



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

VOL 8

NOS 10-11-12/74

OCT-NOV-DEC 1974



**Tshangela's  
Ordeal  
in Exile**  
Page 38

# SECHABA

Vol 8 Nos 10-11-12/74  
Oct-Nov-Dec 1974

49 Rathbone Street  
LONDON W1A-4NL  
Telegrams & Cables:  
SECHABA LONDON W1  
Telephone: 580-53 03

## CONTENTS

	Page
<b>FIGHTING TALK:</b>	
1975: Forward to Freedom An edited message to the people of South Africa broadcast on Freedom Radio	2
<b>ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE:</b>	
General Declaration of the Sixth Pan African Congress	12
<b>THE ANC AND THE PAN AFRICA- NIST MOVEMENT:</b>	
Extracts from statement made by the ANC to the Sixth Pan African Con- gress in Dar Es Salaam	16
<b>INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:</b>	
War Phycosis Grips Government On the Workers Front Child Victims of Apartheid	20 22 24
<b>FREEDOM DAY SONG:</b>	
Poem by Ronnie Kasrils	25
<b>RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS:</b>	
Report of ANC Sub-Committee for the Release of all Political Prisoners adopted at a meeting of the Na- tional Executive Committee	26
<b>GRADUATION TO THE GUN:</b>	
Poem by Zarina Chiba Profiles of . . .	29
<b>SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRI- SONERS:</b>	30
<b>BARBERTON WOMENS' PRISON:</b>	
Description of top-security prison by a former inmate	34
<b>LEARNING TO BE DADDY:</b>	
Problems of a released Robben Island inmate	35
<b>ROBBEN ISLAND WIDOW:</b>	
Portrait of Mrs. Nonsikelelo Sisulu	36
<b>TYALITI IS DEAD:</b>	
Death of a former anti-Government Chief	37
<b>THEOPHILUS TSHANGELA:</b>	
The Lonely man of Frenchdale	38
<b>THE NEW OAU SECRETARY GENE- RAL:</b>	
H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua	40
<b>THE PRETORIA-PARIS AXIS:</b>	
France, Israel and Jordan . . . SA's Trading Partners	43
<b>ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT:</b>	
India and Racist South Africa South African Police team rejected Australian Churchmen fight Apartheid France Joins the International Anti-Apartheid Front US Miners Protest	51 53 54 54 55
<b>OBITUARY:</b>	
Michael „Mick“ Harmel	56

## Fighting Talk ♦ Fighting Talk

# 1975: FORWARD TO FREEDOM

An edited message to the people of South Africa broadcast over four days on **FREEDOM RADIO**: The voice of the African National Congress (Our daily one-hour programme beamed to South Africa on the External Service of Radio Zambia)

We salute our brothers, comrades-in-arms, and the world's progressive forces, with whom we together form one united and mighty fighting front. We greet and salute the liberation movements fighting in Africa, Asia, Latin America the Middle East and other parts of the world. We have reason to be proud of the achievements which we together have scored in recent times. We congratulate our brothers for the victories they have won: particularly our brothers fighting against Portuguese colonialism.

There is a threat that has run unbroken throughout the course of our glorious history of the past 300 years, whatever the year and whatever the conditions and form of manifestation of that history. That thread has been the thread of struggle by our people, first to defend the independence of their country against foreign marauders, slave drivers, usurpers and colonisers; and later, to secure their freedom from domination and oppression by a white minority regime. We have learnt that in struggle, and only in struggle, is

freedom and independence to be found.

Recent international developments point clearly to the unique nature of the present period in our history and struggle; a period which is unlike any other. It is a period which, more than any other, has imposed on all the oppressed people of our country the historical obligations to bring to a victorious conclusion the heroic strivings of three hundred years, which have included sacrifices made by our friends and supporters in numbers that have now grown and embraced peoples in every part of the globe. It is a period that has imposed on us the historical obligation to win. If there is any doubt of this fact, the events and developments across the borders of our country should suffice to remove that doubt.

The foundation of victory has been laid and cemented with the blood of countless martyrs and in the suffering and sacrifices of men and women who are dedicated, and have devoted their



**LONG LIVE FREE GUINEA BISSAU!**



Top left Amilcar Cabral, who until his death at the hands of cowardly assassins, was Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Guinea-Bissau's ruling party. Right: Luiz Cabral, first President. (right) and Vieter Maria, Foreign Minister of free Guinea-Bissau. Left: Aristides Peirera, Secretary General of the PAIGC

lives, to the pursuit of freedom, independence and peace.

Today the white minority regime that rules our country knows that it has failed to stamp out our struggle. That its violence has only served to provoke increased violence and will continue to do so. That, in any case, the determination to be free cannot be stamped out by violence. This our enemy knows.

**International Issue**

We also know that the struggles conducted by our movement were not confined to South Africa only. It has been our policy to integrate our own struggle with the struggles of all opponents of evil systems born of imperialism and colonialism, and we have succeeded. Like Smith's Rhodesia, South Africa today stands isolated from all the

peoples of the world. All peoples—except the bloodsuckers who have grown fat on the sweat and toil of our exploited people. The regime is isolated and hated as no other, except by its collaborators at home and abroad.

Thanks to the world-wide movement we have built the colonialists and racists are being rapidly encircled by the mighty forces of freedom and independence. The proponents of racism,

apartheid, separate development — whatever the enemy may call it — have much cause to be worried.

In the final analysis, the issue between us and our rulers in South Africa is an international issue. It is an issue between those who want to see the world as a community of peoples living together in peace, whose natural resources and wealth belongs to all who live in that world. It is the issue which divides these people from those who believe in injustice and in exploitation of man by man and the domination of nations by others; in the rule of the minorities over the majorities of people; in the exploitation of the many by the few: in short, in inhumanity and injustice.

These are the issues which divide the wealthy and rich nations of the world, the exploitative nations of the world, from their own struggling peoples, in the first instance — their own workers; and, in the second, the peoples of poor nations throughout the world. (It is important to make the distinction between rich exploitative nations, and just wealthy nations who have acquired their wealth through the labour of their own peoples, for themselves, exploiting no one, colonising no one, for the purpose). This division raises the issue on which, what is called, the Third World is fighting.

We are a part, therefore, of the forces of the world that seek justice. We fight for the freedom and independence, for peace, for a non-racial, ultimately non-national world society; a society without class.

The world which supports our cause is a growing one while the world which white South Africa represents is fast diminishing. Despite some setbacks as in Chile, there is a tide of revolution and of revolutionary change which is sweeping across the face of the globe. And this tide draws its greatest inspiration from the victims of injustice, of imperialism, colonial and racist domination, and these victims rising and fighting against their oppressors and exploiters.

It is a tide which was most manifest and easily demonstrable in the hectic years of United States imperialist invasion of the small nation of Vietnam. The whole world rallied; but they rallied in the first instance because of the heroism, the sacrifices of the Vietnamese people themselves. It was the



The late Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the founder of FRELIMO who was killed by a book-bomb, addressing the 1968 FRELIMO Congress inside the liberated territory of Mozambique, and right Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO. FRELIMO is now the leading partner in a Provisional Mozambique Government and despite counter-revolutionary actions by white

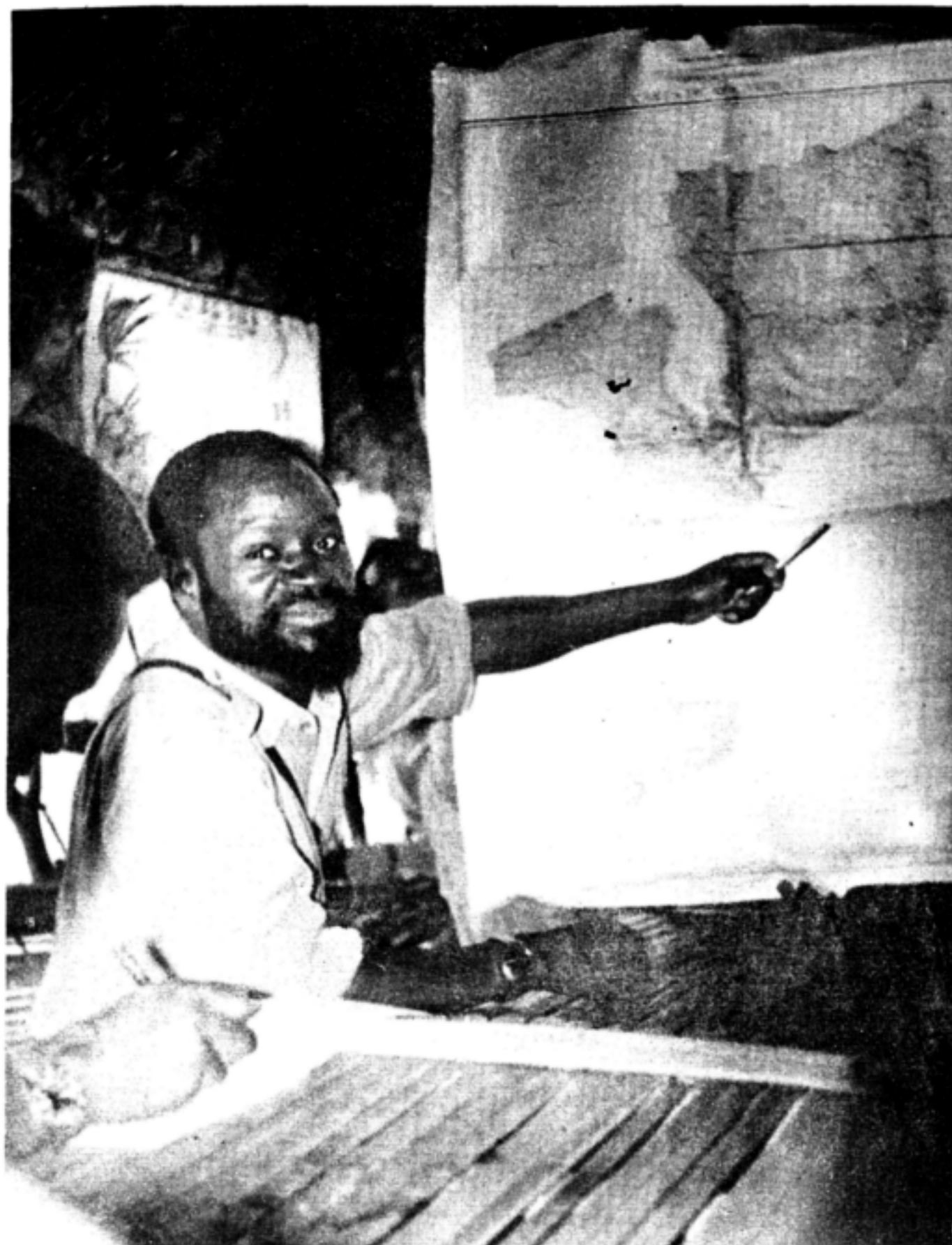
fighting spirit and capability of the Vietnamese which mobilised these forces for change.

In the Middle East, the issues arise from the dispossession of the Palestinians. That problem stands unresolved; but in the process it has sparked off a series of wars. The October war is hardly likely to be the last until this crucial problem of a landless, homeless, countryless, people is resolved.

### **Africa Moves Forward**

In Africa, for ten, eleven, thirteen years and more, peoples under Portuguese domination, who have lived and suffered the presence of this regime for almost 500 years, rose in struggle. Until then, "Portugal" was a geographic term unknown to most people. But when they picked up their weapons and went into the bush and confron-





tion, but we ceased to be known when this remained our sole complaint. But what are we aiming at? We are not fighting simply to remove racial discrimination. The main issue of our revolutionary struggle is the transfer of power from the minority to the majority of the people of our country; and it is when we fight as determinedly as we can and as we have, and as we are known to be capable of, that the world will not only know of our presence, but will support us in the way that it has supported the peoples of Vietnam, the people fighting against Portuguese and Israeli colonialism.

And when we say white South Africa is becoming encircled, perhaps its necessary to demonstrate this by reference to their own objectives. In this relationship of international dimensions between the haves and have-nots, between the oppressors and the oppressed, the racists and their victims, South Africa has sought, with her supporters, to maintain the *status quo*, to permit no change. She has proceeded firstly by imposing internal repression of everything that expresses freedom in the country, anything and everything that is related to the liberation of our people. We have been cut off as a people from the rest of the world, and subjected to perhaps the most intensive and repressive machinery, that obtains anywhere in Africa, which is equalled possibly by only few places outside of Africa. This is to contain the kind of revolution which draws international support, and which, in the case of Vietnam and Asia, and which is helping to dismiss and expel, Portuguese colonialism from Africa.

### Bantustans Used

It is therefore the first task of the South African regime to fight every square inch of the ground which leads the liberation movement towards the freedom and liberty of our people. Simultaneously, the South African regime has embarked on an expansionist policy, an invasion outside of its borders, harassing independent African states, helping reactionary repression of our brothers in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, in Angola, fighting the guerillas in Namibia. Meanwhile, the South African racists spread a creeping network of spies, informers and agents, under the

racist forces, they are holding their own within the country. They indisputably have the support of all Black Mozambicans and daily their ranks are being swelled by progressive whites.

people existed – and then the world rallied round them.

Now within about ten years, 500 years of Portuguese rule in Africa is beginning to crumble. Guinea-Bissau was unknown until very recently is already an independent state led by its revolutionary party, PAIGC.

It is the same with us. We have been known in the days when we complained about apartheid and racial discrimina-

ted the colonialists, only then did the world awaken to the fact that there were countries in Africa dominated, almost ruined, its people butchered and killed, imprisoned and tortured by the merciless fascist Salazar-Caetano regime, which spared neither African nor Portuguese. But not until the Mozambicans and the Angolans and Guineans of Guinea-Bissau took to arms, did the world know these

direction of the now notorious BOSS. This machinery starts from South Africa itself, from house to house, family to family, and permeates the entire sub-continent. It explains what happened to Abram Tiro and to John Dube (Adolphus Mvemve). The bombs that exploded in their faces were not unrelated to the BOSS network. We know they were only the beginning. There have been no new assassinations as yet, but this is on the agenda of struggle.

Beyond this, South Africa carries out an intensive propaganda inside the country and abroad. It spends millions of rands, millions of dollars, to deceive our own people and mislead them, to deceive the world, and to paint an ugly picture of African independence. And as part of its propaganda, it has now used, and is using, the machinery of the Bantustans. Black puppets of many descriptions are globetrotting the world, carrying messages of their own oppressors and white washing them.

Then there's the campaign to attract foreign investments for the purpose, firstly, to strengthen the economy and

therefore the regime itself, and thereby pursue the continued exploitation of the masses of our people, for the mutual benefit of the whites in South Africa, the privileged, the wielders of political power, and for the foreign companies, who bring in these investments.

The second object of inviting these investments is to involve the countries from which the investors come on the side of the regime and against the black oppressed, so that in a crisis the South African regime should be able to rely upon its supporters, international and internal. This is the scheme of the South African Government.

But it is only possible to show that in its objective to maintain the *status quo*, it has failed and is failing. The internal repression, which was beyond description in the middle and late 'sixties, which found many victims of torture, which sent our leaders to life imprisonment – and this is the tenth anniversary of their conviction and detention on Robben Island and elsewhere: these were the years where not a whisper could be allowed. But by dint of sheer determination to secure

the ultimate objective of complete freedom and the transfer of power, our people have broken this ceiling, and there is what Vorster has now called a restless situation; political unrest in the country. It is political unrest which has developed despite his machinery, and even because of it.

## They Will Fail

The invasion outside is failing. Portugal, the people of Portugal, have been liberated by the fighting people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. That is what brought about the coup. It was their victories against Portuguese troops. It is what created a Spínola – he was there in person, in Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere, and failed. The coup is a credit to the courage, determination, skill of the guerrillas and the fighters of Frelimo, PAIGC, and others of our brothers. It has meant a serious, severe setback for white South Africa. The unholy alliance of three has lost one third of its strength. South Africa now limps along with Smith and he cannot be de-

**Almost daily entire populations of settled African peoples are being hounded out of their homes and herded to camps such these in the wilderness**





pende upon. What was rested by imperialism on these three pillars, must now be carried by South Africa alone. This is serious, especially when one considers that the people of South Africa are no less determined than those of Mozambique to reach the ultimate objective of their struggle, which has been costly to them in terms of life, in terms of liberty, in terms of fundamental freedoms which are enjoyed every-where in the world.

Police spies and informers are faced with failure. The DGS has failed, it has been rounded up. This will also be the fate of BOSS. The failure of the DGS, its chief partner, is the failure of BOSS itself.

There has been a failure in their propaganda as well. A leading member of the South African Government has complained recently that there is more anti-South African propaganda in the world today than at any time in its history. That is a declaration, a concession, of defeat.

They are failing, and they will continue to fail, and therefore all the lies which they are telling and have been telling with the assistance of the South

African Foundation, and with, now, the actual assistance of some South African blacks, must also fail.

### **Call To Action**

The present historical setting makes the coming year one of the most important and decisive occasions in our history.

It therefore, becomes a historical necessity for the ANC to call upon all our people everywhere, our friends and brothers, supporters, comrades-in-arms and friends, to meet the new challenge with a determination and on a scale which cannot fail to eliminate once and for all the scourge of white minority rule and racism which has plagued Africa for centuries.

For the ANC and for the masses of the people of South Africa, it is no longer sufficient to cry or complain about what is being done to us or has been done to us. The time has come for our people to assume, in the field of action, responsibility for the destiny of our motherland, South Africa. 1975 must be the beginning of a new offen-

sive for freedom and power in our country.

The enemy has set the pace if any were called for. He has provided the excuse for this offensive – we did not need an excuse, but his initiative justifies the call we are about to make.

He has chosen to place a large military force in the Caprivi Strip on the Zambian border, with aggressive intentions against the African independent state of Zambia, and to intimidate the struggling people of Angola, and his aim is also to intervene on the side of reaction in that African territory. He aims at terrorising the Namibian people, and even intimidating the African independent state of Botswana.

Within South Africa, itself, armed police are continuing to attack African villages and forcibly drive the people out of their land in many areas, to yet another death-ridden area. This is the fate now of more than a million Africans over a short period of time.

This regime, brutally fascist, is a tyrant and terrorist of Southern Africa. It is on the offensive – it does not have to be provoked. Indeed, far from any







**Kaiser Matanzima,**  
head of the Transkei Bantustan



**Gatsha Buthelezi,**  
head of the KwaZulu Bantustan



**Lucas Mangope,**  
head of the Tswana Bantustan

provocation, both in South Africa and abroad, especially in Africa, there has been a very loud silence about the key role of the South African regime in the aftermath of the Lisbon coup.

But the reality of Vorster's regime is crucial, is a crucial factor for the future of Southern Africa; and the vital issue of total and genuine liberation and peace in Africa cannot be wished away.

We have cited these two significant activities on the part of the South African regime, but they are not new nor isolated. They form part of a multifaceted offensive heralding the final and decisive confrontation between the oppressed people of Southern Africa and Africa, on the one hand, and the white minority regimes that rule them. They are activities which give an added dimension to the importance and significance of the year 1975.

It is important to note in this connection that the Vorster Government is behaving in the way it is on the strength of an express mandate sought for from the white — whites only — electorate, and given with unrestrained enthusiasm on April 24, 1974. In the name of the white people of South Africa, and on their authority, the African people are being bayoneted out of their homes; the black people are being subjected to increasing harass-

ment and bullying, and criminal aggression is underway against our brothers in Zambia and the rest of Southern Africa.

But let us make it quite clear that this is no complaint. It is simply a statement of the facts and realities.

The question is: What is to be done? First is the vital question of unity; The unity of the fighting people in South Africa. We must be united in the ideological objective of liberation and the seizure of power for the majority of the people of South Africa as a whole. We must seek and find unity in action on any issue that affects any social group or class in any area of the oppressed people, wherever it takes place in the country. Fight a united and all-round struggle for your rights, for your humanity, for your manhood!

The international atmosphere for support of the actions of oppressed peoples, including our own people, has seldom been more favourable. The chances of victory, whatever the sacrifices demanded, have seldom been greater. Therefore: unite for power, unite in action. Further, resolutely oppose and fight against divisive stance and postures.

This unity, which as the struggle advances will draw in and embrace a growing number of genuine supporters of the African cause, must begin at the

level of the oppressed people themselves; the black people, but more particularly and especially the African people, who are the biggest, the worst, and most numerous victims of the all-white and racist regime's policy, the most exploited and humiliated. Upon their unity and united action in pursuance of the goals defined and elaborated by the ANC, there depends the united action of all the forces for revolutionary change in our country. The potentialities of a united and militant mass struggle, involving millions of Africans throughout the country, and fighting for their rights in the present atmosphere of armed struggles are tremendous indeed.

### **The Bantustans**

This is precisely why the Bantustan programme, amongst other things, has become so important and so urgent for the enemy of our people, the enemy of African freedom and independence. Therefore, as part of our offensive towards unity and united action on a nationwide and national scale, we must look at the Bantustan programme squarely in the face. Let us not say we know all about it. Let us face it in the context of the new challenges. And since it is a stark obstacle deliberately placed in our path of progress to a



free, non racial South Africa, ruled by its people as one nation in one country, we have to deal properly with it. Let us then restate some of the intentions behind the Bantustan policy as seen by the ANC, and the objective role of these institutions in our struggle in Southern Africa and in the African struggle as a whole.

The Bantustans have been created and forged as a weapon in the hands of the South African regime. And how is this weapon to be used? We have time to mention only one of a number that we shall detail in a later talk.

The first and most obvious is: The Bantustans are a weapon to divide the African people into separate tribes as they existed during the colonial wars fought against foreign invaders in our country. This separateness facilitated our defeat and subjugation at the time and since. That separateness is now being resuscitated hurriedly, to ensure our defeat again and perpetuate our subjugation. The reference to Bantustans as a policy of separate development is significant, precisely because it refers in fact to the separate entities with which we tried in past centuries to resist the invasion of the African continent from the south.

Our leaders, knowing the reason for our defeat, had united us into a nation under the banner of the ANC. These leaders included many tribal chiefs.

We now have what are called "Bantustan Leaders", and they are leaders, because they are in a position of authority and influence created for them, not by them. We have to ask quite objectively and without bitterness or rancor: In their position, are they trying to unite us for victory, relying on their positions of authority and freedom of speech and association; or are they, consciously or unconsciously, trying to separate us, for defeat and eternal enslavement; or are some, perhaps, of them not really interested?

But an even more important question: What are we, the masses, telling them to do about the Bantustans?

The divisions of Africans along ethnic or tribal grounds has, of course, other implications intended by the enemy. It lays the basis for inter-Bantustan hostilities, inter-ethnic, inter-tribal clashes, problems that we had overcome over the past fifty years. Already there have been clashes between various tribal groups in the mines, which fall into this pattern of getting the Africans to fight

amongst themselves. Those clashes were organised.

Further, as a weapon, the Bantustan scheme is intended to encourage and resuscitate the whole concept of tribalism, to keep it alive, firstly in South Africa and, later, in Africa itself. It is not inconceivable that Kenya, for instance, or even Zambia, and others will be receiving a long succession of groups who are Xhosas, Vendas, Tongas, various other names — calling themselves nations, where once before they were regarded as part of one nation.

White South Africa is looking ahead. It is not happy with the unity of the African states under one leadership and the elimination of the tribal concept, which is colonialist in its origin. You don't hear of tribes in Europe, but we hear of tribes in Africa. It is a basis for division, and South Africa is forging this weapon.

And so we shall have Zulu dancers, all sorts of other groups from South Africa, until we become conscious of the importance of tribal groups. We may then be confronted with a tendency to secession. This would lay the foundation. African states, newly independent, developing, who are trying to forge their nations into one united whole and to get away from the divisions of colonialism, are having a scheme being prepared for them which is intended to undermine these efforts, to weaken the coherence of nations.

The weapon is also intended to divide international support for our cause. Various leaders of what are supposed to be independent nations-to-be go around the world as spokesmen of the African people. In fact, they are spokesmen of a number of each sections of the Africans.

This destroys the concept of a liberation struggle headed by a liberation movement. It creates divisions and eliminates support for the liberation movement. Our supporters begin to bypass the national liberation movement, and deal directly with what we have always known to be regional areas in our country.

The weapon is also aimed at evolving a community of Bantustan satellites around the central, powerful, white superior state; and in this leader and satellite setting, to submerge, by various techniques, the sovereign and independent identity of neighbouring independent states, like Botswana, Le-

sotho, Swaziland South Africa does not create Bantustan states in order to elevate them into the level of sovereignty and independence enjoyed now by Botswana, for instance, or Zambia: rather must we suspect, on good ground, that their tactics will be to reduce the independent states to the level of the whole Bantustan community of ethnic groups. We are confident that the independent states of Africa will resist this as part of their struggle to maintain their own sovereignty. It is intended to use these racist created sub-states as catspaws to draw Africa under the economic and political influence and domination of the white state and its white superior citizens.

### **Deadly Scheme**

A Bantustan "state", perforated with numerous interlinking and scattered blots of allegedly white territory, and having no identifiable and continuous territorial boundary, is an incredible and unimaginable absurdity, incapable of acceptance by even the most inane person. What makes Vorster persist in this absurdity is that it serves the serious demands of his political and military strategy and masks his true intentions about the so-called independence of the Bantustans.

In any case, whether the Bantustans territory is consolidated or not, it is unthinkable that any African could concede or sign away the historic and inalienable rights of our people to ownership of the whole country by accepting a so-called international boundary.

The Bantustans are intended to serve as part of the machinery of super-exploitation of the workers, to be operated with the cooperation of the Bantustan authority, whose function is to serve as a shock-absorber of mass African revolt against the regime, with inevitable internecine strife, starting within the Bantustan and even developing into an inter-Bantustan conflict. This would justify intervention and direct control from Pretoria.

