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Vorster's Terror Machine:



Gen. van den Berg

New Powers for Boss

Early in February 1972 Appeal Court Judge H. P. Potgieter's one-man Commission of Inquiry into BOSS (the Bureau of State Security) published its report. Here we outline the contents of this report, the background to it, and analyse its significance.

Background to the Birth of a Monster

BOSS was established hastily at the end of the Parliamentary session in 1969 to counter the rising tide of revolutionary struggle in Southern Africa. Its creation as the supreme organiser and co-ordinator of all 'security' activity for the dominant fascist clique in the ruling Nationalist Party was prompted by a series of developments - by the hammer blows of the guerrillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the 1967-69 campaigns in Zimbabwe; by the offensive of the SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia from 1966 onwards; by the growing underground activities of the ANC at home; steady growth in the scope and effectiveness of the ANC/ZAPU Alliance and of the liberation movements of Angola (MPLA) and Mocambique (FRELIMO). Additional factors behind BOSS's formation were (a) the Cabinet-level split in the Nationalist Party when the ultra-rightist Dr. Albert Herzog broke away and tried to outbid the fascist guardians of white supremacy; (b) certain operational weaknesses in the functioning of the Special Branch (i. e. political police) and military intelligence brought to light by their post-Rivonia failure to silence the underground voice of the people and the poor co-ordination of

their mutual relations and of their domestic operations with their external and overseas activities. All this was adding up to a crisis for the self-appointed guardians of the white race, and in particular, for Prime Minister Vorster and his right-hand man, head of the Special Branch since 1963, General H. J. van den Bergh. Conceived in fearful haste, and born of the fanatical ruthlessness and ambition of the criminal gang which rules South Africa, BOSS was immediately recognised by all democratic and revolutionary forces and denounced as a threat not only to the people of South Africa, but to the independence and stability of the rest of Africa and to the world-wide movement of solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

In an editorial headed 'International Murder Squad' SECHABA exposed the 'grandiose conception' and warned that "a new dimension has . . . been added to Special Branch power in the extension of its operations in the field of intelligence including that of the army, navy, air force as well as police. Vorster will thereby gain an immediate hold over these services making his positions supreme within the Government, at the same time facilitating the seeking out of information about the African National Congress and its

allies in a round the world spying operation involving many agents and penetrating many countries." (Vol. 3 No. 10 Oct. '69) Attention was drawn to the veil of secrecy cloaking the activities of the new Bureau, and to the inevitable increase in torture and brutality by the sadistic perverts of the Security Police, their confidence increased by the hoped-for invisibility of their vicious work.

Subsequent developments have fully borne out the correctness of that prognosis. The notorious prolonged detention and trial of Mrs. Winnie Mandela and the 22 alleged members of the ANC; the trial of MK (Umkhonto We Sizwe) militant James April and the Maritzburg trial of other well-known Congressites; the known murders in detention of Imam Abdulla Haroun (Sept. 1969), Mthayeni Cutshela (Jan. 1971) and Ahmed Timol (Oct. 1971) as well as other murders details of which are still obscure; the trial on ludicrous charges of 'terrorism' of the Dean of Johannesburg; the recent wave of terror (raids, arrests, detentions and tortures) and other instances too numerous to list – all bear witness to the all-out assault on the liberation movement and the people's rights which BOSS was established to conduct. Supplementing this reactionary offensive inside South Africa, BOSS has expanded the already-existing network of spies, informers, provocateurs and subversives abroad – as evidence in the Dean's case, exposures in the British press and parliament, and events in Zambia amply indicate.

Unlimited Funds plus a Cloak of Silence

BOSS itself was formally created by the Public Service Amendment Act (No. 86) of 1969 which removed the new organisation from the scope of the Public Service Commission and out of the sphere of Parliamentary debate except for the annual Budget debate. It was accompanied by two other pieces of legislation: the first (Security Services Special Account Act (No. 81) of 1969) established a fund to finance BOSS. Its accounts were to be audited (i. e. made public) only to the extent determined by the Minister of Finance in consultation with the Prime Minister. This meant a blank cheque for

Vorster's bullies. The second (General Law Amendment Act (No. 101) of 1969) put the gag of the Official Secrets Act on the press and everybody else interested in so-called security matters, with penalties of up to 7 years' imprisonment and R1,500 fine for breaches. This was the Section 10 which nervous proprietors of the bourgeois press and their journalist lackeys protested vociferously about – after all, if they found out too much, it was they who would suffer for it. The other widely criticised section of this law was Section 29 which empowered the Prime Minister (or his authorised agent) or any other Minister to prevent the disclosure in court of any information regarded as prejudicial to 'the interests of the State or public Security.' This new inroad on their traditional preserve of power offended the professional pride of many lawyers. Critical resolutions were passed by the Bar Councils of Pretoria, Johannesburg, the Cape and Natal, and similar noises were made by law professors at 4 Afrikaans universities and by at least 4 judges. To soothe the ruffled feathers of these normally acquiescent supporters of oppressive and repressive measures, wily Mr. Vorster appointed a Free State lawyer to look into the whole affair. In mid-September Judge Potgieter's terms of reference were announced.

Tasks of the one-man Commission

Allowing even for the judge's reliability as a tool of Vorster's schemes, his brief was a remarkably wide one. He was asked to:

- (1) investigate and report on potential threats of conventional and unconventional warfare against South Africa (ie against apartheid), threats of terrorism and potential guerilla warfare and possible internal subversion;
- (2) report on the necessity of the Government being informed about Security matters, on security measures in comparable democratic (!!) states, and on State security in general;
- (3) investigate the degree of efficiency and co-ordination of existing departments concerned with security, and to indicate whether any of the BOSS legislation should be amended.

Potgieter's role as a judicial hack and henchman for Vorster and Van den

Bergh was immediately revealed by the diversionary sideshow of his public investigation into the irritating (for Vorster) allegations being made about BOSS by Albert Hertzog – largely out of fury at being himself, with his party, the object of scrutiny by the Special Branch. Thus in January 1970 Potgieter produced an interim report which to nobody's surprise pronounced that the actual budget of BOSS was only a fraction of the R50 million a year which Hertzog said it was costing. Having publicly spiked the guns of the lunatic right, the judge then got on with his main job of preparing in secret some recommendations which would increase the status, powers and efficiency of BOSS and give its illegal, extra-parliamentary, unorthodox and inhuman activities the sanction of judicial approval. By April 1971 he had completed his work, whereupon Vorster appointed himself plus a handful of Nationalist and United Party MP's to constitute a committee which would decide how much of Potgieter's report would be published. Comparing the original terms of reference with the document now published, it is clear that most of what Potgieter wrote is being kept secret.

Big Boost for Boss

In the event, the published report does all that Vorster ever desired of his one-man commission. Its main recommendations are as follows:–

- The Prime Minister's State Security Council, established informally by Vorster when BOSS was launched, and comprising in addition to the PM himself, the Minister of Justice, Defence; Police and Foreign Affairs, the Secretary for Security Intelligence and the heads of the police and defence forces, is to be formally created by special legislation.
- BOSS and its two subordinate departments, the Special Branch and the Directorate of Military Intelligence, are to be authorised by law to intercept mail and tap telephones. (Both these recommendations would merely give legal authority to what already exists)
- BOSS in its present form and functions is found to be "basically the most suitable central intelligence organisa-

tion for the Republic." This finding makes BOSS politically impregnable as regards the internal bickering of the main all-white political parties.

- Section 29 is to be amended so that the Prime Minister will – as before – be sole arbiter of what constitutes national security (and can therefore not be revealed in court) but the courts will be allowed to determine what is in the interests of the State. This preserves the power of Vorster while making a token concession to his critics. A similar 'amendment' of Section 10 relating to the Official Secrets Act is also proposed.

- To stream-line the work of BOSS, the report envisages the creation of sub-departments evaluating intelligence dealing with subversion, political, economic, ethnological and military security matters, and this will be presided over by a central evaluation division reporting directly to the head of BOSS (with the new title of Secretary for Security Intelligence) who will also be security adviser to the Prime Minister. The effect of this is to endorse the already dominant role of General Van den Bergh and his intimate partnership with Vorster.

Pitiful Fiction of a Powerless Boss

Finally, to quieten the critics, the report recommends that BOSS shall have no executive powers, e. g. of arrest and detention. This fools nobody, and the English-language Press has been openly sceptical about this bare-faced humbug. Van den Bergh himself has welcomed the Potgieter report with unconcealed glee. He told the Press: "This report will not be restricting my present activities. It recommends that I do much more than I am doing at the present time. I welcome the recommendations of the report. I think it is an excellent report." The Government evidently also finds the report to its liking. It has accepted all the recommendations.

Not content thus to enlarge the scope, refine the structure, and boost the status of BOSS, the report also seeks to justify these draconian powers. In doing so it pays unwitting tribute to the all-sided strategy of the liberation movement, headed by the ANC and its allies across the world. The reports says:

"It is well known that the Republic has

numerous enemies who are seeking to overthrow the existing order. They are active in many spheres and it is no secret that they are trying to attack in all fields . . ."

Thus at a time when public opinion in South Africa is more widely enraged than ever before by the brutality and all-pervading insidiousness of the BOSS machine, Vorster is busy enlarging and 'improving' his instrument of terror. He and his crony Van den Bergh – both admirers and would-be agents of the Nazis in World War II – have shown that they do not regret or disown the murder of Timol or the torture of Mohamed Essop (to cite only two of the most recent and better-publicised victims). Their only regret appears to be the fact that the truth leaked out. The murderers of BOSS are not merely brutal – they are brazen about it too.

Boss International

Like the very apartheid system it exists to preserve, the ramifications of BOSS spread far beyond the borders of South Africa and threaten much wider circles of people. In Zambia, for example, South African agents are known to be active, and it is widely believed there that when Simon Kapwepwe broke away from President Kaunda's government and the ruling UNIP party, at least one of the sources of his money was South African. Certainly he could not have paid from his own pocket, or from the slender resources of his circle of associates, for the 100 imported Landrovers he purchased for the purpose of establishing his new opposition party in the far-flung rural districts. (President Kaunda ordered the confiscation of the landrovers). Certainly there could be nothing more pleasing to BOSS and the government which today it serves and tomorrow it will dominate than for tribalism and factionalism plus her intrinsic economic difficulties to tear Zambia apart and drag her down into the clutches of the apartheid state.

