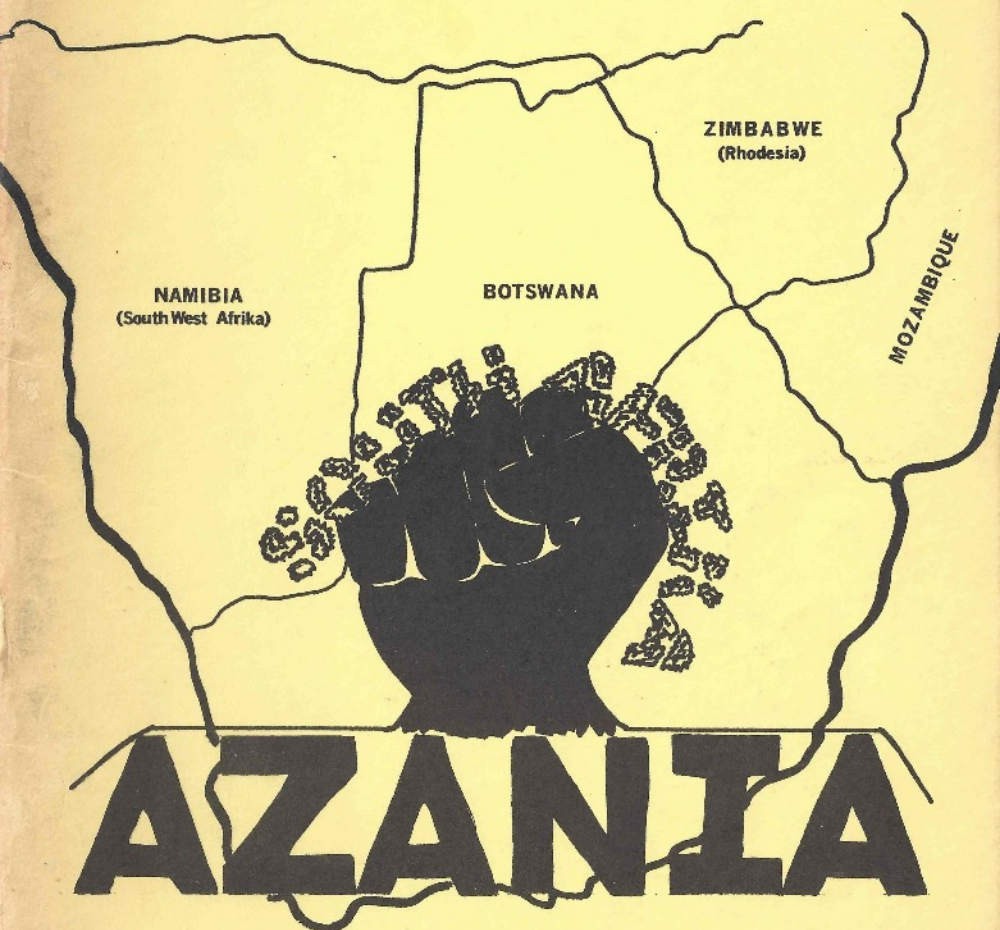


# Tearing the Roof Off the Sucker: The Fall of South Afrika



This book is dedicated  
to all the freedom fighters  
struggling to  
TEAR THE ROOF OFF THE SUCKER!

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MWENDO

# Tearing the Roof Off the Sucker: The Fall of South Afrika

by

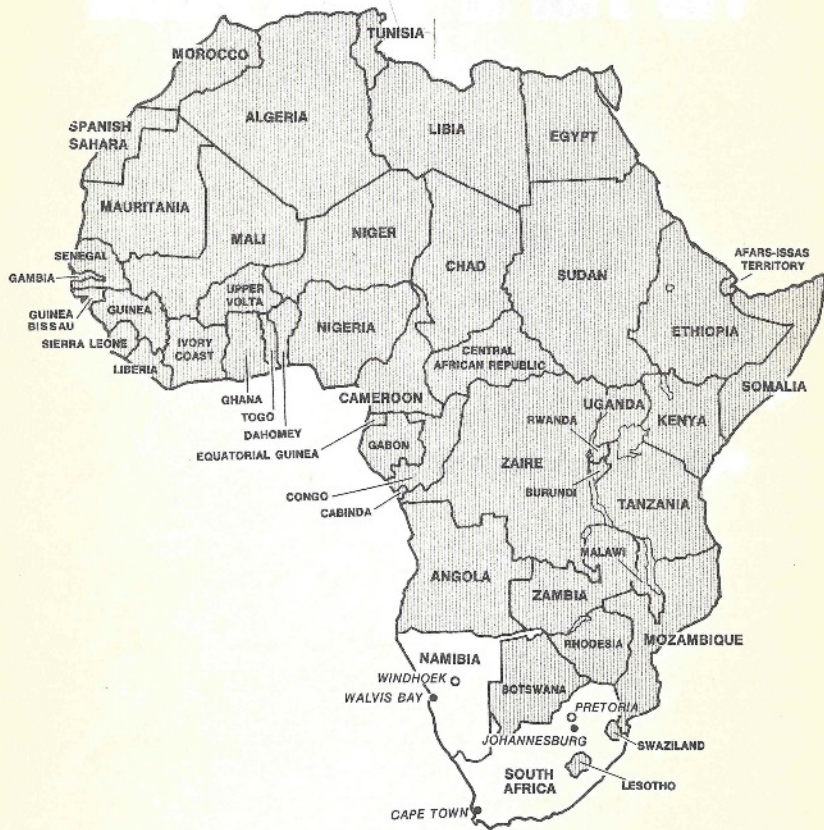
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AFRICA

Learning the names of the countries in Africa

AFRICA



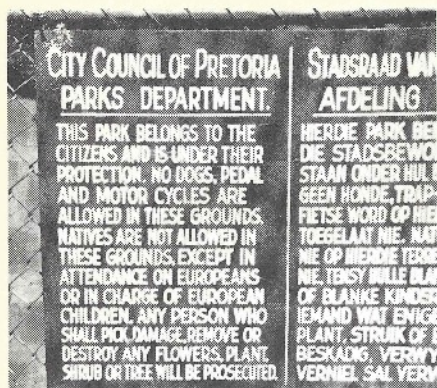
## TEARING THE ROOF OFF THE SUCKER: THE FALL OF SOUTH AFRIKA

In five years the old era will be completely over. Overt white supremacy and political domination of Afrika will be done with. Certainly neo-colonialism will still exist, and the hidden but nonetheless binding economic ties and dependencies of Black Afrika to Europe and America will still be strong. But the scourge of flagrant racism will be banished from Afrika and there is no force in the world today that can stop that from happening.