The Bantustan programme seeks to create and build up a third force, designed to divert the masses of the oppressed people from the path of revolution and freedom and to set them wallowing in the quagmire of reformism for generations to come. The „liberal“ press in South Africa has out-



**We Demand Freedom for . . .**

**SWAPO leader Herman Ja Toivo and right, Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU and all other Namibian and Zimbabwean political prisoners**



stripped itself in the campaign to strengthen this third force as a substitute for, and an alternative to, the national liberation movement. But this third force is no different from the creations of Salazar and Caetano in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, or from similar efforts made in Rhodesia and Namibia. It tries to divide a people otherwise bound to one another by a common desire for liberation and freedom.

Finally, the South African racist regime uses the Bantustans to try and present itself to the world and to Africa as being in line with African and World thinking on decolonisation. This is a fraudulent conduct, and the racists know it.

From every conceivable point of view, therefore, the Bantustan programme is a deadly scheme which seeks to roll back the progress of our noble struggle over the graves of fallen heroes and martyrs, across many decades, to the days before Bambatha.

We have no alternative but to fight the Bantustan programme with ruthless determination, render it ineffective and unworkable. But also, and at the same time, since it is a weapon of destruction, while it lasts we must grab it from the enemy's grip and turn it against him and for the liberation of our country.

In the meantime, the offensive for freedom must forge ahead in every

other field and area of action. This call goes out to all opponents of racist oppression and exploitation; to all people who want to see, not just change, but racial change that brings freedom to our oppressed people.

Those of our men who find themselves trapped into administering the Bantustan programme to the detriment of our past, present and future, and who clearly understand their objectively dangerous role in making the scheme succeed, are in a situation bristling with difficulties. If on occasion we criticise them, it is not for lack of appreciation of the problems they face. It is because our first responsibility is to the revolutionary struggle and to the success of that struggle. We owe this to our people, to Africa, to our colleagues in the national liberation movement, to the world, to all mankind.

These men will be strengthened to serve the interests of genuine freedom for the people of South Africa if the masses of the people correctly identify their enemy as the white supremacist structure, and if they fight for their full political rights in their motherland, if they reject the Bantustan scheme as they have always done.

The liberation movement lives and fights for and with the people. In the final analysis, the fighting people, led by the ANC and united in action, will themselves resolve the problem in the best interests of the successful struggle.

The situation in South Africa has assumed new and favourable trends for our struggle. We cannot work in the same old way. Those who are in the leadership of the Bantustans need to re-examine their historic role. They are under obligation to work for our future, not against it.

Our brothers in Africa will surely exercise the greatest vigilance and work with us to frustrate and defeat Vorster's devilish scheme. Our supporters the world over, and recalling the 1973 Oslo Conference for support of the liberation movements in Africa, will campaign against the Bantustan programme and work for its defeat.

**Call for Isolation**

Foreign firms and multinational companies with investments in South Africa have unleashed a highly financed and divisive campaign to defend their participation in the super-exploitation of our people, exploitation made possible by the vicious system of white racist rule, which oppresses us with armed force.

They have picked invaluable allies from among our enslaved Africans. They have had to do this in the face of irresistible pressures upon them from men and women, from workers and organisations, who are part of the world soli-



arity movement supporting the freedom struggle of our people.

The demand on foreign companies to withdraw their investments in South Africa is part of a world-wide campaign comprising a large variety of international pressures aimed at compelling the South African regime to abandon its oppressive and racist domination of the black people, or at any rate at weakening its capacity to persist in the enforcement of these policies.

The demand for withdrawal is a demand in support of our struggle for freedom and political power. It has nothing to do with the right of our workers to fight for the best possible working conditions against any company or firm in South Africa, whatever its origins.

We have not called on our workers yet to drive out foreign companies helping to keep us oppressed. We have called on our supporters overseas, in Japan, Western Europe, and North America, to pull them out.

The call for the economic and all-round isolation of South Africa, which has now been taken up by Africa, the UN, and numerous support bodies overseas, emanated from a decision taken by our national leaders in South Africa.

Chief A. J. Luthuli, lying motionless in his noble grave; Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, now bravely enduring, minute by minute, the severity of Robben Island; and others. All have now been silenced with death or imprisonment by our enemy. Nothing has changed in the conditions which justified the decision. Therefore, there is nothing to justify a change of tactics. It is their mandate we are carrying out in the light of the situation as it affects our struggle for liberation.

Those of our people who now have some freedom to travel abroad must not subvert the efforts made at enormous sacrifice by the peoples of Africa, nor must they subvert the international solidarity which is indispensable in our struggle for freedom and independence. It is correct and true to say that they owe what limited freedom of travel they now enjoy, at least in part, to the active and practical support of our struggle by the international solidarity movement. Our people must not subvert these efforts.

Withdrawal of investments can involve

the closing down of firms and consequent unemployment. In any case, where this occurs in the course of political struggle for our liberation, it does not matter if we become unemployed. In our struggle we have given our lives as all fighting people do. We can easily sacrifice full stomachs. The majority of our people are doing just that every day.

It is the responsibility of the Pretoria regime to provide employment for our people from the limitless wealth it has collected from our long and ruthless enslavement. The regime must not be taken off the hook by our asking supporters of our struggle to take over this responsibility. The Bantustans are the regime's idea, imposed on us in the teeth of resistance. Let the regime pay for its expansive ideas.

Therefore let us fight together, and together mobilise for our freedom, in a world only too eager to see us free.

### Call for Action

Our black workers have always understood that their super-exploitation, starvation wages, misery, the pass laws, racial discrimination and humiliation all derive from lack of political power. They have a history of struggle, not only as workers, but as oppressed people.

It is their sweat and labour that enables the enemy to operate a boundless military budget, maintain a gigantic civil administration, and secret police force, and in addition ensure a life of luxury for the white minority population. But their labour is like fuel energy to the economy of the oppressor regime; as such, it is a mighty weapon in their hands. What is required is the massive organisation of the workers. They must rise and fight as one country-wide and united force for decent wages, for trade union rights, and for liberation.

Two hundred delegates, representing 186 million workers from different parts of the world, attending an international trade union conference in Geneva last year, pledged allround and detailed support for the struggle of the oppressed workers in South Africa. Their courage has had an international impact. Once again we call the black workers to action.

Then there is our youth, equipped with

a strong national consciousness and deeply devoted to the cause. They have a distinct role to play in the unification of our people for the final assault on white minority rule. Their proper place is in the vanguard of the struggle, where militants and courageous fighters are to be found, with Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of The Nation).

The time for our women to move into action in defence of their rights, their family life and the future of their children is now. Their record of struggle is unsurpassed.

Those who have suffered for long under apartheid, driven from area to area, watching their villages and homes bulldozed, groaning in misery in Dimbaza and similar death holes, tomorrow arrested under the pass laws — those who live from the cradle to the grave under a white government that boasts the worst form of racism in the world — those people cannot but commend the United Nations in its adoption of an international convention proclaiming apartheid a crime against humanity. We ask the Christian Council of South Africa and other organisations to declare its support for the liberation movement, which seeks to stop this monstrous crime against people who cannot make themselves white and would hate to be white in South Africa, anyway.

We could not on any occasion omit to pay tribute to the very high morale maintained by our colleagues in South African and Rhodesian prisons, under harsh conditions.

The imprisonment of people for unconscionably long periods of time, for nothing more than political offences, becomes an act of wanton persecution, where, as experience has shown, it changes neither the imprisoned nor the mass demand for human rights.

We commend our people on Robben Island and other prisons to the conscience of the world. They must be released.

Among them, somewhere in South Africa, is Flag Boshielo, a senior leader of the ANC, ambushed, wounded, captured and tortured severely by South African troops in the Caprivi Strip, and then shanghaied to South Africa. We demand the South African Government tell the world where he is, and produce him to the International Red Cross.

# The Universality of the ANTI- IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

The following is the General Declaration  
of the Sixth Pan African Congress

The Sixth Pan African Congress which recently ended its session in Dar-es-Salaam was attended by delegates and observers from African and Caribbean countries, representatives of people of African descent from the Americas, Britain and the Pacific as well as African liberation movements and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The Congress analysed at length the historical development of the Pan African Movement up to the Fifth Congress of 1943 and the major political and economic developments which have taken place in the world ever since, the strengthening of the struggle for national liberation in Africa, in the Americas and elsewhere and the question of colonialism, Zionism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, unity and solidarity.

The conference was opened by Ndugu Mualimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and received a recorded message from Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDC) and the President of

the Republic of Guinea, the speeches of the two African leaders having been unanimously accepted as basic documents of the deliberations of the Congress. Ndugu Aboud Jumbe, First Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania deputised during the sessions for Ndugu Mwalimu Nyerere who was unanimously elected Chairman of the Congress.

## Historical Background

The Pan African Movement was born, historically, to promote freedom and justice for black men and women. It was led by the logic of that demand to struggle against colonialism, oppression and racialism. That, in its turn, requires the unity of Africans including those people of African descent outside Africa.

We pay tribute to the efforts made by the Pan African Association under the leadership of Henry Sylvester-Williams in organising the 1900 Pan African Conference. We also pay tribute to the

special contribution made to this movement by Dr. William DuBois, having been the moving spirit behind the first, second, third, fourth and fifth congresses, for he was then himself responsible for initiating and leading all the Pan African Congresses between 1919 and 1945.

Past congresses had to be held outside Africa. For in this continent there were until 1917 only two states in which black people were rulers as well as ruled.

The tone of the demands expressed at these meetings changed over the years, but the demands have been consistent.

The first five congresses could only be held because they were promoted and attended by concerned individuals. Some of the participants had the backing of trade unions or political or social organisations. But the status of black people in the world was such that the individuals could only be representatives in the sense that a suffering and aware man or woman can always speak for others in the same condition. These men and women acted because they could no longer accept without protest the almost sub-human status which had been assigned to them by the world's dominant political and economic forces.

The Fifth Pan African Congress echoed the experiences of the African masses in the struggle they had been waging against colonialists ever since the second half of the 19th century; their spontaneous rebellions, their first guerrilla fighters, their soldiers used as cannon fodder in the imperialist armies, their peasants evicted by foreign settlers; their mining, railroad, dock and agricultural workers, whose strikes had defied the colonial administrations and the capitalist companies, particularly between the two world wars.

The Congress Appeal to colonial peoples ended with the words: "Colonials and oppressed peoples of the world unite" and advocated joint action by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of colonial territories, using all possible means, including violence, to liquidate the colonial system immediately and completely.

After Manchester, the action of the peoples pushed history along the path of independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that the fifth congress constituted a high point in the development of the political leadership of the African liberation movement.

The achievement of the first independences and the nationalist activity generalised throughout the continent



allowed for the holding of two important Pan African Conferences in 1958: the First Conference of Independent African States, held from 15 to 22 April, and the All-African Peoples' Conference, from 5 to 13 December in Accra, capital of Ghana. Both conferences were sponsored by the independent Government of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana.

The All-African Peoples' Conference declared "that the struggle for the liberation of Africa is a task of the Africans themselves" and it called on the "workers, peasants and other sectors of the exploited masses as well as on the intellectuals, to join forces in common action for the final attack against discrimination and racism."

The year 1960 has been called the Year of Africa. Numerous countries obtained political independence, an unquestionably important step for the liberation movement and African unity. The birth of the Organisation of African Unity in May 1963 was a major factor in the implementation and development of Pan Africanism in that hereafter Pan Africanism became a truly continental movement.

Although the Pan African Movement was originally confined to black people, our particular struggle for dignity has always been one aspect of the worldwide struggle for human liberation. That is why if we react to the continued need to defend our position as black men by regarding ourselves as different from the rest of mankind, we shall weaken ourselves, and the racials of the world will have scored their biggest triumph.

### Contemporary Pan Africanism

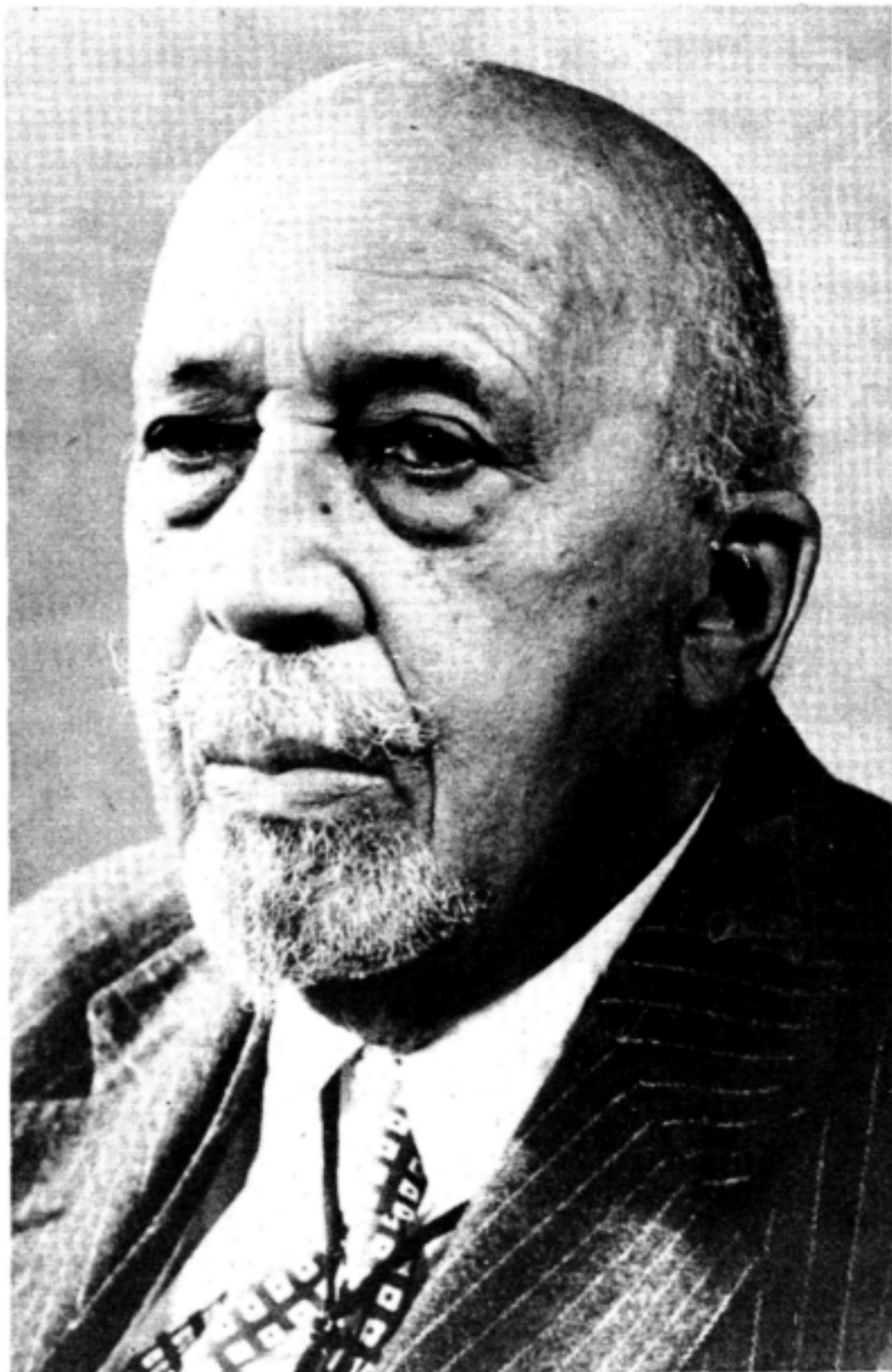
Contemporary Pan Africanism is called upon to develop in a period which is extraordinarily favourable for the progress of the revolutionary forces on our continent and in the world.

We believe that the present situation requires the clarification of a new strategy so as to enable us to make a correct analysis of the main ingredients of the problem and, consequently draw up the appropriate tactics.

We must take as the starting point of our action the new states and nations, political and social realities that cannot be ignored or underestimated. By this we also mean that it is necessary to be realistic and abandon the utopian idea of returning to promised lands because the only promised land is where men are making a revolution and building a new society.

This is the paramount criterion we must

W.E.B. DuBois,  
at the  
PA Congress  
held in Paris  
in 1919



continually use in defining both our enemies and our allies.

Thus, the Pan-African movement must essentially be a dynamic force for liberation of the colonised peoples as well as for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes, and liberation necessarily means eradicating the systems of exploitation and building of societies based on the power of the exploited working masses. It is therefore not only a fight in support of the struggle of the colonised peoples or victims of racialism, but also a fight for political, economic and social emancipation in every country and region.

The historical context in which this Sixth Pan African Congress is taking place is indeed radically different to that which prevailed in 1945, when the Manchester meeting was held. After the Second World War, a vast and vigorous socialist camp emerged in the world, constituting a powerful force against imperialist claims to world domination.

Moreover, the struggle of the colonial people weakened the very foundations

of the colonial powers. New nations, especially in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, have achieved independence, paving the way for a staunch community as expressed in the non-aligned movement and the O.A.U. and other regional and international organisations. In addition in certain capitalist countries the advanced sections of the working class have gained in class consciousness and therefore constitute natural allies in the struggle against the common enemy: imperialism. The Pan-Africanist movement must consider the most radical methods of putting an end to foreign domination, liquidate the foundations of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and zionism, by the common actions of the peoples of Africa, peoples of African descent and all people of the world.

African development demands that Africa must be free from economic exploitation and political and cultural domination by capitalist powers imposed by foreign powers in order to ensure its presence as a factor for the





George Padmore who played a leading role in propagating Pan-Africanism after the end of the last world war and right, veteran Pan-Africanist C.L.R. James

enrichment of mankind. Domination imposed on a people, or foreign occupation of any part of mankind, however small, at the expense of human dignity, has always been a source of world conflict.

Whatever progress is achieved on the African continent will reinstate both Africans and black people in the Americas, the Caribbean and Europe; just as the progress made by black Americans against the many forms of social and human alienation is an important contribution to the African continent. Our present task is to show unfailing vigilance towards any ideology which, while professing Pan Africanism, conceals the interests of the imperialist powers with a view to making us accept the philosophy of submission to foreign interests on the basis of skin colour.

### Revolutionary Pan Africanism

We must finish once and for all with all obscurantist metaphysics. A movement which claims to be revolutionary cannot adopt the enemy's methods without in the long run serving that same enemy. Pan Africanism was born as a movement of profound rebellion of people opposed to all the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation and racism. And because the exploiting and alienating forces incorporated in their ideology of domination the myth of racial superiority, from the very outset Pan Africanism ran the risk of falling into a racism which was intended to be anti-racist. While Pan Africanism was born as a movement of rebellion, it can only undertake its programme of liberation if it becomes a

revolutionary liberation movement of our times, that is, if it analyses and clearly defines its aims, determines its means and engages in consistent action.

Skin colour, be it black, white, yellow or brown, is no indication of the social class, ideology, nature, behaviour qualities or abilities of men or peoples. Most important for us must be our common historical destiny as a consequence of having been unjustly treated by exploiting powers. We must therefore define ourselves not in terms of skin colour, which is a static element, but solely in terms of our aims of progress, which are dynamic, just and noble. Revolutionary Pan Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the class struggle. Not to be conscious of this would be to expose ourselves to confusion which imperialism would not fail to exploit.

We must never forget that the imperialism which we are fighting, the imperialism which nearly exterminated us in Africa and is still daily committing crimes of genocide, was not generated through the internal historical process which took place in Africa. Imperialism was generated by capitalism and it therefore concerns the entire world.

If it is to be effective, the liquidation of imperialism, that is, the liberation of the peoples, must be general. The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle.

### Fighting Solidarity

Our fighting solidarity has been forged in the support for the heroic peoples of

Indo-China, struggling against U.S. imperialism; in the support for the Palestinian people and our Arab brothers struggling against Israeli aggression and the annexation of land by force; in the support for the workers and the discriminated minorities in North America, in particular for the struggle of Black People for the destruction of the bourgeois society which oppresses both whites and blacks, in the support for the peoples of the Caribbean and in the first place the brother peoples of Puerto Rico and the French colonies; in the support for the peoples of Latin America, in their struggle against oligarchic reaction and fascism, and in the first place for the Chilean people, in the support for the struggling peoples of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.

Our fighting solidarity is most needed at this time of the great acceleration of the history of the African continent engaged in the liberation struggle, and from a vantage point from which we can see the effects of the most recent blows that the African peoples fighting against Portuguese colonialism have dealt against imperialism. We are convinced that revolutionary Pan Africanism will step up its support for the rapid and total liberation of the African continent from the colonialism and racism in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the so-called "French" Somaliland, the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles, Reunion, the so-called "Spanish" Sahara, the Canary Islands, Etc. . . .

Our fighting solidarity has invariably manifested itself in our support for the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who defend



their inalienable right to the full exercise of their national sovereignty, the effective control over their natural resources, the nationalisation of foreign enterprise to safeguard these resources, and the adoption of the social and economic system they deem most suitable to their development, against pressures, threats and aggression of all kinds by imperialism.

## Perspectives

Revolutionary Pan Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original and prolific contribution.

This is why the urgent needs at the present time can be outlined as being:

- To put an end to foreign domination in Africa by destroying the bases of the last colonial and racist regimes: because for as long as part of the African continent continues to suffer under the yoke of foreign domination, irresponsibility and indignity, the personality and moral integrity of every man, whether or not of African descent, will be jeopardised.

- To get rid of neo-colonialism which hinders the overthrow of the last colonial regimes as well as the achievement of African unity, and in as much as it represents a concrete instrument of imperialist oppression of our peoples

- To liquidate foreign military bases in African states as a contribution to the achievement of the political independence and the total liberation of Africa

- To consolidate the unity between the peoples of Africa and of African descent and of all peoples

- To appeal to all the progressive forces in Africa and in the world to give political and material aid to the liberation movements in Africa and outside Africa

- The strategy of revolutionary Pan Africanism is basically defined in terms of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist struggle that it considers to be a means of promoting equality, democracy and developing a new society:

- The people must form the basis of this generalised struggle and the aspirations of the masses and the working classes must constitute the moving force behind it

- It must be defined in terms of the class struggle at the national and international level, as the national basis for explaining and finding solutions to social injustices, exploitation, oppression and racism

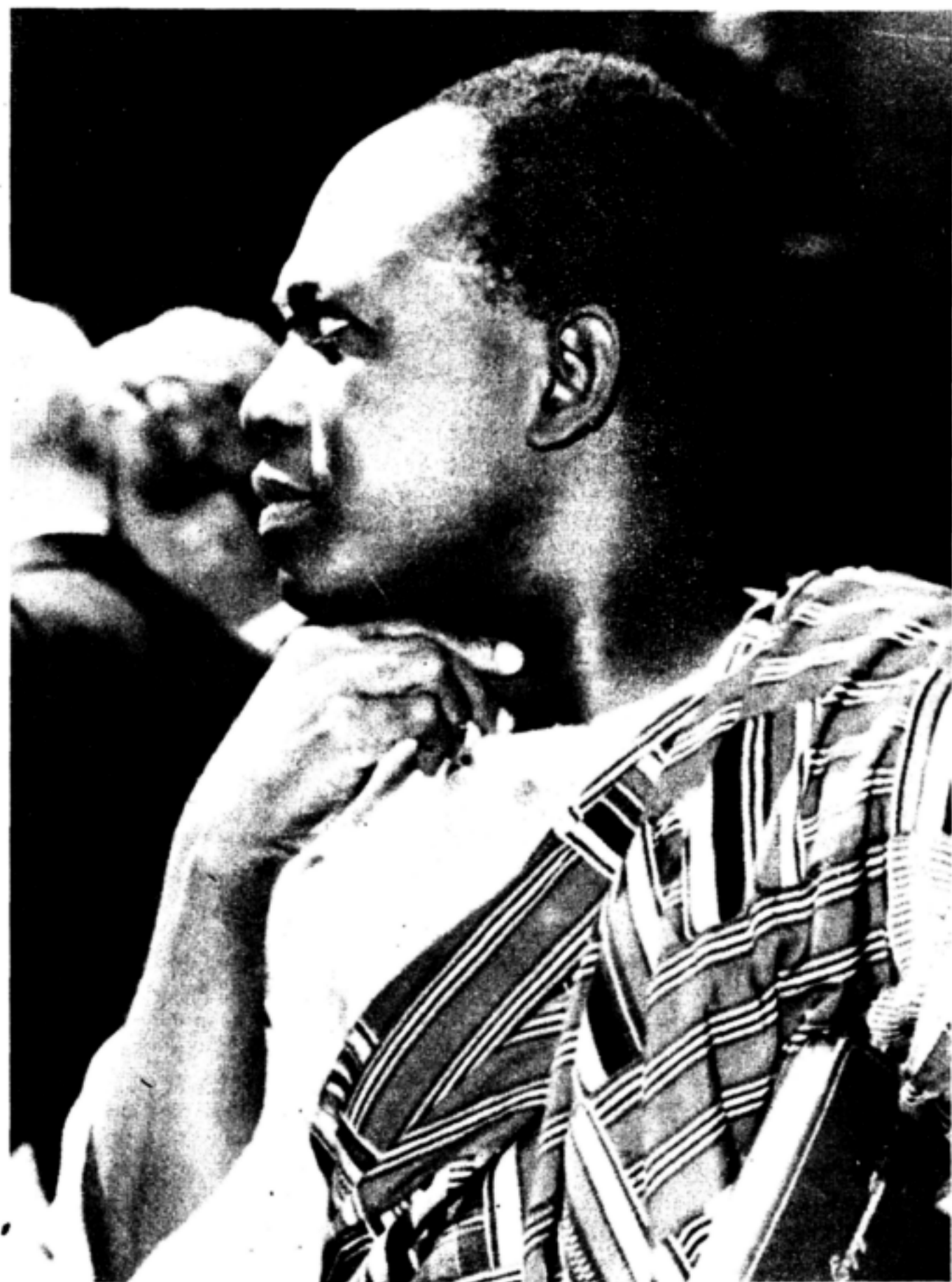
- Based on the common objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle, revolutionary Pan Africanism takes into account the organisational and tactical peculiarities of its various component forces throughout the world, provided the tactics and organisation are subordinated to the ultimate aim, namely the destruction of capitalism and its by-products

- In 1974 Pan Africanism aims at the complete restoration by the African peoples of their dignity and responsibility and the radical transformation of the whole society, the whole of mankind and the complete development of man as well as the building of socialist societies.