In Britain, BOSS not only employs a large number of spies and informers, but also enjoys the assistance of the very experienced British intelligence apparatus. A lengthy and detailed exposé of BOSS's activities in Britain published in *The Observer* last October revealed that of the 34 members

of the South African embassy staff who appear in the official diplomatic list, at least 10 are trained and active intelligence agents, while a further dozen full-time agents work under cover of commercial organisations, businesses or in journalistic jobs. In addition there is an extensive network of informers, 'plants', and policemen carrying out the tasks of surveillance, intimidation, infiltration and provocation to which both obvious targets like the ANC and British organisations like the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Student Christian Movement and the Defence and Aid Fund are subjected. British Metropolitan policemen are given the task of 'co-operating' with their South African counterparts, and they are happy to do so, not only because of their fundamentally identical ideology, but also because – to compensate for the possible political embarrassment of being caught holding hands with Vorster's toughs – the British intelligence operatives demand and get from BOSS far more information than they ever give to it. In the perpetual search for information, BOSS even relies from time to time on private detective agencies, but since these sell the products of their dirty work to anybody whose money is sufficient, this is not one of the favoured methods used any longer.

Masses will Defeat Boss

No opponent of apartheid and racism in South Africa should allow himself to be unduly impressed by the tremendous resources and far-reaching activities of the BOSS machine. (Conversely, no serious revolutionary should under-estimate the power of the enemy – such mistakes are costly). The experience of other revolutions show that it is not superior 'intelligence' (in the sense of information), nor even superior arms, technology, material resources or means of communication and transport which determine the outcome of history-making struggles. Ultimately, and decisively, it is the masses of the people who make history, and there is no force on earth which can defeat a people united in a just cause and determined to achieve their freedom. This simple but profound truth guarantees the futility of BOSS and ensures the defeat and destruction of all it stands for.

The Bonn-Pretoria Axis

"It is a sordid tale — of four great and rich Western powers, each of which in public protests its detestation of racialism, colonialism and apartheid, and each of which in practice is competing with the others for the profits these evils produce. Britain and America impose sanctions on Rhodesia — France and West Germany defy them; Britain and America place an arms embargo on South Africa — France and West Germany stab them in the back. And yet an ugly suspicion arises that the role of the defiers, though superficially antagonistic, is not really contrary to broader imperialist strategy at all . . ."

from GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY
p. 42 — published by the ANC (1966)



The former West German Defence & Economics Minister, Frans Josef Strauss (left) met the South African Prime Minister Vorster, for private talks during Strauss' recent one-day visit to Cape Town

With growing machinations and aggressiveness of the imperialist countries against the liberation movement, it is our duty to continue to lay bare the facts before the international community and to expose the individual and collective responsibility of imperialism in the diabolic oppression and suppression of our people.

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), while using the full force of its industrial might for its neo-colonialist penetration of the Third World and subverting the liberation movement in the three continents, continues to peddle the old worn out story that it has no colonies and thus no vested interests. She falsely asserts that her aid is purely for the upliftment of the living standards of the wretched peoples of the continents when the contrary is the case.

Whilst it may be admitted that the FRG has made some inroads with this propaganda, the facts progressively disclose its shady character. Having full trust and confidence in the friendship and ultimate victory of the people the African National Congress, standing at the head of the South African Liberation Movement, has not been deceived by these pious declarations of the government of the FRG as we shall show hereunder.

Against Africa

The dangerous game played by the FRG and the other imperialist powers in South Africa must not only be seen in its internal effect; that of strengthening the oppressive machinery of the fascists and the collective exploitation of the working people of South Africa. It must also be seen in its broader international aspect. Why should South Africa have troop carriers (supplied by West Germany) capable of flying 4,000 miles without refuelling? Why is she frantically

increasing her fleet of supersonic fighter bombers? Why is she building up her navy? And why the aspiration for nuclear weapons? These lethal weapons are not stock piled merely to engage in a fight against the liberation movement. South Africa's aggressive stance has been clearly demonstrated by her repeated acts in violating the sovereign integrity of Zambia; the presence of her troops in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola, to say nothing of her bellicose statements and comments against Africa as a whole.

Similarly, South Africa's policy of dialogue with independent African countries must be viewed in the same light. It has to be seen as part of the general imperialist global strategy. The strengthening of South Africa as an imperialist state in her own right is aimed at turning her into a base and bulwark of world imperialism in Africa. This is why fascist South Africa is being gradually pulled and turned into an ally of NATO. Clearly, a conflict that erupts in South Africa will easily involve NATO and thus spark a world war. It is worthy of note that the greatest proportion of imperialist investments in the whole of Africa is to be found concentrated in racist South Africa. Of significant interest however, is that the FRG is today the most favoured country in South Africa in both political and economic matters. In some circles, there is the belief that West German investments have caught up with and surpassed American investments in South Africa. It is, however, difficult to verify this fact, as West German investments in South Africa are to a large extent infiltrated into existing companies.

The political affinity, if not identity, of interests, between the FRG and South Africa is shown by the unending stream of top ranking representatives of West German state and finance to and from South Africa. To name only a few, with their functions at the time of the visits or later:—



HEINRICH LÜBKE
– Minister of Agriculture and Federal President;



EUGEN GERSTENMAIER
– Vice President of Parliament;



LUDWIG ERHARD
– Federal Chancellor and Minister of Economic Affairs;



FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS
– Minister of Defence and Minister of Finance;



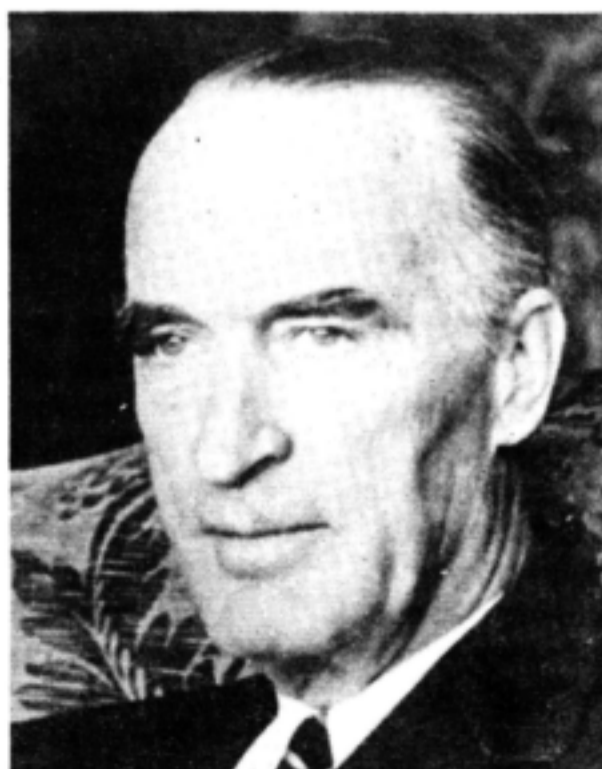
RICHARD JAEGER
– Vice President of Parliament



WALTER SCHEEL
– Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor of the Brandt government;



HERMANN ABS
– A leading banker;



ALFRED KRUPP
– Head of the biggest West German arms' trust;

PAUL LUECKE
– Minister of the Interior;

PHILIPP ROSENTHAL
– Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs;

FRITZ BERG
– President of the Federal Association of West German industry.

(Strauss, as recently as April, 1971, visited South Africa and Angola for secret talks).

Of further interest is the fact that all these visits were made at the height of fascist dictatorship in South Africa, ostensibly as a clear demonstration of the close association that exists between the two countries. This demonstration in political identity and intransigence is particularly striking since it occurs at a time when the entire democratic mankind is demanding the complete boycott of the apartheid regime.

Each of these "visitors" was given an opportunity to witness at first hand the evil nature of apartheid and the effects of the fascist dictatorship in South Africa which combines all barbarous methods of imperialists rule. Although given the golden opportunity to protest at the inhumanity of the system, none of them even so much as criticised the fascist apartheid regime. Instead, most of them openly glorified the system for the quick financial returns it yielded as a result of the super exploitation of the indigenous people.

Hitler's Mould

We would not like to belabour the fact that the top leadership of Vorster's Nationalist Party were educated in Nazi Germany, and reared in Hitler's political mould. We would have expected, however, a qualitative progressive development from Adenauer to Brandt. To date we see none, at least not in FRG-South African relations.

The cooperation of the FRG with the South African racists is particularly striking in the economic sphere. West German economic expansion in South Africa started when she resumed foreign trade relations which had been interrupted by the Second World War. This is shown by the following figures, which are more revealing when compared with figures for the rest of Africa over the same period: -

West German Trade with South Africa

(compared to Africa as a whole: figures in million marks)

	SOUTH AFRICA		AFRICA AS A WHOLE	
	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
1950	128.6	83.8	-	-
1959	324.8	622.6	-	-
1960	342.2	647.5	2,455.4	2,533.0
1961	359.6	551.8	2,463.8	2,239.6
1962	413.4	576.8	2,687.5	2,130.5
1963	465.1	732.6	3,257.7	2,608.0
1964	506.5	905.8	4,423.7	2,999.7
1965	572.8	1,134.1	5,134.1	3,248.2
1966	831.6	981.1	5,771.1	3,263.8
1967	1,045.2	1,251.4	5,768.9	3,648.4
1968	982.4	1,418.6	6,882.1	4,063.4
1969	1,207.6	1,633.6	7,717.0	4,720.7
1970	1,217.4	1,915.3	7,915.3	5,433.6

(Compiled from the FRG statistical Year Book published by W. Kohlhammer GmbH, Stuttgart and Mainz, 1963, 1966, 1969, 1970 and 1971 editions).

