieter, partly because our numbers were smaller and arrest likely to be quicker, and partly because we were able to make bank officials very nervous merely by walking inside as a group. Short, militantly argued meetings were held with them as well, always winding up with the reminder that we'd be back.



Demonstrators confront A&S Department Store over Krugerrand.

The pay-offs on such action have been considerable. Besides forcing A&S to stop selling Krugerrands and NBC to agree to negotiate with us over future coin ads, our contacts have been impressed by our militancy and follow-through. They also saw how easy it often is to make officials nervous, the first step towards capitulation. Finally, it's been a lot of fun for all of us.

SOCIALS

We have followed up each action with small parties. Each has had a short presentation on different political issues in Southern Africa. Each has been an exciting, politically stimulating and enjoyable event. The glow of the action naturally carried over to these discussions, where all of us—older members and new periphery—have engaged in topics as far-ranging as permanent revolution and class struggle unionism. Given the experiences the group has shared, each "social-political" activity became one of the most satisfying experiences for all of us.

The other gains have been brought by the organization of the campaign itself. The Committee has followed agitation with showings of the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. We have shown the film in schools, churches, homes. Here we have a chance to more fully express our politics. By then announcing dates and places where new sympathetic people can get involved,

handing out sign-up sheets, etc., we have a built-in way of easily activating our new contacts and demonstrating our commitment to the South African struggle.

To sum up, then, the following are the most important lessons:

(1) The correctly formulated politics behind this "small" issue make our anti-Krugerrand campaign exciting and real to an entirely new periphery.

(2) Do not hesitate to be bold and creative in planning your actions—they work.

(3) Follow up your actions with social-educational gatherings. This helps bring people into the actual life of the committee and develop their understanding of the need to support the liberation movements.

Section 7: S.A.L.C.—A Long Term Project

It must be clearly understood, at least by the most active members of SALC, that the task that this committee is taking on will not have an early conclusion. Even if the final victory of the liberation forces in Southern Africa comes with unexpected speed, we can still expect to be involved in solidarity work for a period of years rather than months.

It is equally true that although the time is now right for the foundation of our committee, we can not expect our initiative, or others like it, to produce a mass movement of support in the foreseeable future. Indeed such a mass movement might never come to pass, but that must not prevent us doing serious, consistent support work as long as it remains necessary.

THE TIME IS RIGHT

We are building these committees now because with the victory of the liberation forces in Angola and Mozambique, with the establishment of powerful armed movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia and the re-awakening of the movement in South Africa, the days of white supremacy are clearly numbered. But they may yet be numbered in many thousands. Generations of racist oppression will not be swept away overnight, and the forces of liberation will need every ounce of moral and physical support, from every possible source before victory is assured. For there can be no partial solutions now. What we are seeing in Southern Africa is Act I of a revolution, the final act is many years away and SALC must stay with it through to the end.

We are also starting these committees now because the process which is unfolding in Southern Africa has reached the stage of making an international impact. American workers are becoming aware of the situation and for the first time a small number are ready to act. SALC exists to organize those small numbers and prepare the ground for a larger response in the future.



U.S. casts one of the few votes against expelling South Africa from the U.N.

U.S. SUPPORT

As the revolution unfolds in Southern Africa, the U.S. will be more and more directly involved as it moves to protect its massive investments by giving moral and physical support to the racist regimes. It is our job to undermine that support. A hard job, a difficult job, a massive job, but one that is made somewhat easier for us because it can be shown that the American government and corporations are full partners in South African apartheid, and that Black workers who face racist exploitation in America have the same roots as their brothers and sisters who face racist oppression in Southern Africa.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

SALC must develop during the next period of patient small-scale work, secure in the knowledge that it can eventually be part of a movement which can change things. The movement to stop the Vietnam War had small beginnings too. In the early sixties it seemed impossible that the various small committees could become the core of a mighty and successful movement. But it happened and it can happen again. And even if the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa never reaches the proportions of the Vietnam movement, it will surely go further in involving workers in its ranks. For the sixties were the era of student protest, the late seventies and eighties will be the era of workers' struggle.

There is another similarity to the Vietnam movement. That movement did not magically come into existence when thousands were finally ready to join the struggle. No, it came together around all the small committees that had been active for years on the issue. Without this pioneering work the movement could not have got off the ground. To a greater or lesser extent we can expect to face the same situation. Even more exciting is the prospect that like the Vietnam War, the struggle in Southern Africa will cause those who get involved to change their whole view of the world. It will not end with acts of solidarity with the freedom fighters, people who get involved will develop a broader consciousness, they will become part of the struggle against racism at home, and more. It is in recognition of this fact that SALC starts with a basic program which includes a commitment to the struggle for black liberation in the USA.

BIG OPPORTUNITIES

We are not building the SALC chapters in the expectation that a movement of the size of the anti-war movement will develop. In all likelihood it will not. But there will be times when the events in Southern Africa itself will create a relatively big response here. Perhaps not this year or even next, but it will certainly happen. SALC must be positioned to take full advantage of those opportunities, and we must not lose sight of them during the period in which we are forced by our small size to concentrate on restricted activities, small-scale self-education and limited propaganda.

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Section 8: Some Basic Facts and Information About ZANU

An important focus of the activities of the Southern Africa Liberation Committee is active solidarity with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). To understand why this is important we have to look at what ZANU represents and the role it plays in the national liberation struggle.

NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

First of all, our basic attitude toward the war in Zimbabwe is support for the national liberation war against the white settler regime, the South African regime which is its military and economic prop, and western imperialism which is stepping in to save the social privileges, wealth and political influence of the white settlers. We see it as a struggle fundamentally against our own imperialist government, which is the ultimate last defense of the white settlers not only in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) but South Africa as well. Thus we are committed not only to verbal support, but to active solidarity with this struggle against western imperialism.

forces who believe that the only way to secure Zimbabwean liberation is an armed anti-imperialist struggle. It is increasingly clear to anyone who looks at the situation, that it is ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) which is the political party of the armed national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

ZANU

Both the name and the organization ZANU have a rather long and complex history. As early as 1963 ZANU represented a split from the earlier nationalist movement created by Joshua Nkomo, known as the National Democratic Party and later ZAPU. For many years, when political issues were less clearly posed than they are now, splits in the Zimbabwean movement often took the form of, or were complicated by, alignments along tribal, regional or personality lines. Comrades interested in some of this history can read the debate between former ZANU leader N. Sithole and Eddison Zvobgo in the ZIMBABWE NEWS. Under the pressure of several African presidents, ZAPU and



ZANU guerillas—Both a military and political army.