- Pan Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or national chauvinism; it embraces the cause of all oppressed peoples of the

world and is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world. It considers the people as the foundation of everything, the only legitimate and legal source of power, of all powers and power in its entirety. In order to transform itself to meet the new requirements of the present international situation, Pan Africanism must define its programme of action within the context of the broad perspectives of progress of the masses of the people of all the countries in the world advancing towards a new world, without consideration of skin colour or nationality, a world of the triumph of justice over injustice, of equality over inequality, of the responsibility and sovereign power of the peoples over the dictatorship of exploiting minorities, in other words, the world of the redemption of Africa and of all people.

Kwame Nkrumah who pushed Pan-Africanism to the fore when independence came to several countries in Africa





---

# THE ANC AND THE PAN AFRICANIST MOVEMENT

---

Extracts from a statement made by the African National Congress of South Africa to the Sixth Pan African Congress held in Dar es Salaam

The leaders of our organisation, the oldest existing political organisation in Africa, are not strangers to the Pan African Movement. The South African people have been represented at all Pan African Congresses from 1900 to date.

The participation of our people through the ANC, their national liberation organisation, does not arise from sentiment but has always been based on the objective realities of the situation and the conditions which must be fulfilled for the advancement of the basic and fundamental aspirations of our people.

The experience of our struggles has taught us that the fundamental and basic aspirations of the overwhelming majority of mankind throughout this world are the same, irrespective of colour, race, religion and sex. The problems which arise in the genuine effort of mankind to eradicate the basic scourges of the world – poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression and exploitation of man by man – must, in our view, be examined scientifically rather than sentimentally in order to find the correct solution. We also take the floor and this opportunity because we believe that the experience of our people who have lived through the ravages of more than 250 years of violent and rapacious European aggression, which ended in the complete and total dispossession of our people of their right to life, liberty and land, would help in charting the path of a revolutionary movement of this kind.

A revolutionary movement, or gathering of people who claim to be revolutionary, must, if it is useful and purposeful, undertake a serious study of the situation which is confronting the peoples of the world, the peoples of that particular region or area, in order to arrive at a meaningful and progressive solution; anything else, any other exercise is not only useless but indeed may result in confusion and retrospection. We would like at this stage to endorse the wise guidelines of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania, which were so forcefully endorsed by that dynamic

leader, Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea. It was indeed refreshing and inspiring to listen to them.

The white racist regime of South Africa is the crucible of the worst evils in Africa and the world. It is an object lesson of everything that is hateful, abhorrent and in direct conflict with all the basic aspirations of the people of South Africa, Africa and humanity as a whole. It is no accident that since the days of Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's fascism, apartheid is the one system which has been declared a crime against humanity, against the whole of mankind. Its eradication and punishment is basically the duty of the people of South Africa, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist person and organisation throughout the world.

## Decade of Action

We would like to draw the serious attention of this gathering to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, as well as the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. It is also necessary to mention that 1971 was a year designated by the United Nations General Assembly as a year of combat and action against racism and apartheid. Many organisations throughout the world, amongst peoples of all colours and creeds responded to this call because of their dedication against racism and facism. December 10th last year – Human Rights Day – was the beginning of a decade of action and struggle by the international community against racism and apartheid. What various individuals and organisations are doing to implement this international crusade is unhappily not clear yet. But an international call it certainly is.

Apartheid and racism haunt the people of South Africa, the people of Southern Africa, the peoples of Africa and the world. It is a menace and a scourge which has to be obliterated from the face of the earth. It is perhaps time to

analyse and understand the anatomy and muscle power of this hideous spectre in order to strike at it effectively once and for all. Any other exercise is costly in time and lives.

What precisely is the crime of apartheid and racism? What are the people of South Africa, Africa and the international community up against? What must they do to rid themselves, free themselves from this horror and nightmare?

We would like to deal as briefly as we can with the roots, stem and branches of this system in our country, against which our people have been and are still struggling for centuries. We welcome the sincere participation of the peoples of the world, the legitimate anxiety and action of the peoples of Africa and the world in our fight against our common international criminals.

We would like to repeat that the white racist regime of Vorster is the crucible of a dangerous and violent experiment against the peoples of South Africa, Africa and the world. There is every justification in characterising that system as a crime against humanity, against the peoples of the world.

The roots of apartheid and racism lie in the brutal and savage invasion and wars of aggression and genocide by white pirates and robbers against our people, their land, its wealth and resources, its energy and its manpower. Political oppression, economic exploitation, the dispossession of the fundamental conditions of life, prosperity and development of our people and the glorious history of their struggle in defence of their motherland and birthright against enslavement, is the basic theme underlying the history of our people and their organisation, the African National Congress. We believe, in common with many people in the world, that in South Africa, ruled by racists, are a people who have fought against forces whose aims and objects were to reap profits and to amass wealth through violent plunder and subjugation of one group by another.

## Fascist Weapon

We would like to submit that the peoples of South Africa have got a unique experience of having lived through and fought against the horrors of naked slavery, colonialism, racism, imperialism and, today, fascism. We live in a country where the ruling class harps on the question of colour, white and black, black and white. Powers and privileges, poverty and wealth are determined in terms of colour. What is



even worse is that this false fragmentation and division is being pursued by the racist and apartheid regime of South Africa in an attempt to divide the people in terms of ethnic groups – hence the frantic attempts to justify Bantustans or so-called homelands. There is nothing which resembles a home in those deathlands!

Racism is a myth, a barbaric, brutal and savage myth. It is the enemy not only of those peoples who are immediately and directly affected by it, but of all mankind.

The classification of peoples, nations and groups into superior and inferior is an instrument and weapon of oppression and exploitation by the so-called superior group over the so-called inferior group.

Racial discrimination is an international phenomenon and scourge. It is the basis of genocide, a weapon for colonialism, imperialism and fascism.

Nowhere in the world are there any people who should be classified on whatever standards as superior or inferior.

Power and domination of the human and material resources of our world is at the root of the history of the conflicts which have, and still are, continuing to afflict our world and peoples.

At the root of the issue is power. Domination by whom, by whom, and for what purposes? Is it power for revolution in the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind? Or is it power for reaction in the interests of the few, and for the few self-seekers? Our organisation has grown and developed in the situation in which it had to lead the people, in the interests of humanity, on a simple slogan – Power to the People, all power to the people, be that power political, economic, cultural or otherwise.

It is only under conditions when the masses of the people wield power and determine their destiny, that their future is safe in their own hands, and talents and energy can be unleashed to serve their cherished ideals and objectives.

The South African racist and fascist regime was born in violence and aggression. It is sustained through violence and brutality and it is expanding through a foreign policy which is based on the octopus tentacles of racism and fascism.

It has so often been said that the white racist regime of South Africa is the bulwark and bastion of imperialism in Africa a launching pad for the recolonisation of Africa. This is true or partially true.

However, a more careful analysis of the South African regime will reveal



President Julius Nyerere, whose country hosted the 6th Pan-African Congress

that its true essence is a special form of colonialism within the country and an aggressive and expansionist imperialist power in the continent as a whole.

The South African white regime is a vital and integral part of the whole reactionary and imperialist world, which is so dangerously and effectively led by the United States, France, Britain, West Germany and a host of other imperialist powers.

### Global Strategy

The South African racist regime is irrevocably committed to the global strategy of the imperialist powers, whose designs are the suppression and crushing of all efforts towards establishing a just and humane, human society in the world.

The existence of an unholy alliance in Southern Africa whose pivot and pil-

lar is the racist and fascist regime of South Africa, has too clearly been identified by all serious minded revolutionaries. The aims and objectives and character of this alliance has been the subject matter of many studies. For our purposes in this paper, we merely wish to warn that this unholy alliance has a common political ideology – racism and fascism – a common economic objective – the ruthless exploitation of the material and human resources of Africa; a common military objective – the violence and aggression against the indigenous people of Africa. Behind this Southern African unholy alliance between Vorster's racism and fascism, Portuguese fascism and Rhodesia's racism, lies even a greater, more dangerous and unholy alliance represented by the consortium of the leading imperialist powers. And at this stage, may we make ourselves clearly understood. When we refer to imperialism and imperialist





**President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, a staunch supporter of Pan-Africanism**



**President Gowon of Nigeria, another prominent exponent of Pan-Africanism**

powers, we have in mind those Western countries who have either inherited the concept and fruits of colonialism and who are advancing neo-colonialist subterfuges in order to perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of man by man. We have no doubts, as far as we are concerned, that in no way can the socialist countries of the world be confused as being part of imperialism and its system. The basic roots of the danger which South Africa poses to the peoples of South Africa, peace and security in Africa and the world, must naturally be examined from the total involvement of the South

African racists and fascists, in the world system of capitalism and imperialism, and the commitment of the imperialist powers to that fascist and racist regime.

Our era, the dynamic twentieth century, has been characterised as the sharpest conflict between imperialism and the progressive forces in history. At the beginning of this century, the violent and aggressive forces of international imperialism unleashed a barbarous war in their quest to divide the world, its people and resources. The First World War revealed the savagery of the world-wide and international imperialism. It was during this act of barbarism that a new state was born, dedicated to the interests of peace and security of the ordinary people and the working class. The October Revolution in the Soviet Union presented a direct confrontation with the evils of capitalism and imperialism in the world. Since then, the course of development of mankind changed fundamentally and radically.

It is no accident that the Second World War, with all its savagery and barbarism, which was unleashed by Hitler's racists, fascist and imperialist hordes against humanity was ultimately defeated by the valiant efforts of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union together with all the anti-racist and anti-fascist forces of the world.

### **Disciples of Hitler**

In our situation in South Africa, it is necessary to bear in mind that the white racists and fascists led by Vorster are dedicated disciples of Hitler. The military machine which is so fervently and frantically being built up in

our country is the spearhead of aggression and violence, against our own people primarily, the peoples of Southern Africa, Africa and the world. In short, it is the modern Wehrmacht, whose purposes don't differ in any way from the purposes of the Nazi regime under Hitler.

In our view, the important role which the South African racists are trying to play in the political, economic and military strategy of the imperialist powers is based on their common interests and identity of purpose.

Racism and racial discrimination are inherent in all systems based on exploitation. It is for that reason that in the United States and Britain the cancer of racialism and discrimination is rampant. It could not be otherwise. It is also for that reason that the racist, fascist government of South Africa can bank on the full and unstinting support of their imperialist friends and allies.

The joint conspiracy of the South African racist regime and their imperialist friends in the reconquest of Africa expresses itself in the aggressive and expansionist foreign policy of the white South African regime. It finds its political, economic and military wherewithal in the vast resources of our country.

Naked aggression and violence is being persisted in and carried out in flagrant violation of international law and the overwhelming protests of the world in Namibia. Direct military material and personnel of the South African Defence Force is being used in the intervention against the national liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique, on the side of the Portuguese colonialists. In Zimbabwe, it is no longer any secret that the white racist regime of South Africa is play-

**Prasidium of the fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, Britain from 13-21 October 1945**





ing a leading role in helping the Smith regime to try and suppress the national liberation movement. Neighbouring countries are living with a constant threat of subversion and terror from the white racist agents. In particular, Zambia has lost many a citizen through the violence inflicted upon its people by the white racist regimes of Southern Africa.

In examining the question of racism and fascist in South Africa, it is necessary to bear in mind the strong alliance and bond of fraternity which exists between Zionism and apartheid, which are both based on racialism, and also take due regard of the mutual co-operation between Zionist Israel and South Africa.

### Dying System

Racism and apartheid, like capitalism and imperialism, are dying systems which have no place in the development of human society. The alliance of imperialist, fascist and Zionist forces are resorting to all forms of stratagems to extend the lease of life of these monstrous systems. Nowhere has the weakness of imperialism been demonstrated more vividly than in the glorious victory of the Algerian revolution against France. The ignominious defeats of the most powerful imperialist state – the US – by the Vietnamese people, the victories of the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Indeed the blows of the rising struggle for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America are spelling the inevitable doom of these wicked systems. The OAU is making a considerable contribution to the anti-imperialist forces of the world. Against the global conspiracy of the racists and imperialists is a mighty and invincible anti-imperialist force. It is composed of the national liberation movement, the democratic forces in the capitalist countries and the socialist countries of the world.

The concern of these forces is with the establishment of a just, prosperous and peaceful society and the total destruction of all forces whose aim is the artificial division of man, and which are the cause of war and wanton human destruction.

The racist regime of South Africa and Rhodesia are the last outposts of imperialism in Africa. Both Vorster and Ian Smith are living through a nightmare of resistance, strikes and demonstrations, and in the case of Zimbabwe, of armed conflict. In the whole of Southern Africa a revolution-



The late Chief Albert J. Lutuli, who after his banning took up farming once again, was a prominent exponent of Pan-Africanism during his term as President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa

nary situation is maturing. The racists have replied with the most ruthless forms of repression, ranging from massacres, executions, imprisonment and detention, but none of these has quelled the wrath and granite determination of the people.

We have a duty and heavy responsibility to discharge in crushing fascism in South Africa. We and our organisation will never flinch from its historic task, because we are confident of the mighty support of the anti-imperialist forces of the world, we are confident that the future and victory is on our side.

It is a well-known fact that the anti-imperialist revolution needs world peace as a necessary precondition for its rapid development. Any effort towards lessening international tension is therefore welcome. The anti-imperialist forces of the world are in

the forefront of the struggle for world peace.

We wish in conclusion to express our deep gratitude to Mwalimu Nduku Nyerere, to TANU and the people of Tanzania. There are strong bonds of brotherhood between our people; amongst many things, TANU and the Government have honoured our organisation by adopting the tune of its national anthem.

In our view Pan Africanism can only have a useful and meaningful future if it is deeply rooted in the anti-imperialist forces.

We can assure the people of Tanzania, and indeed the whole anti-imperialist world, that our commitment to the struggle against the racist and fascists is irrevocable.

Long live the African Revolution!  
Long live the anti-imperialist forces of the world!

- **Military and Police Budget Increased**
- **Ten Years Imprisonment for Conscientious Objectors**
- **Major Increase in Landward Defence**
- **Women Urged to Participate in Civil Defence**

With the events in the Portuguese colonies moving ahead at a rapid pace and the growing wave of strikes and unrest among Black workers (see next section) the Vorster regime, for all its outward show of calm, is in a panic. All the politicians, including those in the so-called opposition United Party, the press and radio talk of little else other than the threat of guerrilla warfare starting soon within the country.

The Minister of Finance, delivering his budget for the current 1974-75 financial year announced another massive, R221,904,000 increase in South Africa's defence expenditure; R34,557,000 increase for the Police and R3,492,00 for BOSS (Secret Police).

Details of the increase are:

**Defence:** R692,025,000 -

last year: R470,121,000

**Police:** R153,127,000 -

last year: R 118,770,000

**BOSS:** R12,535,000

last year: R9,043,000

The present increase in the defence expenditure of R221 million is very nearly the total defence budget in 1964-65 as the graph published on this page shows. The country has

spent R2,864 million on defence in the last ten years.

The size of the military budget starkly reveals the war phycosis that is gripping the government. According to the United States Control and Disarmament Agency figures for 1972, showed that South Africa was spending more money per citizen on defence than any other country south of the Sahara.

These figures show that in 1970 when the defence budget was a mere R270m, South Africa was spending R13,50 on defence for every citizen in the country.

The defence budget is almost twice the budgets of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education together; twice that of the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions and four times greater than set aside for white education.

• A breakdown of the defence expenditure shows that South Africa will spend R134m to buy arms and R292,921,000 for landward defence - an increase of R131m.

• The United Party's spokesman on defence speaking during the Budget debate said: "The price for (white -

Ed) South Africans sleeping soundly at night was set yesterday at R891m, and that is not excessive."

### 10 Years or R10 000 Fine

Meanwhile, in an attempt to stem the evergrowing tide among young people who are refusing to join the army on grounds of conscience, the Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, has introduced a Bill in parliament proposing 10 years jail and/or R10 000 fine for anyone convicted of inciting or encouraging people to refuse to do military service. It also applies to people convicted of "using any language or committing calculated acts to encourage, aid, incite, instigate, suggest or otherwise cause any person to refuse to do military service." The Bill is a result of a resolution adopted by the South African Council of Churches over conscientious objectors. In a full page article in the student's paper "Varsity", Dr. Theo Kotze, the Cape Director of Christian Institute says:

"While the causes of the Portuguese war are expounded at length, we (in South Africa) refuse to see any analogy between the Portuguese and South African situations.

"Portugal has recognised the cause of its wars and these wars are ending, but only after thousands have been killed. South Africa and Rhodesia continue to deny the cause of the fighting and their citizens continue to die," the article said.

"Why is it that Black South Africans support the South African Council of Churches resolution and the World Council of Churches? Why is it that white South Africans generally do not?"

"How many others are to die before we recognise the legitimacy of Black aspirations?"

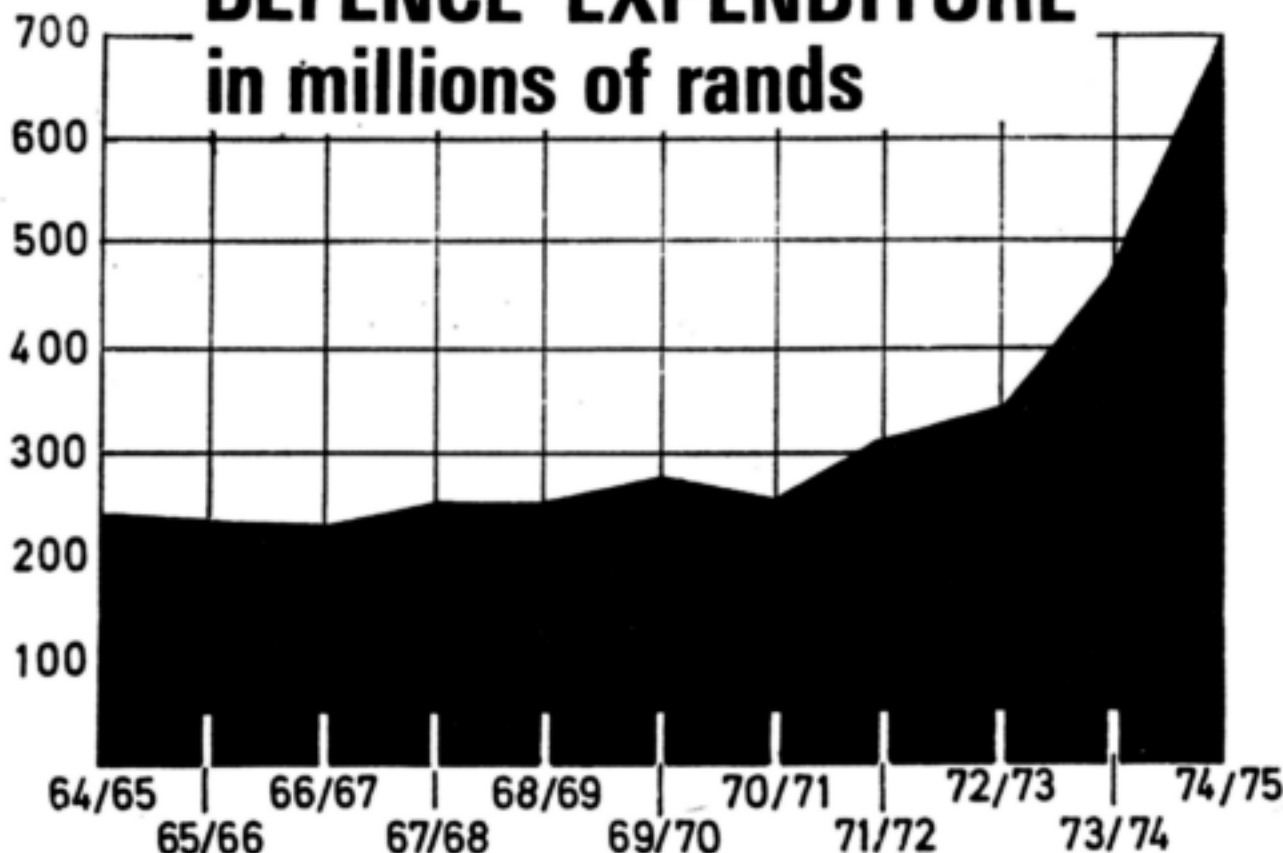
\* \* \* \* \*

### Other Military and Police Actions

• **WOMEN** have been called upon to participate in civil defence. P.W. Botha, Minister of Defence addressing the (white) Women's Agricultural Association said that women should appoint special study groups to examine in greater depth the various possibilities of co-ordination and active participation in civil defence.

For example, the association could

## DEFENCE EXPENDITURE in millions of rands





organise and provide woman-power during emergencies supplementary to or in substitution for other man-power being involved elsewhere, in order either to maintain essential public services or to bring about the normalisation of such services after the crisis.

This could be done in the medical, telecommunications, administrative, transport and educational fields, he said.

● **SPEAKING** at the funeral of 18 year old constable Carel van der Merwe, who was killed by guerrillas in Rhodesia, the Director-General of the Supporting Services of the SAAF, Major-General Tom Cockbain, warned that there were a number of deadly weapons available to Black Africa which were "very worrying" for the Defence Force.

He said the deadliest weapon in Black Africa today was the Russian Sam 7 heatseeking missile which could be fired at an aircraft by a soldier on the ground. The Portuguese had come across the Sam 7 in Africa. The weapon was easily concealed and could be taken into an area by ground forces without being detected from the air.

Another deadly weapon was the Russian anti-aircraft gun, which had four barrels and fired at the rate of 4000 rounds a minute. This meant that it could put a shell every five metres along the path of an aircraft travelling at Mach One.

The Russian Sam 2, 3 and 6 missiles were also "very nasty and widely deployed in Africa, he said.

These weapons "could lose us a lot of aircraft."

● **THE GENERAL SECRETARY** of the Council of Churches, who had "several lengthy talks with terrorist leaders" after attending the All Africa Conference of Churches in Lusaka, said that "there are already a number of significant agreements between South African groups and those operating in the Portuguese and Rhodesian territories and it seems very likely that attacks on South Africa will be launched within the next 18 months.

● **SOUTH AFRICA'S** Commissioner of Prisons may lose some fingers after a captured weapon exploded in his hands while he was "handling exhibits at a prison farm near Salisbury". Rhodesian sources have declined to give details.

● **WELSH** immigrant, C. D. Tallamy, was remanded in custody in the Van der Byl Park Magistrates Court in connection with the discovery of a large quantity of arms in a house.

● **THE SOUTH AFRICA** Defence Force has taken over the defence of the northern borders which extend from the Atlantic coast of Namibia to Kazungula at the eastern tip of the Caprivi Strip (1050 miles long). The Defence Force took over the security of the 2408 km-long border with Angola and Zambia from the police in March 1973.

● **THREE** white and seven Black South African members of the SA Police on border patrol have deserted and are living in hiding in Botswana.



SA arms in order to produce scenes such as these . . . (above) Cato Manor, when women demonstrated against the Pass Laws, (below) the infamous Sharpville massacre





- **Striking Miners Killed**
- **More Black Workers Strike**
- **Workers Meetings Fired On**
- **Black Trade Unionists Speak Out**

While 234 listed companies increased their after-tax profit by 28% in the 1972-73 financial year, the Wage Board has set the national minimum wage for Africans in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand area at R14 per week (R60.66 per month).

Meanwhile the South African Institute of Race Relations has published figures showing that the barest minimum for the survival of a family of five in these areas is between R81 and R89 per month. The Institute has also published figures showing that the minimum effective level is between R122 and R134 per month.

The immediate results of the wide gap between wages paid to the African

worker and the effective level he should receive have been widespread starvation and a spate of new strikes that have erupted in the country.

Recent reports indicate that the strike wave that began at the beginning of last year is nowhere near its end.

### **Miners Strikes**

Eight African miners are reported to have been killed and an unspecified number injured while on strike for higher wages in four different gold mines in the country. Five African miners were killed at the Harmony Gold Mine in Virginia, Orange Free State after more than 1000 miners struck

work in support of a demand for higher wages. Police fired shots, used tear gas and meetings were broken up and several arrests made. Most of the office blocks at the mine were reported destroyed. The Indunas' houses were among the first to be set alight. The mine management announced that they were giving the mineworkers "substantial increases" above the 10% given two days before the strike. Later about 90% of the mine's 21,000 workers returned to work, but full production was delayed by their demand that the new pay awards be entered on their time cards.

• Harmony Mine made a net profit of R21 323 000 in the last four quarters. A rise of 50% in Black wages would cost shareholders only about 7 cents a share. A large number of shareholders are British.

### **Three More Killed**

Two African mineworkers were killed and six injured at the Loraine Gold Mine, Welkom, after police were called to deal with miners in a pay dispute. The workers subsequently received a 33% pay increase

And,

One worker was killed at Merriespruit Gold Mine, Virginia, when workers struck over a pay dispute. Merriespruit is part of the Harmony Mine group.

In yet another dispute, 200 African workers at the Randfontein Estates Gold Mine stopped work for a short period.

The Minister of Police and the Minister of Mines commenting on the strikes expressed "grave concern" over the disturbances on South African gold mines. Kruger said that he "was keeping a completely open mind" about political movements involvement in these disturbances. He went on to say: "If these incidents are spontaneous, they are far too frequently spontaneous."

Meanwhile,

the minimum salaries of 16 000 white officials on the gold mines has been raised. The scales for men will be increased by at least R50 a month and for women by at least R40.

• Minimum monthly wages for Black mineworkers increased from about R20 to just over R30 following a 66% increase announced in June, while the minimum monthly wage for white miners increased from roughly R330 to R380.

\* \* \* \* \*



## Industrial Strikes

Between 25 and 30 firms around Germiston and east of Johannesburg were affected by strikes during an - 11 day strike wave. Details of all the strikes were not available at the time of going to press as the authorities were refusing to divulge any news of strikes by Black workers to the press.