The trade statistics show that:

1. THE FRG foreign trade with South Africa expanded much faster than its foreign trade with the African independent states. Thus we can conclude that the FRG has deliberately chosen racist South Africa as its chief trading partner on the African continent;
2. A significant increase took place between the years 1962 and 1965 - a period of intensified consolidation of the racist regime following the unprecedented outward flow of South African capital after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960; and
3. Today the FRG is the third biggest trading partner of South Africa; after Britain and the United States. In May, 1962, capital assets of German imperialism sequestered during the Second World War were released by the South African government to West Germany. This ushered

in a new stage of economic expansion of West German imperialism into South Africa - a prelude to an increased flow of West German investments to that country. It was, in fact, the financial basis for an increased drive of West German monopoly capital into South Africa as shown by the fact that between 1956 and 1968, West German capital investments in South Africa rose from 11 million Rand (60 million marks) to 115 million Rand (630 million marks).

While these figures may be instructive, they do not, however, reveal the full extent of West German capital expansion in South Africa. Even West German authorities intimate that "the actual (West) German investments might be much higher" (Ralf Howald of the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs in Bonn, in an article entitled "Zwei gute Handelspartner" (Two Good Trading Partners), in *Industrie Kurier* of 22 March, 1966). Thus, the actual amount of investments is only known in part. This fact is reaffirmed in a special South African supplement of "Die Welt" of 14th April, 1971.

Capital exports developed along two lines. On the one hand, West German capital shares in South African and foreign industrial enterprises in South Africa increased, while on the other hand an ever greater number of West German industrial enterprises established subsidiary companies in South Africa.

In the beginning, the greater part of West German monopolies represented in South Africa were those which could look back to years of traditional trading in that country.

Brutal Exploitation

This was reaffirmed by the South African Minister of Finance, Dr. Diederichs in 1965 when he said that: "The German enterprises we have here are mostly such as do already have economic interests, and are expanding these interests or adding new ones." At the same time he assured West German monopolies that "in this country you can, of course, put up industries with much less capital expenditure, as we still have many workers who are cheaper than in Germany. This has been a stimulus for many foreign investors to establish enterprises in South Africa".

This betrays the principal motive for the expansion of international and West German capital to South Africa - to make maximum profits through the brutal exploitation of the African workers under the umbrella of the infamous and inhuman apartheid legislation.

West German investors are quite frank about this motive. *Industrie Kurier* of 22 March, 1966 comments: "There are a number of manufacturing enterprises in West Germany which have reached the limit of profitability due to high labour costs and social expenditure. Therefore, they are interested in establishing subsidiary enterprises in South Africa."

By shifting production capacities to South Africa, West German monopolies have a direct stake in the exploitation of the people of South Africa and other African states from which migrant labour is recruited. The brutal methods of exploitation and suppression applied by the apartheid regime secure maximum profits for West German monopolies, too.

Recently, a representative of the West German AEG/Telefunken Trust, speaking of their participation in the Cabora Bassa dam scheme which would eventually supply power to the whole of Southern Africa said: "We consider South Africa to be the safest country for investments among all overseas countries. In the long run, South Africa offers the best opportunities for investment".

The representative of the Volkswagen trust in South Africa is reported to have underlined this in August, 1971 when he said that "The big industrial countries (of the West - authors) have not hesitated to further increase their investments in South Africa in recent years, too. They want to secure for themselves markets, orders and raw materials. They are looking for investment areas where profit is higher or taxation lower than at home. For all these purposes the Republic of South Africa is the ideal place indeed".

"In its own interest we wish every (West) German enterprise to have a subsidiary in South Africa" was the slogan

under which West German monopolies were invited to take part in the expansionist drive in South Africa.

The biggest and most important of FRG monopolies have long taken up this invitation. A large number of other industrial enterprises later joined in West German financial and business activities in South Africa. About 40 West German enterprises were registered there in 1962. As was announced by Dr. Fischer, Director of the (West) German - South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg in June 1968, "about 300 West German firms had established subsidiaries", in South Africa by the middle of 1968.

The expansionist policy of West German capital in South Africa has reached such magnitude that almost all major West German trusts take part, in one way or another, in the exploitation of the population of South Africa. Some of these trusts can be grouped as follows:-

- **The largest chemical trusts** - successors to IG Farben, whose activities during the Second World War are well known - Bayer Leverkusen, Farbwerke Hoechst and Badische Anilin- und Sodafabriken.

- **The largest electric trusts** - AEG/Telefunken and Siemens.

- **The largest banks** - Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerzbank and Berliner Handelsgesellschaft.

- **The most influential monopoly groups in the basic and heavy industries** - Krupp, Kloeckner, Degussa, Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke AG, Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft Demag AG, Bolkow AG (for missile research) Metallgesellschaft, the Quandt group Blohm and Voss and Volkswagen AG.

These trusts have helped South Africa to reach rates of economic growth and progress in science and technology far in advance of African independent states. This enables the racist regime to exercise economic extortion and indeed political blackmail under the pretext of economic and technological assistance.

Southern-most Arm of Europe

In the spring of 1969, a delegation of FRG industrialists headed by Fritz Berg, president of the Federal Association of (West) German Industries, visited South Africa. As was emphasized it was the first visit of a joint delegation of industrialists representing the most important West German trusts and monopoly groups since 1938. And today the expansion of West German monopolies in South Africa is controlled and promoted mainly by the Federal Association of (West) German Industries. The leader of that delegation coined a new slogan for the future expansion of West German capital in South Africa when he said in Johannesburg that "South Africa is the southern-most arm of Europe . . ." Together with South African monopolies, they now want to advance north-ward into independent Africa.

So "successful" was the visit apparently that a report appearing in the "Christ und Welt", published in Stuttgart, conveyed the sentiment that "anyone who is now engaged in South Africa will tomorrow be engaged in other countries of the world. And who offers lower prices in South Africa will tomorrow succeed in other countries, too".

Nuclear Weapons

Military cooperation between the two countries is based on a secret agreement concluded in 1961. On the basis of the agreement, arranged by former Nazi general von Mellenthin, who was residing in South Africa as intermediary, the two countries have been cooperating, among other things, in preparatory work for the production of nuclear weapons. (It is significant that the FRG Consul General in South Africa decorated ex-general von Mellenthin with the Federal Cross of Merit when he retired.)

The FRG provides for the uranium ore dressing techniques while the uranium ore itself is supplied by South Africa. After the FRG received the first 1000 tons of uranium ore, the West German newspaper "Die Tat" commented on 20th May, 1967: "The nuclear industry of the Federal Re-

public . . . is very active in opening up new uranium resources particularly in South Africa. As early as 1958, the South African Minister of Science, Dr. J. A. Roux, visited the Degussa company in Frankfurt to offer uranium concentrate. Degussa processes dressed uranium ores for feeding reactors. Once the dressing plant at Karlsruhe, FRG is ready for production, crude uranium can be imported from South Africa".

Early in April, 1968, it became known that the West German trust of Kloeckner & Co. had started to build up its own raw material bases in South West Africa for developing nuclear weapons. It bought the absolute majority of shares of the South West African Lithium Mines (Pty) Ltd. At the same time other West German companies, in particular the Rheinisch-Westfälische Elektrizitätswerke AG and Degussa of Frankfurt am/Main were contracting for long term uranium supplies from South Africa. Already then, South Africa was believed to have the capacity of raising its uranium production to 7000 tons annually within a short time.

In Namibia, the latest target of West German expansion, are the newly discovered uranium deposits which are considered to be the largest in the Western world. Assisted by the West German Ministry of Science, which bears 75% of the prospecting costs, West German monopolies intend to construct dressing plants there, to supply uranium concentrate from 1976 onwards.

Missile Research

Another military field of West German engagement in South Africa is missile research and production. Since the West German Bolkow AG trust (whose programme includes missile research) firmly established itself in South Africa, there has been more information on South African projects in this field. In October, 1968, the South African Minister of Defence said that South Africa would construct a missile launching site near Cape Vidal, situated in an area of high strategic importance some 90 miles from the Mozambique border. He did not name the contracting overseas company, though he again referred to it when he announced in Parliament that all weather ground-to-air guided missiles to be supplied by this firm would be introduced in the South African armed forces.

A few months later, South Africa launched its first missile which was reported to have been developed by a research institute near Pretoria. But characteristically, a short time before this launching, a West German newspaper had written that it was "obvious that Cape Vidal will not only become the centre for testing most sophisticated missiles but also an important missile defence base to protect the country's coasts and to form a missile umbrella to the North."

The chief advocate of South Africa's missile programme, South African Minister of Defence P. W. Botha, boasted in 1966 that "after South Africa had become a Republic, I went to Europe to obtain licence contracts for certain weapons. Then I returned, having obtained 27 licences." One of the countries he visited was the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is therefore not surprising to the imaginative to read between the lines and draw conclusions from a report which appeared a year later, in 1967, that "representatives of the Republic of South Africa intend to recruit in the near future (West) German aviation engineers, designers, technicians and mechanics in order to build a South African aviation industry." The same source went on to reveal that the team had full powers to recruit 1,500 aviation specialists.

As has been repeatedly stressed by government officials; South Africa today has an aviation industry of its own and thus the industrial base for equipping one of the most important services of the South African armed forces. Moreover, the FRG supplies spare parts for the aircrafts of the models F-84 and G-91, as well as infra-red systems. It is common knowledge that aircraft can be assembled from spare parts.

Moise Tshombe
seen together
with former West
German Presi-
dent Heinrich
Lübke



The "Star" newspaper of January, 1970, published in Johannesburg, reported that the South African Air Force was to receive nine Transall C-160 aircraft from the FRG. (The Transall C-160 turbo-prop systems are manufactured in the FRG under licence. This type of aircraft has an operational range of 1000 miles. It can carry troops, tanks and other equipment and is therefore of special interest to the South African racists. — Ed)

On the 9th January, 1969 a West German newspaper, the Industrie Kurier, commented that the necessity of enlarging South Africa's air force with the assistance of West German specialists and trusts was motivated by the "significance of South Africa for the global strategy of NATO".

Poison Gas

The conclusion is not far fetched that if Siemens and AEG/Telefunken in their advertisements in the West German press can allude to the fact that the bulk of electrical equipment in South Africa is supplied by them, then the armed forces of the racist regime have their share. But concretely, since 1968, Siemens and AEG/Telefunken have had a contract code-named "Advokaat" for equipping the South African navy. The value of the first allocation for this project was around 12 million Rand and was to be operational by last year. Of interest is the fact that these two companies got this contract with the help of the Federal government of West Germany.