Second, it follows from this that there is a basic dividing line that separates two sides in this national liberation war. There are those forces who believe in a negotiated settlement with the white settlers, under the auspices of South African, British and American imperialism. Then, as opposed to this there are the

ZANU were merged in 1974 under a new umbrella known as African National Council of Zimbabwe, or ANC (Z). This merger was stillborn from the very beginning and the ZANU forces have once again separated out their own political structure. In the process they have discarded several layers of

opportunist leadership including such types as Sithole, Muzorewa, Chikerema, etc.

The overwhelming majority of the armed freedom fighters are organized, trained by and politically loyal to ZANU. ZANU has made it clear that it has a non-sectarian attitude toward any other forces which are engaged in active, genuine armed struggle for Zimbabwe liberation. They have been prepared through ZIPA to build a unified military struggle with other resistance fighters. However, according to ZANU the ratio of actual forces is about 30,000 ZANU fighters to about 2000 ZAPU fighters. We see no reason to doubt the accuracy of this.

One of ZANU's most impressive achievements has been its consistent commitment to women's equality. In traditional Zimbabwean society, women have a clearly subordinate place. The coming of colonialism changed the form of this subordination but did little or nothing to end it. Yet ZANU not only has women guerilla fighters, but women who command combat units. This is especially significant since ZANU commanders are all elected and new elections are held after each action.

Our basic slogan in building solidarity with the Zimbabwe struggle is "Victory to the Freedom Fighters!" ZANU is the political structure which commands the political loyalty of the liberation army. This is important to understand. The real content of support for ZANU is military and political victory of the freedom fighters. Indeed, we believe the last couple of years have shown that the freedom fighters put their confidence only in those political figures who stand up for the armed struggle and refuse to compromise it. Any political leader who sells them out, they simply denounce and find someone else. As a result of this process, we believe it is quite clear that ZANU today is committed, principled and thoroughly tied to the liberation struggle and not to the trap of negotiations with the Smith regime.

GENEVA TALKS

There was a ZANU delegation at Geneva, headed up by ZANU Secretary-General Robert Mugabe. Because of this, someone might accuse us of opportunistically covering up for the fact that ZANU has sold out, or is no different from Nkomo, and so forth. In truth, however, our own attitude toward the Geneva talks is very clear. We consider the peace talks to be a fraud, aimed at extending the lease on life of the white settler regime. Our analysis is that the talks were kept alive by the American government putting intense pressure on the African states, which in turn have pressured the Zimbabwean delegates to stay at the peace conference. These are real pressures. The U.S. has billions of dollars to throw around to keep certain African states such as Tanzania and Zambia in line. In turn, the African Presidents can dictate to the Zimbabweans, including the militant liberation forces, that unless they operate within the policies laid down by the African Presidents and the OAU Liberation Committee, their support, bases, and finances can be cut off. Indeed, one of the most amazing examples of this kind of repression

occurred over the last two years, in Zambia, where the Kaunda regime jailed and tortured virtually the entire ZANU military command for its opposition to the "detente" exercise launched by South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster in partnership with Kaunda.



Joshua Nkomo(left) and Robert Mugabe announce rejection of Kissinger deal in Geneva.

In addition to this, ZANU has stated its position that it sent a delegation to the peace talks in order to "keep an eye" on other forces who have not yet been totally discredited in the eyes of the Zimbabwean masses, to make sure they are unable to pull a sellout in secret. In any case it is clear that the guerilla fighters in Mozambique, who are a political as well as military army, will not accept a sellout. They are tied to the liberation war, not to any particular political figure. Thus the main political strength of ZANU is that it has built up a material force, in the field, which checks the pressures for a sellout and has proven to be capable of dumping any leader who gets in bed with Smith. No other movement in Zimbabwe has done this. We should lay an important stress on this fact. It is key to the politics of our support for ZANU.

The outcome of the whole "peace negotiations" process appears to have confirmed not only ZANU's analysis of the situation, but also the correctness of the tactic it adopted. This tactic was to create an alliance with ZAPU, called the Patriotic Front, for a common bargaining position at Geneva of those Zimbabwean forces with any degree of military strength in the field.

PATRIOTIC FRONT

It should be stated quite clearly, to prevent misunderstanding, that we believe it is extremely unlikely that the Patriotic Front can be a permanent political alliance or merger of the two parties. The differences between the two organizations are enormous. On the one hand, ZANU has evolved as the political party of an armed liberation struggle, with a structure and degree of ideological cohesion suited to creating an army of tens of thousands. ZAPU on the other hand is politically quite loose, ranging from clear-cut pro-western elites like Nkomo, through straight nationalists whose only program is expelling the whites, all the way to people whom ZANU considers

to be genuine revolutionaries who share its basic ideas and goals.

In effect, while ZANU has been formed to liberate the country, ZAPU has been built as the broad electoral machine through which Joshua Nkomo expects to be elected Prime Minister under a western-style settlement.

Nonetheless the creation of the Patriotic Front brought clear gains. First and foremost it prevented British and American maneuvers from being able to create divisions, separate negotiations, and mistrust among the Zimbabweans at Geneva. ZAPU and ZANU representatives could not be pulled out for separate drinks, talks, and deals with the British. The alliance with ZANU effectively cut off the possibility for a sellout which the British-American team clearly hoped could be worked out with Nkomo (and possibly Muzorewa). It was the failure to engineer such a deal which caused the talks themselves to collapse.

This practical unity among the Zimbabwean forces works to the great advantage of ZANU at this point. For it is ZANU which has the majority of forces in the field with the best organization. Both ZANU and the liberation struggle have everything to gain from the initiatives for unity. Gains were made on the level of military organization as well, where long-standing problems between ZANU and ZAPU militants were sorted out and an effective military alliance forged. Tragically, the figure most instrumental in this, Jason Moyo, a long-time ZAPU leader who was universally respected by all ZANU militants, was murdered by a parcel bomb the weekend after the alliance was formed.