However, we have received some information on this present wave of strikes and among them six Germiston and two Alberton firms which were affected.

Production at Abkin's Steel Corporation in Tide Street, Germiston, came to a halt when the entire African labour force of about 160 walked out after their demands for a 20c-an-hour increase were not met. A spokesman for the firm, Mr. Solly Abkin, said they had raised the wages of every employee by R1 a week about a week ago.

At Academy Brushware in President Street, Germiston, 320 workers, of whom two thirds are women, went on strike for about an hour.

The company had agreed to pay increases immediately to all departments in the group so that every worker received a minimum increase of R3.15 a week. At Anderson Maver (SA) about 100 workers went on strike for an hour. They refused to enter the premises and asked whether a delegation could meet with the management. The outcome was that they were given an immediate 7c an hour increase.

At Dale Tyre, Retreading and Vulcanising Works in President Street, Germiston, about 40 workers demanded wage increases.

The managing director, Mr. I. E. Duke, said the employees thought they were entitled to an extra 20c an hour. He said they had received increases of about 15% last month.

### Glass Workers and Meat Suppliers

At the Plate Glass Bevelling and Silvering Company factory in Refinery Road, Industries West, Germiston, the African labour force of about 200 refused to start work. A company spokesman, Mr. Harold Cohen, said they went on strike for about 90 minutes demanding increases of R5 a week. He said negotiations are taking place. At Germiston Fresh Meat Supply in Voortrekker Road, about 70 strikers demanded increases of R5 a week.

At an Alberton company, N.F. Diecasting, the management agreed to a 20% increase after a strike. Workers previously earning 35c an hour will now get 45c an hour. Details of a 30-minute strike at Fedgas in Alrode, Alberton, are not available. Three

hundred workers, mainly women, at Turnwright's Sweet factory in Johannesburg, struck work in support of a demand for an increase in wages. The strike which was not previously organised was sparked off when workers found the factory gates shut at 6:30 a. m. when they arrived for work - management having arbitrarily decided to open the gate at 6:50 in future "as a security measure."

The workers complained that this left them too little time to change and have something to eat before starting work at 7:30 a. m. They then began shouting for wage increases and refusing to enter the factory, they marched through the streets of Johannesburg to the offices of the Black Allied Workers Union.

After negotiations between the employers and the Union, the management agreed to improve the wages of the workers whose minimum wage is about R11.00 a week. One woman complained that although she had been working at the firm for 15 years she was earning only R13.00 a week. ● The Poverty Datum Line, the amount needed for bare survival in the Johannesburg area, according to the calculation of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce is R25.00 per week.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Natal Strikes

Meanwhile, in Natal three further strikes have been reported. 1500 workers at two textile mills struck work in support of a demand for a minimum wage of R25 per week. The mills, owned by the notorious multi-million Frame Groups (dealt with in several recent issues of *Sedhaka*) pays a basic minimum of R14.05 for men and R10.50 for women. At the time of going to press the outcome of the strike is not clear as the management has threatened to close the factory rather than accede to the workers demand. 150 workers employed by the Orchid Foods branches won an increase of R2 per week and an undertaking that negotiations will begin between the management and the workers on their demand for a further R2.00

At the British Leyland Motor Corporation's assembly plant in Durban, 200 workers - all members of the newly formed Metal and Allied Workers Union - downed tools in protest against the management's decision not to re-employ eight colleagues who were among 40 dismissed after the Leyland strike earlier this year.

The management claimed that the dismissal was retrenchment. The workers say it is victimisation as all eight not re-enstated were shop stewards of their Union.

Another British Company hit by strike was Reckitt and Colman's, Durban, were 420 Black workers refused to work after an announcement by the company that their wages will be increased by R1 on minimum wages and 5% on the rest. The workers claim they had been promised a R5 increase earlier this year when they first came out on strike.

At the time of going to press - after a week-long strike - the workers were still standing firm despite threats of dismissal by the company

\* \* \* \* \*

## Same Old Story

The current wave of strikes by African workers offers familiar evidence of the retarded state of South African labour relations. Once again the old elements of low pay and poor communication are clearly discernible.

Workers in the metal and engineering industry will now get a minimum R17.50 a week. That does not even reach the R20 requested by the official appointed by the government to represent African workers. Worse, it is only 70 % of the latest Poverty Datum Line calculation of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce. A gap of such magnitude spells out its own message. In the second area of industry where pay has gone up, civil engineering, the increase is still more modest. Thus, in Johannesburg, the new scale allows for a weekly minimum of just over R16; in Newcastle it will be R9.66. Again, can there be any surprise if there is worker dissatisfaction?

Serious as this is, it is only half the trouble. There seems also to have been failure to tell workers what the pay increases actually mean. In one industry there is a rise of 7c an hour; about the same time another sector is getting an extra 3c and this ready basis for confusion is added to with different scales operating in different parts of the country and some employers paying the higher rates before others. Still more, the workers themselves were not directly party to the discussions which preceded the increases. All this points up the fundamental inadequacy of the Government-initiated works committee system for dealing with industry-wide issues. As we stated on several occasions in the past: in the first instance, only genuine trade unions organised by and for the Black workers can solve South Africa's labour problems. In the final analysis, however, the crux of the solution lies in full democratic rights for all citizens in South Africa: both Black and White.



Dr. Trudi Thomas who, with her doctor husband works at a Mission Hospital in the Ciskei "Homeland", has described the effects there of the SA migrant labour system. This makes it illegal for most African families to live together in 'white' urban areas where they must earn their living. These extracts are taken from her pamphlet **Their Doctor Speaks**, available from Quaker House, Rye Road, Mowbray, Cape Town.

Although dealing exclusively with the Ciskei "Homeland" the state of affairs in the other so-called Homelands are no less better. In fact in some areas it is even worse:

## CHILDREN OF THE CISKEI

Widespread poverty and destitution, unemployment, childhood malnutrition, illegitimacy and desertion are some of the norms of rural Ciskeian society. Migrant labour is the main reason for this social chaos, the word 'chaos' being used advisedly and unemotionally to describe gross disorganisation.

Migrant labour produces its devastating effects by disrupting family life. It is unusual for rural Ciskeians to enjoy uninterrupted home life in the commonly accepted sense where parents and children live together as a matter of course. Most families are disrupted at some time and in some degree by the need to earn a living away from home in accordance with the migrant labour policy. For many, a 'family unit' is never even formed.

This means that for long periods of their youthful, sexually-active lives, a good number of husbands and wives live apart. As an exception, from personal idiosyncrasy or unusual self-control; a few individuals may be able to deny their natural biological desires, but this cannot apply to a whole population, especially when it is not culturally attuned to such practices.

Inevitably, there is a great harvest of illegitimate children. Most of these are spawned in the towns, the progeny of 'husband' and 'girlfriend'. But the



wife in the reserves, living an unnaturally lonely and unsupported life, is also not immune to the temptation, or, perhaps more charitably, the need of a man's company and so two categories of illegitimate children are produced, each burgeoning growing points for more human misery . . .

Commonly a woman will try to nurse her baby herself during the early months, but typically, before the first year, economic pressures become intolerable and she must cast about for someone else who will take care of her baby. She may be driven to desperate measures, like dumping the baby in the father's room and 'getting lost' - 'he gives me the babies but no money'. Or she may hire a woman in the location to nurture her child - one of the surest ways of buying neglect and maltreatment.

As a rule, however, it is the granny who is left 'holding the baby' a grim throwback to the old accommodating 'kraal' system. So after some months spent in the reserves with her old mother (not infrequently sharing her old-age pension) she leaves her babe in granny's care and returns to the town, to work, with promise of money for granny and child, which she does not always fulfil. The plight of some

of these old women and babies is exquisitely pathetic. Granny may be seventy or even eighty. She may be an invalid - indeed many die while still in harness, in so doing upsetting yet another social applecart. Some old women care single-handed for a dozen or more children, some are so feeble that they cannot lift their charges from the floor; one old woman was obliged to crawl up steps when she had a baby on her back . . .

## MALNUTRITION

Widespread childhood malnutrition is popularly ascribed to poverty and ignorance. In this Homeland it is due to the fragmentation of family life caused by migrant labour. It is an expression of childhood neglect and maltreatment which takes this form because it occurs in a poverty economy. Malnutrition is perhaps the most intrusive problem in this reserve, denoting as it does a horrible form of childhood suffering. It is common, affecting hundreds of children each year overtly - as fully fledged kwashiorkor or marasmus - and thousands less obviously, but nevertheless stunting their physical and mental health and growth. Marasmus is a form of infant starvation, which usually happens to babies in their first year of life - tiny, anxious, wizened little creatures, old and skeletal looking. Kwashiorkor usually occurs after the first year due to an unrelieved mealie meal diet, without milk or other protein. It bloats its small victims (sometimes their eyes are so swollen they cannot see) making them miserable, distrustful and anti-social . . . It is tragic that women who try to improve their lot and make a better life for their children by going away to work for them frequently only succeed in precipitating their children into malnutrition, because they are forced to leave them with unsuitable guardians who, if not downright unscrupulous, are less capable - like old women and sick relatives - or less motivated to 'scrounge' for them. And in many cases of course they must summarily deprive their children of their breast milk, frequently inade-



quate after the sixth month, but nevertheless a small source of protein. It requires unusual motivation to rear a child successfully in this impoverished society. Thus 'initiative' and 'self help' is punished rather than rewarded.

Malnutrition is much more a social than a medical problem. Each malnourished child can be regarded as a reliable indication of a social problem in his immediate environment. It is an expression of social chaos and will only disappear when normality, in particular normal family life, is established. Its only solution is a socio-economic milieu in which biological families can live together as units, close to their places of work, where they can earn living wages.

\* \* \* \* \*



## BLACK VEGETABLE

Born of Black parents, Wilson is 17. Severely mentally and physically handicapped, he squats on his twisted legs on the grass outside his home in Lamontville, Durban (SA).

His parents cannot afford a wheelchair, so he does not go anywhere. This has been his life for 17 years. He has no other future in sight. He was

born with brain damage and he was born Black.

And if you are born Black and a vegetable, it all adds up to a horror world with a 'twice unlucky' tag, neither society nor the State wishes to know that you exist.

The State has not cared sufficiently to build institutions for Black disabled and handicapped, for the young as well as the old. And society is not prepared to give money for the mentally handicapped.

White mental defectives in Natal are housed at the Umgeni-Waterfall Institution at Howick. Indian children can be accommodated at Town Hill, where there is special ward with 36 beds.

For Africans and Coloureds there is nothing. The children are left with the parents - who are often driven to the

verge of collapse by the burden they have to bear.

"In theory there are institutions for these people", says Mrs. Anne Edwards, of Durban Bantu Child Welfare. "In practice they are always full. You just can't get the children in".

"If an institution was opened in Durban tomorrow we could fill it at once" says Dr. Jonker. "A 100-bed institution would do at a pinch. Four hundred beds would be more realistic."

# FREEDOM DAY SONG

Each freedom day Vorster brings your long night nearer; our freedom day Vorster is your nightmare now

While your turn on your torrent of lies, we urge on our torrential skies to clean the land that we cant rest in till we drown the hell that you invest in

Each freedom day Vorster brings your long night nearer; our freedom day Vorster is your nightmare now

Our men are mines that you dared tramp on, our mines have men you left your stamp on; our people wait to bare their sons to better days than they come into

Each freedom day Vorster brings your long night nearer; our freedom day Vorster is your nightmare now

Our arms are steel and keen to meet you, our hearts are meat but steeled to beat you, our fists are bone and bound to greet you with mighty blows for freedom day

Each freedom day Vorster brings your long night nearer; our freedom day Vorster is your nightmare now.

Ronnie Kasrils

# Campaign for the ...

# RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Report of the ANC's Sub-Committee for the Release of All Political Prisoners, adopted at a meeting of the National Executive Committee of Congress, held in Lusaka recently



Vuysile Mini, ANC and SACTU leader who was executed for his activities against Apartheid, and the Mini family (right)

The Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners in South Africa has, so far, yielded no concrete results. Not a single political prisoner has been released, nor has the campaign resulted in any public reaction by the government. On the contrary, the technique of suppression and restriction continues to be applied with vigour.\* On two or three occasions, some leaders of the Bantustans and other organisations have expressed concern at the continued detention of the true leaders of the African people, like Mandela, Sisulu, and others, and have called for their release. One such call came from the Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, M. Naidoo, who urged the "Conference on Federalism" to call on the government to grant an amnesty to all those who are

banned or on Robben Island, and said it would be a sign of the delegates' "good faith" if this were done. M. Naidoo's call was supported by Collins Ramusi, Lebowa's "Minister of Interior", who said that blacks were prepared to "forget the past" and help build a new society. "But I cannot forget those prisoners on Robben Island and those who are forced to live in exile abroad," he said. Later, at the same "Conference on Federalism", Chief Buthelezi pointed out that he had discussed the question of the release of the political prisoners with Vorster, who had told him it was something he (Vorster) would never agree to.

Students in Johannesburg and Cape Town have called for the release of political prisoners. According to a

leaflet issued by the Witwatersrand Students Representative Council, they have done so because many of them "believe that men like Mandela are the true leaders of black people in South Africa."

The remainder of the text of the leaflet states: "If black men and women are to work for a new South Africa, where their children do not have to carry passes, and will be able to earn a living wage, then the leaders must be released.

"If justice and humanity are to be found for black people, then those men who can help struggle for freedom must be let out of jail. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Cedric Pathudi have joined the students in calling for the release of political prisoners. All the mighty nations of the world have called for freedom for black leaders in South Africa.

"IF PASS RAIDS ARE TO END;  
"IF MEN ARE TO BE ABLE TO LIVE WITH THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN;  
"IF COMFORT IS TO REPLACE POVERTY,

"If these are to be so . . .

\* In the last few months a number of office-bearers and members of SASO, NUSAS, BPC, BCP have been banned. NUSAS' leaders in Cape Town and a SASO leader in Kimberley have been found guilty of contravening their banning orders. Wits' SRC office was raided by CID, and in Sharpeville organisations, some having links with SASO, have been held in detention. In Grahamstown, the National Organiser of SASO has been convicted under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to five years imprisonment. He (Mosibudi Mangena) had been found guilty of "encouraging state witnesses to become members of the BCP". In general, the government has launched a campaign to silence all its critics.





**"THEN MANDELA, SISULU, MBEKI AND MANY OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE IN JAIL BECAUSE OF THEIR FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID MUST BE RELEASED!**

**"RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!"**

The campaign for the release of Bram Fischer "on compassionate grounds" seems to have fizzled out, and the grouping led by the former President of the Indian Congress, Ramgobin seems to have disintegrated with his banning.

International solidarity with our struggle for the release of political prisoners has grown immensely. A number of popular organisations and anti-apartheid groups, the OAU and the United Nations have taken up the campaign. The people of the world have, through these organisations, made numerous calls and statements, passed resolutions and organised petitions, calling on the government of SA to release all those banned, restricted and imprisoned because of their opposition to apartheid.

The sub-committee has not, as yet, re-

ceived all reports of solidarity actions taken by national anti-apartheid groups in support of our campaign. This is not very surprising, since the majority of the groups with whom we are in contact have planned their actions to coincide with the "world-wide week of action against Apartheid" - December 10-17. That is, just before the start of the Christmas and New Year holidays. Our sub-committee is, hopefully, expecting to receive some reports shortly.

### **PRESS AND RADIO**

Press and radio coverage has been poor. However, in the international press, e.g., some English papers, some items have appeared in the form of articles, reports etc., and statements by UN Representatives of important countries. In Sweden, leaflets were issued calling for the release of South African political prisoners.

The Sub-Committee has sent appeals and letters to a number of newspapers in the USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand, Western Europe and the

Scandinavian countries. Cables were sent to the OAU, UN Secretary General, UN Committee of 24, UN Special Committee on Apartheid and the World Peace Council urging them to join the call for the release of political prisoners.

Radio Freedom - the Voice of the African National Congress, ran special features on political prisoners during and before the "World-wide week of action against Apartheid."

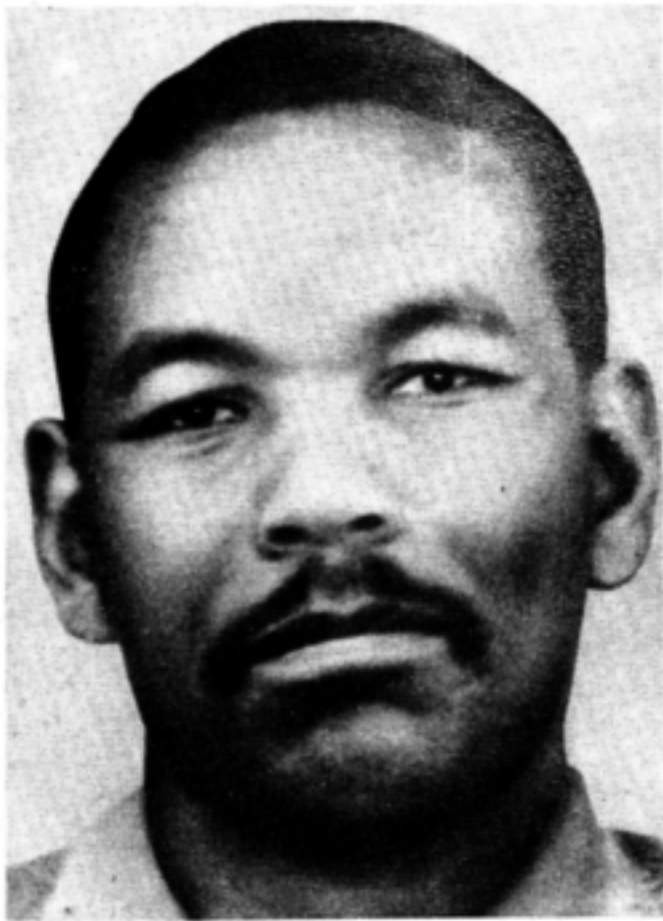
The sub-committee also appealed to the Africa Department of Radio Berlin International to carry the campaign during the week December 10-17 and to appeal to RBI listeners' clubs throughout the world to promote the campaign according to the conditions within their own countries. This was done.

### **POPULAR ORGANISATIONS**

According to reports, national coordinating Action Committees have been formed in Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and the Malagasy Republic. A similar organisation has been set



A heavily disguised Bram Fischer as he looked when he was arrested while underground



Wilton Mkwayi, ANC and SACTU leader serving life imprisonment



Billy Nair, ANC and SACTU leader serving 20 years

up in Ghana. Anti-apartheid groups exist in Holland, Britain, Ireland and elsewhere. The Swedish comrades intimated that they are considering the establishment of a Committee coordinating the work of all anti-apartheid groups in all the Scandinavian countries. Some groups are being formed in France.

In response to our call for the release of all South African political prisoners, our office in Rome launched a massive signature campaign. Many meetings in support of the call were held in many parts of Italy including Rome and Milan.

### TRADE UNIONS

On behalf of the sub-committee, we have raised the question of the release of political prisoners with Brother Otto Kersten, General Secretary of the ICFTU; with Denis Akumu, General Secretary of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU); and with a number of representatives of trade union centres in West Germany, Sweden and Norway.

The general appeal issued by the sub-committee was also circulated to all international and regional trade union centres. Numerous trade union organisations have, in accordance with the resolution of the Geneva International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, and in response to appeals

issued by SACTU and the sub-committee, taken up the campaign. Soviet, Rumanian, and Czechoslovak trade unions, trade unions in the DRV and the PRG of South Vietnam, as well as Trade Union Internationals affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, made statements and adopted resolutions in support of the demand for the release of all political and trade union prisoners in South Africa. The Southern African Liberation Centre in Sydney, Australia, circulated an appeal for the release of prisoners to several organisations and individuals in Australia.

The Eighth World Trade Union Congress, held in Varna, Bulgaria, during October, endorsed the resolutions of the Geneva Conference, and called upon members to devise means for the successful implementation of these resolutions.

At the Fourth African Regional Conference of the ILO, held in Nairobi in December, the General Secretary of the Zambia Railway Workers' Union, Comrade A. Simwanza, issued a very strong call for the release of Mandela, Nkomo and Sithole. He called for the release of these comrades, and others, to Zambia. A copy of the statement was sent to us.

We would like to make special mention of the activities of the ICFTU. During our discussions with the ICFTU

Secretary General, Otto Kersten, he promised to raise the matter with his organisation, as well as with the UN Secretary General. In the ICFTU News Sheet of December 15, Mr Kersten reports that he had discussed this question with Dr. Waldheim. The ICFTU has, itself, issued a strong appeal for the release of political and trade union prisoners in South Africa, and urged on ICFTU International Trade Secretariat to participate in the week of action against apartheid. (This is specially mentioned since the ICFTU has in the past refrained from making "political statements, as this is contrary to the fundamental principles" according to the ICFTU. It held a definitely hostile attitude towards the liberation movement in South Africa.

### AT THE UN

At the United Nations, the Special Committee on Apartheid adopted a statement on political prisoners in S. A. On the 27th October, 1973, the UN General Assembly called on South Africa to release all political prisoners. By a vote of 112 in favour, two abstentions (Portugal and Paraguay) and only South Africa itself against, the Assembly urged the regime to "grant forthwith unconditional release to all such persons" and restated that the prisoners are often badly treated or tortured.



## HAVE WE DONE ENOUGH?

The questions facing us now are: Can and should more be done – both internally and internationally – to further the campaign? Should we adopt new tactics to sustain the campaign and lead us away from a cul-de-sac? To both these questions the sub-committee answers in the affirmative. Much more can and should be done to secure the release from fascist jails of all the leaders and activists of the struggle for freedom, equality and happiness for all the peoples of South Africa. The campaign has as its principal aim the release of political prisoners. We must leave no stone unturned in our efforts to secure the release of all persons in prison and under restriction.

The work of the sub-committee suffers from a basic weakness. Its work is not based on the activities of the masses of the people in the country. This is a serious weakness which arises out of its mandate, which is to "continue and co-ordinate" the campaign launched in Addis Ababa in June. The work of the sub-committee will be tremendously more successful if it gathers strength and inspiration from and is a continuation of the struggles of the masses of the people of South Africa for the release of South Africa's prisoners. It is only on the basis of the daily economic and political struggles – embracing all classes and strata of the oppressed peoples, and including the demand for the participation of

the true leaders of the oppressed peoples of South Africa in the solution of the problems of South Africa, that the mandate of the sub-committee can be successfully carried out.

## PROPOSAL FOR CONSIDERATION OF N.E.C.

● **Remission:** Hundreds of our comrades in prison, even in terms of the brutal South African criminal law, should have been released by now if the fascists applied their own laws on remission. However, through deliberate and coldblooded viciousness, they have decided not to apply this in the case of political prisoners. This gross violation has not been sufficiently exposed. This is not a plea for mercy. Numerous bodies, not necessarily the ANC itself, can be called upon to launch campaigns exposing the savagery of the regime on political prisoners.

● Following all the declarations and resolutions of the UN Organisation on the release of political prisoners, the time is overdue for a convention on political prisoners who have been arrested and convicted for activities in pursuance of the principles of the UN. Such a convention would set out the obligations and duties of member states in relation to such prisoners. Article 11 and 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, amongst other resolutions and conventions, lay the basis for such a convention.

The campaign for a convention of this nature, through national and governmental agencies, could arouse great enthusiasm in the world.

● That the committee should, in accordance with the campaign, study and compile suggestions for publicity and propaganda, to take the form of leafletting, stickers for use both internally and externally. Photographs and sketches, including those depicting suffering of children, should be made available to UNICEF. Any propaganda material that we think may be used inside the country must be passed on to the Working Committee.

● We should urge anti-apartheid organisations to produce a range of badges and banners with pictures and names of our political prisoners for use at meetings.

● Stickers and small banners with slogans such as: Mandela Speaks For Us; South Africa Belongs To Us – Bantustans Are A Fraud should also be encouraged (these and other proposals were adopted by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress. We urge our many friends throughout the world who support our campaign to keep in touch with our sub-committee through the Secretary, Sub-Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners, African National Congress (South Africa), P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka, Zambia. On the following pages we produce short biographical notes on some of our prisoners for use in the campaign – Ed.)

---

## GRADUATION TO THE GUN

for long enough it was that way  
yes, my baas; no, my baas; spare me, baas  
for long you'd accepted without question  
the lot thrust upon you  
by the usurpers of your land

but when essentials of the case were put to you  
through news of kinfolk being hanged in cells  
through sights of mass arrest and gunning down  
of those who dare to shout enough's enough  
you grasped the implications of their policy  
and anger stirred your throttled dignity

enough's enough you echoed  
and at the age of fifteen  
you joined guerrilla ranks

the intermittent fear of death in war  
does not approach, you say,  
the fear of cops and loss of pass  
for warrior's death is dignified  
and pleas for mercy servile  
which you no longer are

he who dies by the gun must live by the gun

zarina chiba

# Profiles of some of our... POLITICAL PRISONERS



**NELSON  
MANDELA**

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is the son of a chief. He was born in Umtata, Transkei, in 1918. Of his childhood he said in court: "In my youth I listened to the leaders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland . . . I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle."

Nelson Mandela studied at Fort Hare University College and at the University of the Witwatersrand. He gained a degree in law in 1942. In 1952 he set up in practice as a solicitor, in partnership with Oliver Tambo.

In 1944 Mandela joined the African National Congress. A foundation member of the ANC Youth League, he was elected Transvaal President of the ANC and volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign in 1952. Following this campaign, he was banned from attending all gatherings, from membership of the ANC, and from leaving Johannesburg.

From 1956 to 1961, Mandela sat as an accused in the Treason Trial. Together with the other accused he was found not guilty and discharged, but his legal practice was ruined.

In 1960, after Sharpeville, the ANC was outlawed; Mandela was detained during the State of Emergency. At the All-In African Conference in Pietermaritzburg, 1961, he was elected leader of the National Action Council. In this capacity he went underground to organise a general strike, the "Stay at Home", on 31 May 1961.

