

SECHABA

**official organ of the african
national congress south africa**

**WINNIE
MANDELA**



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We regret to inform our readers that the entire Manuscript of the November issue was lost in transit to the printers by the agents.
This issue consists of 48 pages covering November and December

Fighting Talk

A Trial of inner Strength

The marathon trial of Winnie Mandela and her 19 co-accused ended in a wave of excitement and exultation throughout South Africa. Wherever the oppressed heard the news there was the deepest feelings of relief that this brave group, with the exception of Benjamin Ramotse who remained in custody, was finally released.

The universal exultation ought not to allow us to forget the great courage and fortitude of Winnie Mandela who triumphed against the terrorism of the Special Branch. Neither torture or blandishments could break their spirit nor induce them to turn against their co-accused. Facing the most serious charges under the Terrorism Act, they held out against the relentless vindictiveness of the prosecution in its determination to get a conviction. The torturers failed. They more than met their match in the inner strength of Winnie Mandela's group.

The quashing of the indictment is in itself a remarkable event. In a country where the law has long become a mockery, the failure of the prosecution to patch up an indictment acceptable to the bench remains a puzzle. Perhaps it was the wide coverage given to the case in the world press that played a major part. Perhaps the unexpected interest among white South Africans had something to do with it; perhaps the authorities dared not to be seen to force the issue too far lest the long suffering patience of the masses spill over.

But we like to think it was the fortitude and self-discipline of the accused through the bleakest moments of their detention that constitutes the major factor in their release. It is this courage that we salute - it reveals the highest levels of revolutionary faith.

Winnie Mandela and her comrades have been through an exceptionally arduous ordeal. First arrested in May 1969, they were detained, interrogated, charged, tried, acquitted, redetained and charged again. Of the twenty accused finally brought to court, Benjamin Ramotse was in custody since July 15th 1968 - two long years in solitary confinement, unknown to anyone. The others were held some fifteen months incommunicado and in solitary confinement. During this time they were all subjected to the most brutal torture and long interrogation. They were not allowed access to lawyers and their families were given no inkling of their whereabouts.

Two other detainees, Shanti Naidoo and Nondwe Mamkhahla refused to give evidence for the State and were sentenced to two months imprisonment. Shanti Naidoo was subsequently released after 369 days in detention. More evidence of grievous assault and intense torture of the detainees was brought to light in court and in the press. The accused, still in the hands of the police, nevertheless filed affidavits describing how they were made to stand on bricks for long periods, how their hair was torn out by chief interrogator Swanepoel, the Beast of Compol and his men, and how blows and electric shocks were applied to wring out confessions. In these conditions it has been known that lesser people could be made to manufacture 'evidence' with which they were subsequently made to testify against their own comrades. But there were no Bruno Mtolos in this case. On the four-hundredth day the Minister of Justice announced that three of the detainees had been freed, but there was no sign of them for several days. Then Paulus Matshaba was brought home from Westkoppies Mental Hospital 12 days after his supposed release date and Victor Mazituela emerged publicly on June 25th. Livingstone Mancoko was traced on July 3rd. No explanation was given for their long detention. The silence of solitary confinement surrounds them even now in their release.

The case of Benjamin Ramotse remains to be acted upon. Evidence was led that he was kidnapped in Botswana, taken to Zimbabwe, and then handed over to the S.A. Police. Defence counsel demanded his release on the grounds that his arrest outside South Africa was a violation of international law. But the court remained impervious to these arguments. We call for the most vigorous demands for the release of Benjamin Ramotse particularly in Britain where the government still claims to have some legal jurisdiction over Zimbabwe. He must on no account be forgotten.

House Arrested Days after Acquittal

A few days after the acquittal of Winnie Mandela and her co-accused a vicious ban was imposed on them. The orders were served on Mrs. Mandela as she was preparing to leave for Cape Town to visit her husband Nelson Mandela who is serving a life sentence (imposed on him at the Rivonia Trials six years ago) on Robben Island. That would have been their first meeting in over 18 months.

This injustice, following on one and half years of torture in detention and a mockery of a trial which failed to produce a viable indictment, has incensed even white public opinion.

Students at the universities of Durban, Johannesburg, Grahamstown and Cape Town demonstrated vigorously against the bans.

In Johannesburg 2,500 students marched through the streets of the city bearing placards which poured scorn on the Minister of Justice.

Student Action Supported

The acting Vice-Chancellor of Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, Dr. S. P. Jackson, told a mass meeting of students: "I want to express my own sympathy with the cause you are supporting and to hope that your demonstrations make some impact on the public of this town."

The Rand Daily Mail congratulated the students saying they had shown that a "spirit of protest still exists."

Minister of Justice Forced to Explain

Forced to offer some explanation, the Minister of Justice said that the banings were not intended as punishment for previous deeds but as a deterrent against future subversive acts.

Ramotse Sentenced

The first accused in the trial, Benjamin Ramotse was found guilty and sentenced to fifteen years hard labour. In his statement to the court, Ramotse stated that he was kidnapped by Rhodesian Police in Botswana and handed over to the South African Police after being tortured by them. He was held in detention since July 1968 in Pretoria most of which in solitary confinement.

STUDENTS PROTEST WINNIE MANDELA'S BAN

Students march through Johannesburg



TASKS FOR 1971:

INTERNATIONAL YEAR AGAINST RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

by **ALFRED NZO**
Secretary-General A. N. C.

The ever-expanding onslaught by the heroic liberation forces of the African National Congress inside the country and the mighty forces of solidarity with our struggle on the international plane have once again scored a resounding victory underlined by recent events both at home and abroad. The following are the main manifestations of the growing impact of our heroic struggle for national liberation:

- (a) 1970 has been a particularly bad year for South African all-White racist teams in the playing fields of international sport. They have been ousted from the Davis Cup Tennis tournament. They were at last expelled from the Olympic movement by decision of the International Olympic Committee. Perhaps one of the bitterest blows delivered on the apartheid Republic was the last-minute cancellation of their cricket tour of England resulting mainly from the mass pressure in Britain, and from the African, Asian and Carribean Commonwealth countries.
- (b) The brutal regime of apartheid has been forced to abandon the trial against 19 of our colleagues who have recently been released after more than 18 months of detention under the Terrorism Act and 2 Supreme court trials.
- (c) The former British Defence Minister of Harold Wilson government was given permission, during his recent visit to South Africa to meet our leader and colleague, Nelson Mandela, at the notorious Robben Island prison for almost an hour. Although the Vorster regime will attribute this meeting to a magnanimous gesture on their part, the conclu-

sion is nevertheless inescapable that it is a reflection of the panic of the regime at its growing international isolation.

- (d) The recent Summit conferences of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa and of the non-aligned countries in Lusaka have both adopted militant resolutions which further deepened the isolation of the Vorster regime.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

We note with satisfaction that at both meetings, resolutions condemning the imperialist countries supporting South Africa and other White regimes in Southern Africa were adopted by overwhelming majorities of countries present. The importance of these resolutions lies in the fact that the international character of our struggle is beginning to be accepted by our immediate supporters, the independent African countries. This is the culmination of our persistent efforts which have always sought to isolate the brutal regime of Vorster as the bastion of imperialist reaction in Africa. Indeed, we are fully entitled and justified to underscore these developments as representing dramatic qualitative changes favourable to our struggle and the general anti-imperialist movement in Africa.

We wish further to underline the fact that at both these important gatherings the growing prestige of the liberation forces in Asia and Africa, including our own organisation, the African National Congress was tremendously enhanced. A joint statement of the liberation movements in Southern Africa was received

with deafening applause both in Addis Ababa and in Lusaka. And that of the representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam was likewise received with tremendous enthusiasm in Lusaka.

We should also bear in mind the important decision of the World Council of Churches to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa which was announced recently. As was to be expected this resolution sparked off strong condemnation of the World Council of Churches by the Vorster regime supported by the United Party of de Villiers Graaf and certain church elements in our country. In our letter of congratulations to the World Council of Churches we stated: "You can rest assured that the millions of oppressed people in Southern Africa and all right-thinking mankind support your wonderful gesture."

THE ARMS CAMPAIGN

However, it would be wrong of us to merely bask in the sunshine of these favourable developments. In our letter to the National Executive Secretary of TANU dated 3rd August we had warned that "the African people have, however, no right to relax their vigilance against imperialist manoeuvres." (A copy of this letter was circulated to all our units). The neo-Nazi aggressive state of South Africa has, through Vorster, recently offered to conclude non-aggression treaties with independent African countries. This "wolf in a sheep skin" manoeuvre has fortunately been rejected by progressive African countries. We need not deceive ourselves and think that move will not confuse some other independent African countries. It will.

The headquarters of our organisation hereby warmly congratulates all the Units of our movement which initiated the world-wide movement in opposition to Arms Sale to South Africa and other campaigns such as the anti-all-White South African sport movement, etc. which preceded the events briefly mentioned above. The development of these movements sharply focussed world attention to South Africa and they rank as important milestones of the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa.

We should now prepare to press forward and broaden the international movement against the Apartheid Republic. Of importance here are the five points for struggle against South African White minority regimes which were enunciated by Emperor Haille Sellasie and adopted by the non-aligned countries. We briefly tabulate them below: -

- (a) Trade embargoes against the White minority regimes
- (b) Severing diplomatic relations with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal
- (c) Refusal of landing-rights and port facilities to ships and aircrafts of these countries
- (d) Generous contributions to victims of Apartheid
- (e) Effective support of and provision of material aid for freedom movements.

These five points are, of course, not new to us but what is important is that the countries supporting our struggle have once again been reminded of the importance of adhering to the 5 points and we should, therefore, intensify our agitation campaign around them.

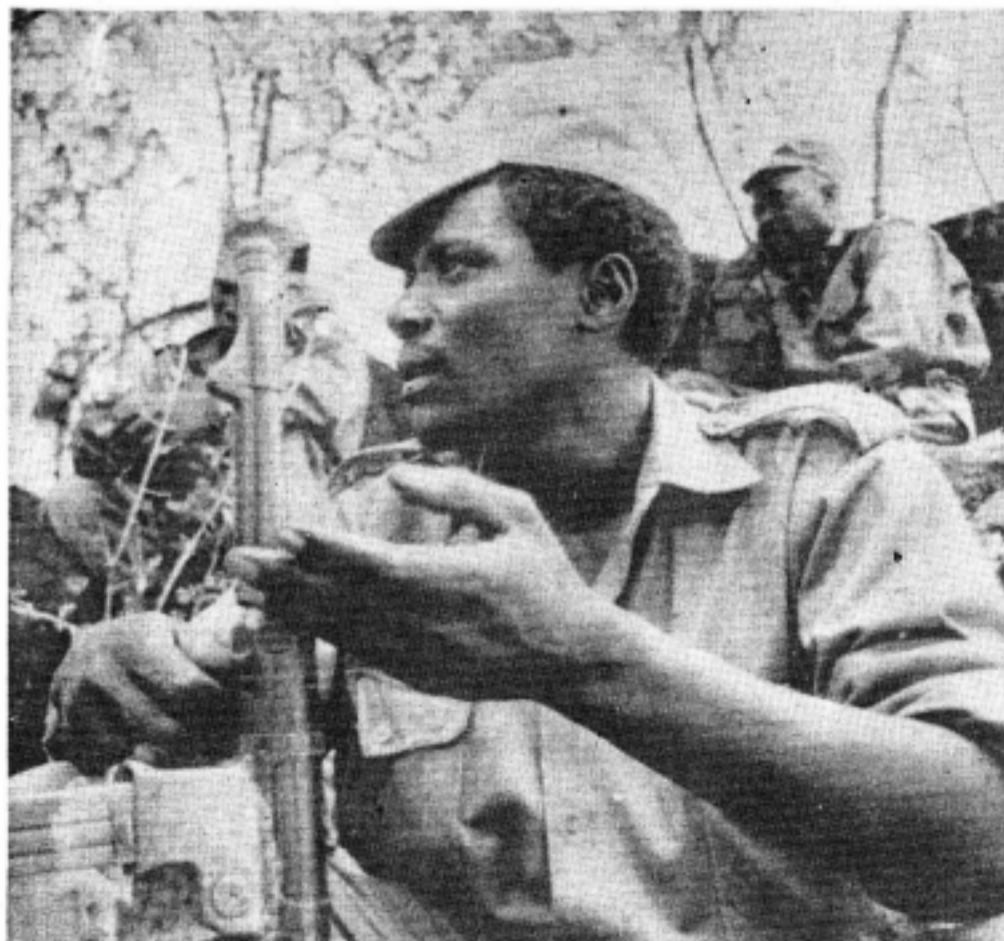
It is also important to intensify our agitation for the release of Benjamin Ramotse, accused No. 1 of the original 20, and also the release of all other political prisoners. We should also intensify the campaign for the complete isolation of South Africa in the sporting and other cultural fields.

We should start now with a wide agitational campaign which will form an effective springboard for 1971 which has been declared "International Year against Racism and Racial Discrimination" by the United Nations.

Amandla Maatla!!

FORWARD TO FREEDOM

strategy, tactics and programme
of the african national congress
SOUTH AFRICA



ANC publication
See backpage for details

IN MEMORY OF ELIJAH MONWABISI JARA

Gone is a friend, we pay respects the last;
We turn the clock, we remember the past,
Student days! clattering plates clamouring for food,
"Philistines", "Barbarians" and others mixing good.

Across the Tyumie, in Ntsalamanzi, over the Fort – 1961
We heard the clarion call, the distant gun
Together we met numbering a meagre nine,
To seek light for Africa South – his, yours and mine.

Naturally and deliberately we chose the East,
From whence on rays of light we could feast;
A "greedy" student E. M. J. proved the most,
Even death was late – a doctor he could boast.

As we Africa bound the enemy to find
Elijah and another as custodians were left behind,
To join us later in our march to freedom,
To complete the mission of regaining our kingdom.

Alas! cowardly, unsportingly Death struck first,
Untimely nine equalled eight, Math at its worst;
Yes, as 8/9ths we now remain
And for that gone 1/9th our hearts pain.

An honourable and true ambassador was he
For many a student scholarly and exemplary;
His untimely death is but a mere formality,
His footprints remain a legacy for posterity.

Now as he is lain to rest
One of Africa's students most best
In requiem we remain to sing
Rest in Peace most worthy being.

In our hearts your memory will not die
Even though far from home you lie,
For as a hero you appear in the list
Of martyrs, symbol bearing – the clenched fist.

By one of the nine

**A South African
policeman, judge, and
executioner:**



SOLIDARITY ON

NIGERIA

NIGERIANS CONDEMN HEATH-VORSTER ARMS DEAL

Thousands of Nigerians especially members of the Nigerian Solidarity Youth council, Nigerian Trade Union Congress, Nigerian Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation (NAASO), The Nigerian Youth Thinkers Club and Black Renaissance Movement staged a mammoth, peaceful protest demonstration in Lagos and Kano on Saturday August 1st 1970, against the British Government's move to sell arms to the apartheid South African Regime of Prime Minister Vorster:

The over-Three-Miles-Long-Lagos-March held up traffic for several hours in various parts of Lagos Island as surging, chanting demonstrators hit the road with slogans denouncing British criminal intentions in Africa. Commencing from Row Park in Yaba, the irate but peaceful demonstrators with leaders of NAASO and Nigerian Solidarity Youth Council in the forefront, headed for Oyingbo through Sabo. They were joined by ever more agitated citizens on the way. Two South Africans, Messrs. Dev. Galada and I. Rammopo, both tutors in the Western State of Nigeria, joined the demonstrators.

Scores of rallying, damning placards and banners, some of which read "External Arms is offensive to Africa", "Arms to South Africa is a total war against black Africa", "The Commonwealth is dead", "Gowan should not go to Britain", "Nigerian Youths sympathize with Southern Africa Youths", were carried during the demonstration.

At the end of the three and a half hour march, which sent the British High Commission in Lagos panicking, the edifice

of Mr. Edward Heath, the British Prime Minister, and the Union Jack, were burnt.

ARMS DEAL CONDEMNED

In their address the leaders demanded that only a total liberation of the black majority in Southern Africa from the white minority rule could satisfy the people of Africa, and that Nigeria should lead other African States out of the British Commonwealth with a view to setting up an African High Command.

"The mass protest is but the beginning of regular campaigns to be jointly organised throughout Nigeria against the British Sales of arms to Vorster", a leader commented. A resolution urging the Head of State, Major-General Yakubu Gowon not to go to Britain, on the invitation of the new Tory regime, was unanimously adopted. The KANO demonstration, led by Alhaji Amino Kano, Federal Government Commissioner for Communications, was equally successful. A mock coffin, signifying the death of the British Commonwealth of Nations, was forwarded to the offices of the British High Commission, together with petitions against the decision of the British Tory Government to supply arms to the Minority Regime in South Africa for the subjection and annihilation of the majority Africans in their homeland, for onward transmission to his home Government.

LETTER

79 Richmond Road
Roath
Cardiff
South Wales

SECHABA

A friend gave me a 1969 copy of your publication. I have read it cover to cover several times and am now seething with fury. If hypocrisy is a racial trait, then we British have had centuries to develop it to its present unparalleled extent.

It is not enough to know that you are morally right and therefore must win in the end. A pat on the back will not help someone who is starving. Please enrol me as a subscriber to Sechaba, and, if possible, let me know of any other similar publication. Cheque enclosed.

Ann Morris

FOUR CONTINENTS

SOVIET UNION

SOVIET WOMEN PLEDGE SOLIDARITY



Solidarity meeting in Soviet Union

An appeal to the Soviet people to be prepared for sacrifices in support of the fighting people of South Africa was made at a meeting organised by the Soviet Women's Committee in August.

Chairman Zinaida Fiodorova told the audience of the tradition of August 9th as South African Women's Day, and dealt with the long struggles of women for the right to live like human beings in the country of their birth. Other Soviet speakers followed, among them Irina Yastrebova, a scientific worker at the Institute of Africa, a Professor from the Gameleya Institute, and Roisa Smirnova, also of the Soviet Women's Committee.

Mention was made of the valiant struggles of women's leaders like Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, and others who had made great sacrifices for the struggle against apartheid.

Mrs. Nomava Shangase spoke for South African Women. Several visitors from the Uganda Embassy were present as well as visitors from India and Lesotho.

Mrs. Joan Lusaka, wife of the Zambian Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. was one of the main speakers.

The meeting condemned the South African racist regime for turning the country into a large concentration camp for the greater persecution of the African people. It attacked the imperialist states for supplying modern arms of every kind to Vorster's Government and pledged full support to the freedom struggle by the Soviet people.

The resolution stated: "In South Africa the names of Lilian Ngoyi, Winnie Mandala and Helen Joseph are well known. Terror, persecution and drastic repression will not stop the people of South Africa in their fight for freedom."

SOLIDARITY ON

SOVIET UNION

**Speech made by Madam Lusaka –
Wife of the Zambian Ambassador in Moscow,
on August 9, S. African Women's Day.**

Madam Lusaka – wife of the Zambian Ambassador



I would like to thank you most sincerely for extending this invitation to the Zambian Women in Moscow. On their behalf and on behalf of the women back home, I would like to congratulate you and your organisation for remembering the women of South Africa, in the manner you do every year. You are no doubt familiar with the plight of the people of South Africa, who are fighting for national liberation. The tragedy now being played in S. Africa, is of the same nature as that in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Vietnam, Middle East and Latin America. It has its origin in the West, in the predatory nature of imperialism. In S. Africa the British imperialists left the Africans to the mercy of their kith and kin, the fascists who mete out brutality and injustice from Pretoria. We are familiar with the evils of racism, and I will not dwell on it.

On this occasion, I merely wish to reaffirm Zambia's condemnation of the racist regime in Pretoria, and Britain's collusion with that regime.

I am sure that you have heard that the reactionary Conservative Government in Britain is going to sell more arms to S. Africa. Recently Britain and S. Africa conducted joint naval exercises off the Cape coast. But if you were to ask the British government officials what they thought of racism and apartheid, you would be told that they abhor it. What hypocrisy!

The government and people of Zambia do not accept any excuse on the part of Britain and her imperialists allies, for supporting the fascists in S. Africa. President Kaunda has said time and again, that by the refusal to take action against S. Africa, western countries actually assist racism on the African continent. For this, S. African and her allies will pay heavily, because the liberation struggle, that has been growing from strength to strength, is going to win in the end. I know, the Soviet people will continue to support the liberation struggle in S. Africa. Your organisation should know that your assistance is appreciated.

**Long live the solidarity between
the Soviet and African women!**

**Long live friendship between Africa
and the Soviet Union!**

FOUR CONTINENTS

JAPAN

PROTEST MEETING



INDIA

PROTEST MARCH



SOLIDARITY ON

AUSTRALIA

(This article was held over from a previous issue)

We thought you might be interested to hear of a militant demonstration held in Melbourne on Wednesday 3rd June against the visiting all-white South African women's basketball team and in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

The scene was the match between Victoria and "South Africa." While the preceding curtain-raiser matches were in progress, a small group of demonstrators handed leaflets to unsympathetic spectators entering the hall. It was not long before two carloads of police arrived.

By 8.15 p.m. when match was due to start, the number of demonstrators had swelled to 150, mainly students but also teachers and workers. The teams lined up inside the hall, and the South Africans began to sing their "national anthem." Hearing this, the crowd outside started chanting: "Smash apartheid! Smash apartheid!" As the South Africans could not be heard inside, police attempted to close the doors. Scuffling broke out as the police forced the door shut.

Before the game had been under way for 15 minutes, the plate glass fire escape doors on the other side of the building were smashed and sump oil thrown over the floor. The South African umpire, Mrs. Sophie Pienaar, was cut by broken glass and had to be replaced. The game was stopped for 10 minutes while officials cleaned up the oil and transferred the game to an adjacent court in the building. Seven more police cars drove up.

Meanwhile, demonstrators gathered round the broken door where their chants could be heard clearly inside: "Smash apartheid!" "Sieg Heil!", "Voetsak!" Stones were thrown on to the roof of the building and a South African flag was burned. After the game the South Africans had to be shepherded by police into taxis to protect them from the hostile crowd outside. Police made 5 arrests.

Afterwards the South African team manageress, Mrs. Rita Oosthuizen, told the press: "Before we came to Australia we were prepared for minor riots and demonstrations. But we were not prepared for the violence at the Royal Park basketball courts. What upset us most was to see the demonstrators burning our South African flag. And the fact that people who came to watch us couldn't hear our girls singing our national anthem because of the demonstrators. We sing our national anthem with pride. We wanted the people to hear us, but we were drowned out by the noise outside."

The injured umpire, Mrs. Sophie Pienaar, said in hospital that she was amazed and angry, and added: "When they demonstrated against us at the airport when we arrived we thought it was great fun. We didn't think it would be violent - we are harmless. We have never come across this before."

Student groups participating, including the Monash African/Australian Association, Students for a Democratic Society, Monash Labor Club, and the Anti-Imperialist Alliance, regard the basketball tour as a curtain raiser for the rugby and cricket tours in 1971-72.

With every assurance of our continued fraternal solidarity with the African National Congress,

Yours fraternally

Michael Little

President, Monash University

African/Australian Association

BRAM FISCHER ELECTED VICE-PRESIDENT

Letter to Fischer
from the International Association
of Democratic Lawyers.

My dear colleague,

As I was requested by the 9th Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, I have the honour to transmit to you the fraternal greetings of the 350 Congress members present in Helsinki and to reaffirm their complete solidarity with your courageous fight for the safeguarding of the human rights and dignity of your people.

The first event of that Congress held in Finland from July 15 to July 19 was the tribute paid to the colleagues who, in different parts of the world, are persecuted because of their defence of the principles of Law and especially of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the U.N. Charter.

To lay the stress on that close solidarity, the participants elected some of our imprisoned colleagues to the presiding Committee of the Congress: you were the first member elected to that Committee.

The work of the Congress was essentially devoted to legal problems of the contemporary world: problems of peace, defence of the fundamental rights of peoples especially in the developing countries, and also the question of safeguarding and implementing the principles of the International Covenants on the Human Rights. Discussions were useful and very positive resolutions of action were adopted.

At the end of the Congress, the members of the directing bodies of the I.A.D.L. have been appointed: the participants have unanimously elected you as a vice-president of the Association. I have the pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of the Congress and all the colleagues of the Secretariat and the Bureau.

We hope that you will be able very soon to attend our meetings. We shall be happy and honoured to welcome you among us.

Yours very faithfully,
Joe NORDMANN
Secretary General

Brussels: September 8, 1970.

FOUR CONTINENTS

AN APPEAL

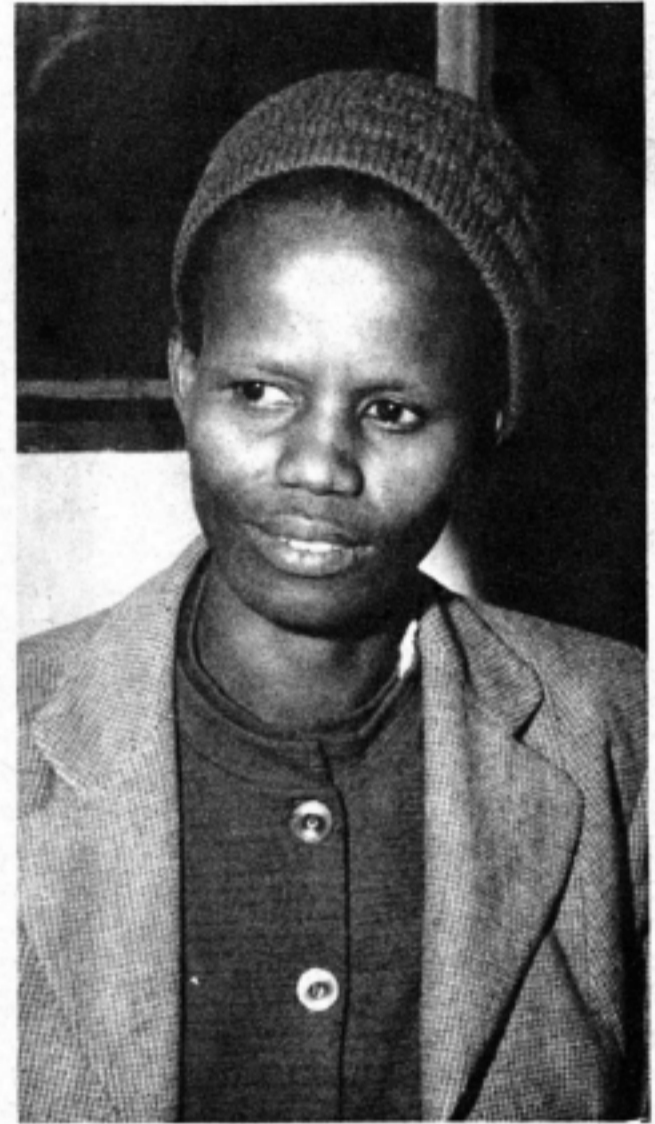
On behalf of the women of South Africa Mrs. Kate Molale appealed 'to the progressive women throughout the whole world to stand by them in their struggle for national independence.' Mrs. Molale had just arrived in the German Democratic Republic, to represent her fellow-countrywomen in the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) which has its headquarters in Berlin.

Mrs. Molale has long been an active member of the African National Congress, as well as a leading member both of the ANC Women's Section and the Federation of South African Women. In an exclusive interview with an ADN reporter Mrs. Molale said that "the women of the world can help the women in South Africa by launching a campaign against the sale of arms to the racist regime of South Africa by the western powers, for the release of all political prisoners, and to end Apartheid and racial laws."

International solidarity, she said, would give

the women in jail and those suffering under other restrictive laws "the courage and determination to stand firm in their fight for the liberation of their country from white minority rule."

In her message on behalf of the women of South Africa, Kate Molale told how for hundreds of years the African people in South Africa have struggled against foreign invaders who robbed the land and deprived the Africans of all human rights. She recalled how on August 9, 1956 some 20,000 heroic women of all races under the leadership of their president Lilian Ngoyi had marched to the government in Pretoria protesting against the law which enforces people to carry passes. This most hated law deprived African women of the few rights they had previously. They told the then Prime Minister Strydom that the women of South Africa would not rest until they had won for the African people "the fundamental rights of freedom, justice and security."



Kate Molale



ANC MEETING IN LUSAKA

REPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE

HUEY P. NEWTON TALKS TO SECHABA

Within a week of his release from a three year jail term, Huey Newton Supreme Commander and Minister of Defence of the Black Panther Party gave this exclusive interview to Sechaba. The interview was arranged by the Africa Research Group with the assistance of Karen Wald. We take this opportunity to pay tribute to Huey Newton, a great revolutionary leader of the heroic Black Panthers.

Sechaba Mr. Huey, welcome back from jail and thank you for granting us this interview. First we would like you to explain the relationship between the Black Panther Party and Black Power movement.

Huey: The Black Panther Party grew out of the Black Power movement, but the Party transformed the ideology of Black Power, into a socialist ideology, a Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Black Power movement has a tendency to have a capitalistic orientation along the lines of what Marcus Garvey talked about the kind of organisation that Elijah Muhammed has, that is based upon Black capitalism. The Black Panther Party feels that not even the Black bourgeoisie will be able to compete with imperialism whose central base is here in North America. The United States is the central base of the bourgeoisie, and this is because this country is really not a nation any longer, it's an empire that controls the world, through economics or through physical force – military might. Even the black bourgeoisie can benefit very

little from the concept of black capitalism which Black Power has meant in the past. The Black Panther Party has transformed this movement into a socialist movement and we have become not nationalists, like the Black Power movement in the past but internationalists.

The bourgeoisie that is based here in America has an international character, because it exploits the world, it controls the wealth of the world it has stolen, usurped the wealth of the people of the world, including the people who are in the black colony here in America and who were stolen from Africa. We feel that the only way that we can combat an international enemy is through an international strategy, unity of all people who are exploited, who will overthrow the international bourgeoisie, and replace it with a dictatorship by the proletariat, the workers of the world. And we feel that after imperialism is destroyed, nationhood will no longer be necessary; the state will then wither away; then the whole world will belong to the people and the old national boundary lines will no longer exist. We think that the movement is at this stage, we think that the dialectics are now breaking upon taking socialism, social ideology to its final goal: communism and the absence of statehood.

Sechaba: Do you want to say a little about the programme and programme of action in the immediate future for the Party and for yourself.

Huey: Our programme is armed struggle. We have hooked up with the people who are rising up all over the world with arms, because we feel that only with the power of the gun will the bourgeoisie be destroyed and the world transformed. We feel that the imperialists will not become buddists overnight, they will not lay down their butcher knives. There-

fore the people will have to use certain measures to restore peace to the world and to restrain the madmen who're running amok throughout the world oppressing people everywhere. The world enemy number one is the ruling circle in the United States of America. We view the United States as the 'city' of the world and all the other countries as a 'countryside'.

As one country becomes free it makes each country stronger because it develops a base of liberated territory so that we'll be in a better strategic position to fight, and also it will be one step in cutting off the raw materials that imperialism needs to feed its factories here at home. We'll slowly strangle imperialism by freeing one country after another. This is why we support the brothers and sisters in Southern Africa and those who are struggling in Northern Africa for socialistic goals and against capitalism, against imperialism, as well as the brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America. We support all struggles where people are struggling for freedom, and we also support our European brothers and sisters who are struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie in their country. While we are not nationalists, we support national wars of independence because this is a step again towards cutting off the international bourgeoisie which is home based in the United States. We feel that every country has a right to be nationalistic at this point as long as they are internationalists at the same time. We feel that black people in America have a moral right to claim nationhood because we are a colonized people. But history won't allow us to claim nationhood, because it has bestowed an obligation upon us; to take socialist development to its final stage, to rid the world of the imperialist threat, the threat of the capitalist and the war monger. Once he is destroyed then there will be no need for nationhood, because the nations won't need to defend themselves against the imperialist, because this is the most powerful imperialist country in the world, and other imperialist countries depend on the backing of the U.S. At this point the imperialist is running rampant, so any country has a right to claim nationhood or be nationalist, as long as they are internationalists as well.

If they are nationalists alone then they are chauvinist. If they are both nationalist and internationalist, they realize that they need liberated territory but they also realize that their interests are the same as every other people's interest who are fighting against imperialism. While we respect your fight for nationhood and independence, and we struggle with you, we feel that we must destroy the very necessity for countries to be nations in the first place. And this is the whole idea of making the world a place where territorial boundaries will no longer be necessary.

Sediba: The leadership of the Black Panther Party has come under very severe attacks during the past year. Can you tell us what effects these attacks have had on the party?

Huey: The repression breeds resistance. We feel that by virtue of the fact that we are being attacked, and the attacks are extremely vicious, we know that we must be hitting a sensitive spot. We have the fascists disturbed and they are running amok simply because we are threatening them, we're threatening their very foundation, their very existence. Otherwise they would try to pretend to the world that this is democracy and they would support our right to freedom of speech, our right to freedom of the press and our right to political activity. But all these so-called democratic civil rights are denied the Black Panther Party, which is the Vanguard of the people, because the Party must be hitting a sensitive spot, it must be a threat to the bureaucratic im-



**HUEY P. NEWTON MINISTER OF DEFENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**



perialistic capitalist. We welcome all attacks. We will overcome all obstacles and advance wave upon wave. We will rid the world of the bourgeoisie and destroy all of the monsters, and the whole world will belong to the people.

Sechaba: Do you believe there are revolutionary possibilities in the United States?

Huey: I would like to emphasize that without the people of the world struggling against imperialism, we would have a very weak position to work from here in the United States – which I am calling the urban area of the world. But because we know we have friends, comrades-in-arms who are fighting the same enemy that we are fighting, we feel that what we've done is just open up a new front. We should say we are **attempting** to open up a new front, because we don't claim any thing that we haven't done. But we are advancing the fight, we're strengthening our strategy of resistance and attack. We can do this because we realize the American fascist troops are being divided because the people of the world are struggling against them. We encourage – we admire, we have great admiration for socialist or communist guerillas all over the world. We feel we will never be free until many colonized people are free. We notice that in most revolutions where guerilla kind of tactic was used, the urban area or city was the last area to be covered, and that bases opened up first the countryside. We see now many bases opening up in the countryside. We have advanced to the point where in many areas we've gone from guerilla, to a kind of people's army that can operate with a face to face, head-on collision with the imperialist. This is only because of the great perseverance and great strength that you have shown, and that the people of the world have shown. While we're being attacked from the left and from the right and from all sides, we're still trying to follow your examples. We realize that you're also being attacked from all sides by the enemy. Because you are driving on you've given us strength to drive on. So onward to victory. We will someday meet and celebrate our victory, because I know we will have that.

The Guerrilla Band is Our Example

Sechaba: What has been the most important inspiration for the Black Panthers?

Huey: I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim Il Sung, but also all the guerilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Polestinian guerillas who are fighting for a socialist

world. I think they all have been great inspiration for the Black Panther Party. As I've said before, their example has given us strength; we follow the example of all these guerilla bands. The guerillas who are operating in South Africa and numerous other countries all have had great influence. We study and we follow their example. We are very interested in the strategy that's being used in Brazil, which is an urban area, and we plan to draw on that. And we've certainly been influenced by all of the people who are struggling in the world. As far as control is concerned, our Central Committee controls our Party. But I won't deny the influence. We don't consider that question an accusation, because I think we all should learn from each other.

Sechaba: Last year there was a United Front – the National Conference to Combat Fascism which included a number of groups, among them SDS, the Dubois Club, the Communist Party of the United States. What is the Black Panther Party policy on this kind of relationship?

Huey: Our policy is that we are friends with all Marxists, want coalitions and allies within this country and all over the world. We could never have success without a popular movement – and when I speak of 'popular' I mean it in the truest sense of the word, in the internationalist sense. We have to have a popular mass in order to achieve victory, because victory is not for us, it's for the people. Therefore the people must be considered and the people must take a part in the struggle at every level.

We view part of our role as a vanguard, that we must educate the people as we go, orientate them and provide an understanding of the social forces that are in operation and the dialectics at the time. We can only do this through involving the people in practical application, and involving them at every level of the struggle. And we do have relationships and coalitions and just comradely love and work with all these groups, and we hope to even expand this to other groups – some we haven't even heard of.

Solidarity in Armed Struggle

Sechaba: Would the Black Panther Party like to set up or establish more direct contacts with the liberation movements of Africa, Latin America and Asia?

Huey: Yes we think that we can learn even more from each other if we were to establish better means of communications. One of the chief difficulties is a matter of communications. It is an international struggle – the Black Panther

Party even thinks in terms of a new International, an International based upon armed struggle and the socialist ideology, because we feel the International that exists now is somewhat deteriorated, as far as the Third World is concerned, especially the Third World countries involved in armed combat. The International has half-stepped and criticized many of the national wars of independence and the armed struggle tactic as being too hasty and without enough orthodox political development. We see the need to overthrow the evil gentry and corrupt officials and we see only one way to do this: we don't believe we can do it through negotiation or electoral politics or any kind of non-violent means. The enemy is a violent man and we must treat him in an appropriate way.

Sechaba: And more specifically, would you be interested in having contact with the liberation movement of Southern African and, if so, in what form?

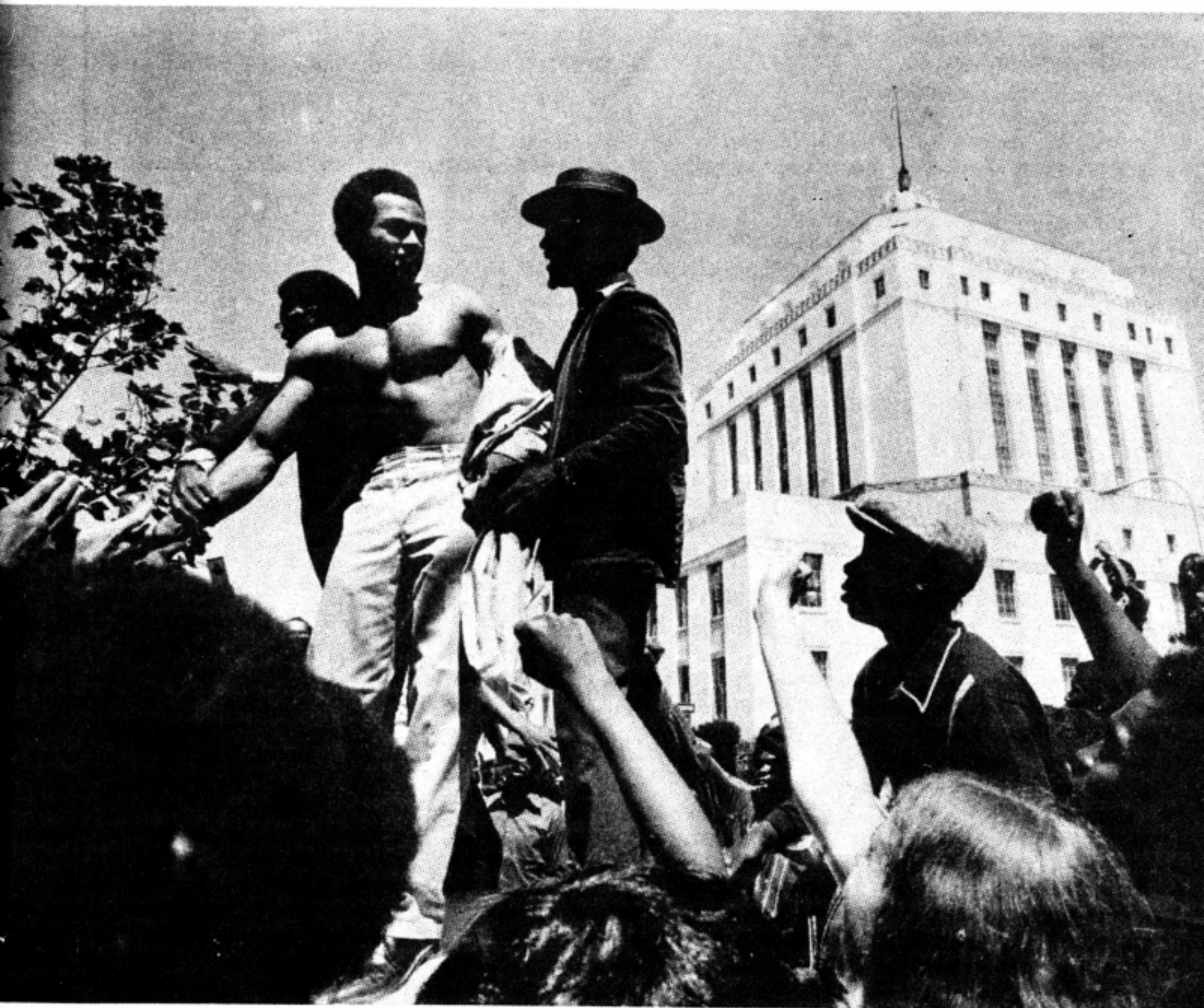
Huey: As you know, we've offered troops to the Vietnamese people to show our international solidarity. At the same time we also made it clear that we would send troops or

offer troops to any of our friends who would accept them. We think the ultimate gesture of friendship that we could offer is to send our comrades to shed blood on your soil in the name of freedom, in the interest of the people, and against the imperialist enemy. If there is anything else that we can do other than to struggle to break the chains that shackle us, then let us know about that, and we will be willing to consider it.

Sechaba: Is there much interest in the United States about the struggle in Southern Africa? What can Sechaba do to publicize the South African revolution among the Black people in the United States?

Huey: We, the Black Panther Party, are a vanguard group, so necessarily we're more enlightened than the masses and we are very interested in the international scope of things. The people are as people all over the world, so tied up and so involved in their survival from day to day, that much of the time they overlook, or they don't understand the international nature of the struggle. That is why it is our duty — one of our first duties — to raise the consciousness of the

Huey, just after his release from jail



people through education. We would like more information about the struggle in Southern Africa. We are familiar with it right now, but we would like more information on your armed struggle and what the guerrillas are doing, so that we can spread this information. We would like film footage: we have trucks that we drive around in the community and show films to people that walk in the streets.

For example we have films of the revolution that took place in Algeria. The community is very impressed with that kind of thing because they can easily see the relationship between the way the French treated the Algerians and how we're treated in this country. And we have a motto in the Black Panther Party which is an old saying: "a picture is worth a thousand words." And the people, maybe they don't read as much as they should; so we found in our political education that it's very helpful to show films. If you have any pictures or film footage you can get to us, I will assure you that it will be shown inside of the United

States, inside of the community where the oppressed people live, and this is regardless of colour. It will be shown inside of the black community, the chinese community, the Indian community and the white community. There are poor white people in this country who are now becoming involved in the common struggle, and we're involved with them, and we hope this national kind of involvement of many ethnic groups will aid us in relating to the people, to help them make that jump to identify with people in other countries who may be from other ethnic backgrounds; other cultural backgrounds.

So that's how you can help us. And on our side we can send you some more tapes and maybe some film footage of things that we're doing and things that happened to us in this country.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT

The following report published in the Rand Daily Mail on July 23, further illustrates our oft repeated claim that South Africa practices slavery . . .

TENTS ARE HOME FOR 4 WOMEN AND 41 CHILDREN

For two and half years, four Zulu women and their 41 children have lived in tents — a brave but futile passive resistance against constant urging by Government officials to move into a Limehill-type township called Mpungamphlope, about 50 miles south-east of Vryheid.

Until the end of 1967 they had lived on a farm near Empangeni in Zululand. Their husbands worked as labourers and were allowed, in return, to keep their own cattle and grow their own crops.

Then a property company bought out the White owner and gave the Zulu families three months' notice. The families were evicted in February, 1968, with nowhere to go.

They spent three days beside a dirt road running along the farm boundary before a Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Babanango — 150 miles away — heard of their plight. He brought them by lorry to his area and offered them plots in Mpungamphlope.

DIED LAST YEAR

All but one of the husbands stayed behind in the Empangeni area to live with other women they had married by tribal custom. The one who came

to the outskirts of Mpungamphlope, Mr. Jacob Ntombela, died last year in one of the tents. His wife Linah says she thinks it was "chest trouble".

Eleven tents had been provided, pitched in long grass, when the lorries arrived at 8 p.m. Next morning the women cut the grass inside the tents — and have remained there ever since. They are there, on the outskirts of the dusty township sprawling between the towering hills of Eyibomvu and Mpungamphlope, only on sufferance of the Commissioner. They have no right to be there.

They could have a right, if they accepted his offer of taking up half acre plots and paying R80 at R8 a year for freehold rights. But they have refused several times.

This is where the bravery comes in — and the futility. For the women do not want to remain in the tents. Mrs. Gladys Sangwini said: "It is simply hell in winter. And the windy months set the tents jiving."

Mrs. Elsie Buthelezi spoke for them all when she chipped in: "We have told the Commissioner (Mr. S.F. Nel) in so many words that we cannot stay in Mpungamphlope."

FARMING PEOPLE

"We are a farming people. We don't know life in the township. We are used to having our cattle (now with friends near Empangeni) and growing our crops. We cannot change our lives. "We have prayed all these years for a place to be free to live the life we are used to. Now we have stopped praying. "Why can't they give us such a place?"

In the forlorn hope that someday, somehow, they will be given land, the women continue their pointless resistance.

Mr. Nel cannot help them. He can only offer Mpungamphlope, and destruction of a way of life. As he points out, regulations lay down that livestock have to be sold before township plots can be taken up.

Through the "Rand Daily Mail," the women appealed to the Zulu Prime Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, pointing out that in his inaugural address on June 12 he asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, for more land for his people.

But speaking from his home at Ingilazi in Zululand, Chief Buthelezi said: "It makes me very sad to say this, but I cannot help. Even some chiefs have been ordered off the land.

"I receive two or three deputations a week, asking for land. There is nothing I can do."

One of the families Chief Buthelezi can do nothing for are the Zungus at Barklieside, near Vryheid.

Mr. Abel Zungu, father of 10, is hiding from the police in the bitterly cold Barklieside hills because he has been ordered off a White-owned farm and he has nowhere to take his family.

Another family the chief cannot help is the Memelas (13 in all), who have spent more than a week huddled against the cold, 10 miles outside Ladysmith on the Durban road. They have been evicted from a White-owned farm. Like the Zungus they have nowhere to go.

Two other families with problems are the Khumalos and Buthelezis (about 70 in all). Their eviction notices — served because the South African Bantu Trust has bought out the White owner — expired on July 13, Family Day.

Both families have remained on the farm, near Barklieside, in daily fear of eviction. They also have nowhere to go.

Mr. Zungu, the man hiding in the Barklieside hills, had been a labourer on Mr. Piet Henning's farm for 10 years until he was told to go. He was allocated a plot for his 15 cattle, 20 sheep and crops he grew to eat.

His wife, Henrietta, says she does not know why they have been told to go. Their eviction deadline was July 13.

"Abel has gone to the hills with the cattle and sheep because he is afraid the police will arrest him. Last month he spent a night in jail and next morning paid R5 admission of guilt for refusing to obey a lawful command in terms of the Master and Servants Act. Now he is scared of going to jail again."

NOWHERE TO GO

A woman who identified herself as Mrs. Venter (Mr. Henning's daughter-in-law) told the "Rand Daily Mail" by telephone from the Henning farm that Mr. Zungu had been arrested because "he did not take his cattle out of my camp."

She added: "Listen here, as far as I am concerned this has nothing to do with you or anybody else." She then put down the receiver.

Beside the Ladysmith-Durban road 62-year-old Mr. Kinga Memela said: "We were told to go last November. We did not because there is nowhere to go."

"On Friday, July 10, the farm manager, Mr. Eddie Young, had our things thrown onto a lorry and put us down here. We do not know why."

Their belongings are strewn along about 35 yards of farm fence — a dresser under blankets, grass mats, rolled wire netting, dismantled beds and two makeshift shacks.

Mr. Young said: "These people were ordered to go about a year ago. They have given us a tremendous amount of trouble." He said he thought they would go to the Bantu Affairs Commis-

sioner in Ladysmith, "but it is none of my business."

Because of a registration mistake, the Khumalos and Buthelezis pay taxes at Babanango although the farm taken over by the Trust falls under the Nqutu Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

He is Mr. L. G. Liebenberg, who told the "Rand Daily Mail" in his office: "These people knocked on the wrong door when they came to me. I told them to go to Babanango. As far as I am concerned, they don't exist."

But, in a letter to the people who "don't exist," he said: "You are hereby given formal notice to vacate the farm Lot 4 Nondweni in the district of Nqutu within three month from this day, the 13th April, 1970."

Mr. Liebenberg explained that notice had been given because of a Trust regulation that there must be no one on a farm when it is taken over. He added that the man to provide alternative land was the Babananga Commissioner, Mr. S. F. Nel.

BIG SQUEEZE

Mr. Nel says he remembers a man coming to him to ask for land. He offered him a plot at Mpumgamphlope,

but, like the four women, he would have to sell his livestock first. He said Mr. Zungu's farm also fell into his area and "if he comes to me I may be able to help."

Comment from Father Cosmas Desmond, who has written a book, "The Discarded People," on African resettlement: "All this highlights the basic problem of the Bantustan policy — you can't fit 70 percent of the population into 13 per cent of the country.

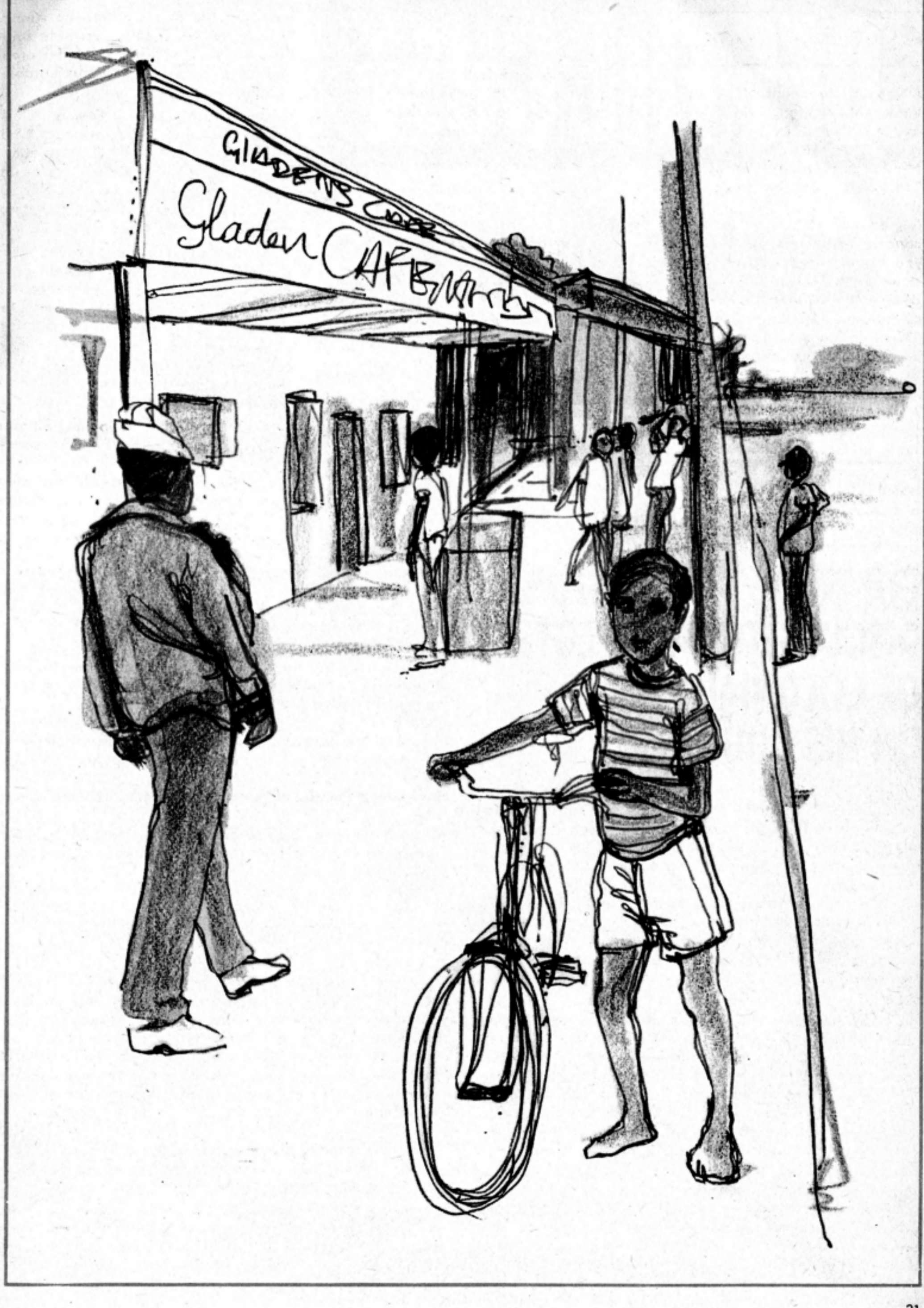
"Most of those now being evicted have worked for the White farmers all their lives in return for which they received no wages, but only the right to live there and keep cattle. "But once their term of usefulness has expired, they can be dumped. They have been shunted round from farm to farm and now they have nowhere at all to go.

"This sort of thing is happening all over the country all the time. But who cares?"

"One man has been to prison, having been summonsed under the Master and Servants Act, for refusing to obey a lawful command of an employer. If this isn't slavery, what is?"

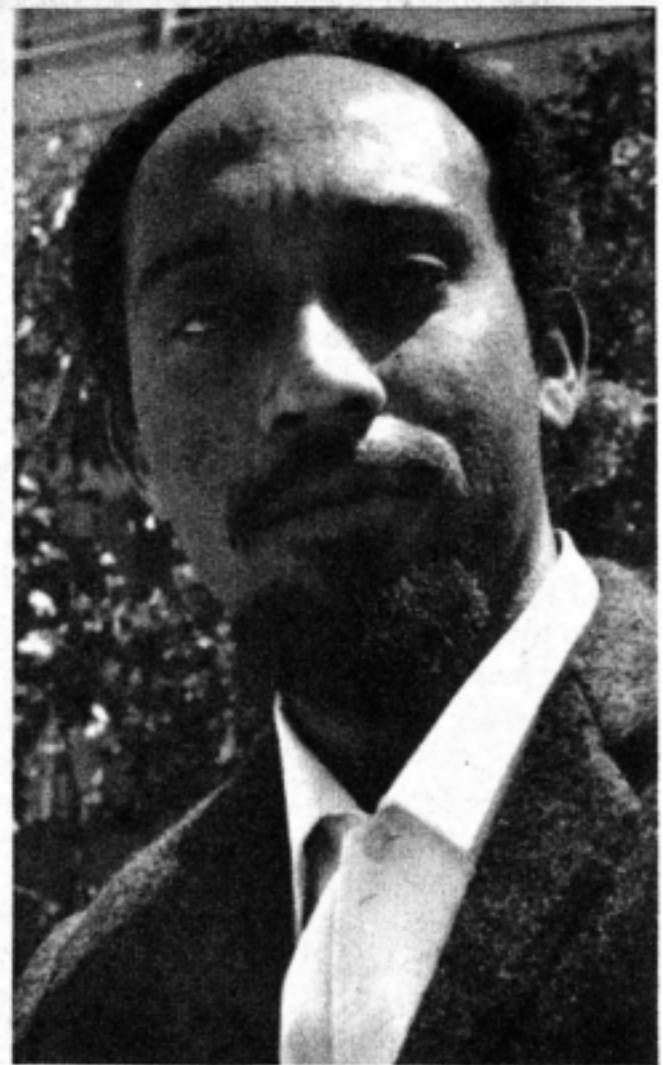
"I have said all this so often before and I wonder whether there is still any possibility of stirring the white conscience."





OFF THE CUFF

Marcelino Dos Santos talks to Sechaba



Marcelino Dos Santos

Continued from October

COMRADE DOS SANTOS DISCUSSED THE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON HIS COUNTRY

Colonialism eliminated initiative from our societies. From the time when Portuguese colonialism intervened our capacity to create our destiny was finished. This problem is rather complex and one must stick to the essential points in order to answer. It is evident that when your Shaka created his Zulu empire his wish was to stop the penetration. But how? We were different tribes, which Shaka was trying to bring together. The Portuguese on our side stopped these groups from developing harmoniously. They introduced industry and with it a new form of society, of the capitalist type.

Historically capitalism is a more advanced form than the tribal system. But for me the essential point is that the development which took place did not concern the African man. It concerned him only as an instrument of production. I think that Man can only develop if one considers his ability to create, his freedom to be himself. Techniques were introduced but they did not profit Africans and we can see this today in our fight for National liberation.

The lack of cadres shows that Mozambique Man did not benefit in spite of the introduction of modern systems of production; he was not allowed to absorb or control these systems. Therefore I say that Portuguese Colonialism stopped the development of the Mozambique Man because it stopped and arrested his ability to create; the ability to study problems and find solutions. And it is only through

this work that man can develop. When man becomes a simple instrument there is no longer any development of Man. This is why I say that colonialism inhibited the development of Man in this region of Africa.

So you would say that historically speaking the introduction of capitalist techniques did not lead to any significant development in Mozambique?

I said 'no' because what interests us is the development of the people, not a special group.

How many industrial workers have you got in Mozambique?

We have ourselves tried to establish the figure by counting the workers in the factories and the plantations:— not more than 70,000.

COLLABORATORS

In every country where colonialism has established itself, it has managed to build up some support among the local population, collaborators and so — on. Would you care to comment on the success or failure of Portuguese colonialism to develop collaborators within the population of Mozambique? If this has happened would you say that this has created a possibility of a 'puppet' government at some later stage?

The fascist character of Portuguese Colonialism has actually prevented the creation of such a class which would eventually be useful to them on the political level.

First of all the administration of the population has been by direct rule of the Portuguese. Portugal did not use the existing institutions to enforce its domination, that is to say they imposed their authority even on the traditional chiefs. Then they placed Portuguese Nationals in all main Admi-

nistrative posts and only left secondary posts to the Africans, and even this use of Africans in secondary posts came long after their colonial conquest in Mozambique. Even the 'assimilados' were formed because of the necessity to have lower grade civil servants but without granting them any political rights.

It was therefore a technical cooperation which was required not a political one. We only saw the first signs of desired political cooperation with the Africans at the start of the Movement for National Liberation but at that stage the situation was rather twisted – the whole present attitude of the Portuguese Government towards some sort of social promotion can be called hypocritical under the pressure of a protest movement, carried out in the form of an armed struggle. Therefore we can say that cooperation in the past was strictly 'technical' and not political. To know whether in the future an effort will be made to create a 'puppet government' we can only treat it as a possibility in the action of colonialism and even Portugal cannot escape this rule. However we must examine their chances of carrying out such a plan successfully,

It becomes our responsibility to create the conditions which will make it impossible for the enemy to succeed with such a scheme. This is not a positive answer but we say that it is a possibility. To know whether Portugal will be able to do this, will depend on the work we do. It depends on our ability to take the necessary action to achieve our objectives.

At this stage we can say that correct action is being taken. The fact that Portugal does not want to accept the concept of National Independence is favourable to us in so far as all initiatives in favour of Portugal are doomed to failure. Portugal wants to control everything – it gives no possibility of independence. Therefore our actions have shown results and not only with the black population. You can observe that Portugal has not been able to mobilise the white population in a movement against us, which does not mean that there are no individuals against us.

WHITE SUPPORT

Do you expect any significant support at any stage or some sort of neutrality from the European population?

We have, since the start of our action, made a big effort in this direction. There are in Mozambique different types of Whites: Whites who consider themselves Mozambicans and join the Nationalist movement; Whites who consider themselves Portuguese but who claim to be anti-colonialist. We must say that there are people who live in Mozambique and have all the privileges of colonial society, who do not agree with fascism. We must also realise that ideas progress and that some may develop an understanding of the



problems and join the ranks of the revolution. There are also whites who live there and who say nothing.

But the fact of the matter is that to this day the Government has not been able to form a movement against us. When the Portuguese launched the provincial mobilisation of volunteers, who were part of the militia which supported certain army actions, in the first stages they distributed many arms, even in the towns. Afterwards they tried to recall all the arms when they realised that many people had simply taken the arms and kept them for themselves, and who were not prepared to participate in the volunteers organisations. And when they really tried to conscript people in the volunteers, the people just refused. Therefore they were unable to form this movement.

Regarding the Portuguese Government – if there was no longer a fascist government, what would the position of the whites be? We had better wait until there is a change. We can only say that the situation is not 'absolute' and for us the question is to know which measures to adopt in order to be victorious in our fight. We are progressing in this direction – we work towards victory.

We are a nationalist organisation. We are fighting for national independence. I think that in any struggle (even for national independence) we must respect the interests of the people, and we feel that there are today good conditions for the liberation of man. We believe that it is in everybody's interest to fight against Portuguese colonialism and in everybody's interest to fight against the exploita-

tion of man by man – that is to say that the majority of the population will be prepared to establish a society without the exploitation of man by man.

A BOURGEOISIE?

Concretely, what is the position of the bourgeoisie in Mozambique? There are at present two systems: the colonial capitalist system and also the traditional communal economic system. At the level of the communal economy we will have to face the traditional chiefs who have certain interests which they will attempt to maintain. We feel that in a limited way they would be opposed to the struggle for national liberation. In Mozambique today we find that almost 90% of the traditional chiefs have not been elected to their posts in the normal tribal fashion, but have been appointed by the Portuguese. Usually at a certain point the traditional chief was unable to follow government directives for moral reasons, and then the Portuguese replaced him. In this manner the traditional chiefs have been humiliated, they have a grudge against colonialism. But they have nevertheless kept certain benefits in terms of the tribal system. We therefore feel that at the tribal level there is a general tendency to oppose a liberation leading to emancipation.

If we examine the capitalist economy, we find that the Mozambicans are not really represented in the capitalist struc-





ture and do not belong to the bourgeois class, except in agriculture where we find a limited number of Mozambican landowners, but their economic power is small and they do not represent a social force. Therefore the majority of the population would be favourable to a system without the exploitation of man by man.

On the African scene, we find today that there is a new political consciousness developing. In the countries which have become independent people who have tasted independence have realised that this was not enough. Movements have developed, a certain political consciousness has appeared, which calls for more than a hymn and a flag. Taking these new developments into consideration we feel that we must devise a system which will benefit our people. On the practical level we are simply using methods which respect this orientation.

When we look at Portuguese colonialism, a fascist colonialism which does not accept the principle of independence, we must realise that it is a fight until death – either them or us. When we look at the material strength of Portugal compared to our strength we have to look for our strength not only in technical terms but in man himself. We must obtain the dedication of all those who are prepared to fight for liberation. We have to find slogans to build our unity. We cannot be tribalists, nor racists because we have to show that it is exploitation we want to destroy. If we had tackled the problem as a racial one we would be forced to condone the exploiters with black skins!

We in South Africa find that the form of the political contradiction is very sharply between black and white. In what way is this different in Mozambique and how does this fit in with your concept of Mozambique nationalism?

I think that the conditions in South Africa are quite different than in Mozambique where fascism affects both Whites and Blacks – the Portuguese Government does not only oppress the blacks, it also oppresses the Whites. Under these circumstances unity does not exist among the white population. Under this oppressive system, the material conditions of the 200,000 Whites in Mozambique are not always brilliant. There is a large section of the population which has a low standard of living; this is very important.

There is also the class of the liberal professions who have this urge for freedom. The relations existing between the Blacks and Whites are not that distant. There is still apparent racial discrimination in cinemas buses etc., but there are Blacks who maintain contact with the white population.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION

It must be noted that economic power is not controlled by the people in Mozambique but by the Portuguese outside. If we try to define the situation in a more precise manner we find that the main conflict and the principal contradiction is between the working population and the bourgeoisie,

but this bourgeoisie is not in Mozambique. It has its agents in Mozambique but it is in fact in Lisbon, London, Paris etc. This is the main contradiction. **This means that the White population does not feel entirely responsible for the present situation and they also do not feel that they are the main beneficiaries of the colonial situation.**

We said earlier that we could not take a racial position because it would have meant condoning the exploiters with black skins. But the importance of this aspect of the problem cannot be understood at the start of mobilisation because there are only a few with better economic conditions. However, as soon as the liberation struggle starts a new situation arises and this class starts to believe that they may be able to maintain their better conditions. At this stage we have to make a choice; we must decide which orientation we shall follow. In Mozambique we had to think very seriously as soon as we had men who had been liberated – the preoccupations of each one becomes obvious. The ones which have joined the revolution, but who had individual preoccupations did not feel at ease with the chosen orientation of FRELIMO, which did not accept the establishment of institutions resulting in a system of exploitation of man, which forced us to examine under which conditions the armed struggle could be victorious. That is to say; as soon as there are liberated men we had to expect that some would say "Now we are free, what will we get?" and some liberated areas do not offer much in the way of development. In order to maintain enthusiasm we had to make everybody understand that the war will be over only when the whole country has been liberated. We then had to create something new.

Before the stage of the liberated man everybody wanted something new – freedom! Once the Portuguese had left, part of the work had been done – the people felt that they were in a liberated region, but what was new? What could be done to show that this was independence? We could only offer a new organisation of work which would give to the people something they did not have before and this was the possibility of enjoying the fruits of their own labour. Therefore the choice of a system which would allow the people to enjoy the fruits of their labour became necessary for the continuation of the armed struggle because we had to find the drive to continue to galvanize the population, to maintain their enthusiasm. In this way the people were able to say: "Yes, there is something new – the possibility of enjoying the fruits of our labour and it came with national liberation."

We also had to make the people understand that what we were trying to do could not be achieved only in one province but at the level of the whole nation. This is why we had to impose firmly an anti-racist action because a racist approach would have alienated the support of the Whites and secondly would hinder the realisation of social emancipation which had been an imperative of the armed struggle and which was an absolute part of our general orientation.

MORALS AND SOLIDARITY

In your concluding speech as Chairman of this Conference, you placed a good deal of stress on the moral outlook of FRELIMO. Would you say that your movement, by emphasising these questions of proper relations between human beings will indeed have some activating influence, invoke a special response in the capitalist world?

In fact, it is our aim. But as I was saying, we reached a stage where we realised that it is only through concrete

action that we can impose these new values. We have been able to get together here in Rome because the armed struggle exposed certain values.

We do not say that the armed struggle alone can bring about such things as solidarity, friendship etc. but we have said that in our particular case the armed struggle was found to be the only historical path to unify our people. If we had not embarked on an armed struggle we would have been unable to consolidate our fight. In each situation we have had to determine the best form of action, which will allow the creation of new values and which must orientate the relations between people. Without the armed struggle we would not have been able to establish the relations which now exist between the leaders and the people.

The armed struggle is essential for liberation and through it new relations are created. In a diversified society like ours it is only by social action that people are able to develop new relations adapted to new situations. In our case it has been through armed struggle. **At the same time the guerilla has acquired a high status. We are convinced that this status is not only due to the struggle in Angola and Mozambique but this high status is particularly due to Vietnam which showed us this fantastic capacity to resist the American monster with such highly developed techniques.**

People have noticed this capacity to resist and have wondered where it came from and what it meant. People have found that it was a human force, that we have created a new human dimension. People must now revise their positions, and it is not Nixon and Pompidou who will revise their conceptions; it is the people of the European countries who have had to rethink their attitudes. They have understood that whatever was being said of the Vietnamese their action has shown a new Human dimension and this has helped us all. The action in Vietnam as well as Latin America has enabled the guerillas to be looked upon favourably in the whole world.

OUR CONTRIBUTION

But our contribution, because of our historical situation, may be to show up the links which exist between us and the people of Europe. The objective link is well known – that capitalism exploits Mozambique and France as well. Through the different struggles people have linked their own difficulties with ours. People are not happy, which has proved to them that these problems are on a world scale; there are struggles for National liberation, there is the participation of European countries in these colonial wars; what does this mean? From one action to another they have reached a certain understanding.

And when struggles such as ours present themselves not as a disruptive but as a constructive force, people say to themselves: these are not just poor Blacks but people who are striving to build something; these are people who are trying to build a new life, therefore they are true human beings. This is the kind of reaction we have experienced in certain countries. The movement of solidarity supports us on principled grounds as opposed to the humanitarians who think in terms of poor people.

This is why we have said that the one result of this conference is the possibility to show that it is truly possible to establish between peoples relations which are not those of the exploiter with the exploited. The importance of this discovery is that we can organise joint actions which must be done to establish this front as a political objective, which aims to stop military intervention by imperialist forces.



SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE

Sechaba: There are people in the West who, young and enthusiastic, would like to become volunteers in the struggle. Some would like to work on development projects, others as fighters. Can they participate?

A. We already have some friends who have come to work with us. For example this year some Swedish teachers came to teach in our secondary school. We have also had teachers from Czechoslovakia and now have some from GDR, India and Holland. We have also had technicians who have helped with publicity and we now have two Bulgarian doctors. We can therefore say that we accept technicians who offer their services to us because we need them.

However all these friends have not been utilised in the armed struggle. This is due to our view that the duties in the armed struggle must of necessity be carried out by ourselves.

Up to now we have not used the services of friends in the armed conflict and we do not envisage this in the near future, we consider that we can best use their assistance in the non-military sector especially to train personnel. This is the most important aspect of technical assistance.

Furthermore, we feel the essential task today for the Western European people is to organise a campaign, to mobilise public opinion to stop any move towards military intervention of imperialism, and they must understand that this is a real possibility. It is not only an illusion but a possibility. We must seize every opportunity which exists to be victorious against the enemy at the international level.



BLACK GIRL

(TOLD BY A BLACK MAN
TO HIS SON)

BY
ALEXANDER CORDELL

There ain't no beauty in the colour o'white
There's no comparin' with a hue like mine
For the white's got a pigment the colour o'corn
Too deep in the heat 'afore he was born
But the good Lord loves us like a race apart
In the beat of the pulse and the thump o' the heart
So he fried us proper in the oven o'the sun
But the whitey he denied, and did him underdone.

He gave to our woman a square black face
With a frizz to her crown to lend her pride
And he walked her abroad with a sinewy grace
And a breast well filled with the whitest milk
On a come-hither sway that defied the whips
For God, he knew at the start of time
That the birth-rate don't lie in the lips, ma boy
But the way that they wiggle and wriggle their hips.

Her throat he filled with contralto song
For the mating whisper and the shriek of war
Her ears he stitched on flat to her head
For the paw of the Lynx and her bed of thong
Her nose he cast for the jungle spore
Her senses he tuned to the cry of the clan
Which will come of interest to you, ma boy
And one day change you into a man.

That big fella kissed her a gentle mouth
And screwed in pearls for the southern sun
Made her hands big for the black man's stew
And long lithe legs for the Antelope's run
In the jungle rip of the black man's due
Her womb he tamed for his largest sons
Her eyes he lit with a lightning spark
To trace her activities after dark.

That big seat dyed her an ebony skin
Made her lips wide for the black man's mouth
And ventured her down in the deep deep south
With a soul as white as a bedsheet cloud
So she's black outside but white within
And moves like a tigress, sooty and proud
But you can't say as much for the chosen race
And I spit their lies in the white man's face.



NAIROBI AND FRANKFURT

By Bishop Ambrose Reeves

A vexed question facing church leaders when meeting in conference is the amount of time which should be given to the internal affairs of their respective churches and to the affairs of the world. Unfortunately, too often concern for the world is overshadowed by proper concern for the inner life of the church. This was not true however of two conferences held this summer.

First, the Conference of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches at Nairobi in August. While both the Nederduitse Gereformade Kerk and the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk are members of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches the Gereformde (Dopper) Church, like its mother church in Holland is not a member of the World Alliance. Even before the conference began it was clear that apartheid and the relation of the Dutch Reformed Churches to the racist policy of South Africa would feature prominently in discussions at this conference. This certainly happened, even though a reported move by some of the younger delegates to have the D.R. Churches excluded was defeated. As soon as detailed discussions began Dr. G. de Gray, a Dutch lecturer at the University of Zambia, launched an attack on apartheid in which he is reported to have said, "The church asks the Black people of Africa to suffer. It urges them to be nonviolent. But elsewhere in Southern Africa it is not so pacifist. It tolerates the violence of oppression."

According to reports in the Rand Daily Mail, "throughout the conference the N.G.K. argued that in fact it was a multiracial church — that its federal councils were racially mixed, and that its segregation at the congregational level was to enable each race group to worship in its own language". Not that these claims went unchallenged. In the week-long discussions there were spells of intense criticism of apartheid. During one such spell there was a bitter clash between two African ministers. One, a member of the D.R.C. asserted that he was not oppressed in South Africa He said, "I do whatever I like. I am a free man". An African Presbyterian minister from Um-tata in the Transkei replied by saying, "When my friend tells you that we are not oppressed and that we are free, I must tell you that he lies". He went on to point out that it was a fallacy to suppose that separate development offered the African people freedom. The controversy raged throughout the conference. For more than a week the D.R.C. delegates had to endure unrelenting attacks both on apartheid and on their own church policy.

D. R. C. CONDEMNED

Although in the end a proposal was defeated which would have declared the D. R. C. to be no longer an authentic Christian Church because it practises racial segregation, the conference went on record condemning the D. R. C. for internal apartheid, warning that such segregation was

against the nature of the Christian Church. It is yet to be seen how the D.R.C. in South Africa will react to this latest and most sustained attack that it has yet had to bear from fellow-churchmen in world presbyterianism. This decision will have to be made by the D.R.C. meeting in synod later this year. The synod will also have to determine its attitude to the decision of the World Alliance of Reform Churches at the closing session of the Nairobi Conference to organise a regional consultation between its executive and its member churches in South Africa.

One of the leaders of the N.G.K. at the conference warned that his church might be unwilling to participate, because by its resolution the World Alliance had already passed judgement on them. Even if the D.R.C. agrees to take part in such a consultation the outcome of a similar consultation at Cottesloe almost ten years ago gives little ground for hope. That consultation was arranged by the World Council of Churches. On that occasion the D.R.C. delegates agreed to certain resolutions. But they were subsequently repudiated by the synods of their churches.

Shortly after, the Dutch Reformed Churches left the W.C.C. Will this course of events be repeated at the proposed consultation? If they do the consequences will be much more serious for them than their action in leaving the World Council of Churches. A global association with alien denominations held little meaning for them. But the present issue is very different. It would mean leaving the Calvinist family of churches. A decision to leave the World Alliance might well mean their withdrawal or expulsion from the Reformed Ecumenical Synod. If this happened the isolation of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa would be complete.

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

While the world press gave relatively small coverage to events in Nairobi the reverse is true of the second important meeting of churchmen this summer, namely, the meeting of the **Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches** at Frankfurt. There the executive allocated money from a special fund consisting of contributions from member churches for 'strengthening the organisational capability of racially oppressed peoples, and raising the level of awareness of churches on the racial problem', together with money allocated to this fund from the reserves of the W.C.C. Without dissent the executive agreed to the disbursement of 200 000 dollars from this fund, 120,000 dollars of which were given to various liberation movements in Southern Africa. This action aroused strong reactions, both of approval and disapproval. The World Council of Churches has been under strong attack from many quarters. It has been accused by some of failing to discuss this matter with the South African churches and by others of not consulting its member churches.

As far as the former is concerned, it is generally overlooked that Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the General Secretary of the W. C. C. spent four days in South Africa from August 22 this year. He came straight from the Nairobi Conference, and it is almost inconceivable that in his many discussions with church leaders in South Africa no

mention was made of the possible action of the W. C. C. Executive when it met at Frankfurt. It was no fault of his that Dr. Blake did not meet the South African Prime Minister since a request for an interview was refused. As far as the latter association is concerned that member churches were not consulted, this suggests that the decision at Frankfurt was an ad hoc if not irresponsible decision.

The fact is that the need for Christians to struggle against racism was one of the dominant themes at the W.C.C. Assembly at Upsala in 1968. This Assembly called on Christians everywhere to overcome racism whenever it appears. This was followed by an International Consultation at Notting Hill in May, 1968. There a five year programme to combat racism was recommended to the World Council of Churches and its member churches. At a meeting later that year (of the General Committee of the W.C.C.) at Canterbury this plan was adopted. The General Committee also decided as a symbolic act the W.C.C. should - out of its own reserves, together with special gifts from member churches - set up a special fund to aid organisations actively engaged in the struggle against racism. It is strange that some church leaders now feel it necessary to criticise the Executive Committee decision when it would surely have failed in its duty if it had not implemented the decision of the large and representative meeting of the General Committee a year earlier at Canterbury.

SYMBOLIC VALUE

This action of the W.C.C. has little significance in terms of the money involved. But it has great symbolic value because it implies that at least some church leaders recognise that the racial struggle inevitably raises the question of the transfer of power. Those who are engaged in this struggle need more than charity and goodwill. They need practical help if they are to gain the power which will enable them to change their situation. **In some racial situations this will involve the use of force.** This, churchmen who are committed pacifists will be compelled to oppose. But most Christians have never entirely renounced the use of force. For them there is a real dilemma. As one of the Vice-Chairmen of the W.C.C. has said in a personal comment on the Frankfurt decision, "the alternative to being aligned with those who use violence to resist oppression seems to be in these days, alignment with those who use violence to defend their own privilege and affluence and to perpetuate injustice".

Those churchmen who, like myself, have after much thought decided that they must support the liberation movements in Southern Africa and therefore warmly welcome the W.C.C. decision, recognise that this is a issue on which Christians will be deeply divided. But is it too much to ask those churchmen who disagree with the decision of the W.C.C. to help the liberation movements in Southern Africa to themselves suggest a practical and feasible alternative? Is it not vitally necessary to change speedily a situation which daily becomes more and more intolerable for the majority of the peoples in Southern Africa?

SACTU

APPEALS TO WORKERS OF WESTERN EUROPE

STOP TRADE UNION FUNDS BEING INVESTED IN SOUTH AFRICA!

British trade unions with funds invested in South Africa have had a special appeal directed to them by the newly-opened London office of the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions. The appeal points out that those firms, institutions and individuals who invest capital in South Africa are becoming partners in the apartheid system and helping to maintain it.

"We are sure it is not necessary to convince you that apartheid and race discrimination in the Republic of South Africa are utterly repugnant to the spirit of the trade union movement and to every humanitarian principle. Apartheid has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, the International Labour Office, the international trade union movement, and the T.U.C. Indeed, if it depended on resolutions alone, the apartheid system would have long ago

collapsed. Unfortunately it is perpetuated by those in South Africa and abroad who profit by it."

Drawing a parallel with businesses who claim to be acting in the best interests of their shareholders, the SACTU letter quotes the recent report by Mr. Neil Wates, whose well-known firm of builders were invited to invest in a South African subsidiary. Mr. Wates went out to look at the situation and said: 'South Africa is the ideal land for investment. Nevertheless, I must report that the idea of doing business in South Africa is totally unacceptable.'

"Mr. Wates' reasons for this conclusion are worth quoting in full: He writes:

'We could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose our integrity in the process. We should have to operate in a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute, and where there is virtually no communication between the races; we should be locked in to this system. We should have to operate within an economic climate which is designed deliberately to demoralise and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should, in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance. We should have to operate within a legal climate where the rule of law has been abolished in favour of rule by decree, which bids fair to become a reign of terror.'

"We would hope very much that these just and wise remarks would be heeded by all British firms which have investments or subsidiaries in South Africa, or contemplate doing so. In fact Mr. Wates raises a profound principle: that those with money to invest are obliged to look, not only at the rate of profits anticipated, but also at the moral and social implications of the use to which their money would be put.

"We truly believe that the remarks Mr. Wates makes are even more applicable to bodies which are not merely commercial, but which have at heart the interests of the working people as a whole, such as our trade union brothers in Britain to check and make absolutely sure that those union funds which they have available for investment **are not invested in South African shares** or in concerns which have subsidiaries in South Africa.

"'Industrial helotry' is not an unfair term to apply to the situation of the non-white working class in South Africa. They have no trade union rights or recognition; to strike is regarded as a serious criminal offence; thousands of African trade union organisers and officials have been jailed, banned from trade union activity; banished to the countryside. Some have been executed. It is no accident that wages for African and other non-white workers are by far the lowest for any industrially developed country. They are barred from skilled jobs, which are reserved for members of the privileged white "aristocracy of labour."

"Many workers in this country find their own living standards affected by the fact that British firms with subsidiaries in South Africa are able to take advantage of the extremely low wage rates there. We are aware, of course, that trade union funds are usually invested according to the advice of financial experts who are only concerned with the rates of dividends which would accrue. Most members pay little attention to this matter. But here is a case, we submit, where the intervention of the leadership and membership is called for. You would not invest union funds in

the slave traffic or drug traffic. Investment in the semi-slave system in South Africa is no better!

"We appeal to you, dear brothers and fellow workers: check up on where your union funds are being invested! Once more, to quote Mr Wates:

... the parallel between Hitler's treatment of the Jews in the 1930's and South Africa's treatment of the blacks today became daily more obvious in the course of my visit, and was brought home most vividly to me when I saw blacks being literally herded like cattle through the Bantu Administration Courts. Just as I think with hindsight it would have been totally wrong to do anything to connive at Nazism in those days, so also do I think we should do nothing that would help to perpetuate apartheid."

FACTS ON SACTU'S ACTIVITIES

SACTU has four major and specific objects:

(a) For the legal recognition of all trade unions.

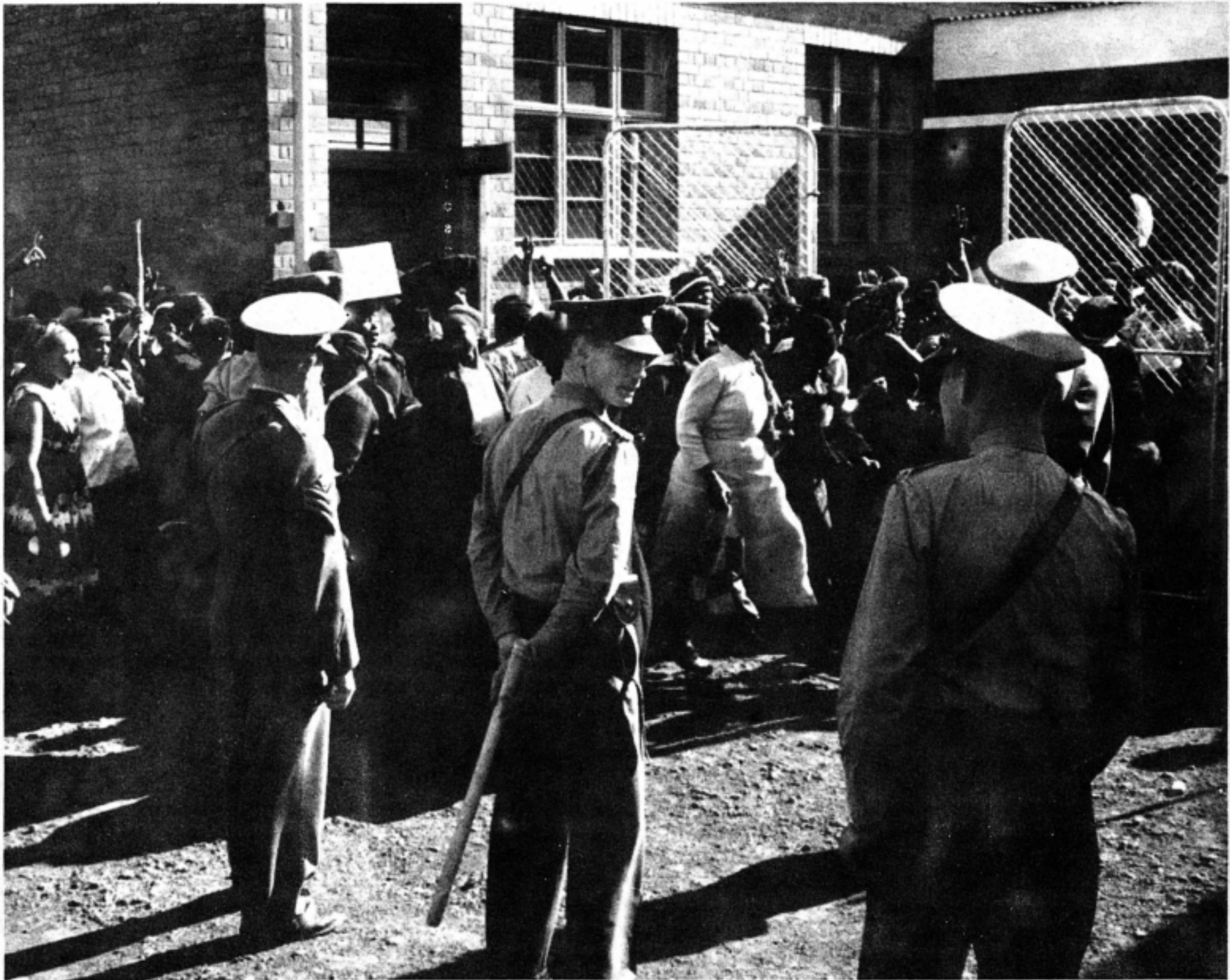
(b) The abolition of the Industrial Colour Bar and racial discrimination in all spheres of social, economic, cultural and political life.

(c) The abolition of the pass system.

(d) The right of all workers to choose the best job on the best market.

For the espousal of these objects, SACTU and its leadership have been subjected to continuous harassment by the South African government. For by virtue of its position as the only principled opposition to the government on the part of organized labour, in 1956 no less than 23 of its officials were arrested and charged with High Treason. In 1958 many were convicted of incitement. In 1960 many were detained during the 'State of Emergency', and since 1963 more than 60 leading officials were either arrested under the General Law Amendment Act, or banned from holding positions in the Trade Union Movement. The government has also found it advisable to invoke the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies Act to silence opposition.

Defiant strikers under arrest



A Former Foreign Office Official Speaks Out:

HOW TO REPLACE OR AUGMENT CONVENTIONAL SANCTIONS – SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Several articles in the English press written by Barbara Rogers, until recently a high-ranking member of the British Foreign Office, South Africa Department, argue that conventional sanctions against South Africa will not have the desired effect, since it is not in the interests of States (in the short term) to enforce such sanctions. The articles then go on to offer practical and hard-hitting alternatives, which expose the role of the Conservative government in Britain and demonstrate that in fact trade with South Africa is not profitable and is also dangerous. Here is a summary of the criticism and suggestions contained in the articles, which deserve careful consideration not only by the liberation movements and their supporters, but by British capital, the trade unions, Africa and the United Nations.

(Additional points raised by the compiler of this summary are included in the text in brackets.)

The Conservatives Back The South African Regime

Over half the Conservative Party's funds have been donated by companies with financial interests in South Africa. Alec Douglas Home appears greatly concerned to supply arms to South Africa "for strategic considerations", yet experts have shown that his rhetoric about the strategic value of the Cape route cannot even seriously be considered, since it is so far out of date. His alarming stand is backed up however by a complex network of South African pressure groups inside the government, business and the mass media of Britain.

The B. N. E. C. – Links with South Africa

The British National Export Council, an official body paid for in equal shares by business and the British Government, occupies offices next to the UK/SA Trade Association. Two of BNEC's top officials are also employed by UK/SATA. BNEC is sending 12 missions to South Africa this year – compared with an average of only one each to most African countries. Yet the real growth in British export markets is taking place in independent Africa.

S. A. Preferences

There is free entry for nearly all South African goods into Britain, but British exports to South Africa pay very high tariffs. This is clearly not in the interests of the U.K. There are several other factors also not favouring the U.K. for example, in exports to each other, there is an average 10 % protective preference for South Africa, but only between 3 % and 10 % for Britain. South Africa also imposes import quotas, high tariffs, and non-tariff barriers which discriminate against the type of goods specialized in by Britain. Import quotas are illegal under GATT rules.

Balance of Trade Favours South Africa

There is an unfavourable British balance of trade with South Africa. Britain takes over 30 % of South Africa's total exports while South Africa takes less than 5 % of Britain's. South Africa has dropped from Britain's second best customer to ninth best, in two years. Capital invested in South Africa cannot be repatriated. Harsh regulations on the minimum "local content" of motor vehicles, for example, force foreign manufacturers to set up assembly plants inside South Africa instead of exporting cars produced in their own countries.

Scientists Work on S. A. Nuclear Programme

South Africa is free to "buy" highly skilled scientists from Britain, despite the fact that under the Race Relations Act it is illegal to advertise a job in British media which is not open to all races – unless it is for a job in another country! This loophole was put in for the benefit of the Ministry of Overseas Development, for rather dubious reasons.

A number of British scientists are now working on the South African nuclear programme at inflated salaries – which however are cheaper from the S.A. point of view than having to train her own scientists. Again, Britain suffers as a result.

Yet South Africa is Economically Unstable

The above facts should be enough to show Britain that she is on the losing end of the deal. (The only people who benefit are a handful of conservative capitalists.)

Since moral causes do not appear to influence the capitalists and policy-makers, surely the economic facts of the matter will. Furthermore, South Africa is not the stable developing state it might appear to be, at the present time. Is there any long-term security for British investment in South Africa? Even a superficial investigation will show an alarming balance of payments situation; a high rate of inflation; a decrease in fixed investment in manufacturing; a disastrous stock exchange situation with share prices

having fallen over 50 % in little more than a year; and a decline in gold production which is unlikely to be replaced by other mining concerns, still less by secondary industry.

Now is the Time to Disengage

One must conclude from the above that South Africa is unusually susceptible at present to any economic pressure, and that now is the moment to disengage from it.

The U.N. Security Council should recommend that all preferential treatment of South Africa – such as Commonwealth Preferences, exemption from exchange control, commodity quotas – should be removed forthwith, and re-distributed to developing countries. A time-table should be set for a graduated import on all South African exports, rising by say 5 % every six months. Any country which felt South Africa was discriminating against them in return, would have discretion to raise the tariff as suitable.

No attempt should be made to interfere with exports to South Africa. Their balance of payments would soon become so bad (it is already alarming) that the Government would have to impose curbs on its own account. This would incur unpopularity, setting S.A. business interests against the regime. (These interests are already at loggerheads with the regime over its policy of job reservation which is seriously hampering development.)

Exclude S. A. from Sterling Area

As a member of the Commonwealth, South Africa was exempt from the 1947 Exchange Control Act. This group of countries form the "Sterling Area", in which capital can be invested without restriction, even at a time of stringent exchange controls such as Britain has at the present. The "Voluntary Programme" appears to have had no effect on the outflow of capital to South Africa.

Canada was removed from Schedule 1 of the 1947 Act a few years ago, on the grounds that the Canadian dollar was more closely tied to the American dollar than to sterling. The South African Rand is even less tied to Sterling. In fact, South Africa felt free to fight the pound in the 1968 "gold war" that nearly brought the British economy to its knees.

A Statutory Order amending the Schedule to exclude South Africa from the Sterling Area, should be approved by the British Parliament. This would enable British capital regulations to closer approximate the South African ones.

British Trade Unions Must Act

Large numbers of skilled British workers are emigrating to South Africa, encouraged by high pay, glossy propaganda and advertising.

The Race Relations Act should be amended so that only British Government departments may advertise restricted jobs abroad. British firms often set up South African subsidiaries because the labour there is much cheaper. Trade Unions in Britain should consider how they are affected by this: British companies invest heavily in a system which undercuts British industry, and which furthermore impose heavy protective import restrictions on British manufactures exported to South Africa.

(Africans in South Africa are prohibited by law from joining trade unions. U.K. trade unions should therefore give every support to the struggles of the South African working class, by material and moral support and by militant pres-

sure on the U.K. Government to restrict the movement of capital and labour to South Africa in the ways listed above. Low wages for workers in South Africa adversely affects the income of British workers.)

Africa and the Commonwealth

The panic measures taken in South Africa after Sharpeville are still in force ten years later, and virtually exclude all capital exports. In this respect South Africa is much worse than the average developing country in Africa. Dividends from South Africa are lower than those from countries north of the Zambesi. Is it therefore in the British national interest for investment to flow to South Africa in such quantities that the return flow of dividends is swallowed up, and the whole invisible balance of trade is probably in South Africa's favour?

Britain's policy on South Africa may well be endangering other issues. There is the domestic issue of race relations. Africa and the Commonwealth cannot afford to tolerate Britain's policies on South Africa. They should press for the import tariff on all South African exports. Part of the funds thus collected should be re-directed to other developing countries as may suffer from the tariff, e; g; by losing an export market as South African reserves are run down. This would be a just incentive to apply the scheme. (Also, preferences should be re-distributed to developing countries.) There can be no objection from GATT because South Africa is seriously in breach of both the letter and spirit of GATT. Penalising South Africa in this way would provide an example to others.

People of South Africa

We add that the working class and people of South Africa must eventually overthrow the racist regime in the south. In building up a people's democracy, they will know that the best co-operation can be achieved with those states which consistently and militantly opposed the racist regime that the South African people have been suffering under, and fighting against, for so long.



BACKGROUND TO APARTHEID

By Dennis Crowe

Take a casual look at the map of the world and be struck by the diminutive size of Europe compared with the rest of the world, or Europe compared with the continent of Africa. From this small land mass, descendants have spread themselves to nearly every corner of the globe; from Britain to the Bering Straits, the Americas, Australasia, and Africa seizing and occupying most of these lands by force; everywhere they went they took their culture, foisting it on the conquered inhabitants (Cortez for example, in his conquest of South America brutally forced Christianity on the South American people). From Britain 'adventurers', bent on gain, radiated to occupy at one time nearly a quarter of the globe. The aftermath of that conquest can still be felt today especially in Africa; which prompts the question - would it not have been better for the world, if these people stayed at home in Europe? With the European, came the systematic subjugation of the indigenous inhabitants. Where these people were not actually killed their numbers were decimated by diseases brought from Europe. It has been said that in the early days of the Australian occupation, bounty was offered for every Aborigine head! Africa was no exception. The industrious whites in Europe were casting envious eyes on Africa the 'Dark Continent'. Early adventurers had brought tales

of untold riches to be had for the taking, so they came in their ships, rounding the Cape on their way East. In the wake of these pirates, came the Dutch East India Company, which decided to establish a beach-head at the Cape, ostensibly as a victualing station. The Dutch gradually entrenched themselves. But after the Dutch, came the British, casting about for fresh conquests. The British occupation of the Cape was the signal for more 'immigrants' to arrive to settle permanently. Here was land for the taking!

The local inhabitants, who at first welcomed the pale strangers, were treated with scant respect; it was not until 1673 that the Khoi Khoi people under their leader Quama, realised that these strangers did not come as friends. The settlers were putting fences round the land, and not allowing the Khoi Khoi grazing rights. So the inhabitants began to resist the settlers. Sporadic wars broke out. From 1673 to 1677, there were continuous fights between the Dutch and the local people. Khoi Khoi resistance finally collapsed, when they were nearly all wiped out by European diseases. "The theme that dominated South Africa for the next two hundred years, was the land question" (Oxford History of South Africa). It can therefore be seen that the seizure of land by the whites was at the root of most of the evil that ensued. An American Indian being recently as-

ked by an interviewer why his ancestors sold Manhattan for a few heads replied "they had no right to sell the land, it belonged to the people. In our concept land is not a saleable commodity". Similarly the original inhabitants of the Cape had no idea that the whites, whom they welcomed as friends, were there to sieze their land. They were not to know that the land would be fenced in and guards mounted! As we know, Van Riebeck and his cut-throat crew arrived in 1652. By the end of that century, the remnants of the inhabitants of the Cape who had not been killed by war, or disease, were driven as far as Namaqualand.

TOUGH OPPOSITION

In the Eastern Cape, however, the immigrants met much sterner opposition. The so called "Kaffir Wars" broke out, because the advancing settlers were beginning to occupy land belonging to the Xhosa nation. "By 1820, advertisements were regularly appearing in the British press offering a hundred acres of land free to new immigrants to the Eastern Cape". (Oxford History of South Africa). The people of the Transkei fought desperate and bitter battles to retain their land, to no avail. The hordes from Europe kept coming.

The people who were not driven back or killed died of starvation. Belatedly missionaries were sent to the Eastern Cape to alleviate the suffering. It is a macabre joke for the whites to say that South Africa was an empty land when they arrived there. The truth is that a part, especially of the Cape, was indeed almost empty of local inhabitants, but **after** not **before** they arrived!

The discovery of diamonds, in Kimberly and gold on the Reef shortly after, precipitated an unprecedented flood from Europe. The gutters of Europe were swept clean, as they spread to South Africa. The vitals of Mother Africa were sundered, as they grovelled for the precious metals. At no point in all this feverish activity were the hopes and aspirations of the people taken into account. Gold being the spur now, the British began to force their numerical strength on the Dutch, culminating in war between them in 1899, and ending in the defeat of the Dutch in 1901. The British settlers had of course always thought of themselves, as not only superior to all the indigenous people, but also to the Dutch whom they

looked upon as ignorant 'beardies'. In the peace terms that were drawn up between the Dutch and the British, no mention was made of the rights of African people. The topic was not even discussed. At the conference on the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1908, the question of the enfranchisement of the African people was raised only to be vetoed by Smuts and Merriman. They only reluctantly agreed to retain the 'Coloured' people on the common role in the Cape. As for the vast majority of the people, let us quote Smuts at the conference, "I do not believe in political rights for the African" (The Making of a Nation - D. W. Kruger) - a settlement, Merriman heartily endorsed. So when Union was formed in 1910, only the non-white people of the Cape had the vote, which despite the 'protection' of a two-thirds majority, has now been abolished.

In Natal active British policy was to encourage Africans to remain in a

"state of barbarism" (D. W. Kruger - The Making of a Nation). Today there are millions of people all over Africa who bitterly regret ever extending the hand of welcome to the white interloper - a welcome crystallised in the carrying of Livingstone shoulder high right across Africa! South Africa then, was finally carved up under the notorious Act of Union. Despite sporadic uprisings, the whites have increased their stranglehold on South Africa. The vicious pass laws, the Gorup Areas Act and Suppression of Communism Act to mention but a few, are the tangible fruits of that stranglehold.

The British have indeed exported their culture to all corners of the world. What sorrow this has meant for Africa! The British preoccupation with peoples' colour, has, as we have seen, its roots in their early history. This prejudice seems to have been lacking in other colonising Europeans. The Portuguese and French, for example, have merrily integrated with the local population, and have

not remained aloof. Examples can be found in Africa, Asia, as well as the Americas.

When the Nationalists came into power in 1948, they merely legislated for what was the "traditional" policy in South Africa, the outcry by the United Party then, was sheer hypocrisy. Traditionally no account was taken of the African people; they were moved hither and thither under various laws like cattle. Kruger says "In the wings the African mutely waits his turn to go on stage," prophetic words indeed from an Afrikaner! The stage is there waiting. All Africa has to do is find its voice and take the stage, thus breaking the back of colonialism and neo-colonialism which props up the South African system. We of the African National Congress, despite many vicissitudes, are today engaged in a life and death struggle, to undo the damage done by British Imperialism, and reclaim South Africa for all the people.

The traditional policy



SPEECH BY THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS OF THE ANC AT THE WFDY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Dear Comrades and Friends:

Allow me to convey to you, the fraternal greetings of the South African Youth, struggling against the inhuman racist and fascist apartheid regime. We also wish to thank, the Polish Youth, for their magnificent effort, in providing the necessary facilities to hold our Executive Committee meeting here, in Katowice, within a short period of preparation.

We are assembled here, from different countries and organisations, united by our common hatred for imperialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation. This year, our Federation is celebrating the 25th year of its existence. Looking back, we can say that despite drawbacks and difficulties, it has, by and large, fulfilled the tasks and ideals defined at its inception, in London in 1945, namely: "to rally young people of all countries and all outlooks for peace, for the independence of the peoples, against fascism, against exploitation, for the well-being of the Youth the world over.

The World Federation, has promptly taken the side of the heroic Vietnamese people, in their just struggle against American imperialist aggression. The Helsinki Conference, and the growth of the Vietnam action campaign have amply demonstrated that the WFDY is the tested and reliable instrument of the struggling peoples. The Arab people and youth, struggling against the joint adventure of Zionist and American Imperialism, fully appreciate the ever-mounting role of the Federation. It has given active support to the national liberation movements, and the Youth, from the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It has consistently taken the side of the Cuban people, in their heroic and firm stand against American imperialism which is maddened by the gigantic strides made by the

Cuban people, demonstrating the great difference between a liberated, truly independent country, that has opted for socialism, and the miserable position of the puppet military regimes of Latin America. Several initiatives have been undertaken in the struggle for European security and mobilisation of the Youth to combat the menace of neo-Nazism and fascism. The WFDY continues to give its full support to the struggle of the African peoples for their liberation from colonial domination and racist oppression. The creation by WFDY of a special bulletin dealing with the African liberation movements and struggle of Arab peoples is a good example.

Upsurge of the Youth

It is precisely with this knowledge, that the African National Congress Youth and Students is convinced, that the further development and deeper analysis of the present situations is timely, in order to work out appropriate methods of struggle, corresponding to the present international situation. There can be no doubt, that the world has become more complicated especially in view of the tremendous rate of development achieved within the last years, in the fields of social development and science. Today, the forces committed to national liberation, peace and social progress, have become numerous and much stronger. We have witnessed the upsurge of the Youth in the capitalist countries manifested not only in their demands to have a say in the running of academic institutions, but also their deeper commitment to problems of peace in Vietnam, national liberation, and in the struggle for the uprooting of the outdated exploitative system of capitalism.

However, with the growth of the progressive forces, imperialism has become more desperate and aggressive. In Vietnam it has actually intensified its onslaught and has extended the war to the rest of South East Asia. In the Middle East, the Zionist forces are growing more bellicose and arrogant. In Latin America, the U.S. continues to impose repressive military regimes despite the growing opposition of the people. In Europe, the imperialist forces have adopted a strategy of apparent detente in order to lower the vigilance of the progressive forces and subvert the Socialist countries from within. The West German Government, despite its apparent willingness for the establishment of good relations with the GDR still refuses to recognise it as a sovereign state, and has not renounced its adherence to the Hallstein doctrine. In Africa, the colonial and racist forces are strengthening their alliance, in order to crush the liberation movements. Independent Africa is celebrating its 10th anniversary and while the situation cannot be compared to colonial days, yet neo-colonialism is still the main feature. The imperialists use the policy of passive neutralism to hinder the development and progress of African countries. Aggression has gained sanctity because the colonial forces are invited by an African government as was the case with Chad and Somali Coast.

All this shows that the support given to the progressive forces in each country must be stepped up. The problems of development are more complex and require cadres in all fields. We must say that we have not been sufficiently able to respond to the needs of the developing African countries. We need to pay more attention to the problems of illiteracy, hunger, agrarian development in order to draw the Youth to fuller participation in the basic political problems of democracy and true independence. The WFDY has, as its role, the coordination of Youth activities and thereby to

mobilize massive Youth actions on burning issues. From the enumerated activities of the WFDY since the last E.C. meeting, we can see what is the nature of the work involved in the bodies concerned with realising the general programme of the WFDY. This involves study of specific problems in the different conditions, knowledge of the level and activities of national Youth organisations, the need to respond promptly to sudden changes, to mobilize the Youth to take the necessary action. It means providing information and a guide to action, organisation of seminars, conferences and campaigns to provide platforms for Youth to exchange experiences. It means that while dealing with wider international problems we must also deal with more specific regional problems. In this way we can widen Youth participation in WFDY activities and at the same time get them committed to the broader issues.

Thus the structure of the executive organs, must be such that it can efficiently execute the general programme of the WFDY. They should work on the basis of clearly defined categories with clearly defined duties to achieve better results in each specified field without losing the collective character. In our opinion, the documents presented, are a good basis as a general guide to the nature of the problems facing the Youth today and the direction in which we have to move in order to make our work more efficient and effective.

Our own Struggle

Dear Friends, allow me to say a few words about the situation in the present phase of our struggle in our country. South Africa is characterized by intensive preparation for the inevitable arm confrontation between the progressive people's forces and the historically outdated racist minority regimes. The reactionary racist Vorster regime is, internally, intensifying its naked and brutal exploitation and oppression of our people on an unprecedented scale.

The forceful and illegal removal of over 4 million of our people from areas that they have occupied for centuries to deserts, where there is hardly any possibilities to make ends meet, is responsible for causing mass starvation, malnutrition and large-scale deaths especially among the children of our people. The introduction of Boss – abbreviation for Bureau of state security, a counterpart of Central Intelligence Agency in our country, has had the effect of removing the last shadow of doubt that South Africa is a police state. By means of this law, all evidence against police brutality, against police spies and against police fabrication of evidence is suppressed under the pretext of state security. This agency has been placed above even the fascist White only South African Parliament and is accountable only to fascist Vorster.

The recently passed labour law whose sole purpose is to close all doors to Africans and other South African non-Whites leading to economic betterment, is precipitating far-reaching economic crisis in our country. The fast expanding, imperialist-fed South African economy has come into conflict with the racist-fetters of putting limitation on the use of the Africans and other non-Whites as skilled workers.

The appearance in the political arena of the reconstructed Nationalist Party, an ultra right-wing splinter organisation does not signify any slowing down in the rigid application of racism and brutal naked police rule. No, it is a battle between two vultures for better and harsher oppression and exploitation of our people. Externally South Africa is applying a policy of carrot and big stick. On the one hand,

South Africa feels herself sufficiently developed to practise a policy of colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is clear especially when we consider the forceful and illegal annexation of Namibia and the neo-colonization of Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland. On the other hand, whenever she is confronted with powerful and independent countries like Zambia and Tanzania, South Africa resorts to threats, sabotage and blackmail.

Armed Struggle

The progressive forces in our country are passing through an intensive phase of preparation for armed struggle inside South Africa itself. For this purpose, preparations are going on at the moment. The first phase of our armed struggle was characterized by fierce battles waged by forces of ANC and ZAPU, against the joint armed forces of South Africa and Rhodesia. The present period is marked by intensive struggle inside South Africa, but Zimbabwe still remains of necessity a battlefield for the ANC guerrillas on their way to South Africa. The South African fascists are doing everything to prevent the flare up inside the country.

The SA troops are operating in Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. But we would like to assure the house that this attempt to keep the war outside the South African borders is futile and will be in vain. South Africa is playing the same role in the Southern part of Africa that Israel is commissioned by world imperialism to play in the Middle East. The only difference is that South Africa has the complete support of all imperialist forces. The stubbornness with which the imperialist powers have refused to heed UN resolutions and defy international law is motivated by the fact that the White fascist and racist regimes of Southern Africa are politically, economically and militarily an integral part of the imperialist global strategy – a strategy which is inimical to the very basic interests of the people of Africa and the peace-loving people of the world.

Southern Africa constitutes today the most vital nerve-centre for the very survival of imperialism on the African continent. It is for this reason that the imperialists consider the fortification of the White racist regime of Southern Africa as a matter of life and death, and they are thus totally and irrevocably committed to pursue policies of alliance with the Southern African racist and fascist regimes.

But the people of the Southern part of our continent have decided to make all sacrifices in order to end racism and establish a non-racial democracy. It is precisely in this context that the whole of the Southern part of Africa has become one big military camp in which two opposing forces, the progressive forces represented by MPLA, from Angola, FRELIMO from Mozambique, ANC from South Africa, ZAPU from Zimbabwe, and SWAPO from Namibia are facing the fascist forces of Vorster, Smith and Caetano, which are backed by world imperialism – Britain, USA, France, West Germany, Japan, Belgium etc.

The dice is cast, there is no force on earth that can stop that march of our people to independence.

**Long live the world progressive
anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist
anti-neo-colonialist
Youth Front!**

IS ECONOMIC GROWTH DIS

YES:

**SAYS THE S. A. FINANCIAL MAIL
IN A LEADING ARTICLE ON
11th SEPTEMBER 1970**

The reforms will come. They will come from the pressures of economic growth, of burgeoning demand for labour, from the sheer physical impossibility of drawing on this country's limited pool of White talent indefinitely for all the skills, the management and leadership that an economy of this size and potential demands.

Economic development will bring change that will loosen chains, just as it did in the Middle Ages in Europe. There the rise of towns, and the emergence of a merchant and artisan class between landowner and serf, made way for reform and enlightenment. We believe economic development will do the same in South Africa for the non-European.

Every extra rand invested is thus another ray of hope for those trapped on the dark side of apartheid, every extra job created is another step towards the peaceful transition that the inexorable pressures of economic life will impose. And, as African living standards improve, as they become more educated, as the cultural gap closes, and as their way of life moves closer to that of Western society, so it is hoped the fear which explains so much that is otherwise inexplicable in this country, will subside and a realisation of the true complementarity of White and Black increasingly take its place.

And as racial interdependence widens (and it is already widening much faster than many would have dared hope 10 or even five years ago) so the political, as well as social and economic scene, will we believe change for the better.

NO:

SAYS RICK JOHNSTONE.

(Sechaba publishes these views in the hope that it will provoke discussion. Readers views for publication will be welcome.)

As this article was not originally written for Sechaba, I want to say a few words about it.

One of the major props in Western appeasement and liberal equivocation towards white supremacy in South Africa is the argument that economic development is disintegrating apartheid and white supremacy — the sort of argument that says "We are against apartheid, but it's being taken care of by economic development, therefore there is no need for the military liberation struggle."

My article is an attempt to refute this conventional wisdom and to expose its ideological function. This accounts for its concern with the pragmatic aspects of apartheid and with continuities in the structure of white supremacy. But it is not, of course, suggesting that South Africa is not rent by serious internal contradictions. The argument, directed against the ideology of appeasement, is that these internal contradictions are not alone in themselves going to eliminate white supremacy in some automatic way through economic development (though their existence and intensification are obviously important conditions of the liberation struggle).

In THE PAST decade, extensive economic development has taken place in South Africa, and the visitor to that country quickly becomes aware of the affluence of the whites, who enjoy one of the highest material standards of living in the world. But political significance of this economic expansion is less obvious and the subject of growing debate. It is the view of many observers that this economic development is undermining the government's racial policies of apartheid and the system of white supremacy, or that

INTEGRATING APARTHEID?

it is likely to do so in the not too distant future. For while the official goal of apartheid is increasing racial segregation and separate development', economic expansion is seen to mean continued racial integration and interdependence at the economic level, which is seen to be subversive to apartheid policies. The desire of the whites for both prosperity and apartheid is thus seen to be basically contradictory, and their determined quest for the former and apparent failures of the latter are thought to be undermining white supremacy.

It would appear, however, that this prevailing thesis has serious limitations. The purpose of this study is to assess the relations between economic development, apartheid labour policies and white supremacy in South Africa today, and to develop a critique of this thesis. It is not a detailed examination of any particular aspect of the subject, but rather an attempt at a broad and integrated overview, which might suggest directions for further research.

At the outset, two important distinctions which underlie the whole analysis need to be made. First of all, apartheid' must be distinguished from 'white supremacy'. 'Apartheid' refers to the South African government's racial policies and ideology, while "white supremacy" refers to the overall power structure in South Africa, which is partly maintained by apartheid policies. The blurred use of the terms together, however, often seems to imply that the power structure of white supremacy is the product of apartheid policies alone which it is not. The second distinction is between two levels of apartheid – that of actual policies, and that of justificatory ideology. "Apartheid ideology" refers to the official goals and doctrines in terms of which the actual racial policies of the South African government are justified; while 'actual apartheid' refers to the racial policies actually being pursued and implemented by the government.

The article falls into three parts, first examining the limitations of the prevailing thesis in relation to apartheid labour policies, and then in relation to the persistence of the basic labour structure of white supremacy, and concluding with a brief critique of this thesis in the light of the evidence and conclusions of the earlier sections.

Economic development and apartheid labour policies

The basic goal of apartheid ideology is the increasing and eventually total segregation and separate development of the different racial groups. But certain economic developments – in the spheres of geographical and occupational labour mobility – have been moving in the opposite direction to this official ideology. The growing movement of African workers into the 'white' urban areas, and their increasing employment in semi-skilled work, have furthered the economic integration of the two major

racial groups (African and whites), which is seen to contradict apartheid.

The movement of Africans into the urban areas had continued steadily. Between 1911 and 1960, while the total urban population multiplied by 2.75, the urban African population multiplied by 7. Between 1951 and 1960, the number of Africans in urban areas rose by nearly 50 per cent, from 2.4 million to 3.4 million, and it was estimated to be about 4.3 million in 1968. Today the non-whites outnumber the whites in all of South Africa's major cities, forming 64 per cent, 62 per cent and 71 per cent of the populations of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban respectively.

African labour underpins the whole South African economy, with Africans providing about 70 per cent of the country's economically active population, and with the majority of them engaged in essential labour for the whole population. But the movement of Africans to the urban areas reflects their growing importance in the industrial labour force. In manufacturing, their numbers rose by about 200,000 between 1960 and 1966. The non-white proportion of the manufacturing labour force rose from 70 per cent in 1961 to 75 per cent in 1966, and it is estimated that it will reach 80 per cent in 1971.

This has been accompanied by a degree of upward occupational mobility. For some time South Africa has been suffering from an acute shortage of skilled labour which has exerted pressure on the traditional job colour bar reserving all skilled work for whites, and implemented as a government policy. A growing number of non-whites are being employed in semi-skilled and operative jobs.

It is these features of the situation on which the prevailing theory focuses its attention. The mobility of non-white labour in these spheres is seen to be basically at variance with apartheid policy. But is this in fact the case?

The prevailing theory could mean two things. Either these developments are contradicting apartheid because the government is sincerely attempting to implement the official ideology of total separate development, which in these cases appears to be contradicted; or the government is not implementing this ideology, and is just drifting along without a comprehensive policy and gradually succumbing to the pressure of these developments. But this perspective ignores a third possibility, which is in fact the reality – that these developments are not contradicting apartheid because the government is not literally pursuing the official ideology, but does have a comprehensive policy, which far from being in conflict with these developments, has encouraged them and is secured by them.

In fact, in relation to apartheid labour policies, the prevailing thesis is invalid for two reasons. The incompatibility which it claims to see in these spheres is not in fact present, because of the nature of actual apartheid. Secondly, the absence of such incompatibility between the imperat-

ives of economic development and apartheid policies in other areas of greater importance to white supremacy is also ignored. Both these points will now be examined more closely.

Real goals of apartheid

In the first place, it is a mistake to believe that the continued and increasing use of African labour in 'white' industry is a contradiction of apartheid. For the government is not in fact attempting literally to implement its official ideology of total separate development. The actual goal of apartheid policies is the pragmatic development of an economically powerful white supremacy. The whites want continued prosperity and continued supremacy, and the government is seeking to secure both of these goals together. The true rationale of apartheid policies is thus to maximise economic development both for the sake of white prosperity and for the material protection of white supremacy. The function of the official ideology is to justify the increasing denial of rights to, and servile status of, non-whites in the 'white' areas in the name of future rights and opportunities for them in 'their own' areas.

This nature of actual apartheid is evident in many ways, some of which will be examined now and others in the following sections. Here we are concerned to see how this rationale expresses itself in relation to those economic developments (non-white labour mobility in the 'white areas) which are supposed to contradict apartheid. It is clearly apparent in the actual policies being pursued by the government in this regard: the reduction of Africans in the 'white' areas to an essential minimum (but their continued extensive presence in these areas rather than the total separation foreseen by official ideology); the reduction of the status of those Africans still in 'white' areas to that of rightless migrants (but the continued large scale use of their labour in these areas, and the absence of work and thus of meaningful rights for Africans in the Reserves); the diversion of industrial development to the border areas near the Reserve (rather than the industrial development of the Reserves); and a flexible policy towards the job colour bar (rather than its rigid ideological implementation).

The removal of 'inessential' Africans has taken two basic forms: the removal of whole African settlements from rural areas designated as 'white', and the removal of individual Africans by 'endorsing them out' under various movement controls. Up to the beginning of 1968, 193 African communities – a total of 73,000 people – had been removed from their rural settlements, and 276 more were scheduled for removal. Each year thousands of Africans are endorsed out of the urban areas to the Reserves. The government has made it clear that it intends to expel economically inactive Africans from the 'white' areas.

The migrant and rightless status of Africans working in the 'white' areas is secured by a complex system of labour and movement controls which severely restricts the rights of these Africans. The government has been extending the migrant status of these workers, notably by the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964, the Bantu Labour Act of 1964, and the Bantu Labour Regulations of 1965 and 1968. Under these Regulations, no African may leave the Reserves unless he has obtained a contract of employment through a government labour bureau, and no such contract may be valid for more than a year, though it may be renewed. Through these labour bureaux, the govern-

ment wields very wide powers over African workers. The rights of Africans to stay in 'white' areas because of certain qualifications such as birth, long residence or continuous employment in them, have been whittled away. Commenting on the 1968 Regulations, a government minister declared that through them 'we now give judicial recognition of our expressed policy of building our economy on contract labour.

The whites want the continued use of African labour without the continued residential presence of African people in the 'white' areas. Thus non-essential Africans are removed, while essential African workers are shuttled about, deprived of rights in the places where they live and work, and without jobs in the 'homelands' where they are told to exercise their rights. Through this migrant labour system the whites secure their supposedly contradictory goals of prosperity and white supremacy and racial separation, at the expense of the Africans, on whom it inflicts permanent instability, the destruction of family life, and other serious disabilities.

Another response of actual apartheid to the movement of African labour into 'white' industry is the border industry policy, which seeks to divert industrial development to the borders of the African Reserves. These are to function as reservoirs of cheap labour within easy access of industry rather than to become the economically developed regions pictured in apartheid ideology. Through such measures as the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967 the government is encouraging the establishment of new industries and the relocation of urban industries in the border areas.

Among the incentives offered by the government to companies to move into these areas has been the authorization of African wage rates lower than those in the cities. Government Wage Determinations for industries in these areas have tended to recommend wages lower than elsewhere, and often lower than those actually being paid in them at the time. Between 1960 and 1968 over £150 million had been invested in these border industries, creating employment by 1969 for about 109,000 Africans and 36,000 others. While at the moment this is of only marginal significance relative to the size and importance of urban industry, it must be contrasted with the almost total neglect of industrial development in the Reserves, where between 1960 and 1966 only 35 new industries were established, employing 945 Africans.

The pragmatic and flexible nature of actual apartheid is also apparent in the government's policy towards non-white occupational mobility. The job colour bar is extensively prescribed in legislation, and up to 1968, 24 job reservations had been made under the Industrial Conciliation Act, which gives the government wide powers to make such discrimination. The job colour bar is also secured by various other means. But these determinations affected only about three per cent of the labour force, and up to June 1967, out of 891 applications from employers for exemptions, only 74 were refused. Early in 1969, Mr. B. Schoeman, the Minister of Transport, announced that thousands of Africans were being employed by the government in semi-skilled work on the railways, and would continue to be as long as their labour was required. The government has thus encouraged a certain flexibility in the job colour bar for the sake of continued economic expansion, and as long as the basic master-servant relationship between white and nonwhite workers is maintained.

This policy reflects the changing disposition of many white

workers. Prosperity and the labour shortage have relaxed the traditional rigidity of their attitude towards job reservation. The white workers have been prepared to make 'deals' with employers, whereby they receive better wages and job security in certain occupations in exchange for allowing certain other jobs to be 'diluted' into operative work to be performed by non-white labour at low wages.

False claims

The conventional claims about the contradiction of apartheid in these spheres of geographical and occupational mobility thus turn out to be unfounded, in the light of the actual nature of apartheid policies in these areas. Only certain aspects of apartheid ideology are contradicted, but this is of little significance since in these spheres actual apartheid is not concerned with the literal implementation of this ideology but with the pragmatic realisation of white South Africa's dual goals of continuing prosperity and continuing movement of African labour into the 'white' economy; it is simply opposed to this process of labour mobility, which is necessary to continued economic development, becoming at the same time a process of residential and political mobility, which is not indispensable to economic growth and which is effectively being restricted through the system of labour controls.

It is true that employers have been in conflict with the government over the geographical and occupational labour controls. But it would be wrong to interpret this as rejection of all apartheid labour policies and as a sign of a fundamental incompatibility of interests between employers and the government. Rather it is a conflict over the distribution of benefits.

Because of the high degree of consensus among the whites in favour of white supremacy, which reflects the material interests of the different white groups in its structure, conflict among the whites is concerned essentially with the form that white supremacy should take, and with the manner in which the benefits accruing to the whites as a whole from it should be shared among the different white groups, notably the capitalist employers, the white workers and the Afrikaner nationalists. These different groups all seek to maximise their own particular interests, and this may sometimes lead to a certain degree of conflict. But their common commitment to an economically prosperous white supremacy obviously implies certain constraints on the pursuit of these specific interests. The function of actual apartheid is to regulate these different constraints in such a way as to permit the maximisation of different white interests in the two goal areas of prosperity and white supremacy without jeopardising the essential security of either.

Absence of conflict

Not only are the conventional claims about contradiction in these spheres of economic development and apartheid invalid; the significant fact is ignored that in relation to other important apartheid labour policies – in the spheres of African labour organisation and wages – there is a marked absence of conflict between capitalist development and apartheid. The denial of trade union rights to African workers and the maintenance of low African wages have been cardinal elements of apartheid labour policy both ideologically and in practice. While employers have attacked the job and geographical colour bars, they



have not been known seriously to oppose the trade union and wage colour bars, which on the contrary they have on the whole tended to exploit and perpetuate.

This compatibility is all the more significant in view of the basic importance of labour discrimination in these spheres to the power structure of both capitalism and white supremacy in South Africa. For the most important labour control of economic power (trade union, educational and income colour bars) rather than the job and movement colour bars. The latter can be – and are being – administered flexibly without endangering the white power structure. But this cannot be said of the others, certainly not of the trade union colour bar for instance. Powerful African unions with the right to strike could force higher wages, cripple the South African economy and serve as bases for political action. It is significant that in this more important area of labour discrimination, employer and government policies have not been in conflict. The strong persistence of these other colour bars, which will be referred to as the 'core structure' of labour discrimination, will now be examined.

Economic development and white supremacy

Not only are the limitations of the prevailing thesis evident in relation to apartheid labour policies. They are further indicated by the fact that economic development has not been undermining the core labour structure of white supremacy. Moreover, the persistence of this structure testifies to more than just the weakness of the conventional theory; it points also to the collaborative nature of the relations between the economic system and white supremacy. For it would be a mistake to imagine that this structure is the product of apartheid policies alone; it is also extensively determined by the controllers of private economic power (and by the white workers) who benefit so greatly from it.

The economic position of Africans in South Africa must be examined in the light of three important questions. What is the nature of the economic relationship between whites and Africans? Has the essential stature of this relationship been significantly undermined by recent economic development? And if not, what light does this throw upon the relations between the capitalist system and white supremacy in South Africa? But first some basic distinctions and facts need to be made clear.

Assessments of the economic status of Africans in South Africa commonly adhere to one or more of four justificatory standards: a subsistence standard, comparisons between different countries, comparisons of access to the means of power within one system, Justifications of the economic position of Africans by supporters of the regime in South Africa tend to adhere to the first three of these, taking one of the three forms: the 'basic needs of the Africans are satisfied' argument, the Naples Slum Analogy ('there's worse poverty in Naples'), and the 'things are better than they were before' argument.

It must first be pointed out – without accepting the validity of the subsistence standard – that, even by this minimal standard the position of Africans in South Africa is far from adequate. Recent surveys have found that the average income of Africans is so low that the majority of them actually live below the poverty datum line. In Johannesburg, the incomes of nearly 70 per cent of African

families were found to fall below the minimum subsistence level for healthy living. The majority of Africans suffer from malnutrition, which accounts for an exceptionally high African child mortality rate. The average annual death rate of 1–4 year old African children is estimated to be about 45 per 1,000 live births (compared with 2 per 1,000 for white children in this age group). Research has found that in one African Reserve, at least 50 per cent of all children die before the age of five.

But in fact, of the four commonly used standards, only the last can be accepted as morally valid. What sort of access do the Africans in South Africa have to the means of economic power, and what is their share in the distribution of wealth? These are the vital questions in terms of which economic development in South Africa must be assessed, and in answering them, the first three standards are invalid.

The economic structure of white supremacy is maintained by various forms and measures of racial discrimination, which are too extensive to be fully described here. But the core of these measures consists of those which most basically restrict the access of Africans to the means and possession of economic power, namely the denial of labour organisation and education to Africans, and the unequal distribution of income which reflects and further consolidates this distribution of power.

Trade union discrimination

Probably the most important of all the measures of labour discrimination barring African access to economic power are those which prohibit African labour organisation. African trade unions are excluded from legal recognition (under the Industrial Conciliation Act), and strikes by African workers are illegal (under the Bantu Labour Settlement of Disputes Act). Under this latter Act, the interests of African workers are supposed to be represented by government officials. Other laws, such as the General Law Amendment Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, also seriously restrict the rights of African workers to organise and strike. It is measures like these which indicate, in the view of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, that 'the international standards relating to trade union freedoms are being seriously and persistently violated by South African legislation and by administrative and penal measures.

The African workers are thus deprived of the most elementary rights of labour organisation and are unable to assert their interests freely and legally. The African trade union movement has been virtually hounded out of existence by the government. As a result, today only about half per cent of the economically active African population is organised, and there have been no major strikes by African workers in the last decade. Out of an African industrial labour force of well over a million, the number of African workers officially listed as having been on strike was a mere 9,641 in 1956, and fell to 5,266 in 1960 and to 2,874 in 1967.

A good example of these conditions is provided by a recent strike of Africans in Durban. In April 1969 about 2,000 African dockworkers struck in support of a demand for higher wages. Government and police officials were called in, and the Africans were given the choice of returning to work under existing conditions or being dismissed. About 1,500 of them were then dismissed, and

given four hours to leave Durban. New dockworkers were obtained from African labour in and about Durban. As the South African Institute of Race Relations commented: 'The whole episode . . . points to the helplessness of African workers, in the midst of a burgeoning national economy, in overcoming obstacles facing them. They have no power to negotiate on their own behalf for better pay and working conditions.'

Educational discrimination

African access to the means of economic power is also severely restricted by educational discrimination. The administration of African education is tightly controlled by the government under the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the government pegged expenditure on African education, at a fixed annual amount. While in proportion of state expenditure on education as a whole remained fairly constant between 1950 and 1963, the proportion of it devoted to African education has fallen, from 0.57 per cent in 1953 to 0.396 per cent in 1966. Per capita government expenditure on African education has also been declining, falling from R17.08 in 1953/54 to R11.50 in 1962/63, and remaining at about R12 for the rest of the 1960s. Real per capita expenditure on African education today is considerably less than it was twenty years ago.

African enrolment in primary schools has increased, but this is deceptive, owing to the high drop out rate and the concentration of pupils in the very lowest classes. Thus in 1962, 4 per cent of Africans in school were in the two lowest classes of primary school, while only about 3 per cent were in any of the five forms of secondary school. In 1967, 71 per cent of all Africans in school were in the four lowest primary classes. The proportion of school age Africans in secondary school has not been growing; it was 3.4 per cent in 1953 and 3.43 per cent in 1966.

The conditions in African schools are inadequate in every respect. Whereas schooling is free and legally compulsory for whites, it is neither for Africans. A high pupil-teacher ratio reflects the shortage of teachers, who are badly paid and on the whole poorly qualified. Because of the serious shortage of African schools, those that exist have to work double sessions. It is officially estimated that Soweto, Johannesburg's African town complex, is short of about 60 schools. And the content of African education is closely determined by the government, which fixes the syllabus and aims to condition Africans into an acceptance of an inferior position in society.

Conditions in higher education are no different. In 1968 the nonwhites, who make up four fifths of South Africa's population, furnished less than 12 percent of its university students. Since 1959 all universities in South Africa have been segregated, and the facilities and opportunities in the non-white colleges are far inferior to those in the white universities. In the academic year 1968-9, 10,740 degrees and diplomas of higher education were awarded to whites, and 277 to Africans. While the number of whites attending vocational and technical schools has approached 100,000, the number of Africans in such schools remains a few thousand.

Cheap labour

This denial of trade union and educational rights and opportunities is reflected in the pattern of income dist-

tribution in South Africa. It is estimated that in 1969, the Africans - who form about 68 per cent of the population, received 18.8 per cent of South Africa's personal cash income, while the whites - who make up only 19.2 per cent of the population, received about 74 per cent of it. The average per capita income of Africans in 1969 is estimated to have been about eight per cent of that of whites - an average of R7 per month compared to a white average of R95 per month. The racial distribution of income in South Africa is thus characterised by a very high degree of inequality. This varies between different sectors of the economy: in manufacturing whites earn about six times as much as Africans, while in mining they earn eighteen times as much - R304 per month compared to R17 per month for Africans (who receive however some payment in kind). Even in manufacturing, it takes the average African worker a week to earn what the average white worker earns in a day.

The recent economic boom has fostered the idea that this income inequality has diminished. But in fact the reverse seems true. Between 1957 and 1967 the difference between the average monthly wages of whites and Africans in the manufacturing industry rose from R120 to R194, and it was calculated that just to stop this difference from increasing, the percentage of future pay increases for Africans would have to be five and a half times greater than that of white pay increases. Between 1962 and 1967, white earnings in the manufacturing industry rose from 440 per cent to 485 per cent of those of non-whites. In the gold mining industry the gap has widened steadily. In 1911 the average cash earnings of white workers were 11.5 times those of non-white workers; in 1951 they were 14.5 times, and in 1966 17.5 times the African rate. It has been calculated that the real wages of African workers in South Africa's gold mines today are no higher and are possibly even lower than in 1911. As one observer comments:

'It is true that Bantu wages have been increased in recent years. But if one takes into account the accompanying rise in the cost of living figures, one is struck by the ever-widening gap between white and non-white wages.'

Thus simple statements about increases in African money wages have very little significance, because of inflation, because of far greater increases in white wages, and because of their arbitrary nature, since African workers are deprived of collective bargaining power. And it should be noted that the inequality of total assets in South Africa is much greater than the income disparity portrayed here.

All of the major white interest groups share responsibility for these conditions; they are not the product of apartheid policies alone. The employers, who in the prevailing thesis are pictured to be basically in conflict with white supremacy, in fact play an important role in determining African wage rates. The very low wages of African workers, and their negligible share in the distribution of income, indicate what the response of employers to the rightlessness of African workers has tended to be. They have sought, and obtained, cheap labour. The fact that the white workers also play a part in determining African wages does not negate this responsibility of the employers. While the majority of real African wages have remained around or below the poverty line, productivity and profits have expanded enormously. By the beginning of 1967 the total net profits of over 200 South African companies had increased by R71.7 million in just four years.

Conclusions

Economic development has thus not been undermining the basic labour structure of white supremacy in South Africa. Access by Africans to the essential means of economic power remains severely restricted and controlled, the distribution of income remains grossly unequal and the general coercive powers of the government over African labour have been growing rather than diminishing. The core structure of labour discrimination remains strongly entrenched.

These conditions indicate the exploitative nature of the economic relationship between the whites and the Africans. It is a master-servant relationship in all spheres, enforced through a variety of effective controls and sanctions. It is a system in which the Africans are forced to work for the whites at bare subsistence wages, deprived of all basic rights to assert their interest freely and legally, and subject to some of the most draconian and tyrannical labour controls ever developed in modern history. The enormous power and prosperity of the whites in South Africa is based on this systematic exploitation of African labour.

The strong persistence over time of this discriminatory labour structure testifies to the collaboration of the different white interest groups in perpetuating it. Capitalist business, far from being incompatible with the system, secures high profits through very cheap, unorganised and rightless labour; white nationalists and white workers obtain prosperity and the material strengthening of white supremacy.

In fact, far from undermining white supremacy, economic development is constantly re-enforcing it. Its power structure is continually strengthened by its own material output. In a circular process, the African workers produce the wealth and power which enable the whites to go on strengthening this structure of production which goes on producing the power which goes on strengthening the structure and so on. It is precisely the function of actual apartheid to render this process as effective as possible.

Critique of the conventional wisdom

In attempting to shed more light on the relation between economic development, apartheid policies and white supremacy in South Africa, this analysis has simultaneously been developing a critique of the prevailing theory on this subject. It is proposed not to conclude this critique in a more unified and theoretical form, on the basis of the empirical analysis of the preceding sections.

It may be useful to set out briefly the essential tenets of the prevailing thesis, which are that:

- (1) the relations between economic development and the system of white supremacy are essentially conflicting and contradictory;
- (2) this is an expression both of the liberalising and integrative nature of the capitalist economy and/or of industrialisation, and of the rigidly ideological and segregative nature of apartheid policies and the system of white supremacy;
- (3) this conflict is apparent in the spheres of non-white geographical and occupational mobility, where developments are taking place which contradict apartheid and which are demonstrating its absurdity and impracticability;

- (4) the advantage in this conflict tends to lie with the forces of the market economy and industrial development, which tend towards integrated and rational functioning, because South Africa is seen as being incapable of tolerating for long the serious dysfunctions and inefficiencies that stem from the incompatibility of the imperatives of economic expansion and white supremacy. Over time, the already evident contradiction between these two imperatives will increase, at the expense of apartheid and white supremacy.

The great bulk of writing and comment on this issue, from academic work to the mass media, implicitly or explicitly adheres to parts or all of this interpretation. It constitutes the conventional wisdom on the subject. Thus one economic historian sees modern South African history as essentially the unfolding of a basic conflict between the free enterprise economy and the 'political factor', led by Afrikaner nationalism and controlling the government since 1948. Another sees the whole question in terms of a fundamental conflict between the 'liberating' forces of the capitalist economy and the 'subjugating' force of 'government interventionism', concluding that 'the dissolution of colour injustice has been continuously assisted by competitive capitalism'. Countless articles in the mass media report and comment on the issues in terms of this general thesis.

Where it goes wrong

The basic weakness of this thesis lies in the assumptions which it makes about the imperatives of economic development and white supremacy, and about the relations between them. Capitalist development and industrialisation are assumed to be necessarily liberalising in their nature and effects. White supremacy on the other hand is assumed to be a quite distinct and separate phenomenon, and essentially the product of apartheid policies, which are seen to be the basic source of discrimination. The relations between the two are assumed to be fundamentally conflicting.

That these assumptions are not supported by the empirical evidence has been suggested earlier on. But there is in fact no logical a priori reason why they should hold true. The thesis that industrialisation and the market economy tend necessarily to liberalise inegalitarian structure of group relations is untenable, as Herbert Blumer has shown for instance in his useful paper 'Industrialisation and Race Relations'. Nor, when one considers the likely interests of capitalism and white colonialism in each other, should the assumption that they are basically incompatible seem at all logically necessary. But the actual compatibility between them, and its empirical manifestation, are not considered by the conventional thesis, which instead begins with this unwarranted polarisation of the situation into 'economic' and 'political' spheres that are somehow quite separate and incompatible.

Given these invalid assumptions, it is not surprising that the perspective in which the thesis goes on to define and investigate the issues is highly misleading. Attention focuses on the constraining effects of the system of white supremacy on aspects of capitalist development, which are taken to be the manifestation of the alleged incompatibility (thus diverting critical investigation away from the points of real compatibility (thus diverting critical investigation away from the points of real compatibility).

The 'problems' of business in its 'conflict' with government policies, and the economic inefficiencies resulting from these policies, are emphasized. The central importance of the occupational and geographical colour bars as obstacles to further economic expansion is an invariable conclusion.

The following passage offers a good specific example of this interpretation. After commenting on the widening gap between white and nonwhite wages, a recent research paper goes on to say:

'Merely raising non-white wages by itself is not the solution... What is needed rather is to create a much larger national cake in which case fairer slices could be distributed on the basis of higher contributions. To sum up, this implies simply the more productive use of non-white labour and the related requirements of education... accompanied by geographical and vertical mobility. Herein however lies the conflict between the worship of a myth and the country's economic development'.

This contains within a short space most of the key tenets of the thesis: the assumptions – that the real conflict is between 'the worship of a myth' and 'the country's economic development', and that the solution lies in greater economic expansion per se; and the conclusions – that this solution is secured through the more productive employment of non-white labour, which means that the most important economic colour bars are those which tend to prevent this – the occupational and geographical ones. This overlooks the significant facts – which need to be explained – that the 'national cake' has expanded rapidly within the framework of white supremacy, and that this has not produced a more equitable distribution of wealth and power, and that the colour bars in question are being administered flexible anyway.

Alternative view

The serious limitations of this theory, and the nature of the empirical evidence, as set out in the earlier sections, give rise to the thesis developed in this analysis. Its essential tenets are that:

- (1) the relations between capitalist development, apartheid policies and the core structure of white supremacy are essentially collaborative, and conflicts which do take place between them are only over the marginal distribution of class benefits and constraints;
- (2) this is an expression both of the extensive compatibility of capitalist interests with the relations of production maintained by actual apartheid and embodied in the power structure of white supremacy, and of the pragmatic nature of actual apartheid in its pursuit of an economically powerful white supremacy;
- (3) this is apparent – (a) the absence of significant contradiction between economic development and apartheid policies where it is alleged to exist, (b) the absence of such contradiction in other spheres that are also of greater importance to both capitalism and white supremacy, and (c) the strong persistence over time of the core structure of labour discriminations;
- (4) in fact, quite contrary to the prevailing thesis, white supremacy is continually being re-inforced by economic development.

Proponents of the prevailing theory tend to assert that 'development cannot be separated', but ignore the fact that it is being separated fairly effectively in South Africa, and that the ways in which it is not are of only marginal importance to the power structure of white colonialism

and the aims of actual apartheid. To say that 'apartheid is never going to be realised', is to misunderstand the nature of actual apartheid, and to ignore the fact that its real goal of an economically powerful white supremacy is already being extensively realised. The future mode of 'separate development' in South Africa is thus not some vague mystery, but very likely to be essentially an extension and refinement of the particular structure of white supremacy currently being developed by actual apartheid. Another common assumption is that somehow prosperity is mellowing the commitment of whites to white domination. This is not confirmed by the evidence however. The trend of election voting in the last twenty years has moved steadily to the right. Most of the whites are grateful to the Nationalist government for the way in which it has secured prosperity and strengthened white supremacy at the same time. The norms of acquisitive individualism and those of white colonialism are co-existing harmoniously together, with the former tending to dominate material life style, and the latter continuing to dominate political perceptions and behaviour. Until there is substantial evidence to the contrary, there is every reason to believe that this will continue to be the case.

Ideological function

With all its attention on economic inefficiencies and alleged incompatibilities, the conventional thesis tends very largely to ignore the considerable measure of success of actual apartheid in realising its dual goals. Explaining the extent of this success would mean analysing its structural causes, which in turn would mean recognising the collaborative nature of the relations between private economic power, apartheid and white colonialism. Emphasizing the 'failures' of the system has provided a diversion from having to analyse these underlying causes of its continuity and success. As one writer comments:

'To assert that the system is going to disintegrate is wishful thinking. It is the liberal conscience which refuses to see that power is exercised precisely because of the mediation of these 'dysfunctions'... In other words to believe (for it is indeed a belief) that the machine will break down is to spare oneself from explaining why it does not, and has no internal reason for doing so – if one but considers the dynamism which it has expressed for years.' This does not mean that the system is not threatened, both internally and externally, but that it is not threatened in the way it is conventionally alleged to be.

An accurate understanding of what is really happening in South Africa, and of the true nature of the relations between the economic system, actual apartheid and white supremacy, is thus precluded by the assumptions and analytical framework of the prevailing thesis. The ideological significance of this is perhaps worth pointing out, in view of a not infrequent tendency in some quarters to dismiss radically different thesis – whether its adherents are aware of this or not – serves an ideological function, in diverting critical attention away from the extensive collaboration of the capitalist system – both in South Africa and internationally – in the economic operation of white supremacy.

The conventional wisdom concerning economic development in South Africa is thus not only of limited analytical value, but also has a certain ideological significance. It is hoped that this study may contribute to the development of a useful alternative framework for the continuing analysis of these various aspects of white supremacy in South Africa.

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