SMITH'S ASSASSINATIONS AND MASSACRES

No doubt the agents of the Smith regime who carried out this assassination hoped it would lead to new internecine warfare among Zimbabwean factions, accusing each other of responsibility. There has been no such result. Similarly, both ZANU and ZAPU have been completely unified in denouncing other actions of the Smith regime which aimed at splitting Blacks from each other—the massacre of the plantation workers, or the slaughter at the Catholic mission, both of which the regime tried to blame on ZANU, etc. It is partly because of the common positions which ZANU and ZAPU, through the Patriotic Front, can take in response to the Smith regime, that all the regime's tricks are now blowing up in its face.

Clearly the formation of the Patriotic Front is far from resolving the political struggle which will continue even following military victory and independence. However, it also seems clear that in the current stage of the struggle it has solidified the movement around the demand for uncompromising armed struggle, unity of the liberation forces, and no deals with the Smith regime or its western protectors—precisely the program of struggle ZANU has demanded.

AFRICAN CAPITALISM

Much of this analysis is totally in agreement with what ZANU itself puts forward. However, while ZANU is very sharp in its exposure of the role of, for example, the Zambian regime in promoting neo-colonial sellout maneuvers, it says nothing about the role of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Indeed ZANU is ideologically a supporter of the type of single-party African national capitalist state that Nyerere has built in Tanzania. Nationalist capitalism with a single-party state is in fact the ZANU program for the future independent Zimbabwe. The ZANU program can be found on page 22 of the Zimbabwe News. In several places, especially points 5 and 11, it characterizes itself as revolutionary socialist in orientation. In fact, however, it deliberately omits any reference to working class state power and calls for a "national democratic revolution" (capitalism) to create conditions for socialism by stages at some future date. Both because of its ideological support for Nyerere, and because by its position ZANU is forced to accept the legitimacy of the policies of African states, ZANU does not refer to Nyerere's role in meeting with Kissinger and laying the groundwork for the phony Geneva peace conference.

A SOCIALIST ZIMBABWE

We do not share ZANU's positions on the future of an independent Zimbabwe. In our view the future of Zimbabwe will be decided by the process of permanent revolution throughout Southern Africa. The victory of the socialist revolution for Zimbabwe does not rest on passing through a "national democratic stage" under a single-party state. Rather, it rests on the independent organization of the working class and above all on the successful spread of the revolution to South Africa. Socialism cannot be built in an isolated Zimbabwe. Indeed, even if ZANU is successful, it is still true that without a victorious South African revolution in the years to come Zimbabwe will be overwhelmed and swallowed up by neo-colonialism—just like the Zambian regime, or worse.

However, it is precisely the victory of the freedom fighters and ZANU that will create the conditions for the unfolding of the permanent revolution process in Southern Africa. By seizing hold of their own country, the Zimbabwean masses are preparing their own future in a broader sense by triggering the national liberation and working class struggles in the Republic of South Africa itself. This is the starting point of our whole analysis of the situation and it is important to emphasize it at every stage in our solidarity work.

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Section 9: Movements in South Africa, SWAPO and Namibia

What follows is only a brief introduction to the politics of the major sections of the broad, diverse and of course to a large extent underground resistance against the apartheid regime.

One basic point must be made clear immediately. The struggle in South Africa will be a protracted one of many years' duration. While the Black movement today is increasingly powerful and explosive, there are not likely to be a series of spectacular victories and a rapid collapse of the South African state. On the one hand, this state is extremely powerful. It not only has the military power to crush the townships, and a repressive machine capable of inflicting total terror on anyone who seriously opposes it; it also has a tremendous political machine which ensures the organized support of the majority of whites.

On the other hand, the Black movement faces a series of enormous obstacles to overcome. There is, of course, the central problem of organizing on a national scale; while certain kinds of organizations and activities can be legally created, their public leaders are obviously subject to banning or worse at any time. And of course any kind of revolutionary organizing whatever must be totally underground.

strikes have often taken the form of tribal groups fighting each other. Of course, part of the strategy of the apartheid regime is to make those divisions permanent; while the Black movement has made important strides toward overcoming them.

CATHOLIC CHURCH

In any survey of the anti-apartheid movement itself, it now seems clear that a factor which cannot be ignored is the Catholic Church. The Church has taken a clear decision that it is going to defy the racial segregation laws by integrating some of its institutions (the schools) at the level at least of integrating middle-class blacks with whites. In part this is a question of political survival; of the Church's 1.7 million members in South Africa, fully 1.5 million are black. On the other hand, it is also a conscious strategy: the Church is effectively positioning itself to become the organizing center of the liberal right-wing of the anti-apartheid movement. Its basic strength at the moment is that the government is too pre-occupied by the dangers created by the militant opposition, to crush the Church authorities as they would have, say, ten years ago.



Mass march in Soweto.

In addition the South African working class itself is diverse—a fact that can be forgotten looking at the struggle far away. Events have shown that hard, patient work is needed to create a unified national and class consciousness to bridge the gaps between the urban township workers, who are the most advanced and militant, and migrant workers on a contract whose concern is to prevent their families in the bantustans from starving. The same applies in the mines, where

The Catholic Church strategy in South Africa is probably to become an organizing center for a relatively integrated movement (possibly supported by English-speaking business) which would propose removing the legal structure of apartheid and making political reforms to allow a very limited number of blacks (based on property and education, etc.) to vote. Because the Church unlike any other section of the English-speaking liberal opposition, actually has strong roots in the

Black population it has the potential to be a serious force. Exactly what the prospects are for this probably can't be estimated accurately yet.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Dealing with the Black nationalist liberation movement proper, the major forces are the following:

African National Congress(ANC): the traditional nationalist organization, formed in 1912. In the years 1912-1960, the ANC was in the forefront of most of the civil rights and legal protest struggles, many of which were quite massive. In the 1960s, ANC was banned and driven underground, and forced to attempt to create underground structures and turn to guerilla warfare. For the most part this was not very successful.

pushed ANC to the left, at least to the extent of an orientation toward armed struggle. Yet it seems clear that inside the ANC, the militant and even revolutionary views of younger militants co-exist with the old historical illusions.

All this is on the level of general ideology. As to ANC's actual working strength there is little or no reliable information available to us. ANC itself claims to be by far the largest and best-organized group in the country, with an extensive information and propaganda machine (e.g. "bombs" which explode in the street and release hundreds of leaflets to picked up by passers-by) and the closest ties to the working class. There are well-informed people who support these claims. Others, however, maintain that the ANC is only a shadow of what it once was, with only a few hundred



South African Women demand freedom.