In 1962 Mandela toured Africa and Europe to win support for the African cause, and afterwards toured South Africa to report back on his tour. During this period, eluding all the efforts of the police to find him, he became internationally known as "The Black Pimpernel". However, in August 1962 the police caught up with him; he was charged with inciting a general strike and with leaving South Africa without a valid passport. He was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

From prison, he was again brought to court in 1964, and became the No. 1 accused in the Rivonia Trial, charged with sabotage. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, which he is serving on Robben Island. Formerly a keen and successful boxer and athlete, Nelson Mandela is married, which five children. His wife is banned and has been arrested on several occasions.

**Wife:**

Mrs Winnie Mandela  
8115 Orlando West  
Johannesburg





**WALTER  
SISULU**

Walter Max Sisulu was born at Engcobo, Transkei, in 1912. After a childhood of herding cattle, and a limited mission school education, he went to work in the mines of Johannesburg. Thereafter he had a succession of labouring jobs.

As a young boy he rebelled against his family's "respect" for the white man, and his experience in the mines confirmed his hatred of white supremacy. Working in a bakery, he organised a strike and was dismissed. In 1940 he joined the African National Congress and then, with Mandela and others, helped found the militant Youth League as a pressure group within the ANC.

Sisulu became Secretary-General of the ANC in 1949. Though unpaid, he worked full time at the job, playing a key part in the development of the ANC.

In 1952 Sisulu was one of the principal organisers of the Defiance Campaign in which 8,000 defiers went to jail in protest against apartheid. Sisulu was one of them. On his release he was banned from attending all gatherings. Then it was judged that the Defiance Campaign furthered the aims of communism: as an organiser, Sisulu was given a sentence of 9 months, suspended for 3 years, under the Suppression of Communism Act. This made him a statutory communist and the Government was enabled to order him to resign from the ANC. In 1955 Oliver Tambo succeeded him as Secretary-General. Sisulu commented: "To be cut off from your life work comes as a spiritual shock."

But Sisulu did not give up political work and a year later he was in the dock to sit out the 4½ year ordeal of the Treason Trial. The Trial was suspended during the State of Emergency that followed the Sharpeville shootings and Sisulu was detained for 5 months during the Emergency. Found not guilty and discharged from the Treason Trial, Sisulu was harried by the police, finding himself constantly in and out of jail under the 12-days-without-charge law. At the end of 1962 he was put under 12-hour house arrest.

In 1963 Sisulu was accused of organising the 1961 "Stay at Home" general strike and was also found guilty of furthering the aims of the ANC, banned in 1960. He was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment. Granted bail pending an appeal, he disappeared on 20 April 1963 to lead the underground ANC. In July 1963, Walter Sisulu was arrested at Rivonia, tried for sabotage, and sentenced in June 1964 to life imprisonment. He is serving his sentence on Robben Island. Walter Sisulu is married and has five children. His wife is banned and house - arrested.

**Wife:**  
Mrs A. Sisulu  
7372 Orlando West - Johannesburg



**GOVAN  
MBEKI**

Govan Archibald Mbeki was born at Ngqamakwe, Transkei, in 1910, the son of a farmer. He was educated at Healdtown secondary school and Fort Hare University College, where he obtained his B.A. degree. He also gained a B.Econ through the University of South Africa. He became a teacher.

Govan Mbeki has devoted his life's work in particular to the Eastern Cape Province. As a politician in the 30's he represented Idutywa, where he had started a co-op store, in the "Bunga" or Transkeian Territories General Council, a quasi-parliamentary body later abolished by the Nationalist government. He became chief organiser of the Transkei Organised Bodies, a co-ordinating body of African organisations in the Transkei, disbanded in the early 40's. Here he developed the genius for organisation which helped the ANC Eastern Cape Region to become perhaps the most effective section in the country.

In 1954 Mbeki's co-op in Idutywa was destroyed by a tornado and he took up a teaching post in Ladysmith, Natal. Dismissed for his political activities, he returned to the Eastern Cape to become Port Elizabeth editor of **New Age** and continue his organisational work in the region.

He was detained during the 1960 State of Emergency after Sharpeville. Two years later he was arrested under the Explosives Act following the initial sabotage operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Eastern Cape. After he had spent 5 months in solitary confinement, the charge against him was withdrawn. He was then put under house arrest, so went underground to continue the struggle.

Govan Mbeki was arrested at Rivonia and sentenced in June 1964 to life imprisonment, which he is serving on Robben Island.

In addition to his political activities, Govan Mbeki published numerous articles, essays and books on the Transkei. During his student days he was distinguished as an athlete, footballer and ballroom dancer. He was a prominent member of the Students' Representative Council at Fort Hare, and in 1958 he was elected President of the Old Fort Harians Association. He is married, with four children.

**Wife:**  
Mrs. E. Mbeki  
Box 122  
Idutywa,  
Transkei



## BRAM FISCHER



## RAYMOND MHLABA



Abram (Bram) Fischer was born in April 1908, son of a Judge President of the Orange Free State, grandson of a Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony. He had a fine academic and sporting record, representing the Free State against the All Blacks at rugby when he was 19 and winning a Rhodes Scholarship to New College, Oxford. It was said that he would be Prime Minister or Chief Justice one day, whichever he chose.

After being a staunch Afrikaner Nationalist, Fischer became profoundly aware of the injustice in South African society. At Oxford he joined the Communist Party and, on his return to South Africa, became convinced that this was the only party to stand consistently for full political rights for all South Africans.

In Johannesburg, Fischer became a distinguished barrister and then Queen's Counsel. Despite his politics – about which he was quite open – he was widely respected and liked in the all-white legal profession. He was often elected to the Johannesburg Bar Council and was for some years its Chairman. His work ranged from representing the Anglo-American Corporation to advising the African National Congress, but he gave up the Corporation work when he chose rather to assist the African Mineworkers' Union at the time of their strike in 1946.

In 1950 the Communist Party was outlawed. It remained in existence, supporting the ANC and the trade union movement, and Bram Fischer remained on its committee. In 1956 the Treason Trial began. Fischer helped conduct the defence. After 4½ years, the accused were all acquitted.

In 1961, the year after Sharpeville, Nelson Mandela and others formed Umkhonto we Sizwe and embarked on a programme of sabotage. In 1964 Mandela and some of his colleagues were arrested. Fischer led the defence team at the Rivonia Trial that followed where, though the death penalty had been widely feared, the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment.

A month after the conclusion of the trial Fischer was himself arrested and charged with 12 others under the Suppression of Communism Act. Fischer was granted bail and permission to go to London to argue an international patents case. His client won the case and he returned to South Africa to stand trial. Then he disappeared, to go underground to continue the struggle. He was captured 10 months later, in November 1965 and convicted in 1966 of sabotage and communism. Bram Fischer was sentenced to life imprisonment, which he is serving in Pretoria Local Prison. Fischer's wife was killed in a car crash the day after the end of the Rivonia trial. His son died in 1971 – he was refused permission to attend the funeral.

Raymond Mhlaba was born in Fort Beaufort, Eastern Cape, in 1920. The son of a peasant farmer, he went to school up to Junior Secondary level. In 1942 he went to Port Elizabeth to work in the drycleaning industry and joined the Laundry Workers' Union. Later he joined the Communist Party and then, in 1945, the African National Congress.

Mhlaba began political work in New Brighton "location" Port Elizabeth. He was elected chairman of the key ANC New Brighton branch and commenced a close association with Goven Mbeki that built the ANC Eastern Cape Region into the best organised region in the country.

Mhlaba and his colleagues in the Eastern Cape built a dynamism based on their concern for the minutiae of political work and for the problems of even the smallest groups and individuals. They organised from door to door, taking up local issues, protesting against rent increases and every injustice that came to their notice, collecting pennies and sixpences. As a result the ANC was able to conduct several successful campaigns in the Eastern Cape.

A year after he had joined the ANC Mhlaba led a mass demonstration to Port Elizabeth City Hall protesting against high rents. He was elected to the Cape Executive of the ANC and in 1952 led the first batch of defiers in the Defiance Campaign. He spent a month in prison for going with this group through the "Europeans only" entrance to the New Brighton railway station.

In 1960 Mhlaba was detained during the State of Emergency declared after the Sharpeville shootings. Police repression subsequently made it impossible for him to work in the open and he went underground to continue the struggle. He was arrested at Rivonia in July 1963.

Raymond Mhlaba was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment, which he is serving on Robben Island.

While he was in prison in 1960 Mhlaba's wife died. He has eight children.

**Daughter:**  
Mrs Ilse Wilson  
2 Westmeath Drive  
Parkview · Johannesburg

**Children**  
c/o Mrs Mbeki  
Box 122  
Idutywa  
Transkei  
South Africa





**AHMED  
KATHRADA**

Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada was born in the Transvaal in 1929 of a scholarly Indian family, followers of Gandhi. From the age of 17, when he gave up a university career to work full time in the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, he devoted himself relentlessly to the cause of liberty. At this age too, as a result of his activities in the Campaign, he got his first taste of prison and served one month inside.

A foundation member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Volunteer Corps (the forerunner of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress) Kathrada later became President of the Youth Congress. He also held executive positions in various other organisations linked with the Congress movement.

In 1952 Kathrada was a prominent leader and organiser of the Defiance Campaign and was given a suspended sentence for "furthering the aims of Communism." He was also banned from belonging to Congress organisations. Under the Group Areas Act, Johannesburg, Indian schools were being moved 22 miles out to Lenasia, the new "Indian area." Kathrada helped organise the Indian Parents' Association which established its own school, the Central Indian High School, in Johannesburg. Kathrada was elected Secretary of the Association in 1955. In 1955 too, he helped organise the Congress of the People at Klipfontein. The following year he took his place as one of the accused at the Treason Trial, which occupied the next 4½ years of his life. He was also banned from attending all gatherings and from leaving Johannesburg.

Near the end of the Treason Trial he visited his sick mother in Schweizer Reyneke and, having been acquitted of treason, was arrested and kept in prison for weeks before finally being charged with breaking his ban. He was given a suspended sentence. He was also detained for 5 months during the State of Emergency declared after the Sharpeville shootings of 1960.

At the end of 1962 Kathrada was placed under 12-hour house arrest. He went underground and was arrested at Rivonia in 1963. It was his 18th arrest on a political charge. He was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial in June 1964. He is serving his sentence on Robben Island.

**Kathrada family**  
PO Schweizer Reineke,  
Transvaal



**ELIAS  
MOTSOALEDI**

Elias Motsoaledi was born in Sekukhuniland, Transvaal, in 1925. His parents could not afford to keep him at school after Standard 6 (primary leaving standard) and at the age of 17, with his pass, he went to Johannesburg to seek work. He left his pass behind one day and was arrested for being without it – his first introduction to the apartheid laws of South Africa.

He worked first as a domestic servant for £2.10.0 a month and later in the shoe industry for £1.4.0 a week. Although he knew nothing about trade unions he organised his fellow workers to ask for an increase in wages and for this he was sacked. Later he joined the Leather Workers' Union, learned what he could about trade unionism and continued to organise his fellow workers, although this cost him his job on many occasions.

In 1948 Motsoaledi joined the African National Congress and was elected secretary of the Denver (Transvaal) branch. He later became a member of the Provincial Executive.

He was chairman of the African Furniture, Mattress and Bedding Workers' Union and in 1953 became chairman of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, precursor of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

His trade union work was cut short in 1953. He had been a leader in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the following year received orders banning him from attending gatherings and from belonging to organisations.

But Motsoaledi continued with his political activities. He was detained during the 1960 State of Emergency declared after the Sharpeville shootings. In 1962 he joined **Umkonto we Sizwe** and went underground.

In 1963 he was arrested under the 90-day detention-without-trial law and kept in solitary confinement for 50 days before being joined with the Rivonia accused.

Elias Motsoaledi was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. He is serving his sentence on Robben Island.

Motsoaledi is married and has seven children, the youngest of whom was nine months old when he was sentenced in 1964. His wife was detained under the 90-day law while attending his trial in Pretoria.

**Wife:**  
Mrs Caroline Motsoaledi  
10175A Kgay Street,  
Orlando West 2  
PO Phirima, Johannesburg

# BARBERTON WOMENS' PRISON

Dorothy Nyembe,  
a prominent leader  
of the  
ANC Womens League  
now serving  
15 years imprisonment  
in the Barberton  
Womens Prison



The womens' top-security prison at Barberton (South Africa) in the Eastern Transvaal has a number of prison buildings scattered over several square miles of prison land within a guarded perimeter fence. This is where prisoners with a history of violence are transferred to from gaols in different parts of the country; those who have tried to escape, and who in desperation of a long sentence ahead of them have and might try to do so whatever the risk. Designed to punish indisciplined prisoners, the prison is indeed a harsh and bleak place. **All women political prisoners are automatically sent here.**

It is here that women's leader Dorothy Nyembe rotted first for 5 years and is at present serving a fifteen-year term (see last issue of *Sechaba* for profile on Comrade Nyembe).

Jean Middleton, a former Barberton political prisoner has this to say about the prison:

I was there for three years, from 1965/68, with a total of eleven other white women who came and left at different times in a section roughly the area of a moderately-sized school assembly. It was divided into a central space with a dining table and chairs and concrete laundry sinks, a courtyard surrounded by fifteen-foot walls and with washing lines in the middle, a bathroom and lavatory, three single cells so small that a visitor from the International Red Cross commented on them.

Here, prisoners in Barberton prison spend their days, months, and years. Most prisoners work outside the building but they never leave it, their work is in their own sections and there they wash, iron, sweep and scrub the floors.

The longest walk they take is ten

yards up the corridor to the matron's office. Scarcely do they take it more than twice a week. Newspapers are not allowed in prison, no recreation at anytime, no radio.

Work stops at four p. m. After half an hour's exercise in the courtyard, prisoners eat (dreary meals) wash up at five, wardresses lock them in their cells. Locking their section doors and all the other doors, the wardresses then go off duty, leaving them with a very long evening to read books which the prison authority allows them to keep. Those who happen to be in a cell with a proper lavatory in the corner of their cell are reckoned fortunate; the rest spend the night locked with their sanitary buckets, which they must carry out each morning to empty.

Political prisoners are totally segregated from other prisoners, insulated from the life outside their own walls. Whatever happens in the rest of the prison, comes to them mainly in hasty whispered conversations from trustees. Over courtyard walls screams are often heard of prisoners who seek momentary escape from the desolation of their lives. This hysteria is familiar to anyone with experience of women's prisons. In such places feelings are kept under tight control as it is infectious and always has a bad effect on prisoners making them edgy and lowering their spirits.

Women who dare try to escape are sentenced to one year solitary picking sisal fibre in their cells and that stuff tears their hands to pieces.

Peeping through the window of a cell is forbidden in prison. Trigger-happy armed prison guards threaten any prisoner who may try to do so with: 'I'll shoot your heads off.' This is their favourite hymn.

A young wardress once told prisoners that the shot they had heard one morning had killed one of two male prisoners where they had been working in the men's section of the prison. 'But its all right' she stated naively, 'we are going to say he was trying to escape.'

The policy of the South African government is to try and "break" the morale of political prisoners by all means especially at the beginning of their sentences. Prisoners are allowed one hour daily exercise as prescribed in the prison regulations but the officer usually shows his power by cutting it down to as short as fifteen minutes.

Black prisoners in South Africa do not often get the visits the regulations entitles them to. Official visitors who manage to visit prisons seldom go to Barberton as a result of what happens there, largely unseen by the public eye.

The inmates at Barberton prison where white only during 1965/68, there are Black women prisoners there now who were held at Nelspruit prison. It is quite certain that if white women had a bad time, the African woman is having a worse one as they are generally, according to law, treated with great contempt. According to prison regulations their food is comparatively deplorable. It consists of mainly boiled mealies without salt and mealie-meal porridge without sugar or salt.

In some prisons they are at least allowed the bit of freedom to sing at specified times, but not in Barberton prison. This consolation to their daily worries is denied to them. Singing is simply not tolerated, not even at the Sunday morning religious service.'



# Learning To Be Daddy



Life in a caravan is something to look forward to – if you have lots of money and leisure time. If you are carefree and adventurous. Or simply if you are ready to retire from the rat-race.

For Reggie Vandeyar and his wife Assoo and their two children, however, life in a caravan is the grim reality of existing on meagre earnings, in cramped conditions and under the restrictions of a banning order as well. Reggie was placed under a 5-year banning and house arrest order after his release from Robben Island in May last year. But his family is inevitably also affected by the ban. The four of them can never go out as a family unit in the evenings, nor can Reggie take his family on weekend outings. He is, however, allowed two hours for religious worship on Sundays. Even then he can only go to the Siva Subramoney Temple in Lenasia – “the temple chosen for him by the Special Branch.”

Mrs. Vandeyar, 39, worked throughout the ten years her husband was on Robben Island, but stopped in January this year “to have a bit of a break.”

Reggie was arrested on a charge of sabotage in April 1963 – actually on his daughter Suchila's 8th birthday, April 17 – his wife's nerves just packed up and she was sick in bed for six weeks.

He was sentenced on May 13, only

five days after her son, Karuna, turned four. She realised then that she would be the sole breadwinner for a long time.

So she went back to work as a machinist in the garment trade. Things were never easy, but somehow she managed. In a press statement she said, “one of my first difficulties was the rent – we were paying R40 a month, and I just couldn't manage it. “I discussed my problem with some friends, who in turn spoke to the landlord. The rent was then brought down to R28. Of course my family helped me out from time to time, and while I appreciated whatever they did, I was determined to be as independent as possible.

“It's marvellous having my husband back again”, Mrs. Vandeyar said.

The children, Suchila and Karuna, now teenagers of 18 and 14 respectively, are slowly getting used to having their daddy home again.

“Suchila missed her father a lot at first”, Mrs. Vandeyar said. “She used to get her spending money from him before going off to school in the mornings, after I had left for work. So she often asked about him.

“But Karuna was still a bit too young, and now he tends to be rather shy with his father.

“Naturally, I hope this sort of strangeness between father and son will wear off soon . . .” Karuna is still

attending high school in Lenasia. But Suchila left school recently and has an office job in town.

Although almost a year has passed since his release, Reggie has not yet found a job. He earns a few rands a week buying and selling job-lots – “Anything that comes his way”, said his wife.

She said that her husband has had a number of offers of employment, but the hours clashed with the time limits imposed on him by house arrest. “The worst part is not having a decent house to live in”, continued Mrs. Vandeyar. “Soon after Reggie was released, he applied for a house. But we are still battling. I tried to get a house before his release, but was told that as my husband was not with me, I could not be given one.”

The caravan occupied by the Vandeyars is parked in Reggie's nephew's yard. Suchila and Karuna sleep in the house, together with the nephew, his wife and their three kids, plus Reggie's sister, her husband and their two kids.

In effect, 13 people are occupying premises consisting of two bedrooms, dining room and kitchen, as there are no outside toilet facilities.

And the caravan is so tiny that even if Reggie were allowed more than one visitor at a time, the number of his visitors at any one time would be restricted by lack of space to only one . . .

# Portrait of a ...

## ROBBEN ISLAND WIDOW

Last year was a little less depressing for the Sisulu family. For in December 1973, Walter and Nonsikelelo Sisulu's youngest child turned 16. And she was able, for the first time in 12 years to visit her father on Robben Island, where he is serving a life sentence. Nonkululekhe had often pestered her mother with questions – how does her father look; what is he like; was he in good health . . . She had seen him and known him as a father for the last time when she was a toddler of four. Now Nonkululekhe knows the answers to these questions.

What about her mother? What is she doing? How is she managing? Here is the portrait of a . . .

### ROBBEN ISLAND WIDOW:

## MRS. NONSIKELELO SISULU

Twelve years ago, Mrs. Nonsikelelo Albertina Sisulu became, to all intents and purposes, a "widow" when her husband Walter went off to work in the ANC's underground headquarters. Two years later he was caught with his comrades and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island for his part in anti-government political activities.

At that time the five Sisulu children ranged in age from 16 to four years old. Mrs. Sisulu, a nursing sister by profession, was faced with the none-too-easy task of bringing up and educating her three sons and two daughters single-handed.

Today she can look back with quiet pride at what she has achieved with hard work, dedication and sacrifice.

Max, 28 and the eldest, has his M.A., and is now studying for his Ph.D abroad. Mlungisi, 25, passed his matric at a school in Swaziland in 1969, and now works for a civil engineering and planning firm in Johannesburg; Zwelakhe, 23, works part-time at a local garage and is studying for his A-levels through correspondence; Lindiwe, 20, passed her A-levels at a Swaziland school last year, and is now studying Latin through correspondence, with an eye to doing law after she has passed her finals in a few months, and the youngest, Nonkululekhe, 16, is doing Form Three at a high school in Orlando.

Mrs. Sisulu, whose first name, Nonsikelelo, means "Blessings" in Xhosa, is 56, but looking at her you would hardly guess she has been through so much trouble and strife. A motherly figure with a ready smile, you cannot fail to feel the warmth that flows from her like rays of light and strength.

She was, at the time of writing, nearing the end of her second five-year period of banning and house arrest. She was given special permission to continue working after her banning, and is now employed by the Johannesburg City Council at their child health clinic in Orlando East.

Mrs. Sisulu has to be home each evening before six, except on Saturdays, when she has to be home by three p.m. She is not allowed any visitors at home, and can't go out again until Monday mornings, to report for work.

Despite the restrictions of her banning order, it is clear Mrs. Sisulu has not lost her courage nor her will to give her children as good a home life as possible without their father.



In the early years of Walter's imprisonment, Mrs. Sisulu received some financial assistance for rent, school books, and uniforms from the Defence and Aid Fund. But that soon came to an end when the government stepped in and prevented this organisation from continuing its work of assisting the families of political prisoners. Undaunted, however, Mrs. Sisulu took to knitting jerseys, pullovers and baby clothes as well as "sishweshwe" – traditional Sotho dresses – to narrow the gap between income and financial need.

Borrowing too, from Peter to pay Paul, became a constant feature in her life of struggling to make ends meet. Then there were a number of good friends whose help the Sisulus still appreciate today – friends who rallied round and did whatever they could from time to time, when things really looked bleak.

Still, Mrs. Sisulu has succeeded in maintaining the home she has lived in for almost 30 years, ever since her marriage to Walter. And she has given her children the most precious gift a parent can bestow on her off-spring – education.

Mrs. Sheila Sisulu, Mlungisi's young wife who was about to give birth to their second child explained how in addition to her own five children, Mrs. Sisulu senior had also brought up and educated the two children of her deceased sister.

Mrs. Sisulu is a nationally recognised leader in her own right. She was a prominent and leading member of the ANC's Women's League and the South African Women's Federation and was a close colleague of Lillian Ngoyi, President of both these organisations.

She played a prominent role in organising the great women's demonstration at the government buildings in Pretoria on South Africa's Women's Day – August 9 1956 when over 20,000 women from all over the country participated.

Her courage and fortitude is born of her clear understanding of the role of our women in the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa.

Long live Nonsikelelo Sisulu!

Long live the ANC Women's Section!



# TYALITI IS DEAD



Chief Tyaliti outside his hut in Lesotho after his escape

I hear that Tyaliti is dead. For 15 years Tyaliti has suffered at the hands of the Nationalist government of South Africa. When the time comes let us avenge his suffering and the sufferings of his wife and children.

In November 1959, Chief Edward Tyaliti, of Cala, Transkei, was served with a removal order, banished in terms of the Native Administration Act, 1928, from his home . . . taken by officials of the Native Affairs Department to the Magistrate at Cala and told to pack his things . . . to make no attempt to run away, and to proceed to location Tabaans in Sibasa, Transvaal – a thousand miles away and there to remain until such time as the Minister of Native Affairs should order his release.

Opposition to the government-imposed Bantu Authorities system had been particularly bitter in Cala, and Tyaliti (not a government appointed Chief) had been in the forefront. He had been charged with contempt of Chief Matanzima, charged with resisting Bantu Authorities and convicted of contempt of both the Magistrate's Court and the Tribal Court.

He fled to Lesotho (then Basutoland) as he was too proud to accept restriction to an area selected for him by the government. There he stayed at first with Anderson Ganyile, the Joyi brothers, and a couple of others who had all escaped from exile. Later he built himself a hut (from cardboards and sacks) on the slopes of a mountain and lived on his own.

Tyaliti left his wife and two sons at home – they had a hut, one of three, on a hilltop, and a pro-Matanzima chief lived in one of the other huts. Life was difficult. In 1962 he wrote that the police were still

picking up people there; that people were being killed by the followers of Matanzima.

His wife who maintained contact with him all these years, had to take on the responsibility of caring for the boys, trying to raise enough money for their schooling, selling a sheep when the crops failed and the family was desperate for food. She felt all this responsibility very much and lived constantly in fear. In every letter Tyaliti expressed his longing to see his wife and sons again – finally he risked a visit up to his hut under cover of darkness. He had a few hours with his wife and she then insisted he go, detection would mean imprisonment.

He was offered a conditional release – that is, he would be permitted to return home provided he cooperated with the authorities. He wrote that it was a difficult decision, but he could not agree – he could not comply with the conditions, it would be like "selling his brothers", and if he resisted he would be sent to Robben Island. He thought the offer a trick.

So he stayed on . . . He was a staunch ANC member.

When Helen Joseph visited the banished sometimes ago, she met Tyaliti. He was tremendously impressed that she and others knew of the plight of the banished and were actually doing something to help them and their families.

From: Nancy  
UMTATA – TRANSKEI  
25 September, 1974



Tshangela as he was when he was first exiled. The cover picture of Tshangela was taken in June this year

---

**The  
Lonely Man  
of  
Frenchdale:**

**THEOPHILUS  
TSHANGELA**

---

Theophilus Tshangela, who is now 74, was banished to the lonely wilderness of Frenchdale in the Kalahari Desert and is 80 km from the nearest town, Mafeking.