**SOUTH AFRIKA, THE SETTLER STATE.** Of course, South Afrika will be the last to go. They will certainly do the "Custer," i.e., foolishly enter a battle that they have no hope of winning. But they are doomed and it is no longer a question of if but rather of when South Afrika will fall.

South Afrika stands today on the verge of being the last remaining white state in Afrika. However, that is not what makes the South Afrikan state unique. The uniqueness of South Afrika is that they have ceased to see themselves as a colonial country and now see themselves as an indigenous developed Afrikan state; some of them have even taken to characterizing themselves as Afrika's only "white tribe."

*The White South African nation has been created by the historical forces of more than three centuries. Measured against all accepted historical and demographic criteria, this nation exists as an integral part of the Afrikan continent's socio-political structure. Today, the Whites of the Republic of South Africa rightfully consider them-*



This sign outside a public park in Pretoria reflects the policy of apartheid in its reference to the exclusion of "natives" from the grounds. **United Nations / D. Boernstein**

*elves a permanently established African nation, geo-politically rooted in a part of the continent which has in the course of more than three centuries become their only motherland. They claim this land as their own on the strength of three historical realities: Purposeful and uninterrupted occupation and habitation; effective and sustained economic development; and effective and continuous political control. These historical realities refute any assumption that the White South African nation constitutes merely a group of temporary sojourners in Africa, a projection of Western Europe on a foreign continent. . . Viewed historically and socio-politically, the 2.3 million Afrikaners are the most firmly rooted White community in Africa.*<sup>1</sup>

Which means not only don't they have any other place in the world to go but also that they feel that they have nonnegotiable rights to live in Afrika.

Most of Afrika recognizes and is willing to live with Whites, whether from Europe, America, South Afrika or wherever. Living together is not the question. In fact, even the OAU recognizes this right. "The official position of the OAU is that South Africa is an African state. . . But African leaders add a caveat, that this acceptance is conditional on South Africa accepting the obligation to dismantle its far reaching paraphernalia of apartheid."<sup>2</sup> In short the real issue is economic and political control; who has the power.

Although recognizing that South Afrika is in geo-political reality an Afrikan state, we assert that the dominant characteristic of this state is that it is a settler state. All of the economic and political power of this state resides in the hands not only of a numerical minority but also a racial minority, a minority whose ancestry can be traced directly back to settlers who came in the main from Holland. South Afrika is a settler state under the firm grip of a Boer-Afrikaans regime.

**TABLE I**  
**POPULATION COMPOSITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

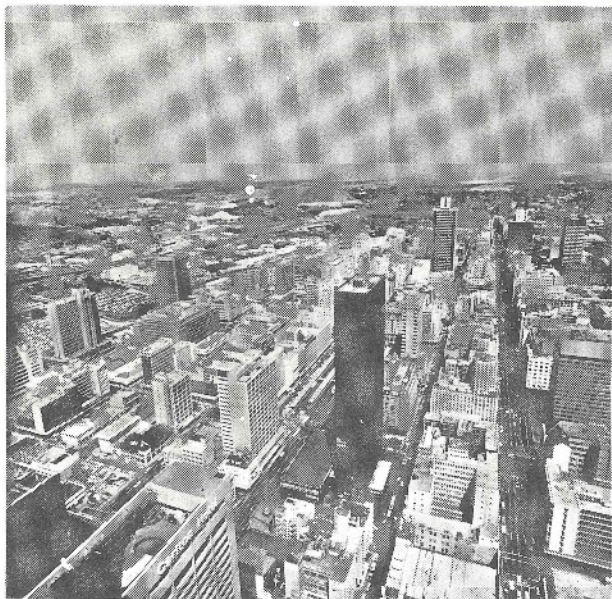
Main socio-demographic groups in total figures and as a percentage of the total population			Main Black peoples (ethno-political units) in total figures and as a percentage of the total population		
Whites . . . . .	3 750 716	(17.5)	Zulu . . . . .	4 026 082	(18.8)
Coloureds . . . . .	2 018 533	(9.4)	Xhosa (Transkei) . . . . .	3 005 000	(14.3)
Asians . . . . .	620 422	(2.9)	Tswana . . . . .	1 718 508	(8.0)
			North Sotho . . . . .	1 603 530	(7.5)
			South Sotho . . . . .	1 453 354	(6.8)
			Xhosa (Ciskei) . . . . .	824 000	(4.0)
			Shangaan . . . . .	736 978	(3.4)
			Swazi . . . . .	498 704	(2.3)
			Ndebele . . . . .	414 641	(1.9)
			Venda . . . . .	357 875	(1.7)
			Other Blacks . . . . .	317 965	(1.5)
<b>TOTAL - 21 447 230 - (100%)</b>					

**APARTHEID AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT.** The handwriting has long been on the wall that a mere 17 percent of the population (see Table I) could not hold down forever the rest of the population, particularly when that 17 percent was a racial minority not only in the country itself but also indeed a racial minority on the whole continent. Clearly Afrika does not intend to live with all-white rule of any area of the continent. Afrika has agreed to live with white people as fellow citizens but not with whites as rulers.

The Boers of South Afrika have been for the last ten years or so frantically attempting to erase the writing off the wall. But the truth is written with the indelible ink of Black blood: **white rule must go.**

In a futile effort to delay the eventual end South Afrika has developed the policy of **Apartheid**. The word apartheid comes from the language Afrikaans and literally means "separation." The general conception of apartheid is to see it as the South Afrikan equivalent of segregation as recently practiced in America. But the rigid segregation of one race from another based on skin color is only one aspect of apartheid. Petty apartheid is the racial discrimination which is practiced in South Afrika; but the more dangerous form of apartheid is the pushing of the concept of "separate development," as defined by the South Afrikans, which has no counterpart in any other part of the world.

*The South African Government is convinced that divergent nationalisms cannot evolve harmoniously within one political and constitutional framework. The government is therefore committed*



Johannesburg in southern Transvaal Province, the largest city in South Africa, about 30 miles southwest of Pretoria. Gold mining is the main industry here. It is an important industrial and commercial centre. **United Nations/Jerry Frank**

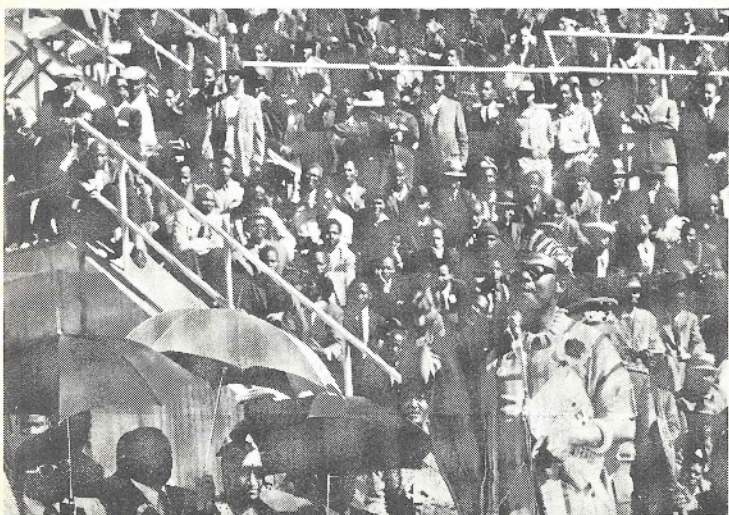


Frontiers within frontiers. Children behind a fence that separates them from the white community near Johannesburg. **United Nations/Pendl**





South African Prime Minister John Vorster with Ian Smith, who, in 1965, illegally declared Southern Rhodesia independent. The two men have met frequently since that time. South Africa has played a key role in the survival of the Smith regime, not just with troops to fight the nationalist forces, but also with financial and other aid in evading UN sanctions. **United Nations/Camera Press**



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressing a large crowd gathered to hear him at the Jabulani Stadium in Soweto near Johannesburg. The Chief is Chief Executive of Kwa-Zulu, the "homeland" assigned to his people - the Zulus - in northern Natal. **United Nations/W. Raynor**

to a policy of separate political advancement for the Black peoples, but the latter's emancipation is being implemented in a way calculated to prevent their political emancipation from endangering the continued existence and political viability of the White nation. The South African Government sees the division of interests between the White and various Bantu nations as a natural polarisation.

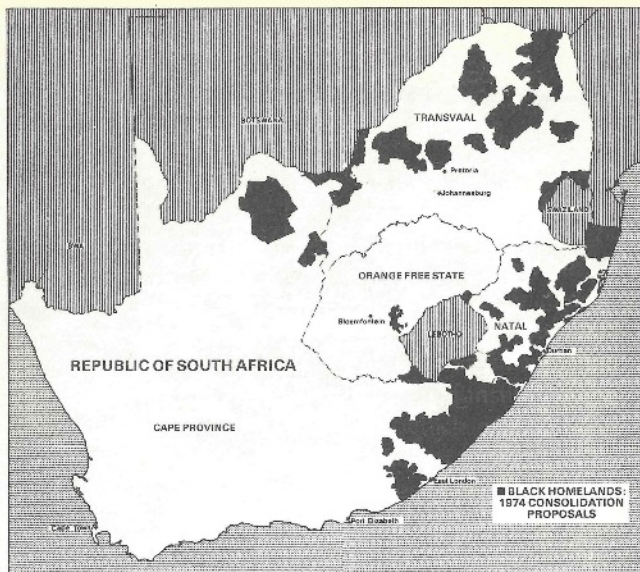
In view of these realities, Government policy is not to inhibit the political emancipation of the Black peoples in an arbitrary manner, but to regulate this process on a basis of creative self-withdrawal. In addition, the Black nations will exercise their political rights and national independence within the geo-political jurisdiction of their own ethnic homelands.<sup>3</sup>

This literally boils down to creating reservations for Blacks and calling these reservations first "homelands" and then eventually "nations." The whole charade of homeland/nationhood separate development is not a recent idea, but instead is a concept that was decades in the making.

Prior to 1910, when Britain ruled nearly the whole of Southern Africa, no attempt was made to enforce a unitary political system on all the nations within the vast geographical area under her jurisdiction - though few, if any were at the time economically self-sufficient on their own. Thus **General Smuts** (the famous South African statesman-warrior and author of the preamble to the UN Charter) in 1917, and again at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, extolled the virtues of developing separate and parallel institutions for the various nations of Southern Africa. It was generally accepted that each nation was entitled to govern itself in accordance with its own customs and traditions. Territorial division was the first step; the next was the separate political development of the various groups, coupled with economic co-operation among them as parts of a larger economic whole.

General Smuts, in a speech in London on 22 May, 1917, said: "Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by Blacks and governed by Blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your White communities, which will govern themselves separately according to accepted European principles."<sup>4</sup>

The first homeland to become a "nation" under this policy was the Transkei which became nominally independent on October 26, 1976. Transkei is but one in a series of nine areas officially designated as homelands which are proposed to become "nations" in the future.



**A FLAG AND A NATIONAL ANTHEM**, a form of quasi-independent government and other "official trappings" will be the extent of the actual nationhood, as South Afrika has no intention of ever allowing these white created "nations" to become anything more than appendages of the South Afrika economy that gives South Afrika an aura of legitimacy that it could not otherwise claim.

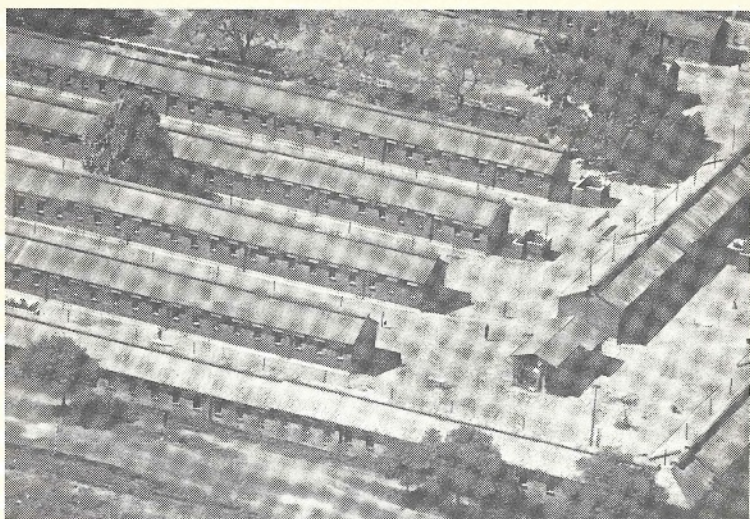
As presently constituted, each homeland is established along ethnic lines. Each of the eight homelands will have a specific people associated with it. For example, Transkei is the homeland of the Xhosa people. The catch is that every person of that ethnic group automatically becomes a citizen of that nation when the homeland becomes nominally independent and **ceases to be a citizen of South Afrika** regardless of whether or not that person lives in the new nation, has ever been there in their life or ever intends on moving to that land. In fact, the policy of separate development has as its eventual purpose the denial of citizenship to the millions of Black people who now and since the time of their birth have lived in and around the urban areas of South Afrika. Once the homelands are made into nations, the Blacks of South Afrika will become foreign nationals who will have no rights to even fight for within the nation of South Afrika.

What it amounts to is establishing little countries around the edges of the big country and making all of the Black people who live in the big country a citizen of one of the little countries. Upon the completion of that scenario South Afrika will probably announce to the world that it is

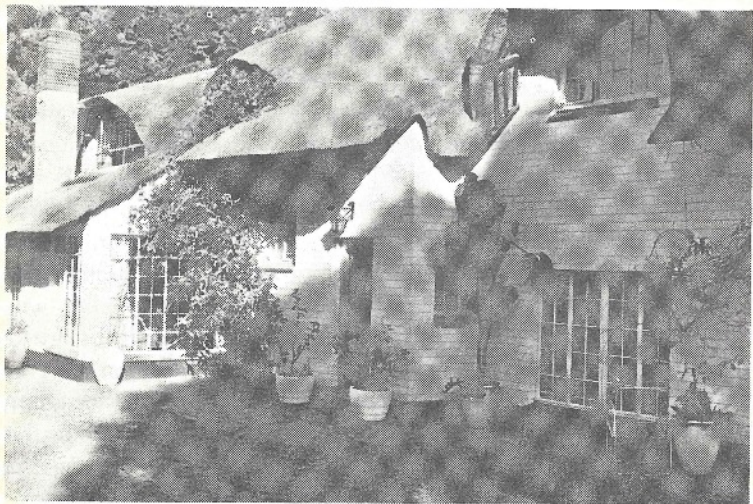


New homes for Black South Africans in a new "homeland": Kwa-Zulu in northern Natal. Water is scarce on this barren land. The only hope is to dig a hole and try to tap what underground water there is. The South African Government's policy of settling people in racially segregated areas is often by force and under such conditions of extreme hardship for the country's African, Asian, and Coloured inhabitants.

**United Nations/W. Raynor**



Barracks-like living quarters for Black goldminers near Johannesburg. Black workers from various parts of the country, forced to seek employment in the white-controlled industrial centres, are mostly housed in bleak, segregated, all-male compounds such as this. **United Nations/Pendl**



Suburban whites live well by any standards. Africans are admitted only as servants. **United Nations**

ready to accept majority rule, knowing full well that thanks to the policy of separate development, the majority of the people of South Afrika will be white and majority of the land in what is presently South Afrika will remain under white control. (See map No. 1.)

*. . . In 1970, when the last official census was taken, apart from the two million Coloured and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a million Asians, there were over eight million Africans, i.e., 53.3% of the total African population of just over 15 million, in the so-called white areas. The percentage seems likely to be higher now. Of the less than 47% in the homelands, some 35% of all males were involved in migratory labor. Quite possibly that percentage has also increased. Whatever kind of subterfuge is attempted, such as saying that African urban dwellers who now possess South African citizenship will lose it as homelands become independent, the fact remains that the overwhelming majority of the population in the so-called white areas will always be African.*<sup>5</sup>

The government of South Afrika offers no illusions about its intent. In fact they flat out state that "South Africa rejects the idea that a people's political independence is tied to economic self-sufficiency."<sup>6</sup> In other words, you can be politically independent while simultaneously being economically dependent.

The amazing feature about this process is that a few Blacks are going for this "sleigh-of-land" trick and they are of course paraded out to the front lines at every opportunity. The government of Transkei feels that once they are independent, they will be able to exert a force to peaceably change South Afrika. But that feeling is only an illusion, an illusion that carefully ignores South Afrika's stated purpose in creating these Bantustans (homelands) which is to make white control of South Afrika secure. In fact Transkei, instead of acting as a force against South Afrika, reductively shores up the South Afrikan regime by providing it political legitimacy and a self-contained non-antagonistic pool of migratory labor which it can cheaply buy, and then send back "home" once the jobs are done.

Fortunately there is not only some internal opposition to Transkei nationhood, even though South Afrikan Prime Minister Vorster attempted to squash all opposition, but in addition, and more importantly, there is public opposition to the "granting" of nationhood from the leaders of nearly all of the homelands, particularly from M. Gatsha Buthelezi, who is head of KwaZulu, the homeland of the Zulu people, who are the largest ethnic population in South Afrika.

*The Leaders here assembled, excluding Bophuthatswana and the Transkei, wish to reiterate that they have no intention whatsoever of opting for the so-called independence, as we do not want to abdicate our birthright as South Africans, as well as forfeiting our share of the economy and wealth, which we have jointly built.* <sup>7</sup>

But even beyond the political and economic injustices, Bantustans stand as a moral and material affront to the dignity and real threat to the very lives of those Blacks who are forced to seek out a bare subsistence survival behind the barbed wire of their so-called "native homelands." Facts show that these "reserves" are little short of state structured sewers, concentration camps and, ultimately, cemeteries. Such an assesment may seem harsh but the living conditions in the Bantustans, unfortunately, substantiate the assesment.

*One-half of the children born in the black areas - now called Bantustans or Homelands - die before reaching the age of five.*

*The death rate of African children in a Bantustan is twenty-five times that of white children; tuberculosis, which has a link with malnutrition, is ten times as common among Africans as whites, and is increasing.* <sup>8</sup>

To give a flag, an anthem and a titular government to an area such as these where disease, malnutrition, unemployment and enforced segregation are rampant and call such a place a "nation" is surely a mockery. It is a mockery not because of the poverty and other conditions but rather because such a charade changes in no way the balance of power and the fundamental material and social relationships between the Blacks who live there and the whites who control all the land and the total economy. The conditions that exist today on the Bantustans is nothing more than a fulfillment of the racist dream of continued and strengthened exploitation and oppresion in the form of "separate development" which does nothing more than separate Blacks and develop whites!

TABLE 2 BLACK HOMELANDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Official name of each homeland and its people	Capital	Territory in hectares	1970 Population ('000) (de jure)	Constitutional Development Legislative Assembly (Year in which status was attained)	Self-government (Year in which status was attained)	Government leader (1973)
Transkei (Xhosa) . . . . .	Umtata	3 672 212	3 005	1963	1963	Kaizer D. Matanzima
Ciskei (Xhosa) . . . . .	Zwelitsha	918 547	924	1971	1972	Lennox L. Sebe
KwaZulu (Zulu) . . . . .	Nongoma	3 144 321	4 026	1972	—	M. Gatsha Buthelezi
Lebowa (North Sotho) . . . . .	Sheshego	2 214 086	2 019 <sup>11</sup>	1971	1972	Cedric N. Phatudi
Venda (Vhavenda) . . . . .	Sibasa	604 355	358	1971	1973	Patrick R. Mphopheu
Gazankulu (Shangaan/ Tsonga) . . . . .	Giyani	667 292	737	1971	1973	Professor Hudson W. E. Ntsanwisi
Bophuthatswana . . . . .	Mafeking	3 754 018	1 719	1971	1972	Lucas M. Mangope
Basotho-Orwaqwa (South Sotho) . . . . .	Witsieshoek	45 742	1 453	1971	—	Wessels Mota
Swazi (Swazi) Territory . . . . .		211 807	499	—	—	

**EXPLODING THE MYTH THAT SOUTH AFRIKA CAN MAKE IT ALONE.** Soweto burst the bubble and exposed the alleged unconquerable and solid state of South Afrika for the vulnerable time bomb that it really is. South Afrika had been telling the world that regardless of what was happening elsewhere, other parts of Afrika included, regardless of the surge of liberation activities happening right across its borders, regardless of all of that, South Afrika kept telling the world that the whites of South Afrika had everything under control. They were whistling in the dark trying to make it through the cemetery. The students of Soweto demonstrated just how vulnerable South Afrika really is. Strikes were called, organized and carried through despite massive arrests and other police provocations and brutalities. The country remains in physical and political turmoil. Certainly, no one expects South Afrika to fall overnight but on the other hand, certainly South Afrika may not last out the seventies as a white power regime.

South Afrikan superiority is a myth built on a misunderstanding of what the actual conditions and circumstances are. At first glance South Afrika does seem to be in a pretty good position.

*South Africa is Africa's richest and most powerful country, heavily industrialized, far more developed than are some of the smaller countries of Europe. It is the world's chief producer of gold and diamonds. It has vast coal and iron ore reserves, steel and chemical industries, and the world's largest oil-from-coal extraction complex. Together with the disputed territory of Southwest Africa (Namibia), which it controls at present, it possesses 20 per cent of the world's economically usable uranium.*<sup>9</sup>



However all of that means little in a politically explosive atmosphere and the economic realities of the day further erode South Afrika's stability. In fact, close analysis reveals that South Afrika is tethering now on the verge of economic collapse. How can this be possible in the face of all these riches? Let's look closer.

A large percentage of South Afrika's wealth is contingent on the availability of dirt cheap labor which is in turn contingent upon a passive labor pool. The source of South Afrikan dirt cheap labor has proven to be anything but passive in the past few months. As the wave of Black liberation barrels southward, labor in South Afrika can be expected to turn into a liability rather than an asset.

South Afrika's gold output, for example, would not be "profitable" except that Black labor is cheaply available and exploitable.

*There are, on any given day, about 400,000 men at work on the gold mines, more than 40,000 of them being skilled workers. The skilled workers are the permanent staff, and are all full-time career men. They have served apprenticeships, sat examinations or achieved engineering degrees. Gold mining offers the miners hard work with high pay and a low cost of living. For instance, a senior official will live in an eight-roomed house with a large garden and pay little rent. His golf, tennis and club facilities are subsidized. . . . By far the majority of workers, however, are unskilled Bantu tribesmen - often peasant farmers - who gladly offer their services as migrant laborers on short-term contracts to the mines. About 350,000 men from 50 different tribes from various parts of southern Africa come to the mines each year.* <sup>10</sup>

In summarizing his observations of the working conditions, Representative Charles Diggs noted:

*I should like to indicate briefly the conditions under which the African miners work. By the simple legislative expedient of defining employees so as to exclude Africans, these people are deprived of all their labour rights. Since 1911 it has been a criminal offense to strike or otherwise break the contracts, which usually last about a year.*

*There have always been convicts used in the mines, but there is so little difference between the wages of regular labourers and convicts that for all practical purposes they could all be convicts. They have no paid leave at all, and a rigid discipline that means they are allowed to lose far fewer days through illness or family*

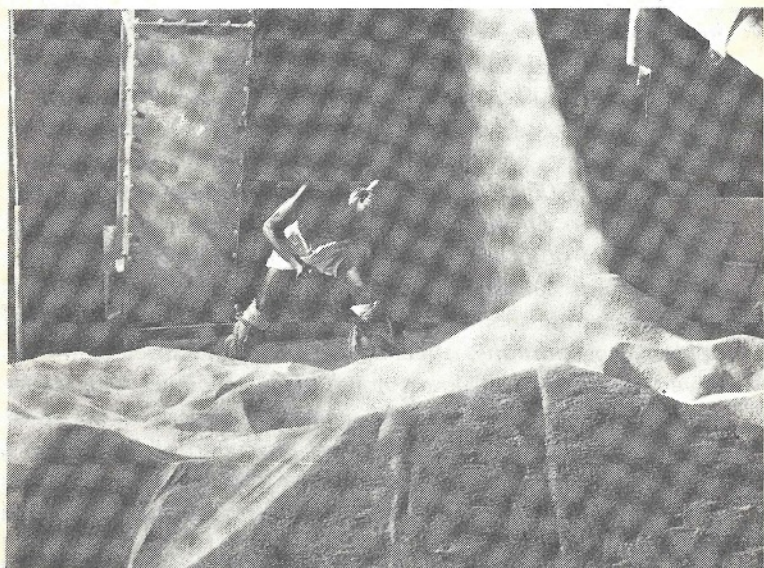


Children on the streets of their new home in their new "homeland": Kwa-Zulu - in northern Natal. The South African Government's policy of settling people in racially segregated areas has often been effected by force and under extreme hardship for the country's African, Asian and Coloured inhabitants. These children will shortly become part of the Black labor force.

**United Nations/W. Raynor**



Black goldminer in a mine near Johannesburg. Black workers are paid considerably less than white workers in South Africa even when they are allowed to do the same work. **United Nations/Pendl**



The cultivation of sugar cane and the production of sugar in South Africa is carried on in the coastal districts of Natal and Zululand, in what is known as the Sugar Belt. This picture shows an African at work in a sugar mill, **South Africa Railways**

problems than the whites. They also work longer hours, being underground for about ten hours a day, six days a week. One of the miner's demands which has been consistently refused has been the reduction of the working week to five or five and a half days, since the Chamber of Mines fears that giving Blacks spare time would create unrest. Any time that they do have is rigidly organised - hence the mine dances on Sundays, for tourists.

The men work two miles and more underground at very high rock temperatures, and the rock drilling creates almost intolerable levels of noise and dust. The result is a string of accidents, mostly from falling rocks, and a number of occupational diseases, including heatstroke, deafness (for which the mines do not even bother to keep records), and silicosis of the lungs, which makes them more vulnerable to tuberculosis. Some mines contain highly explosive methane gas, and there is constant danger of the stope face bursting under pressure, or of flooding, as in the West Driefontein mine in 1969. The development stage of mining is especially dangerous, as in the Orange Free State mines in 1952-1957.

Between 1936 and 1966, 19,000 men, 93% of them Black, died as a result of accidents in the gold mines, an average of three deaths per shift. . . The Black death rate is almost double that of whites. There was also an enormous number of disablements from accidents. In 1968, a year when the fatality rate reached an all-time low, 491 Blacks and 18 whites were killed, and 25,000 Blacks and 2,000 whites were disabled for at least two weeks by accidents. 98% of which were estimated to have been due to the inherent danger of the work. The overall accident rate for 1968 was 64 per 1,000 persons in service. In addition to this are the huge numbers of slow deaths and disablement resulting from lung damage and other occupational hazards, for which there seem to be no records but which, from direct observation in the Bantustans, appear to be astronomical. In the Transkei, tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions, affecting almost one-quarter of those surveyed as opposed to almost none 25 years earlier. This is also, of course, a result of chronic and increasing poverty in the reserves, which as early as 1914 were being described as little more than mining villages. If for no other reason that the enormous rate of deaths and disability, then gold mining is a menace to the people forced to work there.<sup>11</sup>

But our brothers and sisters are rising, fighting back and although they may seem militarily weak a more careful analysis makes clear the vulnerability of South Afrika to strikes, sabotage, work slow-downs, guerilla warfare, etc.

What happens when even 1%, 3,500, of those laborers become actively antagonistic toward the government and the mines? What happens when the sabotage, strikes and walkouts begin, when the workers demand better pay and working conditions? South Afrika cannot stand in the face of massive opposition by Blacks.

*Although gold prices plunged 20% after the Soweto riots, dropping the gold-based South African economy deeper into recession, most economic analysts predicted there would be **no dramatic change in investment trends**, foreign or domestic. But there was reportedly a wide-spread belief among South African businessmen that the long-term effects of social unrest could be disastrous unless the government dealt effectively with black grievances.*

*The eagerness for reform was heightened by the depressed state of the economy. The first quarter of 1976 showed a negative growth rate in the economy, following a weak 2.2% expansion in 1975.<sup>12</sup>*

The actuality is that South Afrika is in economic trouble.

*Higher taxes or higher inflation - this is the dilemma facing South Africa. It arises out of an economic situation which, simply stated, is this: South Africa is heavily in debt. Her income from abroad has been insufficient to repay for foreign loans and purchases. The causes are well known. The nation overspent domestically and abroad in the expectation that the gold price would together boost foreign earnings. . . Thus South Africa is today short of cash . . . yet she needs to spend money if she is to provide jobs for a population that is not only under-employed, but whose numbers and expectations are growing faster than the economy.*

**The Star**, Johannesburg<sup>13</sup>

In the age of oil, South Afrika's dependence on gold to maintain its economy is quite obviously a fatal mistake. For the industrialized nations of the western world, precisely those nations South Afrika is counting on most, **oil is more important than gold**. Industry doesn't need gold to run but it does need oil. Indeed America, which is importing close to forty percent of the crude oil consumed, would be partially paralyzed without imported oil.

But even more damaging to South Afrika's position is the depressed gold market which, even with cheap Afrikan labor, is making the mining of South Afrikan gold economically non-productive.

*Faced with a continuing slump in the price of gold currently in the world, six South African gold mines have announced that they plan to go out of business.*

*Those mining companies which have given notice to the South African government are Venterpost, South African Lands, Marlevale, South Roodeport, East Daggafontein and Vlaksfontein.*

*Two of the mines, East Daggafontein and South African Lands, say they will definitely cease operations. East Daggafontein spends about \$175 in mining costs to produce one ounce of gold, and is sustaining a loss of at least \$60 an ounce at today's gold price of about \$115.*

*Of the other four mines, South Roodeport is producing gold at a cost of \$143 an ounce, and is currently negotiating for a takeover by Randfontein, a South African mine with one of the world's richest ore bodies.*

*A number of other mines are teetering on the brink.<sup>14</sup>*

The cat is finally out of the bag, the real riches of South Afrika are based not on gold or other natural resources, but rather on the backs of Black Afrikan labor. As that labor becomes less and less responsive to the beckon and call of the white regime and in fact begins to actively oppose that regime, what in effect happens is that it becomes harder and harder for South Afrika to keep up the facade of strength.

Once the buffers of her northern neighbors are removed and the guerillas are able to camp at her back door, South Afrika will fall in short order simply because no heavily industrialized society can stand if the overwhelming majority of its labor force is in active revolt. South Afrika cannot make it alone.

**PULLING OUT THE POLITICAL PROPS.** South Afrika is relying heavily on the continued support of the western nations in order to maintain itself, but the truth of the matter is that as internal revolt increases and the liberation struggle wins more and more victories in southern Afrika as a whole, no western nation, not even America, will be able to prop up the falling South Afrikan regime.

Foreign investors will be forced to stop actively supporting the South Afrikan regime when the going gets rough, precisely when South Afrika will need outside help the most. Companies like GM, when faced in a showdown with the choice of abandoning their capital investments (plants, equipment and trained personnel) or abandoning apartheid will most often opt for the dollars and sense of abandoning apartheid. Gulf's role in Angola demonstrates that American business is more interested in making money than in supporting colonialism. Of course, big business would like to be able to do both, but when faced with a choice, money wins out over **non-productive** idealism. Besides, as demonstrated by trade and detente with Russia, China, etc., there is money to be made in trade with the "enemy." This new business math is, of course, bad news for the old heads of South Afrika who are figuring on an antiquated morality, namely the inviolability of racial bonds between white people.

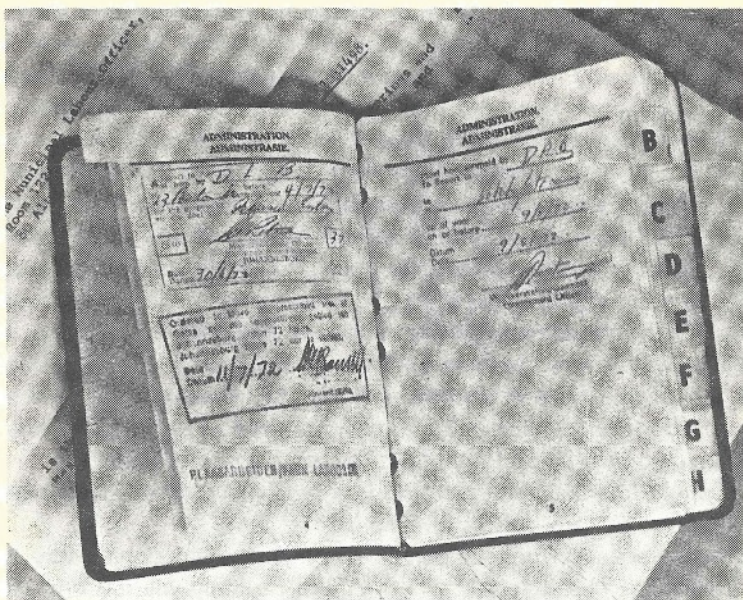
Their buffers gone and few people willing to actively support apartheid, South Afrika will find itself increasingly on the defensive and constantly pushed into corners of compromise.

*Racial discrimination is a blight which afflicts many nations of the*



African worker with his pass book in the Johannesburg Advice Office of Black Sash, a white women's organization dedicated to helping Africans pick their way through the intricate maze of laws that govern their lives in South Africa.  
**United Nations/W. Raynor**





African reference or pass book, symbol of the complex system of laws enacted by white people in South Africa to control the movements of Black people in the same country.

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Africans in downtown Johannesburg board an African bus to take them to a train station on their way home. Travel services for Africans are inadequate and badly crowded.

United Nations

*world. But South Africa is unique in institutionalizing discrimination in an all-pervasive, enforced separation of the races which mocks any definition of human equality. The recent clashes in black urban townships and black universities in South Afrika are a vivid expression of the frustration of black South Africans toward a system that denies them status, dignity, or political rights. The United States appeals to South Africa to heed these warning signals. The United States, true to its own beliefs, will use all its influence to encourage peaceful change, an end to institutionalized inequality, and equality of opportunity and basic human rights in South Africa.*<sup>15</sup>

Henry Kissinger's statement, apart from the hypocritical moralizing, hypocritical in that it took massive uprisings in this country to end America's own "Legalized" form of institutionalized, "All-pervasive, enforced separation of the races" which existed not a hundred years ago, but less than 15 years ago, is a fitting footnote to the writing on the wall.

Caught now between a rock and a hard place, South Afrika has but two choices: give up now or give up later.

Active agitation on our part in this country can significantly hasten the inevitable. The defeat of South Afrika certainly will not end Afrika's problems nor will it mark the beginning of a golden era of peace and tranquility under Black rule - people such as the petty IDI-osyncratic tyrant Idi Amin quickly dispel any such notion - rather the defeat of South Afrika will mark the beginning of the end of white domination of Black people which in and of itself will be a historic turning point in the social, political and economic life of Afrika and Afrikan people everywhere.

We can help usher in this new era by actively opposing any plans or programs that aid South Afrika, by constantly opposing the acceptance of the South Afrikan status quo, by organizing selective boycotts and demonstrations against South Afrikan and major companies who do business with South Afrika, and by demonstrating against those banks and companies who do business with South Afrika.

Let no one convince us that Black people in South Afrika do not want us to wage an economic and political struggle in support of them. Critics of the economic boycotts always spew forth the capitulationist line that if the U.S. companies pull out Black people will suffer most and that the presence of U.S. companies is helping to make the situation better for Black people. This is reductively the same line that was used against the civil rights boycotts that were waged in this country.

Charles Diggs, definitively caps capitulationists criticisms with this unequivocal charge, "Any argument that the gold-mining industry of South Africa benefits the Africans who work there must be rejected, just as the arguments for continuing the old slave system had to be rejected. The system is rotten through and through, and can only survive on a

basis of human suffering."<sup>16</sup>

The fact is the "industrialization" of South Africa benefits only the whites and, worse yet, in fact **widens**, not closes, the economic gap separating our brothers and sisters from the white oppressors.

*There is nothing in the history of South Africa's economic development to bear out these arguments that increasing industrialization must inevitably lead to improvement in the quality of life for everybody. For black people the last twenty years of intensive economic growth have also been years of intensifying oppression and exploitation. White-black wage gaps have widened, pass laws were tightened and extended to African women, and the ten years between 1961 and 1971 set a record for the number of new discriminatory laws passed - ninety-eight of them - all based on the intention to perpetuate white supremacy. South Africa now has all the apparatus of a police state . . . and that framework was being built at the same time as were the great new factories and roads and bridges that heralded economic prosperity.*

*There is another point that needs to be made. Even if United States corporations, responding to the pressures being exerted on them by concerned Americans, were to take the unlikely step of ending all internal discriminatory practices, the whole external structure of apartheid would remain. If General Motors or Mobil embarked on a two-year crash program designed to produce real, equal job opportunity in practice, so that the number of skilled, managerial, and scientific jobs mirrored the population ratios - 80 percent being held by blacks, with a black majority on the local executive board - even were this wild dream to become a reality, an African managing director in Johannesburg or Windhoek would still have to carry a pass, live in a ghetto, apply for permission to bring his wife to town, and be prevented from voting for or becoming a member of Parliament or even a city official.*

*In fact, far from exerting leverage for such radical changes in policy, foreign investment is building South Africa's economy, making it better able to withstand future challenges from the international community or its own population.<sup>17</sup>*

Moreover, the struggle is not for a job or two, or three, or even a thousand jobs, but rather the struggle is for political and economic control of the entire country. The position of the South African regime is clear, they intend to hold on to all of the power. The only reality that will make a qualitative difference in the lives of Black people in South Africa is the total dismantling of the present South African regime and the junking of their nefarious scheme of separate development known as apartheid.

What we can do is make U.S. support of South Afrika a political liability by organizing militant actions against South Afrika and those who openly and/or secretly support apartheid. Again, the reality is quite different from the appearance. Many of us think that America has a serious economic stake in South Afrika, but actually America's economic interest in South Afrika are marginal **even when compared to some other countries in Afrika.**

*. . . The fossil fuel energy now sold by Nigeria to the United States, for example, exceeds in value everything that South Africa sells to **and** buys from the United States, Algeria sells more to the United States and to France than does South Africa.*<sup>18</sup>

Once again, contrary to the carefully cultivated charade, we see that South Afrika's international position is much weaker than we first thought. While it is undeniable that South Afrika is a strong and powerful military force, it is a greater and more undeniable reality that South Afrika is heavily dependent on its western allies to maintain its strength. Our job is to make political and economic alliances with South Afrika by the U.S. government and U.S. corporations non-productive.

Most of the west has an emotional commitment to South Africa. It will be hard for them to "stand by and watch Black people take over." But if the lessons of Angola taught us nothing else, they should teach us that regardless of the emotional ties, the military might of America can be put on a leash when economic and political constraints mitigate against American intervention. Everyone in the world recognizes this reality and most of the world is ready to act on it. Even America is drawing back its racist tentacles and sees no future in supporting a small, embattered and isolated white minority on a Black continent determinedly in pursuit of power.

*We appeal to the Republic of South Africa to recognize that the wind of change is again blowing through Africa. Let it end its increasing isolation and demonstrate its commitment to Africa by making a positive contribution to the humane evolution of the continent.*<sup>19</sup>

In short, Kissinger is asking white South Afrika to commit suicide as a political power, choose the honor of the hemlock cup as opposed to the indignity of military defeat.

When the chips are down, it is becoming increasingly clear, that America will artfully back out of armed support for South Afrika not because it wants to but rather because politically and economically it has no choice.

Of course, America and other white powers will continue to prattle on about justice and human rights of all people, etc., and of course, they will continue to deny that they agree with South Afrika in principle. In fact these verbal washings of self absolution sometimes reach such preposterous positions as this recent statement by Daniel Moynihan addressing an AFL-CIO convention in 1975 when he was the American ambassador to the U.N.

*We repudiate the charge that we have exploited or plundered other countries, or that our own prosperity has ever rested on any such relation. We are prosperous because we are - or were - an energetic and productive people who have lived under a system which has encouraged the development of our productive capacities and energies.*<sup>20</sup>

Maybe Moynihan actually believes his own misconceptions, but the white South Afrikans accurately assess such statements as an artificial and logically twisted rationale for America's abandonment of support for South Afrika. Moynihan knows full well that the Native Americans did not invite the settlers to America and nor did our Afrikan ancestors swim here, Moynihan knows full well that guns and bombs won the west and all the rest that America now controls.

South Afrikans are becoming increasingly bitter about this relationship because they think that the whole white world is leaving them out in the cold; and they do view themselves as an integral part of the whole white world.

*The Southern African Bantu are not, and have never been, a homogenous nation. By every recognised ethnological yardstick (differences in languages, culture, tradition and even physical traits), the various ethnic groups differ pronouncedly from each other. In contrast, the Whites (descendants of the Dutch, Germans, French and British) constitute a new African nation which evolved in the same way as new nations of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand.*<sup>21</sup>

The only difference being that the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand effectively killed off or otherwise neutralized their non-white opposition; they won the war, South Afrika is losing.

Less anyone thought otherwise, Soweto and all the other liberation struggles of southern Afrika make it plain: the end is near for white rule in Afrika. Five years ago, we thought it would take decades; five years later it seems to be but a matter of years. Portugal's sudden collapse was



A South African policeman collars a Black student during rioting in Guguletu, near Cape Town, in August '76.



The Kindergarten in Soweto, the complex of Black townships near Johannesburg. The whole of South Africa is divided up into racially segregated areas. Some of the children know the symbols of the Black struggle for equality and victory over bondage.

**United Nations/Pendl**



Black youths near East London, South Africa. The youth are in the forefront of the struggle to tear the roof off the sucker!

**United Nations/P. Davis**

but a dress rehearsal for the final curtain on white reign in Afrika. The school children of Soweto and the guerillas of southern Afrika, not to mention the whites of South Afrika, all know that the end is near. Instead of calling for calm, the liberators of South Afrika in the face of white military might, are precipitating a storm, a storm that will tear the roof off the sucker South Afrikan state. Tomorrow South Afrika will be only a bitter memory, a scheme which did not and could not succeed.

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