The ANC's program cannot be said to be completely clear. A good deal of its paper program, and some of its historical sentiments, are attached to a document known as the "Freedom Charter" drafted in the early 1950s. This calls for democratic reforms, abolition of discrimination and all in all, the creation of a harmonious, liberal multi-racial South Africa. This thoroughly utopian program was at the very least heavily influenced, if not dictated, by the Communist Party of South Africa which was then, and remains, heavily involved in the ANC.

The multi-racial character of the program served as a vehicle whereby whites, including white CP members, became heavily influential in the leadership of ANC. This among other issues played a big role in the split in 1959 which created the Pan African Congress (PAC—see below). However, to what degree the program of the ANC in the early 1950s guides its work today, is unclear. The repression of the 1960s clearly

dedicated members. Some reports say ANC spearheaded the Soweto strikes; others ridicule this. We have no independent basis on which to judge. Again, it is largely unknown as to whether the Communist Party of South Africa totally dominates and runs the ANC, or whether it is only a relatively small force inside it.

It is clear that we should regard ANC as a legitimate organization in the struggle against apartheid, one which should be supported in any struggles it is leading against the regime. We will work with ANC support groups, sponsor ANC speakers and so on, making it clear that this in no way at this stage excludes support for other tendencies in the struggle.

Pan African Congress (PAC): broke from the ANC in 1959. The issues as articulated in the split at that time included the role of whites in the movement (including

as leaders), the question of the Communist Party's role, etc. The PAC immediately launched a large-scale campaign against the pass book laws, which ended in the mass demonstration at Sharpeville which was massacred by the authorities with 69 deaths.

PAC was driven underground along with ANC. If anything, its attempts to create structures for guerilla warfare were even less successful than those of ANC.

PAC's political appeal is a broad one, emphasizing questions of Black and African unity. It is generally thought to contain fairly diverse ideological views held together by anti-Communist Party positions; which of course can range from hard-line orthodox Maoism to elements of social democracy, as well as simple nationalism.

PAC and people influenced by it use the term "Azania" to refer to South Africa. However, unlike Zimbabwe where the African name is used by all sections of the nationalist movement, only the PAC uses the name "Azania."

The PAC has nowhere near the international publicity machine of the ANC, which is far more capable of getting its name and activities known in Europe and North America. However, this is no basis for any judgement on which one, if either, has the better support and organization inside South Africa.

Our attitude toward the PAC and its support groups is no different from that toward the ANC. Clearly both PAC and ANC are real and legitimate organizations in the struggle. They are the two parties which have real influence and clearly function underground within the broader movement. However, events of the last year have made clear that the movement is far broader than these two parties. The rebellions and strikes in Soweto and elsewhere have been on a massive scale and have taken place under the auspices of what is broadly known as:

Black Conscious Movement. If anything this broad movement is the most important, dynamic element in the new wave of Black rebellions. It includes a number of organizations which have been allowed to organize on a legal basis, although of course they are always subject to arrest and repression for any kind of activity. These include the South African Students Organization (SASO), Black People's Convention, etc. as well as such local groups as the Soweto Parents Association which is led by Winnie Mandel, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

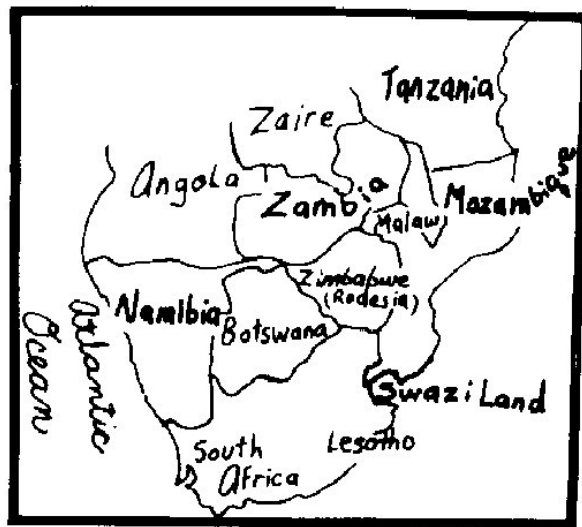
The movement also includes clandestine organizations such as the Soweto Students Representative Council, which is literally a shadow government in Soweto established by the students in the wake of the rebellions last year. It has been extremely successful in co-ordinating strikes of three to five days duration, consumer boycotts, closing beer halls and other resistance activities.

Since the early 1970s the student organizations have

been engaged in education and propaganda work directed toward Black workers. (Whether there is any connection between the legal Black consciousness groups and the legal Black workers' education projects we do not really know. However it is clear that there has been an effective cross-fertilization of consciousness.)

The Black consciousness movement emphasizes in its program such questions as Black pride and unity, community development and liberation from all forms of oppression. Clearly these ideas have taken powerful root in the community as well as the schools. Explosions such as Soweto in June 1976 do not occur without consciousness having been prepared for them.

At the same time, Black workers have acquired a very high level of trade union consciousness and workplace solidarity, despite the banning of Black unions from collective bargaining, picketing, etc. Even the government's efforts cannot prevent the establishment of certain kinds of in-plant bargaining by Black workers' representatives, since the bosses often find this a necessary expedient to maintain regular production.



Without question, both ANC and PAC operate as political parties in all these movements. However, the best potential for a qualitative advance in unity, power and revolutionary organization in the Black townships would appear to lie in the links that have been made by students and workers through the Black Consciousness Movement and the solidarity strikes it has organized. From the outside it is difficult to judge the depth of this process, or how rapidly it is becoming politicized. And it is worth repeating, the obstacles in the way of permanent organization are enormous. It is also the case, however, that the sophistication of the movement, and the depth of the rejection of the system by the Black population, is greater than any time in history.

SWAPO AND NAMIBIA

The full name of the liberation movement in Namibia is "South West African People's Organization of Namibia," abbreviated SWAPO. Namibia is a former German colony which was turned over to South African administration by the League of Nations after World War I. Although the mandate has long since expired, South Africa still runs Namibia as its own colony, and on the basis of the apartheid system.

German colonists still own an estimated 67% of all land in Namibia, huge estates up to 50,000 hectares. U.N. commissioner Sean McBride says Blacks on the estates are treated "more or less as slaves."

The South African government has created what is called a "constitutional conference" on the future of Namibia. This is supposed to bring "independence" by 1978. Delegates representing Namibia's "ethnic groups and tribes" have participated but SWAPO has boycotted the conference. SWAPO itself is formally legal but subject to strong repression. The conference has essentially stalled because Black representatives, no matter how conservative or prone to a sell-out they may be, know that there can be no settlement or even serious discussion without SWAPO. Indeed, half a dozen formerly independent Black groups have recently applied to join SWAPO.