Tshangela, who was one of the leaders of the great Pondo Revolt of the early sixties, is a stated revolutionary. He was banished from his home in Kwa Maleida in the Bizana district of Pondoland, the scene of many mass confrontations between the armed forces of the government and the people.

In a recent press interview, recalling the struggle, Tshangela says: "The





Mrs. Treaty Mopeli as she looked on her release from exile after her husband Chief Mopeli had died



Anderson Ganyile being escorted from his home in Umtata, in the Transkei to Frenchdale, from where he escaped to Lesotho

last time I saw my wife, who had a baby who was sucking then, was the night before they burnt my house down. At the time there was fierce fighting in Pondoland – people were murdered and their homes burnt.

"I received information that I was next on the list of people to be killed. So, that night I moved my wife and six children to a friend's house and I went to another.

"Just before breakfast, I saw men get to my house – I still know some of them – and set it alight. Everything except the clothes we stood in was destroyed.

"I harnessed a horse and rode to the police station at Bizana to report the arson. You know what? I was locked up. I still don't know who took the horse back home.

"I was accused of being the leader of the group opposed to Trust Lands.

"The day after my arrest, I was driven by the police to a meeting to talk to angry tribesmen. The meeting probably convinced the police I was the people's pillow. "I was jailed under the emergency regulations and served six months at Pietermaritzburg and 18 at Bizana. After serving these sentences I was brought here.

"One of my two brothers is looking after my wife. I learn the children are scattered all over the country. I am told one of my daughters is now a nurse at the Greenville Mission Hospital.

"When I came here I met the two Ganyiles, Anderson and Mtetunzima, who were also involved in the Bizana troubles. You remember Anderson Ganyile: the man who escaped from here to Lesotho.

"He was kidnapped from Lesotho by

the South African police, but was allowed to go back there. I learn he is a teacher in Lesotho now.

"Mtetunzima also escaped from here, to Botswana.

"Paulus Howell Mopeli, a sub-chief who was banished from the Witzi-shoek Reserve in 1950, died here last year. His wife, Treaty, banished to a different place at the time and later brought here to join him, left after his death.

Her husband had been fighting the conversion of tribal land to Trust Land before his death. When Mrs. Matlela took over the chieftainship she continued the fight. Another was Alcott Gwentshe, a leader of the African National Congress in East London. Many of these people have died in these camps, others escaped to Lesotho or Botswana and some, old and destitute allowed to go home.

"Alex Tikane, from Cala near Umtata, was allowed to go back home last year. I am the only one left here . . . People banished to these remote places were given R2 when they reached their destination. The small rondavels they were given were empty.

"We were given monthly rations of mealie meal, mealies, condensed milk, peanut butter, fat, tea, coffee, sugar and R1. We had to find our own bedding, clothing and utensils.

"This coat, which I wore to the Bizana police station, helped me through many cold nights. The people I found here also helped with a spoon here, a dish there. Otherwise everything I have I bought – scrounging and saving every penny I got." He now has seven cattle and 38 horses. He says he has sold all his sheep, goats and donkeys. There were

two calabashes of sour milk in the corner, from his cows. His stock is perhaps one of the reasons he is not home yet.

"The Bantu Commissioner at Mafeking says I can go home, but he refuses to pay railage for my stock. When I leave here I am going to start from scratch and I need all my beasts.

"The other reason is that I am not prepared to be dumped at the station nearest my home and told I am free. I want them to replace the house that was burnt. When the Government take me home, they must put me in a house.

"I intend gathering my family again and this I cannot do while I am a guest in my brother's house. And finally when I leave this place I will not accept the conditions that the others have accepted in order to get home. I want to be free".

Mr. Tshangela's rations were stopped last September, but he says he still manages to scrounge round for food. Theophilus Tshangela, still a brave fighter, after 16 years of isolation, was, until recently, one of at least 130 people known to have been banished since 1950.

Now Tshangela sits alone in Frenchdale and although free now to go home, refuses to do so unless the government agrees to meet his conditions . . .

We salute this brave man and call on world public opinion to respond to the call of the United Nations, the African National Congress and other international and national organisations for the RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE BANNED AND THE BANISHED!



The Acting President General  
of the African National Congress,  
O. R. Tambo, writes to . . .

# THE NEW OAU SECRETARY GENERAL

**His Excellency  
Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua**

O. R. Tambo

Your Excellency,

The leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa takes this opportunity again to congratulate Your Excellency on your recent election to the high post of Secretary-General of so august a body as the OAU. Being fully cognisant of the heavy duties that devolve on you, may we, Your Excellency, take this opportunity also to express our heartfelt wishes for success in your work for the total liberation of Africa and the further advancement of the noble cause of African unity.

Your Excellency, recent events internationally and in Southern Africa in particular have helped to sharpen the focus of attention of the peoples of Africa and the world on the question of the destruction of the criminal system of apartheid in South Africa and the liberation of our oppressed and struggling people.

Throughout the world, the forces of reaction are suffering successive defeats. The peoples of Africa and the world struggling for national liberation, social progress and peace are scoring impressive victories.

Of particular relevance to us and to the great peoples of Africa is, of course, the heroic victory scored by our brother peoples and combatants of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde in helping to bring

about the downfall of the hated Portuguese colonial and fascist regime of Caetano.

This decisive victory has not only opened up the prospects for the rapid accession to independence of the Portuguese colonies in Africa; it has also greatly strengthened the liberation forces of our own country, helped further to isolate and weaken the racist and fascist regime of South Africa, and made the task of removing that regime all the more urgent and pressing.

Our people and their organisation, the African National Congress, moved by their own suffering and by their obligation to the peoples of Africa and the world, who are threatened by the aggressive regime of apartheid, are equal to the task facing them; that of the destruction what will possibly be the last remaining bastion of colonial and racist domination on our continent.

For many years, Your Excellency, the South African fascists, aided by their imperialist allies, have tried their best to destroy the African National Congress and the South African liberation movement as a whole, as well as the will and determination of our people to be free.

Thanks to the unwavering conviction of our organisation in the inevitability of victory and the leadership it has

given and is giving to the struggling people of our country, thanks to the heroism of our people and the support we have received from Africa and the world, the reactionary attempts of the enemy have proved to be in vain.

## Strike Movement

South Africa, today, is being rocked by the biggest strike movement of the black workers in ten years. Everywhere the oppressed and exploited workers are downing tools, demanding their rights to a just wage, proper working conditions, human dignity and freedom.

Each time the workers strike work, they know that they are not only breaking the law and thus opening themselves to the possibility of severe punishment by many years of imprisonment. They know that they face sudden and swift death by shooting, as happened at Western Deep Levels Mine last year and at Loraine Mine this year.

But, Your Excellency, the black workers of our country, like the rest of the people, are inspired by a powerful yearning for freedom and a better life; they are fired by a spirit of self-sacrifice which is and has been the abiding feature of the revolutionary movement of our country.

Despite the vicious persecution of their leaders by arrests, bans and ba-



nishment and the intimidation of thousands of their fellows, the student youth continue fearlessly to challenge the regime of white supremacy which is keeping power in our country by force of arms and open terror.

Through the insidious slave system of education, the so-called Bantu Education, the South African racists had hoped to reduce our youth into their pliable and docile tools. But they have failed.

The youth of our country has drawn inspiration from its peers, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, who heroically did battle against the joint Smith-Vorster forces in Zimbabwe, side by side with their comrades-in-arms of ZAPU, who put the racist forces to flight many times and laid down their lives without surrendering. The youth of our country has also drawn inspiration from the members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who, having returned home from abroad and having unfortunately been captured, continued to hurl defiance at the enemy, even within his courts of law. Our people throughout the country, in the towns and in the countryside, men, women and youth, are every day responding to the call of the African National Congress to engage the enemy at all times and on all fronts.

### Repression Intensified

These internal and international developments are a source of great worry to the Vorster regime. This regime is forced to recognise the fact that its days are numbered. Yet it has no intention of handing over power to the black majority of our country.

Rather, it has intensified its repression of the liberation movement. It has resorted to the cold-blooded shooting down of workers as a matter of consistent policy. The campaign of detention and torture, bans and banishment, is being intensified.

The policy of open terror has been extended to include murder by means of parcel bombs which, this year, have claimed the lives of Adolphus Mvemve, alias John Dube, a leading member of the African National Congress, and Abraham Tiro, leader of the South African Student Organisation.

But neither the African National Congress nor our people as a whole will be dissuaded from the pursuit of their goals by this policy of open terror. On the contrary, our determination to remove the regime of terror increases with every outrage that the enemy commits. It is therefore to be expected that the South African fascists, like their predecessors elsewhere in the world, as in Nazi Germany, fascist Portugal and the OAS in Algeria, will, in its dying days, outdo itself in brutality and barbarism.

To create a second line of defence for themselves, the South African racists have speeded up their Bantustan pro-

gramme, which aims to destroy the strength of the African people by dividing them into tribes, to replace the authentic leadership of the oppressed people with placemen of the apartheid regime, to divert the people from the pursuit of their genuine national aspirations, to interpose, between the white oppressors and the black oppressed, black puppet regimes, and to use these regimes to break South Africa's international isolation and defeat the world-wide anti-apartheid cause.

To be better able to defend white supremacy to the last, the racists, gambling on the deliberate impoverishment of our people, have also accelerated their policy of building up black para-military puppet forces.

The heightened mass struggle inside South Africa, Your Excellency, shows however that the people are not deceived by these manoeuvres. They have kept steadily in the forefront the fundamental objectives of enhancing the national unity of the African people, the unity in struggle of all the oppressed people and their total and unconditional national liberation, objectives that the African National Congress has spent over sixty years fighting for.

The great African Revolution is advancing inexorably towards the borders of South Africa. Portugal, an important ally in the counter-revolutionary Unholy Alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa has found itself unable to hold its own against the brave and relentless blows delivered by our brother peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The sense of desperation of the South African racists has sharpened.

The day for which they have armed themselves with the most modern supersonic aircraft, warships, missiles and tanks is approaching. And that is the day when, in an attempt to defeat the revolution inside South Africa itself, they will loose their murderous wares against the peoples of independent Africa, to push back the frontiers of the African Revolution and to deny us our natural rear.

The South African racists and their imperialist allies have prepared very carefully, sparing neither money nor effort to ensure that they transformed South Africa into a strong fortress for the defence of the huge imperialist economic stake in our country and a springboard for the subversion of the African Revolution and the recolonisation of Africa.

In the interests of our people, the peoples of Africa and the world, this bastion of reaction must be destroyed.

### The ANC Underground

The African National Congress, Your Excellency, its whole leadership and membership at home and abroad, are bending every effort to the realisation of this task.

We are engaged in a complex and difficult struggle to strengthen the underground machinery of our organisation inside our country. Working under conditions of a police and fascist state, our cadres inside the country are making steady progress in consolidating and expanding the underground machinery of our organisation.

This internal machinery, with the aid and support of the section of our organisation outside the country, is constantly working to reach all sections of our people throughout the country, to organise them and to lead them in open mass political action against the Vorster regime.

The African National Congress is, however, aware that without armed struggle, it is impossible for us to defeat the apartheid regime and restore power to the people.

The African National Congress is therefore engaged continuously in the process of building up the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in recruiting, training, and arming its cadres.

In our situation, which is characterised by the mass revolutionary enthusiasm of all our people, by the vicious reaction of the enemy to the popular mass struggle, and by the emergence of extremely favourable moral and material conditions as a result of the victories of our sister movements in the Portuguese colonies, the question of engaging the racist forces inside South Africa itself in armed combat has become a very urgent matter indeed. Our organisation and all its cadres are not shirking, nor will they in future shirk, this task, without whose fulfillment there can be no liberation.

The tasks we have to carry out, Your Excellency, are commensurate with the strength of our enemy and his importance in the global strategy of the common imperialist enemies of the African people.

### Appeal

While being quite convinced that we shall win our struggle by our own efforts, we are also convinced that without the massive, all-round and immediate assistance of the OAU and the peoples of independent Africa, our struggle will take that much longer and be that much more costly for our people.

We therefore appeal to Your Excellency and the OAU to provide us with such assistance, ranging from hard cash, weapons and transit facilities, to passports and other material assistance. We cannot, Your Excellency, over-emphasise the importance, sincerity and immediacy of this request.

It is, Your Excellency, also important that the OAU should continue to intensify the very valuable work it has already done in terms of rendering us political support.

It is vital that now we should intensify pressure for the total isolation of

apartheid South Africa, paying particular attention to the imperialist countries, such as the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Israel. These countries continue to defy the appeals of our own organisation and people, as well as the resolutions of the OAU and the UNO. Not only do the OAU and the rest of the world anti-racist community have an obligation to take meaningful steps against the countries we have mentioned already, but the continuing deterioration of the positions of these countries in world politics has also created more favourable conditions for the success of the world-wide anti-apartheid movement.

The United Nations Organisation, Your Excellency, has declared apartheid a crime against humanity. It is therefore our view that the member states of the OAU should take the leading position in ratifying the Convention declaring apartheid to be such a crime. In this

context, it is also vital that we should work so that the South African criminals are, once and for all, expelled from the UNO, where they have masqueraded as representatives of the oppressed people for too long.

### Political Prisoners

It is now more than ten years, as Your Excellency is aware, that the leaders of our people have been held illegally as hostages of the South African regime.

We refer, of course, to such outstanding leaders of our people such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, and others. There are, together with them, hundreds of others held by the South African fascists. There is a crying need, Your Excellency, that the OAU study carefully the question of the continued detention of these patriots and take the most resolute

steps to ensure their release in the shortest possible time.

Your Excellency is aware that this is the Decade of Struggle to Combat Racism and Apartheid. It is a decade during which our people will make a supreme and concerted effort to rid humanity of the bastion of racism in the world, home of the apartheid system – that is, South Africa.

The willingness of our people to fight for their liberation, their readiness to sacrifice their lives for victory, are not in doubt. The peoples of Africa have already done much to assist us to gain that victory. The new situation, however, demands that much more should be done. We are certain that the fraternal peoples of Africa and the organisation which you head, Your Excellency, the OAU, will not fail us.

May we again, Your Excellency, wish you the very best of health and success in your work.



FOR  
ANTIIMPERIALIST  
SOLIDARITY

1

# APARTHEID

# NO



In Alliance with the Racists of  
South Africa

In Alliance with the Racists of South Africa, a comprehensive study by Dr. Alfred Babing of the close alliance between the Federal Republic of Germany and the racists in South Africa and is published by the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. Available in English and German from Sechaba Publications

Price: 25p



# France, Israel, Jordan ... South Africa

## TRADING PARTNERS

- **The Paris-Pretoria Axis**
- **Israel: Trades with Anti-Semites**
- **Jordan: Sells Out to Apartheid**

---

### THE PARIS-PRETORIA AXIS

---

Up until the 1950s, economic relations between France and South Africa could be summarised in one word: **wool**. Year in and year out, France bought from 40 to 60 per cent of South African production. When the rest of the country – except for rugby players – largely ignored the existence of the Republic, South Africa was almost a household word in Mazamet, where the skins are treated, and in Roubaix, where the wool is spun. The importance of this commodity was so great that one of the biggest French banks created a South African subsidiary to cater primarily to the needs of the wool buyers. This is how the **French Bank of South Africa** was born in 1949. South Africa was only remotely mentioned in connection with exotic names of gold mines, the shares of which were traditionally found in most investment companies.

The French Government seemed to take notice of the existence of South Africa for the first time only after the 1958 takeover by General de Gaulle, when France sought allies for her position on the Algerian question, which had come up for debate at the United Nations. The previous regime, left to centre oriented, was satisfied with the dormant relations between the two countries, exclusively in the hands of the private sector: Banque de l'Indochine, Compagnie Maritime des Chargeurs Reunis, Compagnie des Messageries Maritime, U.T.A. and the big "lainers" (wool buyers) of Roubaix.

General de Gaulle was to change this. To express his gratitude to one of the very small number of countries which wholeheartedly supported his position of strict non-interference in a country's internal affairs which he held concerning the Algerian war, he never publicly mentioned apartheid. Added to this mild satisfaction, South Africa drew great comfort from De Gaulle's conservative adviser Jacques Rueff, one of the first economists to call for a revaluation for the official gold price.

In 1960, South Africa was equally in desperate need of friends, when, after the Sharpeville killings, traditional links with Britain and the Commonwealth were at a brea-

king point. Strong Franco-South Africa ties were therefore a natural response to urgent political circumstances; and the two countries lost no time in giving concrete form to their new friendship. South African army officers were sent to Algeria to train in anti-guerilla tactics, and soon after French arms were sold to South Africa. The early military support South Africa drew from France is undoubtedly at the origin of the present "success" of French firms in South Africa.

Given that the South African economy is widely controlled by British-oriented capital, France could not have found a better way to penetrate the South African market than through the Afrikaner-controlled Government and armed forces. Well over half of all loans and orders placed by South Africa in France emanate from the State Corporations, strongholds of the Nationalist Party. The Nationalist drive for rapid development of an autonomous industry received its greatest encouragement from France. The role of France in South Africa should be judged on its strategic importance, rather than on its purely commercial aspects.

The study of the relations between the two countries is hampered by the usual difficulties encountered in any attempt at a precise analysis of relations between South Africa and the rest of the world. However, in the case of France these difficulties are more serious. French exports to South Africa are predominantly of a military nature, and strict censorship of details concerning these transactions is applied by both sides. Therefore, when official statistics list France as South Africa's sixth trading partner, she is in fact second only to Great Britain.

#### Trading Partners

Figures relative to trade in official South African and French statistics do not coincide. South Africans consider the country of origin to be that from which the merchandise is shipped (e. g. French merchandise shipped via Antwerp is listed as Belgian). In addition to military equipment, certain other products are considered "strategic" by South Africa and are therefore not listed (e. g. non-military aircraft equipment). Uranium, gold and military equipment are not listed by either country. For these reasons, the statistics published in France by the Direction Generale des Douanes (Department of Customs, Ministry of Finance), given in Table I, II, IV and VI, are the least incomplete.<sup>(1)</sup>

**TABLE I:**  
BALANCE OF TRADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SOUTH AFRICA  
(Gold and military stores excluded):

In million francs			
YEAR	SOUTH AFRICA EXPORTS	FRENCH EXPORTS	BALANCE
1955	181	64	-117
1960	249,8	163,7	-86,0
1961	271,8	144,5	-127,2
1962	322,6	179,3	-143,3
1963	344,8	272,3	-72,5
1964	349,8	326,9	-22,9
1965	331,5	434,4	102,9
1966	376,0	422,5	46,4
1967	342,2	472,0	129,8
1968	331,5	506,2	174,6
1969	446,9	719,8	272,9
1970	416,5	1 049,6	633,0
1971	440,0	1 002,3	562,3
1972	646	928	282
1973	980	1 071,0	91

From the origin of the commercial relations between the two countries until the year 1965, South Africa sold more to France than she bought. 1965 marks a turning-point, with French exports increasing drastically, almost doubling every four years. South African exports remained more or less stagnant until 1968, when they started to increase. They rose by 45 per cent after 1971, and by 51 per cent after 1972. Since 1970, the trend is towards a narrowing of the gap, which has been in France's favour since 1965, as South Africa's exports increase more rapidly than France's. The importance of two recent contracts gives

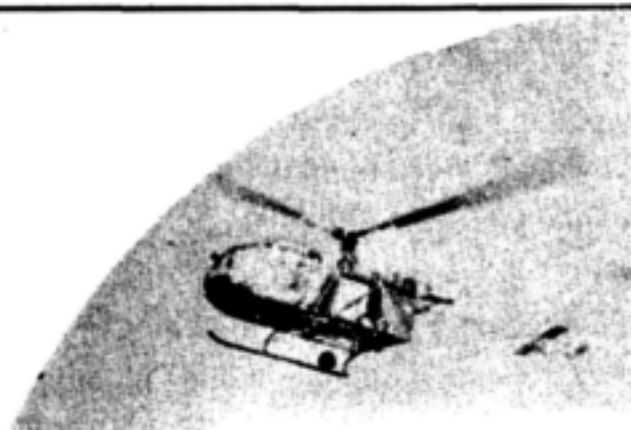
some indication of this revolution. In 1973, South African coal companies signed a contract to export 1,5 million tons of coal over a period of two years, for a total value of 75 million francs, with the two main French steel producers, Wendel-Sidelor and Usinor. (2) In 1974, Louis Luyt's Triomf Fertilisers Co. signed an important contract with a French consortium, providing for the export of South African fertilisers to France over a period of twenty years. This deal is estimated at 10 million francs. (3)

Despite the rapid increase noted in recent years, South Africa's share in the total amount of France's imports and exports remains small if military stores are not considered. In 1973, South Africa was France's 24th supplier and her 24th customer. Table II shows the relative importance of South Africa and the whole of Africa to France.

**TABLE II:**  
SOUTH AFRICA AS A TRADING PARTNER OF FRANCE  
(Gold and military stores excluded):

	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
	1972	1973	1972	1973
Total	135,741	166,123	131,528	159,714
Africa	8,425	9,721	8,362	11,078
South Africa	646	980	928	1,071

	% SHARE IMPORTS		% SHARE EXPORTS		% VARIATION 1972/73	
	1972	1973	1972	1973	Export	Import
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	22,3	21,4
Africa	6,21	5,85	6,36	6,94	15,3	32,4
South Africa	0,48	0,59	0,71	0,67	51,7	15,4



**ALOUETTE 2/ASTAZOU**  
Long-range,  
light observation helicopter (5 seats)



**SA. 341 \***  
Light observation helicopter, designed  
to succeed the ALOUETTE 2 (5 seats)



**ALOUETTE 3**  
Light multi-purpose helicopter (7 seats)



**SA. 330 \***  
Twin-turbine tactical transport  
helicopter (18 fully equipped troops)



PUBLICITE AND AVIATION



If South Africa, though a hopeful market and source of raw materials, is not yet a very important partner from the French point of view. France, on the other hand, is one of the six countries which supply South Africa with two thirds of her non-military requirements and buy from her slightly less than two thirds of her total exports.

**TABLE III:**  
SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN TRADE  
(Excluding gold and military stores) (5):

	1969		1970	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
TOTAL	2 134,8	1 532,5	2 547,1	1 542,0
U.K.	499,5	510,3	561,2	446,5
U.S.A.	370,1	110,0	423,4	128,9
W. GERMANY	292,9	102,2	374,0	109,5
JAPAN	188,1	151,8	220,7	181,1
ITALY	84,7	44,8	104,3	43,1
FRANCE	61,1	42,9	88,0	37,8

	1971		1972	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
TOTAL	2 884,7	1 561,2	2 819,7	2 013,8
U.K.	670,5	418,0	590,5	530,9
U.S.A.	469,7	118,5	466,6	147,0
W. GERMANY	408,8	110,1	413,0	116,6
JAPAN	292,1	182,1	267,1	259,3
ITALY	105,2	37,1	94,4	77,0
FRANCE	105,7	38,3	99,3	57,0

### Second Foreign Supplier

If military equipment imported by South Africa were listed, it would be shown that France is the second foreign supplier, instead of the sixth as the table above leads one to believe. In spite of this important omission, published figures alone show France to be a strategic supplier of South Africa. 70 per cent of the 1972 French exports were investment goods. This proportion was even larger in previous years.

**TABLE IV:**  
FRANCE'S MAIN EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA  
(Military stores excluded):

In million francs	1969		1970		1971	
		%		%		%
Automobiles and parts	106,0	14,8	209,3	19,9	234,6	23,4
Machines, boilers, mechanical equipment	136,0	19,0	204,0	19,5	203,5	20,3
Air transport equipment	198,5	27,5	204,9	22,9	100,8	10,0
Electrical equipment	49,7	6,7	63,6	6,0	86,9	8,6
Steel products	24,3	3,4	71,2	6,6	89,2	8,9

The sale of French equipment goods are linked, to a large extent, to the presence in South Africa of a number of French companies involved in the most important projects. In the Saldanha Bay ISCOR project, SPIE-Batignolles and Desquenette-Giral won important contracts for the construction of the Sishen-Saldanha railway and the terminal harbour. The first company had already built the Orange-Fish tunnel with Societe Francaise d'Entreprises, de Dragages et de Travaux Publics, Campenon-Bernards and Compagnie de Constructions Internationales. P.K. Le Roux and Hendrik Verwoerd dams were built by a consortium comprising Creusot-Loire and Bouchayer-Viallet (which together form BVS), Entreprise de Travaux Publics

120 mm  
RIFLED MORTAR



... the produce of France

Andre Borie S.A. and Dumez S.A. BVS more recently supplied heavy mechanical material for the Kunene Dam. Entreprise Jean Lefebvre built the Johannesburg freeway. The two major ESCOM thermic power stations of Kriel and Arnot have been equipped with material supplied by Compagnie Electromecanique. The Pelindaba Research Centre of the Atomic Energy Board receives considerable assistance from France. The core of the Safari 1 nuclear reactions functions with equipment supplied by Association Francaise de l'Industrie Nucleaire d'Equipelement represented in South Africa by SODETEG. This last company is ostensibly only involved in the construction of hospitals. A Franco-American company, FRAMATOME, with the help of the public Energy Board (EDF) is due to build the first South African nuclear station. French senators, on an official visit to South Africa in 1972, pleaded FRAMATOME's case with Dr. A.J.A. Roux, president of the Atomic Energy Board, and with the South African Government. (6)

South African Railways are among France's best foreign customers. Eclairages de Vehicules sur Rail (a CGE subsidiary) manufactures passenger wagons for South Africa.. Saxby S.A. (an Otis subsidiary) regularly receives South African orders for handling and signalling equipment. CIT-Alcatel and Cables de Lyon (two CGE subsidiaries) sold transmission equipment, part of which will be manufactured locally by the South African subsidiary of CGE, Fulmen-Africa, at the Kempton Park plant. Another South African subsidiary of CGE, TESA (Thomson Electronics of South Africa) manufactures transmission equipment for the armed forces and for SABC, and was licenced under the trademark of Fuchs Electronics Holding (Pty) Ltd. to manufacture television sets.