The technical equipment which was to be supplied under the contract was as follows:

- long- und shortwave transmitters;
- beam transmitting, telephone and teleprinting stations;
- a modern electronic data processing system.

The Bayer-Leverkusen and Hoechst Farbwerke AG chemical trusts produce protective agents for plants at their South African branches. But again, experts point out that a few hours would suffice to switch the production capacity to poison gas production.

Nerve Gas

A factor of horrifying magnitude is that South Africa already has the capacity to produce sufficient quantities of an extremely toxic nerve gas called "Gas V", an advanced and more dangerous variant of the Zyklon B gas which was used by the Nazis for the extermination of people in concentration camps. Nor is the technological advance in this field to be wondered at, for it is on record that the Zyklon B gas specialists of the IG Farben trust of the Hitler era took shelter at the Farbwerke Hoechst AG chemical plant in Sasolburg, South Africa, where they have developed combinations of the nerve gases Tabun, Soman and Sarin. Professor L. J. le Roux, then vice president of the South Afri-

can National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, was quoted by Reuters on 7th November, 1963 as saying at a scientific conference in Pretoria that these poisons could be dispersed like insecticides from aircraft or rockets and their effect is just as similar to that of a 20 megaton atomic bomb, and much less expensive.

This irrefutable evidence of the closest collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and the racist fascist apartheid regime of South Africa, is directed towards the political consolidation of fascist rule in South Africa; the economic strengthening of the imperialist base resting on the diabolic exploitation of the indigenous people; the economic extortion of the African independent states; the subversion of the liberation movement militarily; strengthening the aggressive potential of South Africa against independent Africa and, ultimately; for military provocation in the international arena.

Enemy of Mankind

The national liberation movement in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC is aware of its responsibilities both to the toiling masses of our people and the world. The aim of our struggle is not only the liberation of the oppressed peoples in South Africa, but also the wiping out of the main base of counter-revolution in Africa and that of international reaction and militarism. This we do consciously, for we recognise that imperialism is not only a national, but also the international enemy of mankind.

At the same time, we are encouraged and assured of our ultimate success despite the intrigues of imperialism, for we have a great international ally in the toiling peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in the international working class movement and the countries of Socialism. We even have a consolation on the broad question of Germany; we receive encouragement from the German Democratic Republic as our ally and supporter, in the same manner that all people fighting for social justice, peace and democracy do.

The supreme task facing the South African liberation movement is the destruction of the fascist-racist tyranny and the establishment of a revolutionary democracy. Such a democracy envisages the seizure of power by the toiling masses; the destruction of the positions of monopoly capital in all spheres of the economy; the uprooting of all vestiges of racism and national oppression, and the building of a prosperous, peaceful humane life for the peoples of our country. It envisages wrenching our country out of the world systems of imperialism and joining it (our country) as an active force on the side of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world fighting for socialism, peace, national liberation and democracy.

The degrading and inhuman exploitation of Black miners in South Africa is analysed by RAY ALEXANDER, prominent South African Trade Unionist, in this, the first of a two-part article on the mining industry in the country.

PITS OF HORROR

"Two hundred thousand subterranean heroes who, by day and by night, for a mere pittance lay down their lives to the familiar "fall of rock" and who, at deep levels, ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 feet in the bowels of the earth, sacrifice their lungs to the rock dust which develops miners' phthisis and pneumonia."

This is how Sol Plaatjies, the first general secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, described the lives of the African miners in 1914.

The average number of persons employed in mining during 1970 according to the Department of Mines were:-

	All Mines	Gold Mines Only	Coal Mines Only
Africans	612,140	386,113	67,249
Coloured	6,956	352	46
Asians	629	20	274
Whites	83,734	39,386	8,173
	<hr/> 703,459	<hr/> 425,871	<hr/> 75,742

By March this year Africans increased by 78,411 and whites by only 375.

Herded Like Animals

African miners are recruited under contract for periods of 6 months to a year and transported from Transkei, Ciskei, Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Namibia. They are herded like animals into third class carriages and kept herded for the period of their employment in fenced-in locations on mine territory. Their return journey is usually as uncomfortable and as crowded.

In the mine compounds they are divided up on an ethnic basis, each ethnic group has a headman. The African miners are often kicked about and badly treated by the white miners whom they are expected to call "baas".

By now the deep levels have reached 9,000 feet. But they still work for a mere pittance, are still crushed to death by falling rocks and their lungs are still sacrificed to disease.

The mining industry contributed about 15 per cent to South Africa's national income. The real importance of the indu-



A Black South African miner's wardrobe in the mine hostel

stry is that its exports account for almost half the annual value of foreign exchange. South Africa has, since 1866, when diamonds were first discovered in the Northern Cape Province, moved into a commanding position as one of the principal suppliers of gold, copper, platinum and diamonds.

These minerals and uranium, manganese, asbestos, chromium are in great demand for industries in the USA, Japan and the UK.

Wage Gap

According to the statistics for 1970 of the Department of Mines, the monthly average cash earnings per head were:—

	All Mines	Gold Mines Only	Coal Mines Only
Africans	R 19	R 17	R 18
Coloured	71	90	73
Asians	93	87	79
Whites	341	354	350

The African miners work side by side with the white miners. Drilling, blasting holes with explosives, laying and repairing tracks used in underground haulage, operating coal cutting machines — for all these responsible and skilled jobs their pay, in cash and kind, does not amount even one-twentieth of the white miner's pay. It is important to note that at the beginning of the century the ratio in wages

between African and white miner's wages was only 9 to 1 or less. As the years went by the gap widened. The ratio, on average, in the twenties was 10 to 1, in 1936 10.7 to 1, in 1966 17.5 to 1 and in 1970 20.3 to 1.

The gap is growing. When the gold mining companies recently announced a salary increase, the white miners received an extra R45.00 per month (his monthly wages is now R360.80). The African's increase was only R2.12 (his monthly cash wage is between R20 and R22). The white miner's monthly increase alone is more than the total wage in cash and kind paid to the African miner.

So-called Fringe Benefits

The mining houses boast about the fringe benefits — the payments in kind that the African miners receive. Let us look at these fringe benefits:

Free accomodation: nice sounding term until one realises that this means a concrete bunk with about 40 or 50 other men in a breeze-block structure where cycles, pieces of furniture, clothing and everything the men possess are simply dumped in the confined space of their bunks. The centre piece is a built-in open-hearth type of oven for which they have to buy their own coal and firewood.

Why should the Africans live in compounds, separated from their families, their tired limbs stretched on a coir mattress bed while the white miners live with their families in decent subsidised homes.

Free food given to Black miners consists mainly of "mealie

Before the journey into the pits



pap" with some gravy and a mug of tea, 2 to 3 lbs. of neck meat per week, some vegetables and nuts, no milk and no butter. The men supplement this diet by purchasing from the store, which swallows up a good share of their cash earnings.

Daily beer allocation: Marewu, Tswala, types of home-made beer to keep the workers "happy" and "duped".

Subsidised clothing and free boots: The boots are essential for the hard work in slush, mud and rocky paths underground.

Medical care: All African migrant workers are medically examined on entering the mines and as thereafter a large proportion contract miners' phthisis, silicosis and other incurable diseases, they receive medical attention.

The value of these fringe benefits have not been fully ascertained. It has been estimated that these benefits may cost between R11 to R17 per month. The white miners on the other hand get, in addition to their cash wage of R360.80 per month, medical attention; subsidised housing, recreational facilities, holiday bonuses and educational grants for their children.

The African miners are paid much less than Africans who work in factories, shops and government offices. Monthly cash average earnings for Africans in 1970 were;

Manufacturing	R52.00
Construction	R50.00
Electricity	R55.00
Building Societies	R66.00
Central Government	R44.00
Local Government	R45.00
Railways	R52.00
Miners	R19.00

Pass Laws

To prevent Africans from breaking their contracts, the Chamber of Mines persuaded the government of the South African Republic to enact a pass law which would give greater control of the labour force. In 1895 the Volksraad enacted such a law drafted by leaders of the mining industry. Blasting could now be done by anyone who held a blasting certificate, but only qualified white persons could be employed as banksmen and onsetters or to operate winding machines used for hoisting and lowering people. In 1897 new regulations were issued which opened the occupations of onsetter and banksman to all "qualified" persons, but retained the ban on the issue of a machine-driver's certificate to "Coloured people". The positions of managers, banksman, onsetter and engine driver were reserved for whites by regulations enacted in 1903.

Africans were commonly employed to do skilled work at unskilled rates. They worked the machine drills and, to keep up the fiction of "skilled work", they could only do so if there was a whiteman "in charge". Africans were driving air winches, they were in charge of pumping machines, sorting tables, waste rock and tailing elevators, mechanical haulages, shop boilers and engines, motors and machinery; all skilled jobs, but at unskilled rates of pay.

These jobs and other surface occupations including drill sharpening, brickmaking and work in the crushing mills — once performed by Africans, are now reserved for whites only. The list of reserved jobs was extended in 1906 to include mechanical engineers, boiler attendants, liftmen, mine overseers, shift bosses and surface foremen.

These discriminations were invalid in law but the mine owners hoped to appease the trade unionists and others who campaigned vigorously at that time against the employment of Chinese at the mines. These Chinese were confined by





law to doing unskilled labour and were specifically prohibited from employment in 55 scheduled occupations which include the building-as well as mining trades.

Job Monopoly

Under the Mines and Works Act of 1911, General Smuts made regulations that gave whites a monopoly of 32 mining occupations. Another 19 jobs were reserved for whites by custom, opinions and trade union pressure. General Smuts prohibited the issue of "certificates of competency" to any person of colour in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. A certificate obtained by Africans, Asians, or Coloureds in Natal or the Cape was invalid outside the province it had been issued in.

On April 7, 1914, 1,624 residents of the Transvaal presented a petition to the House of Assembly asking for the removal of the colour bar from the Mines, Works and Machinery Regulations. The petition said "Coloured persons are placed under serious disability solely on the ground of colour and without reference to competence or ability. We pray that the word "white" be replaced by the word "competent" and the colour bar be removed wherever it has been introduced in the regulations".

Parliament turned a deaf ear to the petitioners. But the Transvaal Supreme Court ruled in 1923 that the discriminating regulations were invalid. In 1924 the coalition Nationalist-Labour Party government - representing white farmers and workers-came to power and amended the Mines Works Act 1911.

The Mines Works Amendment Act of 1926 is commonly known as the "Colour Bar Act". All these early measures of colour bars were consolidated in the Mines and Works Act No. 27 enacted by the present Nationalist government, in 1956. These acts and regulations have prevented the occupational advance of the African miners, perpetuating his low wages, the migratory labour system and compound life.

No Training

Formal instruction, when provided, was limited to whites, originally by apprenticeship and classes in drilling, and later at evening courses in mining techniques organised by the Transvaal University College. From these efforts emerged the government Mining Training School which was opened in 1911 in Wolhuter.

Coloureds and Africans had to learn on the job... A three or four day course of practical instruction is usually given in a model mine built on the surface. Experienced men may receive advanced training for the supervisory posts of "boss boy".

The great store houses of mining technology are the University of Witwatersrand and the Witwatersrand Technical College. These institutions are reserved for whites only.

White mine trainees earn R180.00 per month, with free board and lodgings, medical service and entertainment. Training is for 18 months at the New Harmony Gold Mine in the O.F.S. When these mine trainees complete their training their salary is R280.00 per month plus commission bonus for piece work. Whites receive training but do none of the actual manual work.

The mine-owners eliminated inter-mine competition for black labour by fixing maximum wage rates and eventually creating a buyers' monopoly system through the Chamber of Mines and recruiting organisations.

The imposition of the mining colour bars, the resistance of whites to upward mobility of African miners, the migra-

tory labour system, the pass laws, the absence of democratic rights for Africans, the prohibition of strikes, the banning, banishment, arresting, torturing, murdering of trade union leaders, police repression and the host of oppressive race discriminatory laws prevent the African miners from organising as a body of miners to defend and advance their interests.

Increased Profits

In 1953 the UN-ILO Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour summarised the working of the whole range of apartheid legislation as a "system of forced labour which appears to exist in the Union of South Africa".

The mine owners – the Anglo American Corporation, the Gold Field Group and other companies announce increased profits every quarter. For example the September quarter of 1969: the West Driefontein Kloof Mining Group recorded a total profit of R17 million as against R13 million of the June quarter (R.D.M. 11/10/1969).

The Impala Platinum Mine, operated by the Union Corporation in the area of Ba Phokeng tribe Tswana Territorial Authority, made R14,675,000 profit for the 18 months ending June to 1971. The shareholders got over R5 million in dividends. The Tswana were paid only R500,000 in mining royalties.

Behind this amazing accumulation of profits lies the callous misuse of African labour. The African is denied the right to organise, to claim any share in productivity gains which have been achieved. The lashing "boy" with his shovel and pick is still the significant feature down the gold mine.

The mining companies pay more in dividends to the government than they pay the African miners who get the gold, platinum, coal and other minerals and metals out of the bowels of the earth. In 1969 the revenue of the gold mines was R817.3 million which was spent as follows:—

	R million	Proportion of Revenue
White cash earnings (for 39,386 whites)	158.9	19.4 %
Black cash earnings (for 386,113 Africans)	72.3	8.1 %
Stores consumed (i.e. machinery etc.)	332.1	39.0 %
Taxation	122.2	15.0 %
Dividends	156.6	19.0 %

(Source: Dr. Francis Wilson, "Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911–1969" Cambridge University Press April 1972).

Miners Killed

It is the sweat and labour of the African miners that pays for the upkeep of the apartheid system. The whole system of colour discrimination and oppression directed against the Africans is supported by the mine-owners.

This is why when 76,000 African miners went on strike for R1 a day in August 1946, the mine-owners and the South African government used force to break the strike. Their leaders were arrested and charged for breach of contract or any other of the oppressive laws. Inofficial reports state nine Africans were killed, 1,248 Africans injured during the strike but the actual number of casualties was never made known.

Note: R1 = 50p
= \$1.25
(to be continued)

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS?

The following is a text of a statement by the Reverend Edgar Lockwood before the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on November 9, 1971 on the trial of 13 Blacks in Pietermaritzburg under the Terrorism Act

Rev. Lockwood, a priest and lawyer, is a member of the Social Criteria Committee of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America. He recently returned from a two month trip to South Africa where he acted as a legal observer at two trials, of the Dean French-Beytagh in Pretoria and the 13 in Pietermaritzburg, on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International and the National Council of Churches of the United States of America.

In a resolution adopted on the same day by an overwhelming vote, the General Assembly expressed its "grave indignation and concern over any and every act of maltreatment and torture of opponents of apartheid in South Africa and the increased persecution of religious leaders opposed to that policy".

After dealing at length with the Dean's case, Reverend Lockwood stated:

While the Dean's case received widespread press attention, another trial which is still proceeding in Pietermaritzburg did not. This trial proceeds out of an indictment charging that the 13 defendants assisted a recruiting drive conducted by leaders of the Non-European Unity Movement from its base in Zambia. The defendants admit that they are members of the Movement in South Africa but that they did nothing illegal in collecting money for the Movement and that the recruiters were recruiting for political education, not for military training. I will not comment on the truth of these charges or of the defence but I can make these observations:

This trial illustrates the new weapons which the Terrorism Act places in the hands of the prosecution. The defence is deprived of any knowledge in advance of the trial of what the witnesses for the State will say.

There is no summary pre-trial in these cases. The list of witnesses is a closely guarded secret. All of the important witnesses have been locked up and held in detention and incommunicado for varying lengths of time. The most important witnesses are still held even after testifying. While in confinement, they have no recourse to a lawyer nor any right to see a magistrate nor to let any one else in the outside world know how they are being treated.

Questioning by the police is alternated with solitary confinement until a written statement satisfactory to the police is obtained. Thereupon the witness is either released with a warning not to discuss the case and especially not with the defence or if he is important, locked up but given increased liberties and privileges: radio, magazines and recreation. The confinement can be continued indefinitely. There is no right of habeas corpus.

Cross-examiners trying to discover the methods used by the police are usually incapable of breaking the carefully prepared testimony of those who have been through the interrogation process. The reason is quite clear.

In the well of the court sit four or five of the police inquisitors. The team stares fixedly at the witness as he testifies. They are at the elbow of the Prosecutor and feed him notes of any deviations from the prepared script. The team is led by Colonel T.J. Swanepoel, described by the Dean in the other trial as a very cruel man and a sadist. Among his colleagues is the notorious "Spyker" (Nailer) Van Wyk, who is linked with the death under detention of the Imam Haron in Cape Town in 1970.

It is no wonder that the witnesses almost always tell how good the food was in detention, how polite and considerate the police were.

The System Fails

In two instances the system failed. Jonathan Beyneveldt, a boy of nineteen, from Cape Town area, differed from his written statement. Under cross examination, he revealed that in his initial questioning, the police had shouted at him and browbeat him for an hour. Sergeant Van Wyk struck him across the face three times so hard that his hearing was affected. He was told that the police were prepared to hold him indefinitely. That night he was placed in solitary confinement without proper clothing, though it was cold. The next day he was questioned again and told that another witness had identified him as being present at a meeting where one Moen had been present. If he did not tell the truth, he would be locked up indefinitely. Although he could not recall the meeting, he signed, without reading, a statement prepared by the police so as to corroborate the story of the other man. When Beyneveldt ended his testimony, the Prosecutor, Mr. Rees, impeached his own witness with the written statement. As he left the box, Beyneveldt was seized by the Security Branch, taken to the Magistrate's Court and charged with perjury. The trial is yet to be heard. Another witness, named Isaacs, was threatened by the police in the corridor of the court. When he failed to produce testimony to the prosecutor's liking, he was told by a Security Branch officer that if he did not come back the next day and change his testimony voluntarily, he would be locked up indefinitely. Witnesses are not the only objects of intimidation.

Swanepoel

Colonel Swanepoel told one defence lawyer when the trial opened: "You wait. After this is over, we are going to fix you". One newspaper reporter told me that the Security Branch had threatened him for publishing a truthful account of a witness' testimony that he had been detained in solitary confinement for five months. On one occasion, while I was taking pictures outside the court building, Colonel Swanepoel told me that I should be more "secretive in your intelligence work". When challenged, he said, "You know very well what I mean".

Other testimony illustrates the fact that South African police regard Botswana as their territory, too. One witness, a citizen of that country, had been seized at her home in Botswana and told that she must come to Mafeking to make a statement if she wanted to see her husband again. Her husband, also a Botswana citizen, had been seized while riding a tractor on the South African side of the border. When the woman saw him in Mafeking, he complained of being hit a great deal by the police and she saw many bruises on his face. She saw him again some months later and there were fresh bruises on his face. So far as I know, her husband may still be in detention.

Brutality and Torture

More serious than any of these allegations, however, are certain affidavits of some of the accused describing the methods used by the Security Branch at a forest camp in the Transkei. Physical brutality of the grossest kind, torture including the use of electronic shock machines attached to the genitals, are alleged in such painful detail that even to read it is sickening and revolting.

One Mtayeni Cutshela, a Pondo of about 50, a headman, died while in detention at Umtata, apparently as a result of beatings and torture at the hands of the Security Branch. I have copies of the defendants' statements and affidavits. They make a prima facie case for judicial inquiry.

Nor is the death of Cutshela the only death. During a nationwide roundup of Indians, white academics and churchmen recently, Mr. Ahmed Timol jumped or was pushed from a tenth floor window of John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg. The number of deaths of people in detention in recent years now approaches twenty.

It is true that in some cases, magistrates have restrained the police from interrogating in an illegal manner; in some cases the families of the dead have achieved an out-of-court settlement of damages which eases the financial crisis of death; and in one case reported in the Natal Mercury of September 3, two policemen were convicted of suspending a man from trees by his knees and using electric shock. But not many restraining orders are obtained; damages do not bring back the dead; and the convictions were not matched with adequate sentences: three months for one policeman and 100 rand (\$140) fine for his accomplice.

Under these circumstances: Who is committed to savage retribution and illegal methods? Who is it that is really committed to violence? Who are the terrorists?

Polaroid Workers say:

NO COMPROMISE!

"Black South Africans felt that, if nothing could be done to stop the system, Polaroid film could be an asset. They would not have to stand in the sun so long (waiting for their passbook pictures to be taken) . . . One intellectual told me that the 'pass camera' was good because it only took a few minutes of humiliation to get the picture done."

Chuck Jones, black member of the Polaroid 'fact finding' team, upon the team's return from South Africa.

On December 30, 1971, the Polaroid Corporation announced its intention to keep distributing its products in South Africa. It declared that in the time since January 13th of last year, its "anti-apartheid experiment" had "exceeded the expectations of many".

The Polaroid "experiment" was the company's justification for continuing business as usual in South Africa. It came in response to a protest and boycott launched by black workers within the Polaroid Corporation's Cambridge headquarters. The protest brought to public attention the fact that Polaroid, while maintaining a 'liberal image' in the United States, had for 30 years been enjoying profitable business relationships in South Africa. These relationships included providing the racist white minority government of South Africa with the Polaroid instant ID2 system, used by the government to take pictures for the passbooks which all blacks are forced to carry.

Workers Demands

The Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement demanded:

1. That Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa.
2. That Polaroid announce its position on apartheid publicly in the U.S. and in South Africa.
3. That Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to recognized African liberation movements.

In response to these demands, Polaroid launched a slick and costly public relations campaign. It sent four employees, two black and two white, on a ten day 'fact finding mission' to South Africa. Upon their return, Polaroid took out full page advertisements in every major paper in the country, declaring its "abhorrence" of apartheid, but its intention to try to "push the door on South Africa further open, (rather than) close it". The advertisements stated that Polaroid would not terminate its business activities in South

Africa, but would undertake an "experiment" of one year's duration, to:

1. "improve the wages of non-white workers", and to train them for "important jobs", and
2. financially support educational betterment for blacks, to the tune of \$75,000.

The ads announcing the "experiment" cost Polaroid at least \$100,000, \$25,000 more than their total commitment to the experiment itself. Now, one year later, it has reported back to the American public on the "success" of its venture.

This "success" requires careful scrutiny.

Below Poverty Line

The Polaroid experiment called for a "dramatic" improvement in non-white wages by its local distributor in South Africa, and the initiation of a "well-defined program to train non-white employees for important jobs within the company".

Polaroid's first claim is that its local distributor, Frank and Hirsch, has "been engaged during the past year in a program for wage and benefit improvement for black employees", and that wages "for black employees have increased an average of 22% during the year."

While average African salaries have gone up Polaroid has failed to mention that more than 25 per cent of Frank and Hirsch's black employees still receive an average wage of R58 (\$75) per month, well below the Johannesburg poverty line of R70 (\$91). In addition, Frank und Hirsch continues to hire African clerks at the lowest possible salary allowed by the South African government (which is also below the Johannesburg poverty line). Financial Mail, a South African business journal, questions how Polaroid "can justify itself to its U.S. detractors when its distributors still pay some employees the minimum rate allowed by law."

Far more important is the fact that the difference between white and black salaries still remains enormous. Even the top black wage earners in South Africa cannot hope to receive anything close to the average salary given to white wage earners.

Improvement Illegal

But above and beyond the specifics, is the fact that, in South Africa, it is **illegal** to promote any significant wage or position improvement for African people. When Polaroid tried, in its first attempt to counter protest, to assert that its distributor in South Africa was an equal opportunity employer, a spokesman for Frank and Hirsch quickly replied: "I do not know where they could have obtained such a statement. We are governed by the laws of the country. Would they allow the existence of such a policy? It is impossible." (Johannesburg Star, November 21, 1971).

In South Africa, it is **against the law** for any black man to occupy a position senior to any white man in the country. The Minister of Labour, Marais Viljoen, asserted vehemently during the height of the Polaroid crisis last year, that he would "act within hours" if a white worker anywhere in South Africa was placed under the authority of a non-white.

The appointment by Frank and Hirsch of eight additional African "supervisors" is ludicrous tokenism at best, and the limits to this tokenism remain openly and sharply drawn by the racist white minority government of South Africa.

The other half of the Polaroid "experiment" has to do with contributing to the education of blacks - which Polaroid declared last January to be the "key to change in South Africa". Towards this end, Polaroid boasts of having contributed \$10,000 to the US - South Africa Leadership Exchange Program, which brought two blacks, a librarian and a clinical psychologist, to the US this year. In addition, \$15,000 was contributed to a "black organized and operated institution", the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement (ASSECA), and \$50,000 to the American - South African Educational Trust (ASSET).

Education for Servitude

What Polaroid does not tell us, is that the Leadership Exchange Program might have added two token blacks to their rostrum, but that its board remains controlled by whites, and that the overwhelming majority of the people they

choose to send to the US are whites, many of whom are advocates of the racist policies of the South African government. What Polaroid does not bother to clarify is that ASSECA and ASSET are not institutions that may act autonomously to promote educational programs over which the government has no control. Most fundamentally, what Polaroid does not and cannot deal with is the fact that in South Africa, all black education is under the direct control of the government. It is the law in South Africa that all African education **must** be education for servitude. The government's Bantu Education Act states explicitly that the "Bantu (the black) must be guided to serve his own community. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

The man under whose aegis this act was passed, Hendrik Verwoerd, former Prime Minister of South Africa stated his intention in plainly understandable language: "I will reform it (the educational system for Africans) so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them." Any amount of money which Polaroid gives, be it \$75,000 or 75 million dollars, only serves to aid the South African government in more efficiently educating South African blacks for inferiority. Polaroid has systematically refused to acknowledge these facts.

The real "success", the real significance of the Polaroid "experiment" is its development of a new public relations facade. Behind the facade, over 300 American corporations operating in South Africa can continue to support a government that has institutionalized racism, and to reap profits from a system which has made the humiliation of human beings by their fellow human beings a way of life. We can expect in the near future to see other American corporations, corporations with a large stake in South Africa, such as General Motors, launch their own "experiments", equally meaningless for black South Africans. African liberation movements, and countless United Nations committees which have studies on South African racism have called for economic withdrawal as a means of beginning to weaken the base of South Africa's white ruling elite. During World War II, trading with the Nazis was considered a crime. Collusion with the South African fascists, in any form is no more justifiable than was collusion with the Nazis. **The Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement has called for a continuation of the boycott against all Polaroid products.**

Boycott

Support the black revolutionary workers at Polaroid.



Polaroid

Until all sales to South Africa are discontinued.



Black Consciousness

There is a growing number of discussions among the Black communities in South Africa on the form and manner which legal forms of struggle can be pursued in the country. One facet of this discussion which is being widely canvassed throughout

the country, among all sections of the black community – Africans, Coloureds and Indians – is the question of Black consciousness and the role of White liberals in the movement for political rights.

This discussion was publicly initiated in 1970, with the formation of the all-Black South African Students Organization (S.A.S.O.) and has since grown in momentum. Towards the end of last year the Central Branch of the Natal Indian Congress*, which was recently revived, organised a symposium on the question in Durban.

At about the same time discussions initiated at a meeting of interested persons in Soweto, the giant African township in Johannesburg, followed up with a meeting at Johannesburg's Indian ghetto, Lenasia, and an ad-hoc committee of the Black Peoples' Convention was set up. This meeting was not only attended by Black representatives in the Transvaal but by senior representatives of S.A.S.O. and the Natal Indian Congress from the province of Natal and leading personalities from the Cape.

It is too early to subject these discussions to a detailed analysis, but all students of South African politics and especially South Africans abroad would benefit from some of the contributions made at these various discussions especially in view of similar discussions on this subject at the meeting of the enlarged executive meeting of the ANC held in Zambia in August last year.

BLACK PEOPLES CONVENTION

At the time this article was written the ad hoc Committee of the Black Peoples' Convention (B.P.C) had just held its third meeting at which it was decided to form a political party exclusively for Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

Its immediate activities include the setting up of regional ad hoc committees throughout South Africa with a view to organising mass rallies at which the planned convention will be given publicity and its aims and objects espoused. The principal object of the Convention is to "Unite all South African Blacks into a political movement which would seek the liberation and emancipation of Black people from both psychological and physical oppression".

Other aims of the Convention include:

To preach, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black consciousness and solidarity;

To create and maintain an egalitarian society in which justice is meted equally to all;

To reorientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the needs, aspirations, ideals and goals of the Black people;

To operate outside the White Government created institutions such as Bantustans, Indian Councils and Coloured Representative Councils.

SYMPOSIUM ON BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

At the Durban symposium organised by the Central Branch of the Indian Congress, White liberals advocating integration in South Africa were blankly rejected as "major stumbling blocks" in the struggle of the Black people of the country by several speakers. It was made abundantly clear at the symposium that the White liberal, despite his outward show of concern of the Black man's plight had no place in the concept of Black consciousness.

Johannesburg's Mrs. Daphne Masekele claimed that white liberals had for the past 300 years "been involved in designing strategies that are meant to confuse the Black world and thus make it impossible for Blacks to identify and isolate their enemy".

The white liberal's advocacy of integration she said should be rejected "because to these people integration

means acceptance by Blacks of the values of white society". "It should be made clear to Blacks that there is nothing to integrate because this liberal establishment in the very asking of the question assumes and takes for granted that they have something precious which Blacks want or should want, as if being close to white people ennobles and enriches the humanity of Blacks".

To S.A.S.O. president Temba Sono, all whites are exploiters - "some exploit directly, others indirectly". He regarded white liberals as "directionless multiracialists or integrationists", who after sympathising with Blacks in their plight prefer their "bulleting bass" and his "trigger happy morality" during election time.

"When the Bass is back into power these tearful apologists once more will come with their sentimental bubble about how bad the other white is".

The white liberal, according to N.I.C. secretary Dr. Dilly Naidoo, "enjoyed the fruits of the system".

"He does not plough as large a portion of his wealth into Black services. Instead he does not pay the normal wage, and even if he does better than this, his main contribution is some liberal protest or muttering which, he feels, justifies his exploitation".

Dr. Naidoo said that the white liberal could easily fall back on his white privileges "if he got tired of being sincere".

"And until such time as liberal whites shake themselves off the yoke of white privileges, we will have no choice but to exclude them from our deductions", he said.

A positive contribution that white liberals could make, however was working towards a "white consciousness" among whites, as is being done among Blacks", he added. Cape Town poet, Adam Small talked of the "best" of whites - "those who have wanted to give us this life which they believe they hold in their hands for us, quite freely and reasonably freely".

"Our movement towards our Blackness means the clear realisation that no one at all, no man, holds life in their hands for us. We are not beggars for life". He rejected white antagonists of apartheid who "cast themselves in the role of guardians for us, love to approach us as little children are approached, love to tell us "You too have beautiful values, can't you see?"

"We in our Blackness despise these people, we laugh at them".

ANC VIEW

Towards the end of 1970, O.R. Tambo, Acting President General of the African National Congress initiated a discussion on this subject, quite independently and long before, the discussions related above took place. In a New Year message to members of the ANC abroad he said:

"... the Black people of racist South Africa must recognise that freedom for South Africa, no less than for them as the most exploited, will come only when they rise as a solid Black mass - rising from under the heel of the oppressor and storming across the colour barriers to the citadels of political and economic power.

Then only shall the noble principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter see the light of day, and turn South Africa into a happy home not only for Black people at last, but for all people.

Footnote

* See *Sechaba* Vol 6 No 2 - February, 1972, article entitled: Black Opposition Inside South Africa.

"Let us therefore be explicit. Power to the people means, in fact, Power to the Black people – the gagged millions who cannot set their foot in the Cape Town Parliament where Bantustan and Coloured and Indian Councils are made; the most ruthlessly exploited, the tortured victims of racial hatred and humiliation. Let the Blacks seize by force, what is theirs by right of birth, and use it for the benefit of all, including those from whom it has been taken. **And who are the Blacks in South Africa? They are the people known, and treated as "Kaffirs, Coolies and Hotnots",** (crude derogatory terms referring to Africans, Indians and Coloureds used for centuries by the white oppressors – Ed.) **together with those South Africans whose total political identity with the African oppressed makes them Black in all but the accident of skin colour. Where this identity is not merely reformist but is revolutionary, there in my view, you have a Black man. This type of Black man in South Africa is rare today. But he will grow in numerical strength as we drive our point deeper and deeper with Umkhonto We Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation. "... (let us) go out to the world, and back to the urban and rural areas of our common homeland, as one man, with one voice and one cause which is: POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA!"** The discussion at the enlarged meeting of the National Executive of the ANC referred to earlier could be crystallised in the words of our editorial in the January issue of SECHABA:

"We must call attention to the specific and concrete form which racism assumes in South Africa, and renders it necessary that in its South African version this racism should be defined and identified in simple, tangible and realistic terms. The African – the Black man – the Indian and Coloured – all these people, these human beings, live and suffer misery, humiliation, discrimination, exploitation and political oppression at the hands of other people, other human beings. Their enemy as a people is a people.

"The inhumanity they suffer as man is the inhumanity of man. In South Africa, therefore the enemy of the Black man is the White man. The struggle against racism, exploitation and oppression in South Africa is, whatever its many class ramifications, a straight confrontation between the Whites who have seized and hold power, and the Blacks who have been robbed of everything and are the daily victims of brutal policies conceived, enforced and maintained by the White man. It is therefore in the sphere of race that the struggle for power, against racism, colonialism and imperialism begins.

"For the oppressed in South Africa there is no other realistic form in which to combat racism, for there is no clearer form in which racism in that country has expressed itself.

"If on occasion the Black man's struggle for freedom should appear to the onlooker to be racialistic in its form, that will only be because the White man has deliberately, over many decades, closed every alternative course for the Black man. It will only mean that white racialism in South Africa, which will be 320 years old on April 6 this year, has been breeding counter-racialism despite our determined efforts, over many decades, to resist this process."

There may be some controversy over the views expressed herein. Any such controversy will be welcome if it springs from differences of honest opinion on how best to exploit the revolutionary potential of the masses of the people and employ it in the destruction of a monster that has been terrorising them for centuries.

What seems clear is that the Black man is a vital and decisive factor in the survival of fascist South Africa, indeed as vital and decisive as his cheap labour is to the economic might of the fascist State.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

Spotlight on Apartheid

TOILETS FOR WHITES ONLY

Twenty five, "five star" restrooms – complete with carpeted floors, tiled walls, full length mirrors, shaver plugs, sanitary napkin dispensers and incinerators and shoe polishing machines with free cream – have been installed at selected Shell service stations along the national routes of South Africa.

They are for the sole use of white motorists only.

Each restroom according to Mr. C.J. Phillips, regional manager of Shell (S.A.) Ltd., will be serviced by a full time attendant whose sole job will be "to keep it clean and sparkling".

Obviously the attendant will be Black.

Fifty per cent of the share capital of Shell and B.P. Refineries in South Africa is owned by the giant, British based, British Petroleum, whose most recently reported net profit totalled £466.5 million (Ref. Labour Research, January 1972) Mrs. D.D. Wright, South Africa's public relations officer of the Company, when questioned by a Black reporter on this blatant form of petty racialism had the temerity to state: "When we find that the non-Whites have proved that they are capable of looking after and keeping their present toilets clean the new luxury restrooms would be made available to them". No mention was made of the fact that it will be the job of Black attendants to keep the white restrooms "sparkling".

The reaction of the Black population was immediate. The powerful Coloured Labour Party has launched a National campaign calling on the people to boycott all Shell products. A similar call has been made by the Natal Indian Congress and other organisations such as the South African Students Organisation have also urged their members and supporters to support the call for a boycott.

* * * * *

STILL IN DETENTION

Beginning late October last year there was a series of pre-dawn raids on the homes of well over a hundred people (the exact number has never been officially disclosed). Of those raided, at least 46 were detained. Again no official figure has ever been given (see Sechaba Jan. 1972). When public concern about these events reached a peak with the death of one detainee and the hospitalisation of another, the authorities tried to offer assurances. The public would soon see, said General Van den Bergh. "When the reason for the raids and detentions became known the critics of the Security Police would eat their words". There were hints that the case was going to be as big as the Rivonia and Bram Fischer trials.

Well the public, and indeed the World, has waited . . . and waited . . .

In the five months since the raids about a third of those detained have been released without any charges being brought against them.

Five have been charged so far – only one of them under the Terrorism Act itself, which was the law invoked for the detentions. The other four have been charged under the lesser Suppression of Communism Act and released on bail. In mid-January the Chief of the Security Police, General P. J. Venter gave a public assurance that all the detainees would be either charged or released by the end of the month.

Guilty without Trial

Well the end of the month has come and gone and at least 16 of the original 46 are still in detention, still not charged. And now the authorities have fallen silent on the subject of when these people are to be brought to court. The Minister of Justice had an opportunity when he spoke in Parliament in the middle of March to make a statement on the subject. But he ignored it and instead made a statement blatantly presuming the detainees guilt.

They were, he said acting in accordance with a directive received from the banned Communist Party of South Africa. Just like that. Without a trial, without a proper charge even, he has found them guilty of being communist agents, of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, of conspiring against the State.

* * * * *

VORSTER, – MATANZIMA DILEMMA

Transkei's powerful political leader, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindybo, leader of the opposition, Democratic Party in the Transkei Legislative Assembly and a staunch supporter of full and equal rights for all in South Africa, recently revealed that he attended a secret meeting which approved the Transkei Bantustan's ultimatum to the Government for more land.

About 50 Transkei Legislative Assembly members, from both the ruling Transkei National Independence Party and the Opposition, attended the meeting which gave the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, a mandate

to go to Cape Town to force the land dispute issue with the Government.

Political Dynamite

The meeting was an informal one called by the Chief Minister who presented a five-page memorandum containing an ultimatum to the Government, which Opposition members have termed a charge of political dynamite.

It said that unless the Transkei is granted the land it seeks it will abandon separate development and join the urban African in his fight for representation in the Cape Town Parliament.

When Matanzima returned after his meeting with Prime Minister Vorster, Chief Sabata said: "Chief Kaiser must tell us the full story.

"He promised that if the Government refused his claims for more land he would support Democratic Party policy and seek full rights for Blacks in White South Africa.

"Mr. Vorster has stood firm on the land issue. As far as we are concerned the Chief Minister must now tell the people that he has been misled for the past eight years."

Although Chief Kaiser appealed to the Democrats to sink their political differences and unite on the land demands, they refused on principle as they oppose the whole Bantustan concept while working within the institution in order to expose it.

But Chief Kaiser had no difficulty in gaining the support of the secret meeting, which was packed with his Transkei National Independence Party members. The land demands had in any case been made at the last full session of the Legislative Assembly.

* * * * *

PRISONERS OF WAR

International clash over guerrillas

The status of captured guerrillas will without doubt involve South Africa in an international clash later this year.

A meeting has been called by the international committee of the Red Cross at Geneva in May to update the 1949 Geneva Convention which lays down humanitarian laws in armed conflicts. South Africa was one of the countries which ratified the original convention.

Any decisions reached at the meeting will be of vital consequence to all South Africans, especially as they relate to the treatment of guerrillas.

One of the major issues to be debated will be whether or not captured members of liberation movements are regarded as civilians or prisoners of war.

Under South African law guerrillas are treated as civilians and tried under the Terrorism Act.

A bona fide prisoner of war cannot be tried for his part in armed conflict and cannot be charged with the murder of soliders of opposing forces.

Endeavours have been made at the United Nations to have Southern Africa guerrillas classed soldiers and not civilians. As could be expected, white South Africa always vigorously opposed this.

Supporters of the liberation movements must do all they can to get their country's representatives at this important meeting to support the call for guerrillas fighting for freedom to be treated as prisoners of war.

REPORT:

Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference



When the fifth conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation met in Cairo in January it was attended by 84 delegations from all over the continents of Africa and Asia, and included several delegations from the Socialist states and fraternal organisations. Meeting in the assembly hall of the Arab Socialist Union the packed audience welcomed in particular the speeches of delegates representing the fighting people of the colonial countries; and the victims of imperialist aggression in Asia and Africa: Vietnam, Indo China, Bangla Desh, Palestine, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Portuguese Colonies.

"The independent countries of Africa have achieved tremendous progress along the road of the consolidation of their independence, and the movements of national liberation have also scored great victories in the political and military fields," proclaimed the resolution on Africa at the end of the conference which met from January 13 to 16.

"Imperialism has drawn up a general plan for Africa, the purpose of which is to launch an offensive against the liberation movements as well as against independent, progressive African states by making use of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia in the South and Israel in the north. This is why they are supplying these countries with various kinds of weapons in large amounts, in order to use them as spearheads against the continent."

The conference condemned the idea

of dialogue and paid tribute to the progressive African states which signed the Mogadishu declaration which constitutes a programme for the liberation of the African continent. The conference hailed the liberation movements for the struggle they are waging, as well as progressive countries for their firm, anti-imperialist positions, and called on all revolutionary forces in the continent to promote their solidarity with the general struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

On South Africa, the conference reaffirmed all previous resolutions taken by the AAPSO and pledged its support "for the oppressed and struggling people in South Africa, led by the African National Congress, in their struggle to overthrow the racist White minority domination and for seizure of power by the African people."

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

"The arrest and persecution of leaders and militants fighting for the restoration of the land to its rightful owners," was condemned and the conference expressed "its most sincere concern over the murder and assassination of patriots such as Ahmed Timol and others, and further demands the unconditional release of all political prisoners."

The sale of arms to South Africa by imperialist powers, especially Britain and France was attacked and all members of AAPSO and the world community were urged to intensify their actions in accordance with the decision to impose total sanctions against the South African Regime.

60th ANNIVERSARY OF ANC

Addressing the conference, head of the delegation from South Africa (African National Congress) Mr. Mzwai Piliso said that the meeting of the Fifth Conference was a special occasion for South Africans as it co-incided with the 60th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress. "Sixty years ago the fathers of our movement

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the views of the African National Congress

initiated the political unity of the African groups in the interest of the formation of the nation and the struggle for the national liberation of our people. In the course of our struggle, a struggle which assumed wide political and militant proportions, our people have come a long way. In the course of the last sixty years our people have accumulated untold wealth of experience in the strategy and tactics of political struggle; the heightening of political consciousness and the development of numerous militant cadres which form the backbone of our movement.

"Likewise the oppressed minorities in our country were inevitably drawn into this struggle, taking up the task of fighting for their rights in various ways, but inevitably realising the necessity of alliance with the African majority as the basis for the solution to their own specific problems."

After dealing with the emergence of the armed struggle in South Africa, Mr. Piliso continued to describe the growing resistance and militancy of the people. "In the face of appalling conditions under which our people live, in the face of brutal persecution and wholesale terror by the White security forces, the spirit of militancy nevertheless continues to grow inside South Africa. The underground activities of the ANC have increased; the workers continue to press their demands for a better life; resistance to forced removals grows all the time; a spirit of militancy is increasing among our youth and students; the people of the suppressed minorities stir restlessly and are showing increased signs of resistance to the shameless humiliation which the White racists heap on all subject peoples. Thus in South Africa a great social upheaval is taking place. Day by day a polarisation is developing between the forces of reaction and the forces of freedom and progress.

"South Africa will only be free when the chains are struck from the wrists of the African masses and they take their rightful place as a majority entitled to live in their homeland in an atmosphere of freedom for all peoples in our motherland. As long as there is no freedom for the African masses there can be no freedom for any other group, but continued life at the mercy of a minority of exploiters, of blood-thirsty pirates and profit-greedy vultures. Realising their responsibilities to the new era of national liberation for all the oppressed, the ANC calls upon the persecuted minorities, all anti-fascists in South Africa to join in the just struggle of the African people for the overthrow of white supremacy.

"We join with all our brothers in the rest of Southern Africa, in Namibia, Zimbabwe, in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, in the great alliance for the liberation of the Southern part of our continent," said Mr. Piliso.

Books by Two Great Black Americans

"Soledad Brother – The Prison Letters of George Jackson"
(Coward McCann and Bantam Books)

"If They Come in the Morning" – Voices of Resistance
Angela Davis et al.
The Third Press – Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company, Inc.

"To all who have fallen in the liberation struggle ... They must live again through us and our struggles ... Now also for George who fiercely resisted to the very end. Under a hail of enemy fire he fell August 21 1971 at San Quentin prison. His love for his oppressed kin was unbounding, his revolutionary dedication unconditional, and his contributions to our struggle incalculable. Though his keepers sought to destroy him, George lives on, an example and inspiration for us all."

Angela Davis wrote these words of dedication in her book **"If They Come in the Morning"**. Though death has removed George Jackson, and she must fight death daily, both symbolize a love of life. It is a beautiful fact that they also had so much love for each other, though they met only briefly, separated by bars and chains, which are the symbols of the USA for so many Black Americans.

In **"Soledad Brother"**, a collection of Jackson's prison letters, the reader watches with awe his development in seven hellish years of torment. He began life in the bitter ghetto of Chicago. His Roman Catholic school taught him little of value; what he did learn as a boy was to fight for his life and to hate the police invaders of the ghetto. He was soon to have better reason for this hate; in 1960, at 18, he was arrested for stealing \$70, a crime he denied committing. After following the advice of his court-appointed at-

torney and pleading guilty, in hopes of clemency, he was condemned to prison for "one year to life".

One year became 2, 5, 8 and ten years. The California authorities found new alibis for not freeing him. During these lonely years he began to improve his reading speed and vocabulary; he studied economics and military science, Spanish and Swahili, sociology and literature; above all, he was able to read revolutionary books of all kinds, and himself became a revolutionary.

Changing Ideas

"The buffets and blows of this have and have-not society have engendered in me a flame that will live, will live to grow, until it either destroys my tormentor or myself ... It is not important to me how long I live. I think only of how I live, how well, how nobly. "Although I would very much like to get out of here in order to develop a few ideas that have occurred to me – although I would not like to leave my bones here on the hill – if it is a choice between that and surrendering the things that make me a man, the things that allow me to hold my head erect and unbowed, then the hill can have my bones."

No wonder this revolutionary poet was feared and hated! Fascinating in this book are the changes which we follow from the early letters criticising his pa-



George Jackson

Africa and Asia ... all the men who went into Africa and Asia, the fleas who climbed on that elephant's back with rape on their minds ... deserved to die for their crimes. So do the ones who are still in Vietnam, Angola, Union of South Africa ... But we must not allow the emotional aspects of these issues the scum at the surface, to obstruct our view of the big picture, the whole rotten hulk. It was capitalism that armed the ships, free enterprise that launched them, private ownership of property that fed the troops."

Or: "The enemy at present is the capitalist system and its supporters. Our prime interest is to destroy them. **Anyone** else with this same interest must be embraced, we must work with, beside, through, over, under anyone, regardless of their external physical features, whose aim is the same as ours in this. Capitalism must be destroyed, and after it is destroyed, if we find that we still have problems, we'll work them out."

There are many problems in this book - all dealt with in a brilliant, poetic way. Lots to think about, some things to disagree with, perhaps, but who cares. These very problems make the book worth reading - as a primer for revolutionaries.

* * * * *

And Angela's book? We know Angela better today than we knew George. This book fills in gaps, however; it tells us her ideas on ending the brute system which killed George and Jonathan and locked so many others away. The book is only partly her own writing (articles, interviews, court statements) - it also tells the story of many other victims of the racist, class-based justice system in the USA, often in the words of the victims. The Soledad Brothers, Ruchell Magee, Ericka Huggin - one dramatic case after another cries out from the pages, proving again the goal of the rulers, as Jackson described it: "The buffalo hunter knew that if he could isolate and identify the leader of the herd and kill him first, the rest of the herd would be helpless, at his mercy, to be killed off as he saw fit." But this is their goal, not their achievement!

Angela Davis, with her intellectual background and university studies in three countries, arrives almost always



Angela Davis

at exactly the same conclusions as George Jackson. "This country is galloping at high speed down the path leading to South-African-type fascism," she writes (but has not reached that stage, she stresses). She calls for a strategy of offense embracing all groups possible.

Here as in Jackson's book, we find all the problems of the USA liberation movement debated; relations between Blacks and other groups, their leadership roles, the positive parts to be played by the workers, political prisoners and possibly the "lumpen proletariat", the ties with struggles in other countries, and the question of violence. Everyone who hates racism, colonialism and capitalism should read and debate the ideas here.

Angela's book should accomplish one thing above all: to get people into motion, fighting for her life and, as she always stresses, for all political prisoners in US dungeons, from Attica to Soledad. This struggle beside saving lives, can help ward off the menace to uncounted lives in future. As James Baldwin wrote in his foreword: "... We must fight for your life as though it were our own - which it is - and render impassable with our bodies the corridor to the gas chamber. For, if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night."

Victor Grossman (USA)

rents for "Uncle Tom" ideas to the final letters to Angela Davis and one other woman he loved.

At first he rejected love for himself. But later he came to realize how it can enrich and help the fighter's life.

In 1967 he wrote: "We should never allow women to express any opinions ... but just to sit, listen to us, and attempt to understand. It is for them to obey and aid us, not to attempt to think."

But by 1970, he realized how false this was. In a letter to Angela Davis he proved this: "I understand exactly what the woman's role should be. The very same as the man's".

In earlier years he rejected all Europeans: "Their philosophy concerning government and economics has an underlying tone of selfishness, possessiveness and greediness because their character is made up of these things. They can't see the merit in socialism and communism because they do not possess the qualities of rational thought, generosity and magnanimity ... There is a species of fly that lives only four hours. If one of these flies was born at 12 o'clock midnight in darkness and gloom, there would be no way possible for him in his lifetime to ever understand the concept of day and light."

By 1970 he was writing: "It was the capitalist infrastructure of Europe which was responsible for the rape of