SWAPO itself has two wings, which according to the usual terminology of liberation movements in Southern Africa are called "internal" (political) and "external" (military). There may be differences within SWAPO over to what degree to emphasize armed struggle as the strategy for liberating the country. SWAPO's program has called for free elections under U.N. supervision, which South Africa has rejected.

WAR IN NAMIBIA

While the war in Namibia receives much less publicity than that of Zimbabwe, it is no less important. Most Americans are totally unaware that a full-scale war is being fought in Namibia, especially in the northern sections of the country and on the Angolan border. The South African military has forcibly and brutally "resettled" huge numbers of Ovambo tribesmen into concentration camps to create free-fire zones in the border region.

Both the U.N. and the highly authoritative Institute for Strategic Studies in London allege that 100 "V 150 commando APC" armored personnel carriers are in use by the South African government in Namibia. This tank is manufactured by only one company, the Cadillac Gage Corporation in Warren, Michigan. Both Cadillac Gage and its parent company, Ex-Cell-O Corporation, have repeatedly denied to Workers' Power that their tanks are in use there. We are continuing to investigate.

ANGOLA

To prevent SWAPO from using southern Angola as a base for the liberation struggle, South Africa is carrying out an especially vicious border war with Angola, by giving supplies and assistance to the pro-western Angolan puppet movements UNITA and FNLA. A report from Windhoek (capital of South West Africa, i.e. Namibia), January 4, for example, says: "Angolan anti-Government troops are terrorizing the people in North-Eastern Namibia, according to reports today here and in Johannesburg. The troops of UNITA and FNLA are well-equipped and even have trucks, the reports said. They further said the guerillas killed three people in the Ovambo village of Omundaungulo in an incident just before Christmas, and the authors of the incident spoke an Angolan language, the reports said."



South African troops patrol border. South Africa carries out a vicious border war with Angola.

This is just one example. A key part of South Africa's strategy is to create as much turmoil and economic chaos for Angola as possible, as well as staging incidents to terrorize Namibian villagers from providing any aid or solidarity to SWAPO.

U.S. AND NAMIBIA

One of the strategically important parts of Namibia is Walvis Bay. South Africa wants to maintain control of this port even after Namibia is independent. Part of the reason South Africa wants to create a puppet tribal government in Namibia, is so that it will have someone to sign away to South Africa the rights to this important commercial and naval bay. This is also important to the Del Monte corporation, whose sardines are fished off the coast of Namibia and packed at Walvis Bay. Dei

Monte bags \$1.4 million of Namibian sardines a year. For this reason, some anti-apartheid support groups in this country are organizing boycotts of Del Monte sardines in cities where they are marketed.

It is also important to realize that the United States government is involved in one of its most well-financed and vicious operations, aimed at destroying the liberation struggle in Namibia. As a counter-weight to SWAPO, the U.S. in co-operation with some well-paid public relations firms are promoting a certain "Chief Kapuuo" as the future leader of independent Namibia. He has been toured, wined and dined around the U.S., etc. He is strictly a western stooge without the slightest ties to any real independence struggle. The U.S.—South African perspective is to attempt to create a coalition of some type between Kapuuo, other tribal figures he might be able to attract, and possibly some liberal South African types like Dirk Mudge, to create

an interim coalition government leading to a caricature of independence for the country. This is intended to freeze SWAPO out and leave South Africa a free hand to crush Namibia's liberation forces. The details of the operation were revealed by the December issue of Counter Spy magazine, which published secret documents outlining the plan to boost Kapuuo.

The stakes in Namibia are extremely high. A defeat for South Africa there would have an even greater impact than the victories of the national liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique. Its effect on the internal confidence of the South African white government would be extreme.

Unquestionably, all supporters of Southern Africa liberation in this country should be working to expose the facts about this war and supporting the total victory of SWAPO.



SWAPO Women guerillas receive arms training.

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Section 10: Organizing Public Meetings and Film Showings

Many times the SALC will want to hold public meetings especially with speakers from the liberation movements or film showings which we will want to build as major events. In these cases we will be going all out to bring as many people as possible.

This is a series of suggestions on how to build these meetings and film showings. Naturally your committee will have to decide which of these things you can do and hopefully come up with other ideas as well.

PUBLICIZING THE MEETING

Since for most of our major events we will have to charge admission to pay for bringing in speakers and films we should print up tickets in advance. Members and friends of the SALC should make a big push to sell the tickets to all their friends, their neighbors, and the people they work with. We should ask churches, neighborhood groups, and even local businesses to take tickets and leaflets.

One of the most important steps in building a successful meeting is producing an attractive leaflet. It's worth spending some time and money to do this right because an unattractive leaflet will make all your other work twice as difficult. Be sure to start working on the leaflet far enough in advance so even if something goes wrong (the mimeo machine breaks, the electrostencil rips, part of your first design won't reproduce well, etc.) you will still have time to get out a good leaflet in time for the first distributions you have planned.

Especially the week before your meeting or film showing you need a leafleting blitz. Everyone the chapter has ever met should get leaflets either in the mail or in person. This should be followed up with a phone call. If there is a Red Tide in your city, ask them to take the leaflets into the high schools.

Someone should make up a list of every likely political meeting, film showing, concert, club meeting, etc. taking place the week before your event. Then you can make sure that each one is leafleted.

The leaflets should be posterized around the colleges and community colleges in your city. Try to find student organizations that will take leaflets and tickets. If there is a Black Studies Department they may be willing to take leaflets and even announce the event in their classes.

A big posterizing job especially in the area you are having the meeting or film is also important. A few people can go out with condensed milk or glue and pretty thoroughly past up leaflets all over the area.

When Atlanta was building for a showing of "Last Grave at Dimbaza" they phoned most of the Black

churches and asked to make an announcement at their services. Six churches agreed and this helped a great deal to make their meeting a success.

One person can be assigned to send public service announcements to all the radio stations. These announcements should be brief—just the name of the speaker and title of the talk (or the name of the film), the name of your sponsor (SALC), time, date, and place. The announcement should be worded so that the station can just read your copy over the air. Try to get these announcements in at least two weeks in advance.

PRESS

We should send a brief press release announcing the meeting to all newspapers, TV and radio stations and the wire services. See Section 11 of this handbook on The Press for tips on writing a press release.

If you are having a speaker from one of the liberation movements pick out a few radio and TV shows or stations and possibly a Black newspaper to try to arrange interviews and coverage of your meeting.

See if you can get the local TV Black news show to film an interview. Try to get your speaker on a radio talk show. Offer to bring him or her to the local Black paper for an interview. Obviously all these things are unlikely to come through but even one TV interview is an important achievement for spreading the word about the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

CHECKLIST

You can use this section of the handbook as a checklist when you are planning a big event. Go through it and make sure someone has been assigned to do each job. Then try to keep on top of the whole operation. Keep checking with everyone to make sure their part is done and that all new leads are followed up. Remember that something you've planned is almost certain to go at least slightly wrong. But if you find out about it in time you'll be able to solve the problem and it won't interfere with building the event.

Following these guidelines will mean a lot of hard work. But it is also the way to make sure you get the largest possible turnout for your event.

SMALL FILM SHOWINGS

While we often want to organize showings of a film like "Last Grave at Dimbaza" where we are trying to get out as many people as we can, there are also advantages to smaller showings often held in people's homes. Often people will come to see the film at the house of someone they know who wouldn't come to a big showing on something like a college campus.

Also with a smaller number of people it's easier to have free-wheeling and informal discussion. People feel more at ease and ready to talk. In this atmosphere you can not only give a talk to the group about the SALC but speak to people individually as well.

In Detroit several very successful showings of "Last Grave at Dimbaza" were organized right after work for auto workers on the second shift. People came who

The format of the showing should be pretty flexible. If possible we'd certainly like to have someone give a short rap on the SALC. But we may have to be prepared to do most of that in talking to people informally afterwards. We should definitely pass the hat either for ZANU or the Black unions in South Africa. At the very least this gives people the feeling that they did more than just sit and watch a film. Be sure refreshments are available after the film so people will stick around and talk.



A township in South Africa. "Last Grave at Dimbaza" shows how apartheid destroys black families and kills children by slow starvation.

might not have sacrificed one of their nights off to see a political film. Everyone who came was excited and moved by the film.

In building these small showings it's important to be clear from the beginning about exactly who you're organizing the show for. It may be a group of people someone knows at work, a rank and file caucus, people from the same neighborhood, or just friends of the individual at whose house the film is being shown. Once you've decided who you're trying to bring deciding where to hold the showing and when will be easy.

You may or may not want to have a leaflet on these showings but the most important way of building them will be personal invitations. Most people will come or not come largely on the basis of who asks them. If you are showing the film after work you can bring the people with you.

We want to begin getting people who have seen "Last Grave At Dimbaza" at one of these showings to organize a showing of their own. Many people who come will belong to a club or church that would show the film and have an SALC speaker with it. Others may just know a few friends who would come to their house to see it. If out of each showing we find one person who will help us organize another showing we'll be well on our way to organizing a successful SALC chapter.

Section 11: Using the Press

The television, radio and print press provide a way to reach thousands and thousands of potential Southern Africa Liberation Committee sympathizers. Getting good press coverage is difficult, but not impossible. It takes time, a few skills, consistency and some luck.

The person responsible for the media has to be reliable. After that qualification is taken care of, the rest of the skills can be easily learned.

Often overlooked but absolutely critical, is the necessity for the press person to know all the background and details of the subject. A good practice is to keep data sheets and copies of all press releases in a folder near the phone listed for further information.

PRESS CONTACTS

The committee should have a master list of all newspapers, television and radio stations. Each entry should contain the address (with zip code), telephone number, and appropriate contact person.

**Example: DETROIT FREE PRESS
123 Woodward Ave. Room 456
Detroit, MI 48789**

Att: City Editor Alice Waring 987-6543 Ext. 210

In addition to the City Editor, if a station or paper has a specific reporter or columnist who has covered previous or similar events, they should be included as well. Do not forget interview format shows, both radio and television.

Press releases should be sent out regularly to report on committee activities as well as when building publicity for a special major event. If a press person has seen several reports previous to a big event, the possibility of press coverage increases.

Personal contact is very important. It's well worth the time to call the primary television stations and newspapers and ask who to send material to. Follow up with a call to that person the day before you want coverage. Include all last minute information in your call.

If you are having no luck with a station or paper try to find out ways of increasing the chances of publicity. Ask why we haven't gotten it, and what we can do to improve our press material.

Some media particularly weeklies, all-news stations, and underground papers will use features written by the committee or by an individual for the committee. Read the Black press in particular. Quite often they will print articles about Africa and the liberation movements. Both the Atlanta Voice and the Louisville defender have featured similar articles on their front pages recently, obviously written by nationalists. Read community weeklies as well. Often these are worth the time and trouble because they do sometimes have a large circulation.

Guidelines similar to the press release section should be followed when writing feature articles. Try to think of an angle that makes the article particularly relevant to your city. For instance, beginning an article on U.S. corporations in South Africa with investments by Phillip Morris Tobacco (or its owner) should help considerably in Louisville. Or Proctor-Gamble in Cincinnati.

Do not forget community service bulletins or the newsletters of liberal and community groups we have contacted. These are often just 3 or 4 sentences and an address or telephone number.

For example: "Shoes for African freedom fighters are still desperately needed. The Southern Africa Liberation Committee has drop off points at St. Jude's Church, 1423 West St. and Central Community Center, 4763 Linel Drive. Your old tennis shoes or boots can save lives. For more information call Randy Williams at 987-6543."

Almost all of the bulletins have strict deadlines that will not be adjusted. They are often as much as 2 weeks in advance of the publication date before the planned event.

The committee should have a complete list of them with deadlines and space restrictions included.

Getting coverage from AP, UPI or Mutual Black Network News is a sought-after bonanza. It virtually insures some coverage, somewhere. All three have press officers, if not offices, in major cities. The wire services should be treated just like a major station or newspaper. Send a press release and (most important) follow up the day before with a telephone call.

PRESS RELEASES

The press release is your main contact with the media. Its purpose is to provide news to the press. A good release is short (no more than 1½ pages), clearly worded and interesting to read. An enclosed picture for newspapers, although expensive, can often make the difference between good newspaper coverage and no coverage at all.