The major French automobile firms, Peugeot, Renault, Berliet, Citroen and Unic, sell engines and parts to local assembly plants at Rosslyn, Isando, Natalspruit, Alrode and Port Elizabeth. As South African industry moves towards the local production of finished products, increasingly higher proportions of South African imports from France tend to be highly sophisticated machinery. In 1969, a SNECMA (state-owned firm) subsidiary, Berthiez, sold a lathe equipped with a COTEC electronic command to the South African Railways workshops at Germiston, and Ateliers GSP (Guillemin-Sergot-Pegard) sold to Broderick Engineering a drill equipped with similar electronic apparatus. In recent years, a number of equally sophisticated machine-tools were sold to South Africa by CIT-Alcatel. ISCOR sought a 100 million francs loan from French banks in order to conclude a deal with Creusot-Loire Enterprises and Delattre-Devivier, involving the purchase of a new iron ore enrichment technique. In 1973 and in 1974, Fives-Cail Babcock sold to South African harbours heavy-duty handling equipment.

Near Johannesburg, France, with another CGE subsidiary (COGELEX), is taking part in the multination construction of the world's third most powerful transformer, called Appolo. This six-year project began in 1973 and is linked to the import of power from the Cabora Bassa Dam, where



French capital, equipment and technicians are heavily involved.

If the bulk of French sales to South Africa is composed of equipment goods for advanced industrial sectors like electronics, electromechanics, aeronautics and engineering, more typical French consumer goods are still in great demand in South Africa. French perfumes, fashion clothing, cognacs, cheeses, works of art, etc., are sectors in which France hopes to multiply her sales. All the reports filed by the numerous French commercial missions returning from visits to South Africa and Rhodesia contain detailed information on how to conquer the new markets opening up in Southern Africa.(7)

### Foremost Arms Supplier

Without diminishing the commercial and strategic value of all these dynamic sectors which will undoubtedly play an increasing role in the relations between France and South Africa, the most important part of French exports to that country is made up of equipment not listed anywhere. Since the Labour Party imposed an embargo against South Africa in 1964, France has become the Republic's foremost supplier of armaments. Despite the fact that General de Gaulle's representative approved the Security Council Resolution No. 181 of December 1963 calling on all states to "put an immediate end to the sale and shipment of equipment and materials destined for the manufacture or maintenance of arms and ammunition to South Africa", France continues to provide Pretoria with helicopters, missiles, aircraft and armoured vehicles, as well as the licences to manufacture them. In October 1970, the late President Pompidou gave the official OAU mission, headed by M. Kenneth Kaunda, formal assurances that no anti-guerrilla equipment would in future be supplied to South Africa. A year later, however, the French Government approved the sale of Marcel-Dassault licences to manufacture in South Africa a new type of aircraft perfectly adapted to counter-insurgency warfare, the close-range bomber Mirage-Milan. At the end of 1973, France seems to have lifted the ban on the re-export of military equipment imposed on most of her customers around the world, to allow South African-assembled Panhard armoured cars mounted with DTAT guns to be sold to Ian Smith's Rhodesian forces. Asked to comment on this news, a spokesman for the manufacturing company simply said that France is not accustomed to conducting her military deals through the newspapers. A recent article in the Paris daily, *Le Monde*, revealed that negotiations were under way between Paris and Pretoria for the purchase of new military equipment, including hand grenades. (8) All this indicates that France is willing to supply South Africa with virtually any type or

... another French product



amount of weapons, without even the usual official imposed restrictions.

Since the first Panhard vehicles were sold in 1961, total military sales must have reached a figure close to 4000 million francs. Between 1970 and 1974 alone, the estimation was that France would sell 2000 million francs worth of arms. (9) South Africa, the United States, and Israel until 1968 vied with each other to be France's best customer for military equipment. After the 1968 embargo against Israel, South Africa became the unchallenged leader on the long list of France's clients.

Besides the hardware listed in Table VI, the military collaboration between the two countries allows the transfer of precious military knowledge to the South African armed forces. Austral Engineering Works at Germiston manufacture Panhard armoured vehicles under licence since 1963. Atlas Aircraft Corporation at Kempton Park assemble aircraft, and since 1971 manufacture them in a plant built with the assistance of Sud-Aviation. The Mpacha airbase near Katima Mulilo in the Namibian Caprivi strip was built with the assistance of Nord-Aviation. Thomson-CSF built a radar network along the northern borders of South Africa. Thomson-CSF again, with Matra and ARMSCOR technicians, manufactured the radar-missile ground-to-air defence system called Crotale in France and Cactus in South Africa. The Paardefontein Satellite Tracking Station, built by France's CNES in 1965, was taken over by the South Africa CSIR in 1973. Six 1500-ton missile frigates with French weapons (Sea-Sea Exocet Missiles) are being built in Portugal for the South African Navy. Negotiations under way concern the purchase by South Africa of five new 1200-ton Daphne submarines worth 135-million francs each, equipped with a set of torpedoes costing 3-million francs, the Phimat drone launch, as well as electronic-warfare equipment. (10)

**TABLE V:**  
FRENCH MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND LICENCES SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICA:

YEAR	WEAPON	TYPE	QUANTITY	MANUFACTURER
1961	Armoured car	AML 60	-	Panhard & Levasseur
1961	Armoured car	AML 90	-	Panhard & Levasseur
1961	Machine gun	60 mm	-	Direction Techniques des Armements Terrestres
1961	Machine gun	90 mm	-	
1963	Armoured car	AML 60 & 90	Licences	Panhard & Levasseur
1963	Machine gun	60 & 90 mm	Licences	DTAT
1963	Interceptor	Mirage 3CZ	16	Marcel-Dassault
1963	Jet engine	Atar	16 + spares	SNECMA
1963	Air-Ground Missile	AS 20 & 30	-	SNIAS
1963	Helicopter	Alouette 2	6	SNIAS
1963	Hel. engine	Artouste	6 + spares	Turbomeca
1963	Rocket	37 mm 447	-	SNEB
1965	Transport	Mystere 20	3	Marcel-Dassault
1965	Fighter- bomber	Mirage 3EZ	20	Marcel-Dassault
1965	Jet engine	Atar	20 + spares	SNECMA
1965	Air-Air Missile	R530	45	Engins Matra
1967	Reconnais- sance	Mirage 3RZ	4	Marcel-Dessault
1967	Jet engine	Atar	4 + spares	SNECMA
1967	Interceptor	Mirage 3CZ	3 cells	Marcel-Dessault
1967	Radar system			Thomson-CSE
1967	Helicopter	Alouette 3	50	SNIAS
1967	Hel. engine	Artouste	50 + spares	Turbomeca
1967	Helicopter	Super Frelon	16	SNIAS
1967	Hel. engine	Turmo	16 + spares	Turbomeca
1968	Tank	AMX 30	20	Panhard, DTAT, Creusot
1968	Radar/ Missile	Crotale	3 batteries & licences	Engins Matra & Thomson
1968	Submarine	Daphne	3	Dubigeen- Normandie
1969	Helicopter	Puma	20	SNIAS & Westland
1970	Transport	Transoll	9	SNIAS & W. Germ.
1970	Gunboats	Missile- firing	3	Construction Mecan- iques de Normandie





- (1) „OLIFANT 11“ Light Patrol Radar
- (2) Th. C. 766 and Th.C. 766 Transmitter Receivers
- (3) Adour Automatic Tracking Radar
- (4) Lightweight Microwave Link MX 645
- (5) Transponder R.C.6

YEAR	WEAPON	TYPE	QUANTITY	MANUFACTURER
1971	Anti-submarine	Atlantic	8	Breguet Aviation
1971	Interceptor	Mirage FI	48	Marcel-Dessault
1971	Jet engine	Atar	48 + spares	SNECMA
1971	Bomber	Mirage-Milan	Licences	Marcel-Dessault
1971	Air-Air Missile	Magic	-	Engins Matra
1973	Antitank Missile	Milan	-	SNIAS & W. Germ.
1973	Sea-Sea Missile	Exocet	-	SNIAS

### Main Imports

Given the nature and volume of South African imports from France, vital sectors in South Africa – defence, industry and services – rely heavily on this single source. On the other hand, except for the obvious items of gold and other rare minerals, France could easily replace South African products.

**TABLE VI:**  
FRANCE'S MAIN IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

In million francs	1969		1970		1971	
	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
Wool, skins	180,3	40,3	124,3	29,7	101,8	23,1
Fruit	83,6	18,7	53,4	12,8	71,5	16,2
Metal ores	47,6	10,6	60,3	14,4	58,1	13,2
Minerals (sulphur, etc.)	38,9	8,7	44,7	10,7	46,4	10,5

France is South Africa's sixth customer, but given the deficit in favour of France which exists in the balance of trade between the two countries, the officials from the South African services in France feel that South African sales to France are very disappointing. (11) The recent increase noticed in France's imports from South Africa (see Table I) is due mainly to an increase in the import of the same products listed above. Gold and wool alone account for more than 45 per cent of France's imports. In recent years,

however, new products have appeared on the French market. Imports of South African meat increased by 62 per cent in one year, between 1970 and 1971. Imports of cut-flowers, fish, lobster, etc., may improve in the future. But the most important trend is exploring the possibility of manufacturing in South Africa at lesser cost French materials to be reimported afterwards. In 1973, Yunbo, a manufacturer of material handling machines, started to export to France a perfected original French machine which used to be imported directly from France before Dowson & Dobson bought the licence from International Harvester. (12)

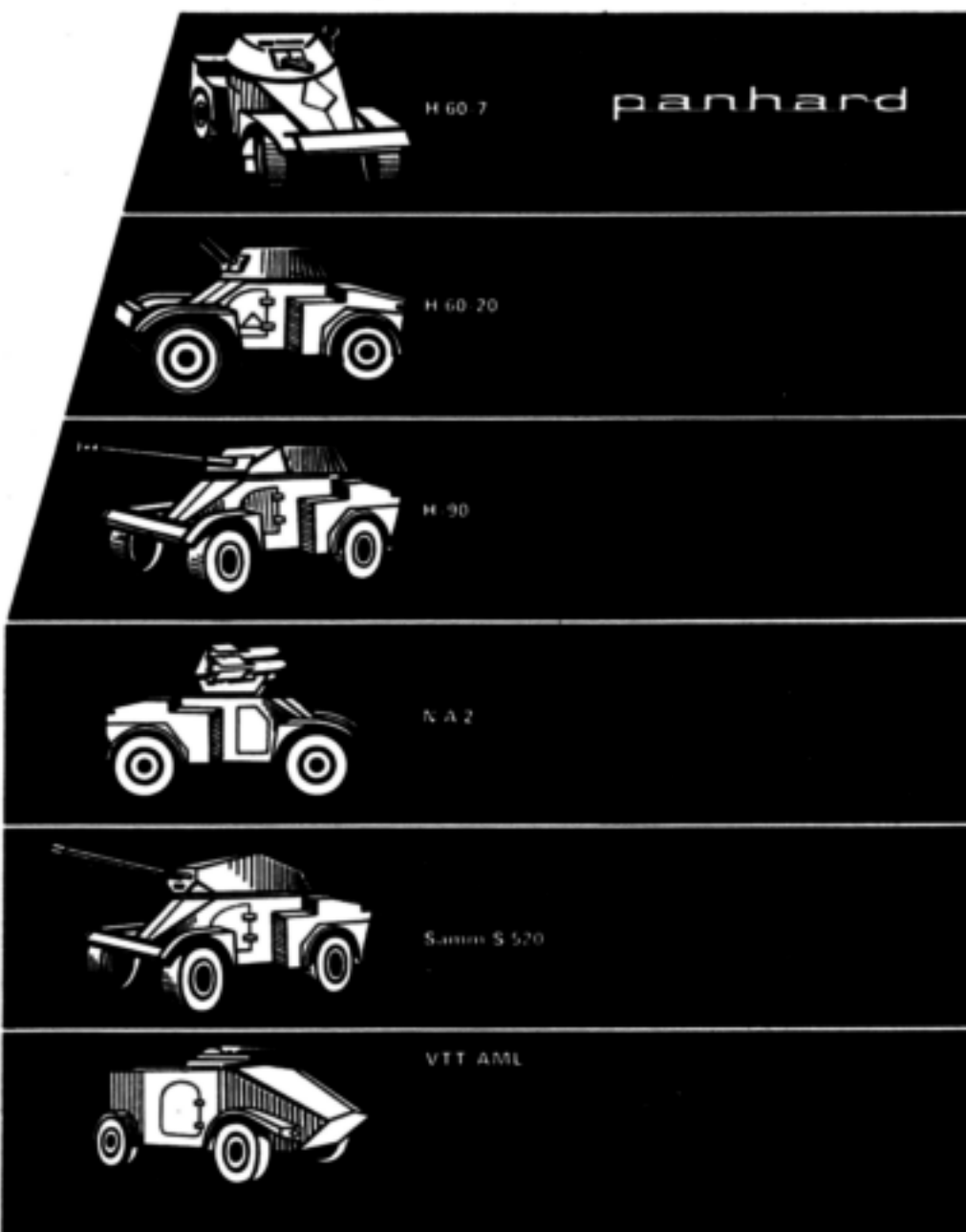
### French Investments

Recent estimates indicate that 80 per cent of South Africa's industrial production is directly or indirectly controlled by foreign companies. (13) Although the national origin of foreign investments is not disclosed since 1966, it is widely thought that France owns approximately 6 per cent of the foreign controlled investments, behind Great Britain and the United States but heading West Germany, Switzerland and Belgium. The latest figure published put total French capital at 442-million Rand for 1970, a growth of 220 per cent since 1966. (14)

Half this figure is invested in South Africa's gold mines through the companies listed in the Paris Stock Exchange. The other half is shared by various industrial complexes in South Africa.

In the automobile industry, Peugeot controls more than 8 per cent of the South African market through the production of four different plants. Behind Peugeot, which produced more than 14 000 units in 1973, comes Renault, which owns 27 per cent of Rosslyn Motor Assemblers plant. In related industries, we find: FERODO, which produced clutches, air-filters and brakes through Automotive Products of Johannesburg, and Paulstra, which produced different metallic parts for cars, railways and aircraft at Rosslyn, the border industry area near Pretoria.

In the electronics industry, the CGE group has made extensive investments in South Africa. It controls Fulmen Africa, Thomson Electronics South Africa, Nickel Cadmium Storage Batteries, Alstom South Africa and Fuchs Electronics. Other French electronics groups with control of South African plants are: Merlin Geriu, Telemacanique Electrique, Souriau and Compagnie Generale de Radiologie.



Two French oil companies have invested in South Africa and Namibia. Societe Nationale des Petroles d'Aquitaine (controlled by the French Government) holds the rights to large offshore concessions, but has not yet discovered oil. Compagnie Francaise de Petroles-Total (state-owned) holds interests in oil exploration through Total Exploration South Africa, in oil refining through 30 per cent of Natref shares and 19 per cent of SAFOR shares, and in oil distribution. Other exploration rights have been awarded to the Bureau de Recherches Geologiques et Minieres by SOEKOR for oil Penarroya (Societe de Nickel) prospect for copper in Namibia.

In the chemical industries, L'Air Liquide controls an important subsidiary in South Africa, Union Liquid Air, which produces industrial gases. Rhone-Poulenc owns a drug manufacturer, May and Baker, and Roussel-Uclaf controls Roussel Laboratories. SOFRANIE built a fertiliser plant near Cape Town and Pechiney-Progil, in association with Triomf Fertilisers, manufactures crop spray.

In the civil engineering field, besides the firms already listed, Batignolles Africa, SOCEA-BONNA, Coyne-Billier, Triplejay Equipment, Lambert S.A., Potain, Culligan and Degremont hold important positions in the South African market.

In cosmetics, L'Oreal (Eilbelle) and Orlane hold majority shares in South African plants. Other French industries in South Africa are: Bic (producing ball-point pens), Etablissements G. Leroy (which in 1972 took over South African Boxes and Shooks) and Tanneries de France (which holds 40 per cent of France Silverton Tannery of Pretoria).

But the earliest French investments in South Africa were made in the wool and textile industries. French-controlled firms are: Standerton Mills, Patons and Baldwins (Groupe Tiberghien), South African Threads and Cottons (Dolfus Mieg & Cie.), Louis Dreyfus, Segard (in Uitenhage), Union Spinning Milss (Vaulaine in Port Elizabeth), Besnier-Flotex, which manufactures carpets at Jacobs in Natal and associated with Ropes & Mattings to form a new company (Flores S.A.), Prouvost-Lefebvre in Uitenhage, etc.

French investments and loans in South Africa are encouraged and made possible through the presence in South

Africa of the most important public and private French banks: Banque de l'Indochine, with eight South African branches and several subsidiaries like Frensec (Marketing) (Pty.) Ltd.; state-owned Banque Francaise du Commerce Exterieur; the public banks, Credit Lyonnais and Societe Generale (European Banks International Co.). Important loans to the South African Government, state corporations and industries have been arranged in France by banks already mentioned or by important financial groups like Compagnie de Financiere de Paris et des Pays Bas, Credit Commercial de France, Compagnie Financiere (Rothschild group), Banque Louis Dreyfus, Banque Nationale de Paris, and Locafrance, a member of the Concorde Leasing Corporation Ltd., specialised in loans to South Africa. Some examples:

- June 1967, a loan to South African Government arranged by Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas and a European group: 13 million US dollars for three years;

- March 1967, a loan to the South African Government arranged by the French Government to buy French arms: 150 million Rand (75 million Pounds);

- June 1967, a revolving loan to the South African Government arranged by the French Government to buy French arms: 150 Million Rand at 6 1/2 per cent;

- In 1967, a loan to ESCOM arranged by a consortium of French banks to buy French capital equipment; 25 million Rands;

- December 1970, a loan arranged by Credit Commercial de France and European banks: 14 million Rand for 12 years at 9 per cent;

- June 1971, a loan to ISCOR arranged by Credit Commercial de France and European banks to buy equipment in West Germany: 20 million Rand;

- December 1971, a loan arranged by Credit Lyonnais and Credit Commercial de France, 20 million Rands for 15 years at 8 1/2 per cent;

- 1972, a loan to the South African Department of Posts and Telegraphs arranged by Credit Lyonnaise: 13 million US dollars;

- 1972, a loan for General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd., arranged by Credit Lyonnaise: 12 million US dollars;

- 1973, a loan to ISCOR, arranged by Banque de l'Indochine to buy French equipment: 100 million Francs.

South Africa is one of the largest borrowers of capital on the international market, and France is a privileged source of loans for South Africa. Except for French arms, which South Africa usually pays for with gold - a major incentive for the French Government, which is responsible for this special trade - all French equipment exports can be assured of receiving financial assistance from the private and public banks in their dealings with South Africa.

As to the returns on French capital invested in South Africa, although no information is available, they are more likely akin to the rates obtained by British capital than to those obtained by US capital. Dr. Jan S. Marais, president of Trust Bank, in an article published by a South African backed Paris quarterly, estimates the British rate of profit to be 12,1 per cent in South Africa (and compares this to 8 per cent in America, 6,6 per cent in Australia, and 5,1 per cent in Canada), while in the same country US capital returns can reach 19,3 per cent. (15)

Despite the recent interest in the wages paid to South African workers by foreign firms - stirred in Europe by several newspaper reports that have not found a comparable echo in France - no information of French firms' wage policies has been disclosed.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### VARIATIONS IN THE EXCHANGE RATE OF THE RAND

End of 1966	R1=F7,77
18 November 1967	Devaluation of the pound by 14,3% but Rand does not change. R1=F7 approximately.
8 August 1969	Devaluation of the Franc by 12,5%
June 1970	R1=F7,70 approximately.



October 1970	R1=R7,77
November 1971	R1=R7,78
December 1971	Devaluation of the Rand by 12,28%, R1=F6,82
23 June 1972	Floating of the Pound and the Rand. Rand devaluation by 11% against US \$, R1=F6,67.
25 October 1972	Rand attached to US \$, revaluation of 4% against Pound. R1=F6,4
12 February 1973	Devaluation of US \$ by 10%. Rand does not follow Revaluation of Rand by 4% against Franc.
18 March 1973	Floating of US \$. Parity of Rand against gold maintained. R1=F6,50.
4 June 1973	Revaluation of Rand by 5% against US \$.
January 1974	R1=F6,25
24 June 1974	Floating of the Rand. Revaluation by 0,67% against US \$.

\* \* \* \* \*

## REFERENCES

1. *Fiche Express No. 21: Centre Francaise du Commerce Exterieur*, Paris, July, 1972; and *Commerce Exterieur de la France, Annee 1973*, CFCE, Paris, 1974.
2. *Industries et Investissements d'Outre Mer*, Paris, October 1973.
3. *AFP, Bulletin d'Afrique*, No. 8837, 4th May, 1974.
4. *Commerce Exterieur de la France, Annee 1973*, CFCE, Paris, 1974.
5. *South African Bulletin of Statistics*, September, 1973.
6. *Senat. Rapport d'information fait au nom de la Commission des Affaires economiques et du plan a la suite de la mission effectuee du 19 au 31 janvier 1972 en vue d'etudier l'evolution economique de l'Afrique du Sud*, notamment dans les domaines industriel, agricole et commercial, June, 1972.
7. *Le Marche Sud-Africain*, published by Ecole Superieure de Commerce de Paris, 1973.
8. *Le Monde*, 18th May, 1974.
9. *Le Monde*, 29th August, 1970.
10. *Le Monde*, 18th May, 1974.
11. W. W. Rauntebbach, Minister of Commercial Affairs at the South African Embassy in Paris, in *Republic d'Afrique du Sud*, published by: Agence Economique et Financiere, October, 1971.
12. *Johannesburg Star*, 22nd December, 1973.
13. J.D.T. de Necker, retired president of the Afrikaanse Handels-instituut, in *Johannesburg Star*, 24th February, 1973.

\* \* \* \* \*

## ISRAEL: TRADES WITH ANT-SEMITES

If the SA government has been somewhat vague about its intentions toward Israel, the same certainly cannot be said of the Israelis.

In a press interview recently, diplomat Itzhak Unna (who presented his credentials as Israel's first Ambassador to SA) pointed out that the ceiling for direct investment by South Africa in Israel has been lifted from R7m to R20m.

The negotiations were completed just a month ago, but the South African Treasury has kept quiet about this new dispensation.

Moreover, Unna says bluntly that he hopes this move, together with his appointment, will provide the climate for more investment and joint ventures. "With SA's abundance of raw materials and Israel's know-how, we can really go places if we join forces."

Unna did not detail what he has in mind, but mentioned the possibility of Israel "importing semi-finished products from SA for local finishing and ultimate export."

How his feelings on SA tally with those of his countrymen remains an open question. He admits dispassionately that there was weighty internal opposition to Israel improving its diplomatic status in SA, though he concedes this has dropped off since the October war.

Furthermore, he has had to deal with accusations that his SA posting is a last-ditch attempt by Israel to get a foot-

14. *Fiche Express No. 21: CFCE*, p. 20

15. *Le Monde Moderne*, No. 2, Paris, Fall, 1972, p. 133.

## SOURCES

(In chronological order)

1. *Revue Francaise*, Paris, March 1967: Interview of A. Rupert
2. *La Cite*, Paris, May, 1967. Special Issue: "L'Afrique du Sud, partenaire des grandes puissances".
3. *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, 6th December 1968, Supplement on France.
4. Rene-Georges Calude, "Le Gaullisme et l'Apartheid", in *Temps Modernes*, Paris, June-July 1969.
5. *Revue Francaise*, Paris, June 1970. Special issue: Afrique du Sud.
6. Republic of Zambia, Hon. Consulate General for Italy, Rome, 26 September 1970, "Economic Relations (including arms sales) between France & South Africa, 1966-69"; translated into French in *Afrique Australe*, Bussells, No. 2-3, 1971.
7. *Banque Nationale de Paris*, Paris, October 1970: "Republique d'Afrique du Sud."
8. *Agence Economique et Financiere*, Paris, October 1972: "Republique d'Afrique du Sud, Bilan d'une Decennie d'Independence Economique".
9. Michele Noel, "Evolution des Relations Economiques entre la France et l'Afrique du Sud," in *Le Mois en Afrique*, No. 74, Paris, February 1972.
10. *Republique Francaise, Senat*. "Rapport d'information fait au nom de la Commission des Affaires Economiques et du Plan a la suite de la Mission effectuee du 19 au 31 janvier 1972 en vue d'etudier l'evolution economique de l'Afrique du Sud, notamment dans les domaines industriel, agricole et commercial", Paris, June 1972.
11. *Centre Francaise du Commerce Exterieur*, Paris, July 1972: "Fiche Express No. 21: Un Marche Afrique du Sud".
12. *Le Monde Moderne*, Paris, No. 2, Fall 1972. "La Troisieme Afrique", sous la direction de Jacques Leguebe, articles by Dr. Eschel Rhodie and Dr. Jan S. Marais.
13. *Revue Francaise*, Paris, April 1973. Special Issue: "La Republique Sud-Africaine".
14. *Ecole Superieure de Commerce de Paris*, Missions Economiques: "Le Marche Sud-Africain".
15. Alain Murcier, "L'Afrique du Sud, Victime de l'Apartheid", in *L'Expansion*, Paris, October 1973.
16. *Le MOCI, Moniteur du Commerce International (CFCE)*. Paris, 22 October 1973. Special Issue: Afrique du Sud.
17. *L'Afrique du Sud d'Aujourd'hui*, monthly published by the South African Embassy, Paris. *passim*.

hold in Africa following the total rupture of relations with Black African States. Unna was himself originally earmarked for the job of Ambassador to Kenya, but his appointment fell through with the African resolution to cut ties with Israel. He makes no bones about Israel's partial dependence on SA. His thoughts are well illustrated by the most recent trade figures. According to Unna, **Israel's export to SA in 1973 were only \$12m compared with \$32m the other way.**

This was largely due to purchases of sugar and cement from SA, and this figure is expected to rise much higher when the joint Israeli-SA steel venture, Iskoor, gets properly under way.