WRITING IT

Before writing, jot down the major points you have to cover so that you have a clear outline of the release from the beginning. Begin with the news, add relevant details and background later on. An outline might look like this:

1. 2000 shoes sent to Zimbabwe
2. why shoes important, parasites
3. how they got collected
4. other or future activities
5. committee address or phone number

Then begin writing. The first paragraph of a press release, or any news article, is called the lead. It

contains at least a mention of all the important news: who, what, where, when, why, and how. Example:

"Two thousand pairs of shoes to protect the feet of African freedom fighters. That is the payoff for members of the Detroit Southern Africa Liberation Committee. It took two months of patient door-to-door work, but the shoes were shipped yesterday to Norfolk, Va., the first stage of their journey to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)."

Remember that the person reading your release will also see many more releases from other groups competing for precious column space or air time. It's your job to grab their attention, get your point across, and not waste their time. Be brief and to the point.

PREPARING IT

A press release should be neatly typed, double-spaced, with accurate spelling, grammar and punctuation. It should follow this general format:

Line 1: Release date; flush right, all caps: FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE or FOR RELEASE ON MARCH 7, 1977.

Lines 2, 3, and 4: Contact person and telephone number; flush right: For further information contact: JOAN SMITH

876-5432 between 8 am and 5 pm.

Line 5: Blank

Line 6: Headline, all caps: 200 SHOES SHIPPED TO ZIMBABWEAN FIGHTERS

Line 7: Blank

Line 8: Begin typing release.

If the release is more than one page the last line of the first stencil should be:

—more—

The second page should begin:

200 SHOES PRESS RELEASE, page 2 [flush left]
[flush right] FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Then continue the copy. After the last sentence of the release, space down and type:

—30—, #, or end

Staple pages together, fold and mail.

Section 12: U.S. Investments in South Africa —Partners in Apartheid

The topic of United States corporate investment in South Africa is a huge one. For an excellent comprehensive survey, as of 1973, consult **Church Investments Corporations and South Africa**, available from the National Council of Churches, New York.

U.S. auto, steel, chemical and mining interests are very heavily invested. Some are involved in partnerships with state corporations established by the government of South Africa, specifically for the purpose of attracting foreign investment. Total direct U.S. investment is conservatively estimated at \$1.5—2 billion. *Fortune* magazine estimated the rate of return as 19% per year, after taxes! Most of this poured in after the 1960 Sharpesville massacre. Foreign investment accounted for 22.9% of all investment in South Africa in 1975.

The Africa Fund has described the importance of U.S. investment to South Africa. "U.S. investment and trade has played a critical role in developing manufacturing in South Africa. U.S. investment provides not only much of the capital for development

of key industries, but also the license, technology and personnel, which, in many cases, are even more important than the capital itself. With the approval of the U.S. government, weapons-grade uranium, aircraft and electronics technology have gone to South Africa to assist the military build-up against the majority of its people."

Often U.S. investments are involved in highly complicated transactions which may make them difficult to trace. For example Chrysler, one of the biggest U.S. firms investing in South Africa, recently sold its holdings to a "Billings Corporation," which is a subsidiary of Anglo-American, in exchange for shares. Other U.S. corporations with the largest South Africa investments include Firestone, Ford, GM, GE, Goodyear, ITT, IBM, and so on. The list is practically endless. No matter what city you are in, it is certain that the largest corporations in your area include some of the heaviest investors in apartheid.

As the accompanying chart shows, U.S. banks are also deeply involved in loans to South Africa. In the last ten years total U.S. bank loans to the regime rose to \$2 billion.

MAJOR LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA BY U.S. BANKS—1976

<u>Borrower</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>U.S. Banks</u>
Escom (Electrical Supply Commission)	\$200 million	Citibank Chase Morgan Manfrs. Han.
ISCOR (Iron & Steel Corp.)	\$80 million	Chase Citibank Orion
Richard Bay Minerals (Consortium: IDC (S.A.) 20%, Union Corp. 30%, Quebec Iron & Titanium Corp. 40%, S.A. Mutual Life Assurance 10%)	\$138 million	Citibank
South African Railways	\$75 million	Morgan
Fuskor (Phosphate Development Corp.)	\$30 million	Manfrs. Han.
S.A.B.C. (South African Broadcasting Corp.)	\$20 million	Citibank
South African Gov't	\$110 million	Citibank Morgan Bank of America
S.A. Airways/Railways (for Boeings)	\$99 million	European Bank- Corp. (linked to European American Bank- ing Corp. U.S. headquarters in Chicago)
Industrial Development Corp.	\$25 million	Chase and Export- Import Bank
TOTAL:	\$777 million	

Note: These loans, totalling \$777 million, have been granted to the South African government or government-controlled corporations in the first nine months of 1976 alone—an astronomical loan growth rate for a "high risk" borrower.

Compiled by American Committee on Africa/INS.

What is the real role of U.S. investment in South Africa? Do these corporations help to improve conditions for Black workers by providing jobs and higher incomes than would otherwise be available?

There is a relatively simple way to answer this question. Here is a chart of the ratio of white to Black wages in several key sectors of the economy:

1960	1966	1971	1972	
16.6-1	17.5-1	20.3-1	17.2-1	Mining
5.2-1	5.1-1	5.7-1	5.9-1	Manufacturing

As you can see the gap between white and Black wages, even in relative terms, is **increasing**, not decreasing. These are the very years during which U.S. investments and South Africa's so-called "economic miracle" (for the whites) expanded most rapidly.

Now if anyone claims to you that American business investment and bank loans have a progressive impact in South Africa, you should ask: what is it that permits this racist state to preserve a system that pays whites at least 5 to 20 times the wages paid to Blacks? It is not that South Africa is a poor country; on the contrary it is a very rich one. What enables South Africa to preserve this structure is **power**: the power of a massive repressive machine, of the most powerful armed forces in Africa, and of a whole police state that is dedicated to stamping out effective Black organization and revolution. It is true that this machine is no longer sufficiently powerful to stop the growing rebellion, but its enormous power is a fact. It is above all U.S. investment and loans which **supply South Africa with the wherewithal to spend to maintain that repressive machinery.**

U.S. corporations in South Africa are not only investing in cheap labor; in very real, immediate sense they are investing directly in the South African police state and its army. They are literally partners in apartheid. Every Black resistance movement in South Africa has made very clear it is for a movement to force American corporations out, to prevent them from further propping up the apartheid system. When South Africa's Black masses seize control of their own land, it will be up to them to decide how they want to deal with the wealth and the industrial assets the foreign and domestic white capitalist exploiters have accumulated off their backs.

Workers' Power believes that these assets, foreign and domestic alike, will be taken over by the Black working class, to become the collective property of the Black masses who will use them to carry out the socialist transformation of all Southern Africa. Once that wealth has been liberated it can free the entire continent.

But today, to bring this goal closer, all supporters of Southern African liberation should give total support to the demand: **U.S. Imperialism Out Of South Africa!**



Coca-Cola sign in East London, South Africa's white business. Coca-Cola is one of many U.S. companies investing in South Africa.

Section 13: Southern Africa Directory

This is the most complete listing we have been able to put together of national service organizations, liberation movement offices in the US, local groups, and publications dealing with Southern Africa. We hope all Southern Africa liberation activists will find it useful and help us make it more complete and keep it up to date. We will re-issue the listing whenever we have enough new information to make it worthwhile. Please send additions and corrections to: **SOUTHERN AFRICA LIBERATION COMMITTEE** 149 Ford, Highland Park, Michigan 48203

NATIONAL SERVICE AGENCIES

American Committee on Africa
305 E. 46th St., NYC, NY 10017, phone: 212-838-5030

ACOA is the original American support organization for the liberation movements. It is the best source of information on the liberation movements and US corporate and political support to the minority regimes in the US. ACOA generally follows the OAU Liberation Committee in deciding between competing liberation movements.

Amensty International USA
200 W. 72 St., NYC, NY 10023

A valuable source for information on political prisoners.

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington DC 20002

Sponsored by ACOA and churches for lobbying and legislative information. Best source for specific information on legislation or US government actions.

LOCAL GROUPS

African Activist Association
c/o African Studies Center, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024

African Liberation Support Committee
c/o New Africa House, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01002

Anti-Apartheid Movement USA
PO Box 299, Garret Park, MD 20766

Atlanta Southern Africa Liberation Committee
PO Box 11016, Atlanta, GA 30310, phone: 404-753-3309

Bay Area Namibia Action Group
944 Market St. #308, San Francisco, CA 94101

Black Vanguard Resource Center
PO Box 6289, Norfolk VA 23508

Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea
New World Resource Center, 1476 West Irving Park, Chicago, IL 60613

Committee on Southern Africa Liberation
119 College Place, Syracuse, NY 13210

Committee to Oppose Apartheid
c/o Dr. Edward Steinhart, Institute of African and Afro-American Studies, Austin, TX 78712

Committee to Stop Mercenaries and Krugerrand
PO Box 893, San Antonio, TX 78293

Committee to Stop Racism and Repression
PO Box 1086, Lee Road Branch, Cleveland, OH 44120

Committee to Stop the Krugerrand
30 E. 20 St., Rm 207, NYC, NY 10003, phone: 212-724-7075

Detroit Southern Africa Liberation Committee
149 Ford, Highland Park, MI 48203, phone: 313-867-3837

Freedom Information Service
Drawer D, Tougaloo, MS 39174

Lancaster Southern Africa Liberation Committee
c/o Independent Socialists of Lancaster, PO Box 683, Lancaster, PA 17604

Liberation Support Movement
PO Box 673, Brooklyn, NY 11203

Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa
731 State St., Madison, WI 53706

Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports
3808 Hamilton St., Philadelphia, PA 19104

Pittsburgh Southern Africa Liberation Committee
316 E. 12th, Homestead, PA 15120, phone: 412-461-2975

Southern Africa Liberation Committee
118 South Harrison, East Lansing, MI 48823

Southern Africa Liberation Committee
310 Triphammer Rd., Ithaca, NY 14850
Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition
PO Box 101, Boston, MA 02123

Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition
3268 Lynde St., Oakland, CA 94601

Southern Africa Support Committee
424 N. Catalina Ave., #5, Pasadena CA 91106

US Out of Southern Africa Coalition
c/o AFSC, 407 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605

PUBLICATIONS

Africa News

A weekly digest of reports on all Africa— with considerable emphasis on Southern Africa. Review of the weeks leading stories with considerable information not found in the American press. Non-profit, \$48 a year— one month trial, \$5. African News Service, Inc., Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702

Facts and Reports

Reprints of US and American press reports on Southern Africa. The European reprints are especially valuable. Published every two weeks by Angola Comite, Da Costastratt 88, Amsterdam, Holland. Airmail \$26.

Southern Africa Magazine

Only periodical in the US focusing entirely on all Southern Africa liberation struggles, US involvement and support actions. Published monthly by the Southern Africa Committee, 244 W. 27 St., 5th Fl., NYC, NY 10001.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT REPRESENTATIVES IN THE US

South Africa

African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]
Thami Mhlambiso, Office of the UN in North America,
28 E. 35 St., NYC, NY 10016, phone: 212-532-7940

Pan African Congress of Azania [PAC]
David Sibeko, c/o PANAF, 575 Madison Ave., NYC,
NY 10022, phone: 212-826-1700

Namibia

South West African People's Organization [SWAPO]
Theo Ben Gurirab, 801 Second Ave., Rm. 1401, NYC,
NY 110017, phone: 212-679-2022

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU]
Tapson Maware, 89-09 162 St., Suite 3D, Jamaica, NY
11432, phone: 212-291-8039

WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, DECEMBER 20, 1976 #100 12c

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FIGHT SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM IN U.S.!

Pickets Rid New York Store Of Krugerrand

By Steve Green

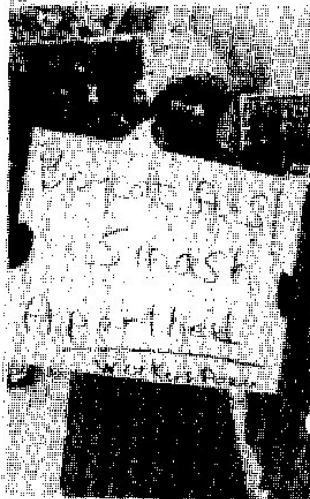
NEW YORK (UPI)—Opponents of apartheid in South Africa picketed a store in New York City today to rid it of Krugerrand South African gold coins.

The store's sign says "Krugerrand" and "Buy Krugerrand". The picketers, members of the American Committee on Africa, Workers' Power and the Red Star, carried the "Boycott Krugerrand" sign.

The picketers held signs and white ribbons that said "Krugerrand is the racist government of South Africa. Buy Krugerrand is supporting a big advertising campaign in the U.S. to sell Krugerrand for the U.S. market."

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