According to the SA *Financial Mail*: "There are sceptics in SA who argue that increased investment in Israel's shattered economy will mean throwing good money after bad. Their concern is perhaps understandable, but unrealistic, since SA is dependent on Israel for more than goodwill alone.

"Indeed, in view of a possible arms embargo against SA, our strategic needs might well have to be met, in part at any rate, by Israel," says the *Mail*.

Nevertheless, SA investors going into Israel can hardly be encouraged by the present situation. Granted, the war did not damage Israel's industrial or economic capability. But the production slowdowns resulting from the mobilisation of 200 000 troops did.

At the same time, Israel's CoL index rose by 26.4% in 1973, the biggest increase in 21 years.

As if this weren't enough, figures recently disclosed show that tourism, Israel's biggest dollar earner after diamonds and citrus, lost \$10 m in expected revenue in October and November alone.



F.M. also notes that: "one of the most troubling trends being taken into account by Israel watchers at the moment is the increasing disillusionment of Israel's youth."

Yuval Elizur, co-author of the best-selling *Who Rules Israel?*, and Jerusalem correspondent of the *Washington Post*, states: "They (like Salazar before them — Ed) have no stability, nor any clear idea of their economic prospects. Small wonder many are preparing to leave for the United States and other countries. It is difficult for some to understand, particularly the rigid Zionists. But most 25-year-olds have already fought in three wars, with the prospect of further conflict ahead."

That is the serious domestic threat facing manpower-short Israel today. This alliance between the avowed anti-semitic,

Vorster and the equally anti-semitic ruling SA Nationalist Party on the one hand and the Zionists on the other is not as unnatural as it seems.

Both the Tel Aviv and the Pretoria regimes have several major interests in common. Both are racist in character; both rule by the barrel of the gun and, both are clients of international imperialism.

Although Anti-semitism among the SA Nationalists is being soft pedalled in the interest of political expediency, it is still there. Backed by international imperialism, Tel Aviv and Pretoria, are among the last bastions of colonialism in the area and they are being propped up financially and militarily so that they may remain a threat to independent Africa and the Middle East so as not affect imperialism's global neo-colonialist and military strategy.

\* \* \* \* \*

---

## JORDAN SELLS OUT SOUL

---

Startling revelations that Jordan has secretly sold a sophisticated British-built missile system and 41 Centurion tanks to South Africa for about £7m, are made by Martin Walker in the British daily, *GUARDIAN*.

According to the report, Walker states: "On July 21 a telephone call from President Sadat of Egypt to King Hussein of Jordan stopped Jordan's sale of 31 Hawker Hunter Jets to South Africa for transfer to Rhodesia. However, the Hunter deal with Rhodesia could yet go ahead."

The statement continues, "On July 11, the *Guardian* first reported, in the Open File column, that the British Government had asked for an assurance from the Jordanian Premier that the Hunter deal would not take place. The Jordanians said that no such contract had been signed.

The statement was a deliberate attempt to mislead. The head of the Jordanian Air Force, Brigadier Aboud Salem Hassan, had reached agreement in May with a Jordanian arms dealer, Munther Bilbeisi, to sell the jets to him so that he could re-sell them to SA through another intermediary. The second intermediary was a SA firm, registered in Liechtenstein, called Vella Process Engineering Ltd. It is run by a South African called John Place.

"Vella Process was also the intermediary in the sale of the British-built Tigercat missile system and the 41 Centurions. Both tanks and missiles are in South Africa where a nine-man Jordanian team, with the dubious status of honorary whites, is training SAs in their use. Jordan has also agreed to supply parts and components for the missiles for five

years. This also certainly means that Jordan will attempt to buy more spare parts from Britain for forwarding.

Both sides in the Middle East are now supplying equipment to Southern Africa. At about the same time as Jordan sold its soul, it was announced that Israel was to sell Gabriel surface to surface missiles to South Africa to equip four of its ships.

"The *Guardian* article also notes the U.S. role in this messy business. It states, to make up for this wholesale auction of military hardware, Jordan has received from the US since January 1969, 170 fighter bombers, F104s and T5Es. There has been a three-year rolling military aid agreement of \$120m and in June the U.S. Congress was asked to authorise a further \$130m.

"To replace the Tigercat missiles, Jordan has secured from the US an agreement to supply US-built Hawk missiles. "Since January 1969, Britain has supplied Jordan with 220 Centurion tanks, 130 Saladin armoured cars, 32 Hawker Hunters, and in July of last year, Jordan sought a further \$25m in military aid," says Walker.

Again it appears clear that the Jordanians are being manipulated, like their Israeli counterparts by some international agency.

There is little doubt as to who comprises this agency. It is the same that supports, aids and abets Israel and SA — the forces representing the multi-national companies and international imperialism.

With the latest exposures on the CIA by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks former CIA agents, we can have little doubt that the CIA are also involved in this international conspiracy.

Or, perhaps it is just a case of simple black marketing — although we doubt that this is the main motive.



The Hawker Hunter



The Centurion Tank





— 26 JUNE —  
SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY



June 26 – South Africa Freedom Day. Public Meeting held in New Delhi on June 25, 1974. Left to right: Baren Ray, General Secretary – All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation, Mr. Bupesh Gupta – communist Member of Parliament, H. E. Mr A. D. Hassan – High Commissioner for Tanzania, External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh, Mr. K. D. Malaviya – Minister of Steel and Mines, who presided, H.E. Mr. Mohammed Naceur Adjali, Charge D'Affaires of Algeria, Mr. M. Moola – ANC Chief Representative in India

## On the International Front ...

# INDIA AND RACIST SOUTH AFRICA

---

**By: Moosa (Mosie) Moola**  
Asian Representative of the  
African National Congress

---

of peace and freedom and a staunch supporter of national liberation and anti-imperialist causes notwithstanding her own vast and complex problems.

Ever since the days of her own struggle for freedom and particularly since the return of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa where he had campaigned relentlessly against human injustice and oppression, India and its people have demonstrated their total abhorrence of racism and the master-race ideology. The policy of the Indian National Congress and the progressive movement of this country, reaffirmed at various international gatherings and other occasions, and pursued by a free, sovereign and independent India is unmistakable and unambiguous. India has and continues to give total support for peoples struggling

India has a long record of solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa. Although this record is well known, we feel it necessary to reiterate the actual position obtaining between India and South Africa as deliberate attempts are being made by interested parties to malign this country, undermine its role as a consistent champion



H.E. Mr. M.N. Adjali, Charge D'Affaires of Algeria addressing this years June 26 meeting in New Delhi

against alien domination and for national independence and freedom. There has been a deep commitment and concern by the government and the anti-imperialist movement of India towards the just aspirations and struggles of subject peoples. This is reflected in the numerous pronouncements made by Gandhiji, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others who displayed a personal interest in such causes: Panditji's visit to the barricades of Spain to express solidarity with the loyal Republican forces against fascism during the Spanish Civil War in the 'thirties and the dispatching of an Indian medical unit headed by the late Dr. D. Kotnis to assist the Red Army in China during the anti-Japanese War are clear examples of this country's noble stand.

### Support for Struggle

To the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed millions of South Africa – victims of a brutal police state – the role of India in alleviating their suffering is particularly heartening; the steps taken and measures adopted to strengthen our fight for human freedom by the Government and peoples of India is indeed a matter of great satisfaction and a source of inspiration to all of us. Here, we would like to mention the following specifically:—

- It was a free and independent India which first raised the issue of the inhuman treatment of South Africans of Indian origin during the early years of the United Nations Organisation;
- It was through India's consistent, and dedicated efforts that the obnoxious policy of racial discrimination and apartheid as practised by the all-white Government of South Africa was placed on the permanent agenda of the United Nations thus focussing world attention on this evil: the significance of this should not be overlooked for it was a notable achievement at a time when the

"South Africa's racist policy is a blot on humanity that should not be tolerated any longer... Apartheid is not just an African problem, it is a human problem which concerns the whole of humanity. India is emotionally involved and has been raising her voice against apartheid and colonial exploitation even before her independence."

**Mr. Swaran Singh,**  
Indian Minister of  
External Affairs,  
addressing the June 26 –  
South Africa Freedom Day  
meeting in Delhi  
this year.





Afro-Asian world was almost non-existent and great imperial and colonial powers dominated the world scene and the United Nations Organisation;

- It was India soon after independence which took the commendable and unilateral step to break off all relations with racist South Africa – economic, diplomatic, trade, cultural, etc. – more than a decade before the South African national liberation movement even made such an appeal to the world community. One should not forget that even after repeated resolutions at the United Nations calling upon the international community to sever links with the racist regime powerful and important world powers continue to ignore and blatantly flout these decisions of the world body thereby encouraging South Africa to persist in her nefarious policies;
- It has been India, together with other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth that played a notable role in having South Africa expelled from that body in 1960, and from other international organisations subsequently;
- Besides expressions of solidarity with our cause the Government and people of India have and are continuing to give active material and other aid to the liberation movements of Africa. The African National Congress of South Africa was kindly invited in 1967 to open its Asian Mission in New Delhi to propagate and solicit support for the cause of our people in Asia. Our office obtains all possible assistance and co-operation from the Government, the ruling party, mass organisations and the people of India in this respect;
- Periodic statements made by leading members of the Government including Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and Shri Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs reiterating India's stand on the racist and colonial regimes of Southern Africa demonstrates clearly that there is no shift in policy and her attitude remains the same;
- Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's invitation to leaders of the liberation movements of South and Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau during the Algiers Summit of Non-Aligned States to visit India is certainly no indication of

a change of policy. On the contrary it should be viewed as a reaffirmation of basic ideals and support for liberation movements.

## Proud Record

It is against this background – indeed a proud record of consistent support for freedom movements – that we view with grave concern the calculated attempts by the Government of South Africa and its officially-sponsored bodies such as the South African Indian Council and certain Bantustan leaders, together with vested interests in India, to create an impression in Africa in particular that there is rethinking on the part of the Indian Government towards South Africa and that possibilities exist to re-establish links. And to "prove" their point they cite examples of Indian singers and artistes visiting South Africa, the large number of Indian films screened there and the variety of commodities ranging from silk sarees to brassware obtainable in the country. That these articles and films are smuggled into the country via Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Mauritius, Dubai, etc. are of course not mentioned. Nor is it stated that singers and artistes go to South Africa on the pretext of performing at purely religious functions.

The point we wish to drive home is that the Government of India must take a fresh look at its citizens going to South Africa and some ways found to stop the illegal traffic in commodities flourishing at the moment. Needless for us to mention that at a time when the world is tightening sanctions, and the cultural and sporting boycott of South Africa is being intensified this country must be alert and plug the loopholes existing. Failure to do so would only tarnish and besmirch the fair name of India in the eyes of Africa and progressive humanity.

We have no doubts that the Government and people of India will take all measures to counter the sinister designs of the white-minority racist regime of South Africa. With the new and healthy situation developing in South and Southern Africa as a consequence of the Portuguese coup it becomes more imperative than ever that the isolation of apartheid South Africa becomes total.

\* \* \* \* \*

---

## SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE TEAM REJECTED

---

The South African Police athletic team which had been invited to take part in a Police Olympics in San Francisco has been dis-invited.

San Francisco Chief of Police Donald Scott advised the South African Consul-General in that city that the "consensus in the Police Department" was that it "regrets it must withdraw the invitation to the South African Police to participate in the Police Olympics because of difficulties expected and implications that would be drawn".

The decision was announced on 7 August, after national concern and widespread protest in San Francisco. The full text of Chief Scott's letter to the South African official was not released.

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa (ECSA) first disclosed

on 11 July that the 30-man SAP team had been asked to come to the USA, an invitation eagerly accepted by the South African government which faces increased isolation and ostracism by nations of the world..

ECSA's letter to San Francisco Mayor Joseph L. Alioto read in part: "The South African Police is a national force run by the central government in Pretoria. The SAPs enforce South Africa's web of racist laws, constantly arresting Africans for not having on their persons correctly annotated reference books . . . and for other infractions, resulting in over 1,000 Africans a day being processed through Bantu Commissioners courts, where they are rarely defended, are sentenced to fines or jail or hired out as laborers to white farmers. It was the South African Police who perpetrated the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 when without warning they shot dead 69 African men, women and children and wounded 180 others.

". . . The security branch of the South African Police is one of the most sophisticated secret police forces in the world, widely known for espionage, midnight raids, limitless detentions, unrestrained interrogations and torture."

"Their presence in the United States would be reprehensible. We strongly urge you to withdraw your invitation to the South African Police."

---

## FRANCE JOINS THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID FRONT

---

For the first time in Paris, capital of the country which supplies the Vorster regime with most of its weapons, MRAP, an organisation which has fought racism for 25 years, called a press conference to publicly express support for the African National Congress and the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

At the conference, which was called to announce the MRAP had just been recognised as a Non-Governmental Organisation with consultative status by the United Nations, Mr. Albert Levy, MRAP's Secretary General said that his organisation is going to launch a national campaign against the Rugby Springboks tour of France this year.

Mr. Levy condemned the French government's attitude on South Africa and revealed that three warships of the French navy visited Simonstown a few days after Mr. Giscard d'Estaing was sworn in office. He also revealed that a governmental mission went to South Africa to lay the ground for the October visit by high officials of the French Ministries of Finance and Foreign Affairs.

"Orders for five new Daphne submarines by the South African Navy has been accepted by the French government and Rhodesian Information Office has been in operation in Paris for several years," Mr. Levy said.

"All these acts," he added, "indicate the extent of the support given to the South African racists by France, thus bringing dishonour to the French people."

"We propose to campaign vigorously against the French government's involvement with apartheid and solicit the support of all democrats for such a campaign," he concluded.



Albert Levy, Secretary-General of MRAP

\* \* \* \* \*

---

## AUSTRALIAN CHURCHMAN FIGHT APARTHEID

---

Action For World Development, an organisation sponsored by the Australian Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church in Australia, has launched a nation-wide campaign against Australian companies investing in South Africa and vice versa.

Their campaign was launched with an open letter to Australian companies operating in South Africa and with affiliates or associates there, pointing out the inhuman conditions under which the Black peoples live and work in apartheid South Africa.

In their letter to the companies concerned they request answers to a number of questions "about your firm's South African operations to help us better understand your involvement in South Africa."

In supporting this action, the Rev. Harvey Perkins, General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission told a press conference: "Foreign companies investing in SA have over

the years been gross exploiters of African labour and de facto supporters of minority rule in SA."

"In approaching Australian companies investing in SA at this time, we are joining with churches and other groups in many parts of the world who are pressing foreign companies to re-examine the implications of doing business in white-ruled SA."

"In SA" he said, "a small white minority dictates the lives of millions of Black people through its apartheid system. Africans, Asians and Coloureds have no vote and no right to form legitimate political parties. Thirteen per cent of the land has been assigned to Africans as "Bantustans" or reservations. Eighty-seven per cent of the land including all minerals, ports, industrial areas and most arable land are set aside for whites. While Blacks are allowed by white society to come to the white cities to work to keep the machines of industry rolling, they can be sent back at any time to an assignee Bantustan or reservation even though they have never lived or visited there."

Enumerating the many laws affecting the Black majority "which entrenches white supremacy," he said,

"This system of white supremacy extends into industrial life and affects all foreign investors. All factory facilities are segregated by race, every toilet, cafeteria, locker room. No Black, even with a PhD can supervise a white on the job. The best jobs are all set aside for whites. In the mining industry for instance average white wages are fifteen times more than the average wage of the Black worker. More



often than not Black workers are paid wages below the starvation line officially known as the Poverty Datum Line. "Profit is the product of oppression. South Africa provides one of the highest rates of return for investors in the world. Certainly desperately low wages partially account for these profits."

"This is the SA which Australian companies invest in, these are some of the laws they follow. Just as the Church would have asked vigorous questions of companies collaborating with Nazi Germany so we must put forth probing questions to our investors in SA. The questions which the Open Letter

puts are to the point. They will help companies, the Church and the public to accurately assess the role Australian companies play in SA. Do our companies pay starvation wages to African employees in SA? Do they passively follow the apartheid laws or have they tried to alter them? Are equal benefits provided for Black and white workers? Are charitable contributions only to all white organisations? Are any products sold to the SA government which have strategic significance?

These are questions to which we want answers," he concluded.

\* \* \* \* \*

---

## ACTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA – MINERS PROTEST

---

More than 6,500 coal miners, comprising over 80 per-cent of the membership of Alabama District 20, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), failed to report to their mines on August 22. The workers halted coal production in the state to protest the decision of THE SOUTHERN COMPANY, a combine of five utilities serving the South, to import 2.5 million tons of coal worth \$47 million from racist South Africa.

SOUTHERN COMPANY held its annual meeting the same

day at the Kahler Plaza Hotel in Birmingham where 500 miners picketed outside the meeting, and union and church representatives challenged the imports from the floor. Dr. Herman Long, president of Talladega College in Alabama, represented 6,489 shares of SOUTHERN held by the United Church Board for World Ministries.

The company plans to begin bringing the coal into the port of Mobile, Alabama, in mid-July for shipment to plants in Panama City and Pensacola, Florida, that are operated by GULF POWER COMPANY, a SOUTHERN subsidiary.

Company officials cited clean air standards as the reason for importing low-sulfur South African coal as well as "a severe shortage" of similar coal in the United States.

UMWA president Arnold Miller challenged the company's contentions stating "Its an outrage that in a country with billions of tons of low-sulphur coal under the ground The Southern Company would go out and contract coal from a foreign country more than 9,000 miles away".

The mineworkers' Journal, June 1-15, noted that one of the plants scheduled to receive the coal "was completed last August, but the company failed to install adequate scrubber systems and other technology that would allow the burning of medium-sulfur coal". Ironically, SOUTHERN COMPANY placed an ad in the June 1 issue of Business Week on its research into "solvent refining" of high-sulfur coal and the company's "leadership role with construction of a pilot plant in Alabama."

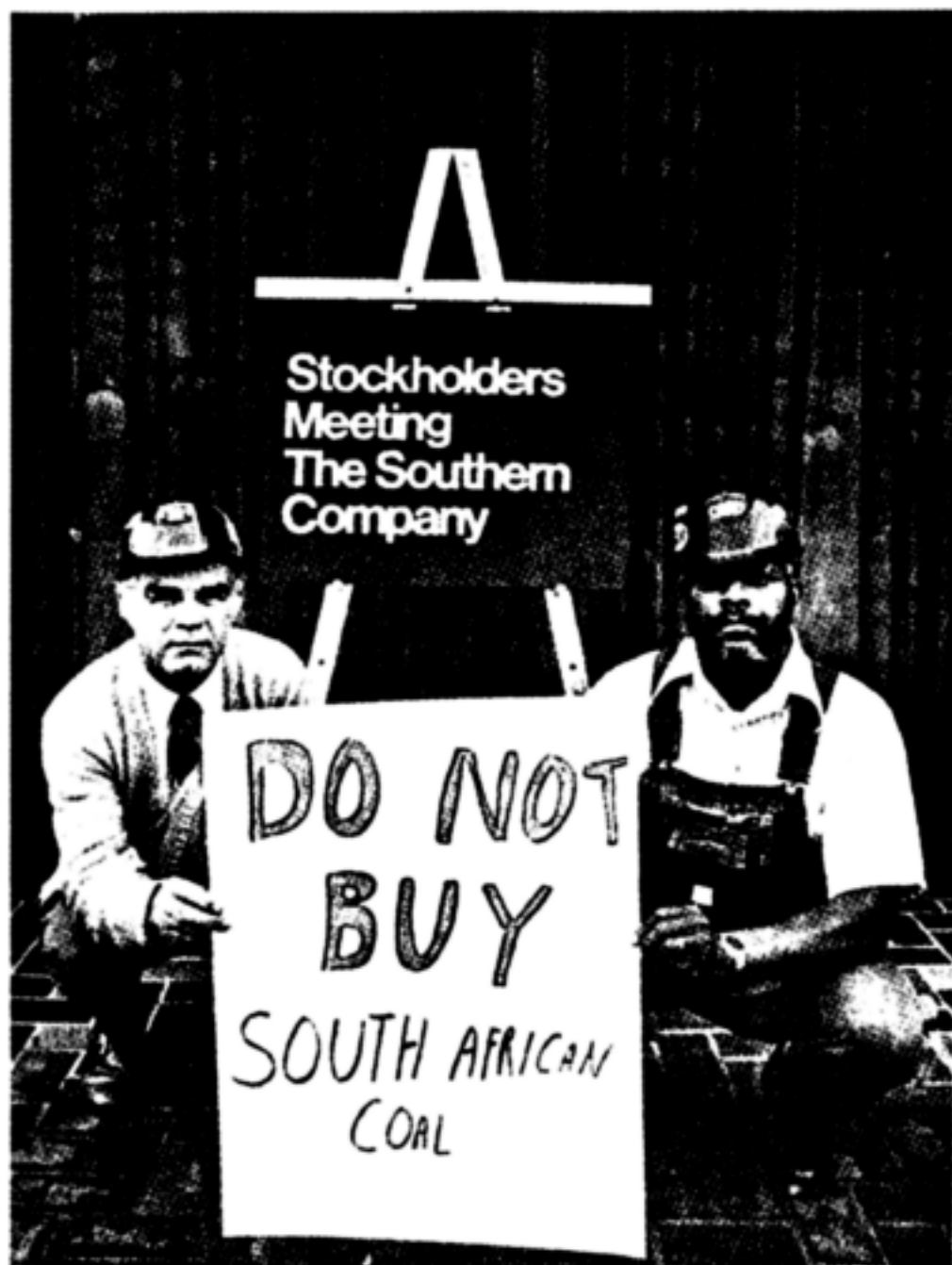
Of the 75,000 persons who work in South African mines, over 90 per cent are black. They are migrant labourers, segregated from their families, unorganized, and forbidden to strike. Average pay for African miners is approximately \$30 a month compared to the average UMWA wage of over \$50 a day.

"South African coal is cheap for one reason only," Mr. Miller charged, "because it is mined at the expense of human beings. I don't believe that the American people want the energy crisis solved through the misery and suffering of South African miners."

Representative Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) issued a statement on behalf of the 16 members of the Congressional Black Caucus charging that the coal purchase "sustains and encourages the growth of the most racist government in the world."

South Africa has also been promoting use of its coal liquefaction methods in the United States in recent months, and one other American coal producer, CONSOLIDATION COAL, confirmed in a letter to ICCR that it sent representatives to South Africa to investigate the purchase of South African mines.

The UMWA is approaching Alabama state officials and longshoremens to seek their support in preventing the imports.



# OBITUARY

## MICHAEL "MICK" HARMEL

The South African liberation movement has suffered an irretrievable loss. On the 18th June 1974, Michael Harmel, known to us and to the many supporters of the movement simply as "Mick", died whilst participating in a conference held at the headquarters of the journal, the World Marxist Review in Prague. During the last 34 years Comrade Harmel had figured prominently in the major campaigns of the national liberation movement and the struggles of the working class of our country. All his adult life he gave fully and without reserve to the cause he held nearest to his heart – the national and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa.

Born in Johannesburg on 7 February 1915, Michael grew up in the social environment of white herrenvolkism and racial prejudice which surrounds every white child in South Africa. He went on to Rhodes University, Grahamstown, to complete his education where he had a brilliant academic career, graduating as a Master of Arts. It was during his student days in this citadel of white chauvinism that he became attracted to Marxism which set him on the revolutionary path to work for the ending of the evil system of the exploitation of man by man which had brought so much poverty and suffering to the masses and turned our country into a vast prison-house for the black people.

He joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1939 and soon after was elected secretary of the Johannesburg District Committee and in 1941 became a member of the Central Committee, and devoted the rest of his life to the cause of communism and national liberation.

A prolific writer, he contributed many valuable articles to such progressive and democratic journals as Liberation, Fighting Talk, the Guardian, as well as playing a leading role as a member of the editorial

board of Inkululeko, the organ of the Communist Party. The most lasting monument to Harmel's role as a writer and publicist is the "African Communist" which he helped to launch in 1959 in conditions of illegality in South Africa and which he edited continuously until a year before his death when he was appointed the Party's representative on the "World Marxist Review" in Prague.

He played a leading part in the preparation of the Communist Party's new programme, "The Road to South African Freedom". It is the characterisation in the programme of the South African class and social structure as that of "Colonialism of a special type" that gave new and added impetus to the struggle for unity of all the revolutionary forces and helped to consolidate their power and strength for the attainment of the common objective.

Comrade Harmel's courage and loyalty never failed him as he was to prove in the difficult and trying days after the Communist Party of South Africa was banned in 1950. In the period following the outlawing of the Party, he found himself among a group of dedicated Party members who set about the task of rebuilding the Party in conditions of illegality. He threw himself unflinchingly into the mass struggles of the fifties, the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, nationwide general political strikes and many other mass actions. Like many of his colleagues in the movement, Mick was the victim of arbitrary banning orders and house-arrest; however during the 1960 state of emergency he evaded arrest and continued his political activities underground.

In 1963 on the instructions of the movement he left South Africa while facing court charges of infringing orders served on him under the Suppression of Communism Act. He



made his way to London where he assumed responsibility for the publication of the African Communist. As a convinced internationalist, Michael Harmel worked tirelessly for the cause of the unity of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national liberation movement as the most vital force in the struggle against imperialism, racism, neo-colonialism and for the independence of all peoples.

As the message from the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress states: "the death of Comrade Michael Harmel robs the entire national liberation and progressive movement of South Africa and the international anti-imperialist forces of an indomitable fighter".

In paying our tribute to a dedicated revolutionary who gave his all to the cause of freedom of our people, we say, Hamba Kahle, Comrade Mick! Your contribution to our struggle will forever be remembered. You have left us a noble example of total dedication to the cause of freedom which will give added inspiration to all of us in the movement to make ever greater efforts and not to flinch from the historic task of freeing our country, South Africa, from the scourge of racialism and oppression so as to enable all our people to live a full and free life.

Amandla Ngwethu!  
Maatla ke a Rona!  
Power to the People!  
HAMBA KAHLE MICK

Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo