



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

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1977

# AMANDLA NGAWETHU



POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
LE PEUPLE AU POUVOIR

السلطة للشعب

# SECHABA

First Quarter 1977

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## Contents

	Page
<b>EDITORIAL:</b> The Will of an entire People – forged under fire	1
<b>MESSAGE OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE:</b> Analysis of the current situation inside the country	2
<b>HOW TO OUTWIT THE ENEMY:</b> A new monthly bulletin	6
<b>VUKANI:</b> Leaflets distributed inside SA	9
<b>BLOODY FRIDAY:</b> Requiem for Mohammed	12
<b>JAILINGS, TORTURES, KILLINGS:</b> Current catalogue of racist oppression	13
<b>PIETERMARITZBURG TEN:</b> Trial for ANC activism	17
<b>WHITES' REACTION TO SOWETO:</b>	21
<b>INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ANC:</b> Report on Conference held in Addis Ababa	26
<b>CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT:</b> Statement by M. Jean Claude Ganga	29
<b>REASONS BEHIND THE HASTY SHUTTLE:</b> Kissingers manouvres in Africa	32
<b>OILING THE WHEELS OF APARTHEID:</b> A Report by Barbara Rogers	38
<b>THE LATIN AMERICAN CONNECTION:</b> SA's links with fascists across the South Atlantic	43
<b>BONN-PRETORIA ALLIANCE LIVES ON:</b> By Jurgen Ostrowski	47
<b>PLAN FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA:</b> Political programme of SWAPO	54
<b>REGGIE HLATSHWAYO:</b> Death of an ANC Stalwart	59
<b>EMBERS OF SOWETO:</b> By A.N.C. Kumalo	60
<b>BOOK REVIEW:</b> Analysing SA's revolutionary Road	61

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# The Will of an entire People - forged under fire



These last months the South African people have mourned their heroic dead with their heads held high, their grief charged with pride, and a renewed determination.

They are inspired by courage like that of the 14-year-old boy injured by buckshot in Soweto. He ran home for medical treatment and despite his family's pleas, returned to join his comrades. It was his duty to continue the battle on the streets, he told them.

The minority regime is so savagely repressive that ordinary people are called upon to show extraordinary heroism in making their demands for the most elementary human rights. It has always been so for the masses. Time and again they have shown more courage than it has taken for many a nation to gain independence, in other parts, at other times.

The scale of the upsurge, its spread and persistence, since Soweto in June, is so great that it can be said to express the will of an entire people. A will forged under fire, too powerful and too clear ever to be effectively muzzled, divided or manipulated again.

Attempts to foster tribal conflict among urban people, the Transkei "independence" charade — these are contraptions. They are

exposed and swept to the sidelines even before they are set up, by the pace and force of the people's anger.

Reports keep coming to show how the people respond to every new lure, every brandishing of the stick, with more and more advanced forms of political action. The bereaved of recent months are becoming, or ready to become, the dedicated activists of today. Their morale is high. The people see their brothers across the northern borders, in power or on their way to victory, through their own armed struggle. They are clear in their understanding of the means to liberation, ready to play a disciplined part under the leadership of the national movement, the African National Congress.

With the struggle reaching this level, as the bulletin *Phakati* says, there can be no bystanders.

For successful political struggle, the basic requirement is to know the enemy, in all his forms. In this and future issues, we use studies from our friends to look at some of the alliances of interest at work now between the apartheid regime and other outside forces — who might try to masquerade as bystanders to the sharpening struggle.



A mighty demonstration in Amsterdam organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement

# Message of the National Executive Committee of the ANC (SA)

The revolutionary situation in our country has matured. This is reflected by the mass uprising of our people since June 16, 1976 which has spread to many parts of South Africa and involved many thousands of revolutionary masses, and by the inability of the fascist regime to contain the situation in spite of extremely brutal methods.

The end of the confrontation is not in sight. Our people have determined for all time that they are not prepared to be ruled in the old way. The unabating slaughter of the people by the fascist state has equally demonstrated the regime's intentions.

What are the main features of this situation? The current struggle has already taken various forms showing the deep political content of the revolt. What augurs well for the future development of our revolutionary struggle for seizure of political power has been the growing militant solidarity between the various Black sections of our population. It was impossible even for the enemy press and the various spokesmen and apologists of

the racist regime to ignore the united actions of the African and Coloured youth in Cape Town whose mighty step down the streets of that city caused racist Whites to scurry from the scene.

The vanguard force and the lifeblood of our revolution, the Black working class, has already flexed its muscle during the current uprising. This has been the easiest and surest way of bringing to the attention of international capital the depth of the crisis confronting this regime of terror — imperialism's trusted gendarme whose duty is to oversee the vast economic interests of the many multinational corporations engaged in the systematic plunder of our country's riches.

The current situation has had to be discussed in the boardrooms of these multinational corporations in the metropolises of Western Europe, Japan and the United States of America. That is partly the reason for the intensified feverish contact between the foremost representative of the imperialist world, Henry Kissinger, and Johannes Vorster, the arch enemy of the peoples of the entire African continent. Their first meeting was held in West Germany a few days after the outbreak of the June 16 events in Soweto.

We have learnt very valuable lessons from the accounts of leading representatives of revolutionary youth who have taken part in the current uprising. Some of these youths are long-standing members of our Organisation who have been active from the beginning, giving whatever leadership was possible under the exceptionally difficult circumstances.

By the use of its forces only, the enemy is unable to contain the growing wave of militant resistance. It has had to use various counter-revolutionary Black mercenaries, mainly the thugs of the Matanzima army — thus further vindicating the early warnings of our Organisation that the creation of the Matanzima army was the beginning of attempts by our enemy to "Vietnamise" the struggle of our people. American imperialism coerced Vietnamese reactionary puppets to

fight against their own people, the legendary Vietnamese revolutionaries and patriots.

The Matanzima thugs, assisted by a motley mess of declassed elements from the ranks of African people and under the direction of the fascist regime, murdered, looted and raped our women. All these crimes were blamed on the revolutionary masses by the reactionary press and spokesmen of the fascist regime. The purpose of these lies was to confuse the revolutionary aims and direction of the uprising.

The regime further tried to use some of our brothers from Zululand who are forced to look for work far away from their homes. The regime attempted to trick our brothers, who mainly reside in the hostels, to act as the task force to break the successful stay-at-home strike in the Johannesburg area. Our brothers rebuffed the enemy who resorted to further dirty manoeuvres: they coerced stooges to act in the name of the Amazulu to give the impression that these people were on the side of the enemy. The rejection of these manoeuvres is further proof of the growth of political consciousness amongst large sections of the oppressed population.

The African National Congress warmly congratulates our brothers for their resolute rebuff of the enemy by demonstrating their solidarity with the striking workers. But we must appreciate the fact that the fascist enemy will not relent in its efforts to divide and weaken our people. That is what its counter-revolutionary Bantustan policies are all about.

The National Executive Committee of our Organisation and its sub-organ, the Revolutionary Council, is paying keen attention to the revolutionary developments inside our country. In a statement in June 1976 we characterised the current situation as an uprising which is assailing the very citadel of apartheid in our country.

Our Revolutionary Council, consistent with the mood and general expectations of the revolutionary masses inside our country, has advanced its plans and subordinated every bit of its activities to the urgent question of



**Anti-South Africa demonstration and meeting in Finland**

launching armed struggle in our country. The demand for this runs like a red thread through all the reports and eye-witness accounts given by our people inside the country.

The demand has also been reinforced by the pledge of the whole of democratic mankind to support the armed struggle. At the end of its 13th Summit Session, the OAU unanimously adopted a resolution on the massacres in Soweto and other parts of our country which affirmed in part "that the only effective guarantee for the African people of

South Africa against the repetition of the massacres is the launching of armed struggle for seizure of power of the people. The OAU further resolved "to extend maximum political, economic and military assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa to enable them to execute the armed struggle".

The OAU call has been echoed by other international forums such as the movement of Non-aligned countries whose 5th Conference took place in Colombo recently. Even the UN Security Council reaffirmed "the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of

South Africa" when it met to condemn the current outrages perpetrated by the fascist regime against our people.

It is clear, therefore, that all sections of our revolutionary movement must have the question of the armed struggle permanently on their agenda.

It is not sufficient merely to talk about it. All individual members of our organs, from the top to the lowest, must subordinate everything to the central task. Like those directly involved in the current uprising whose defiance even of death has been the main feature of their participation and determination, all must be prepared for whatever call the appropriate organs of our Organisation will address to them. To act otherwise would be to betray our courageous compatriots who have already laid down their lives and those who daily pour into the streets ready to join battle with the enemy.

We must transform our Organisation, the vanguard of our people into a truly revolutionary force. This means that:

- We must be intolerant of any form of lawlessness and lack of discipline. Vices of whatever shade not only reduce the efficiency; they can easily be exploited by our enemy.
- We must be intolerant of all agents of division and disunity within our ranks. Those that are still hibernating within the movement must be flushed out and exposed for there can be no doubt that the expelled group that calls itself the "African Nationalists" has still got some hidden agents within our midst.
- We must strictly observe security. Those who are fond of boasting and derive a lot of self-importance from the tasks given to them are dangerous not only to themselves but to the entire movement.
- We must work on the assumption that BOSS, our enemy, is everywhere. We must always remember that where BOSS is not present, the CIA, MI6 and other Intelligence and counter-intelligence organisations of the Western imperialist

countries are present, as the committed allies of BOSS.

- We must be exacting on ourselves. The tasks assigned to us by our movement must be carried out to the minutest detail. No task must ever be considered unimportant and below one's dignity and revolutionary commitment.
- Letting things slide or sweeping mistakes under the carpet simply because our friends or next of kin are responsible for them is dangerous, and can hamper the progress of our struggle. We must at all times give comradely assistance to one another to correct our mistakes and deal with personal problems that can prove harmful to our movement.
- We should be ready to defend the African National Congress and its leadership under all circumstances. An attack on any of our leaders must not be regarded as of concern only to that particular leader. Those who are responsible for insulting the leadership and our Organisation are aiming at weakening our revolutionary movement for national liberation. They are our enemies.
- Above all we must be in a permanent state of combat readiness. Personal or family problems should not stand in the way of responding to the call of our movement.

We should be ready to swell the ranks of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, with complete readiness to subject ourselves to its revolutionary discipline.

A revolutionary organisation like the African National Congress has the necessary experience of many decades of revolutionary struggle. Our Organisation enjoys the support of the masses of our people and that of the whole of progressive democratic mankind. It therefore has the most reliable compass to steer our struggle to the shores of victory.

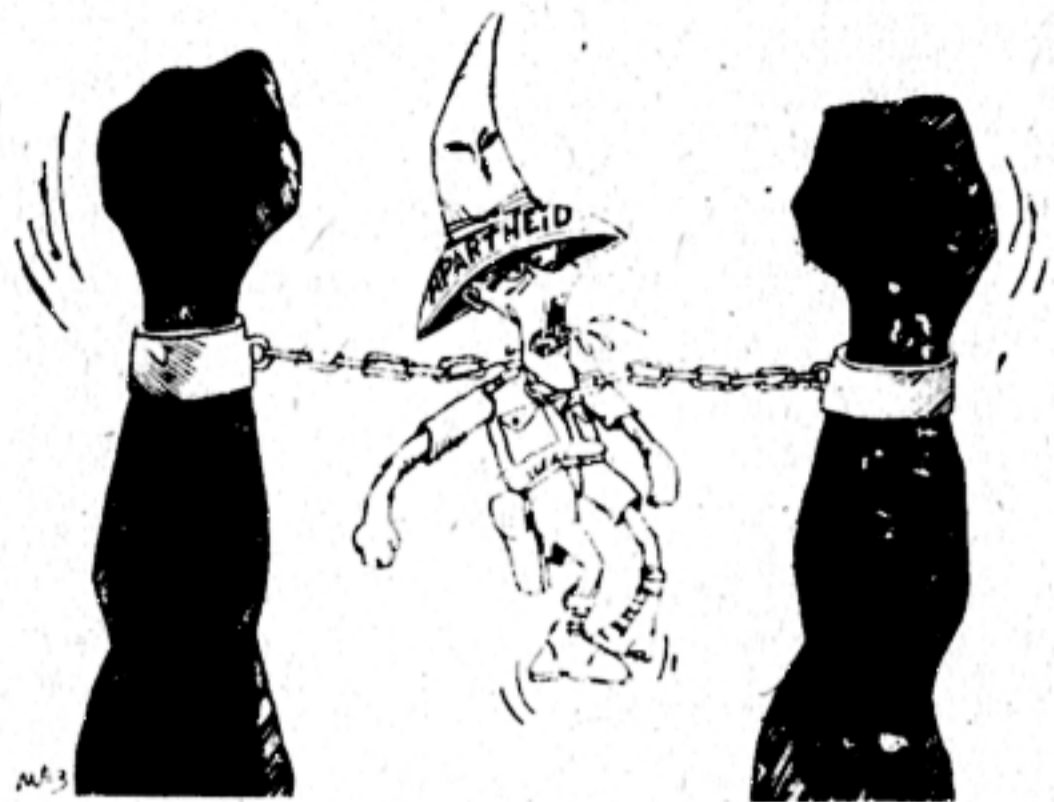
VICTORY OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE ARONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

# HOW TO OUTWIT THE ENEMY



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**Extracts from PHAKATI ("Inside"), a new monthly bulletin of incisive comment, analysis and guidance for ANC members everywhere . . .**

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Racism and apartheid in South Africa have always been practised in the interests of economic exploitation, and education for blacks is one of the most powerful weapons used by the regime to maintain and intensify this exploitation. Bantu education is an integral part of apartheid.

Since industrialisation successive regimes have tried to use the educational institutions to create a subservient, docile, partially educated population. The aim of education in South Africa is to ensure that the blacks will be unable to think about — let alone organise and carry out — a revolution against the system.

But recent events have shattered any myths that the black people have been cowed into servility. In the last few months the White

power structure has been shaken by some of the most magnificent uprisings ever witnessed in our country. In almost every area, thousands of our youth have risked their lives to challenge the edifice of the apartheid system.

Despite vicious reaction from the state and its agents, which has resulted in hundreds of deaths, thousands injured and maimed for life, and untold numbers imprisoned, the struggle of our people spearheaded by the youth has continued unceasingly. Unity in action has been forged among all sections of Black population. The fact that our people managed to penetrate the very citadels of white power, Johannesburg and Cape Town, despite an almost total state of emergency, reflects a new sense of purpose and organisation.



The attempts of the enemy to divide the youth from the rest of the community, by the use of vigilantes, failed miserably. The impressive strikes called in Johannesburg and Cape Town have shown the identity of interests developing among students, young and old workers, teachers, parents and others.

Our people have written a new chapter in the history of our struggle. The greatest tribute we can pay to those that have died is to intensify our involvement and commitment to the struggle of our oppressed people. It is impossible and impermissible to stand aloof. There can be no bystanders in this struggle.

We must develop a revolutionary consciousness. It is essential that we increase our understanding of the concept "revolution", and the specific realities of our own revolution. We have a rich and glorious tradition of struggle of which the present uprisings are manifestations. We must acquaint ourselves with all facets of this so that we are able to play a relevant role in the noble task of liberation.

Above all, we must be ready to transform revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice. Actions themselves are the best educators. It is therefore imperative that we commit ourselves to revolutionary struggle for armed seizure of power.

It is not only the comrade carrying a gun who is a freedom fighter. So we must analyse carefully and determine our specific role. The revolutionary idea does not live unless it is embodied in definite organisational structures. To carry forward the revolution we need organisation, in the schools and in the workplace — be it factory, farm or mine. Through these we can mobilise our people, impart to them the revolutionary message, and learn together with them how to put it into effect.

## **Underground work**

Organisation is the key to any revolutionary strategy. Underground organisation is typically suited to revolutionary movements whose objective is a radical social transfor-

mation, but quite unsuited to purely ameliorative movements or organisations. Thus before employing this method of organisation one should ascertain that it is suited to the tasks in hand.

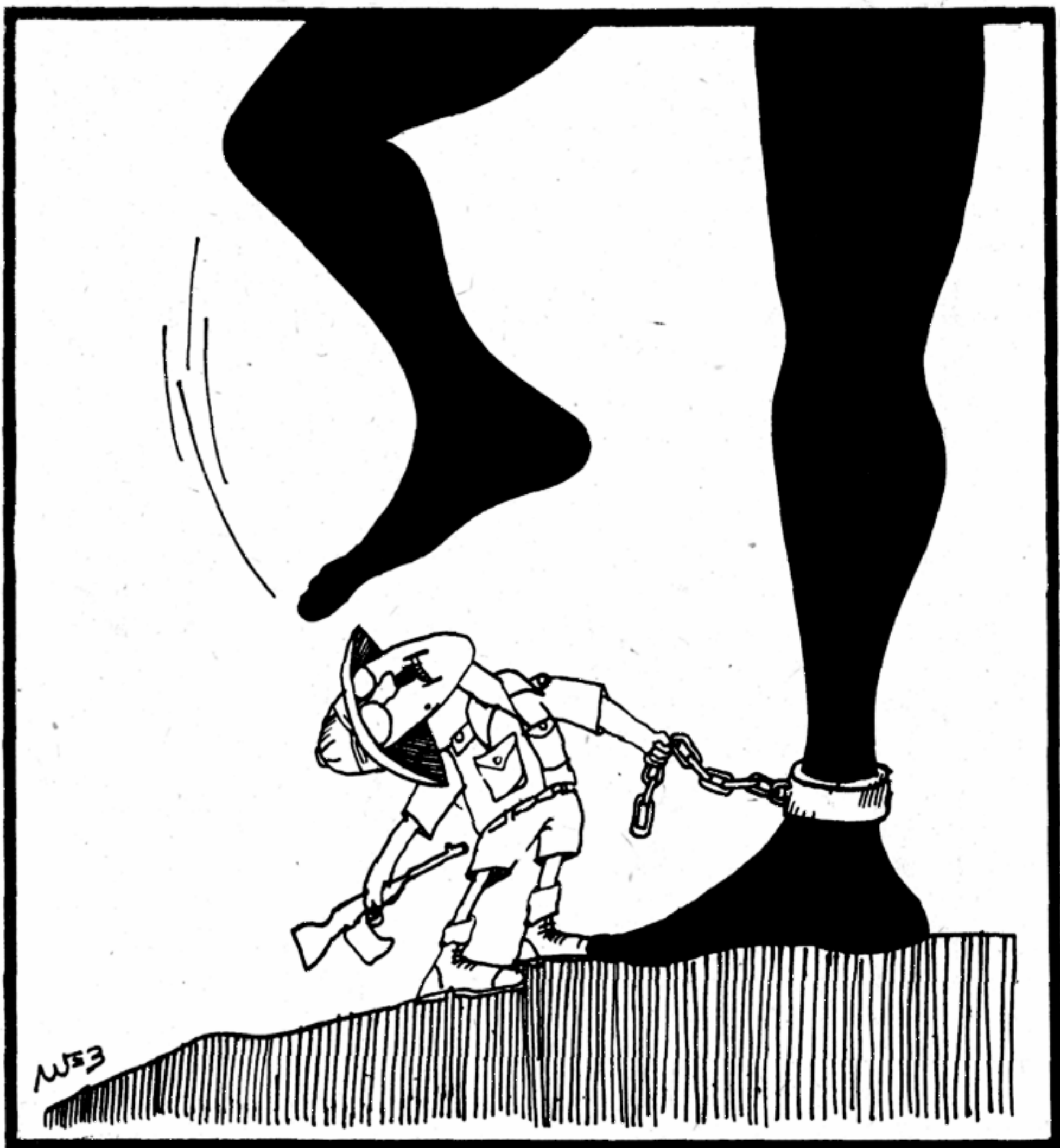
Underground organisation must at all times be seen as a means of carrying forward the struggle. An underground movement that is so deep underground that it cannot interact with and relate to mass struggles, is useless. The objective of underground work is to enhance the struggle, to carry out those necessary tasks that must be hidden from the eyes of others.

The harsh experience of the struggle has taught us the need to work in secret in order to outwit the police, their spies and informers. The police would like to give the impression that they know everything, that it is impossible to break oppressive laws without being caught. There are some amongst every people who oppose the idea of illegal work, claiming that it is impossible to get away with it. This is just the sort of false idea the oppressor wants spread. Of course secret activity entails risk, but under white oppression our people have grown accustomed to taking risks every day of their lives.

Whilst it is true that many underground activists have been arrested over the years there are many more still functioning who prove that it is possible to outwit the enemy. As the struggle increases and our experience of underground activity grows so we as a people will become more skilful in mastering the art of conspiracy.

We engage in secret work to reduce to a minimum the risk of being caught. Whatever task we may wish to carry out, whether legal or illegal, simple or complex, we must maintain high standards of security. The struggle requires activists who are able to carry on functioning — not merely for a month or a year — but for as long as it takes to win our freedom.

The special branch and police use both scientific methods of detection and their notorious network of informers to catch our people. The informers are of particular



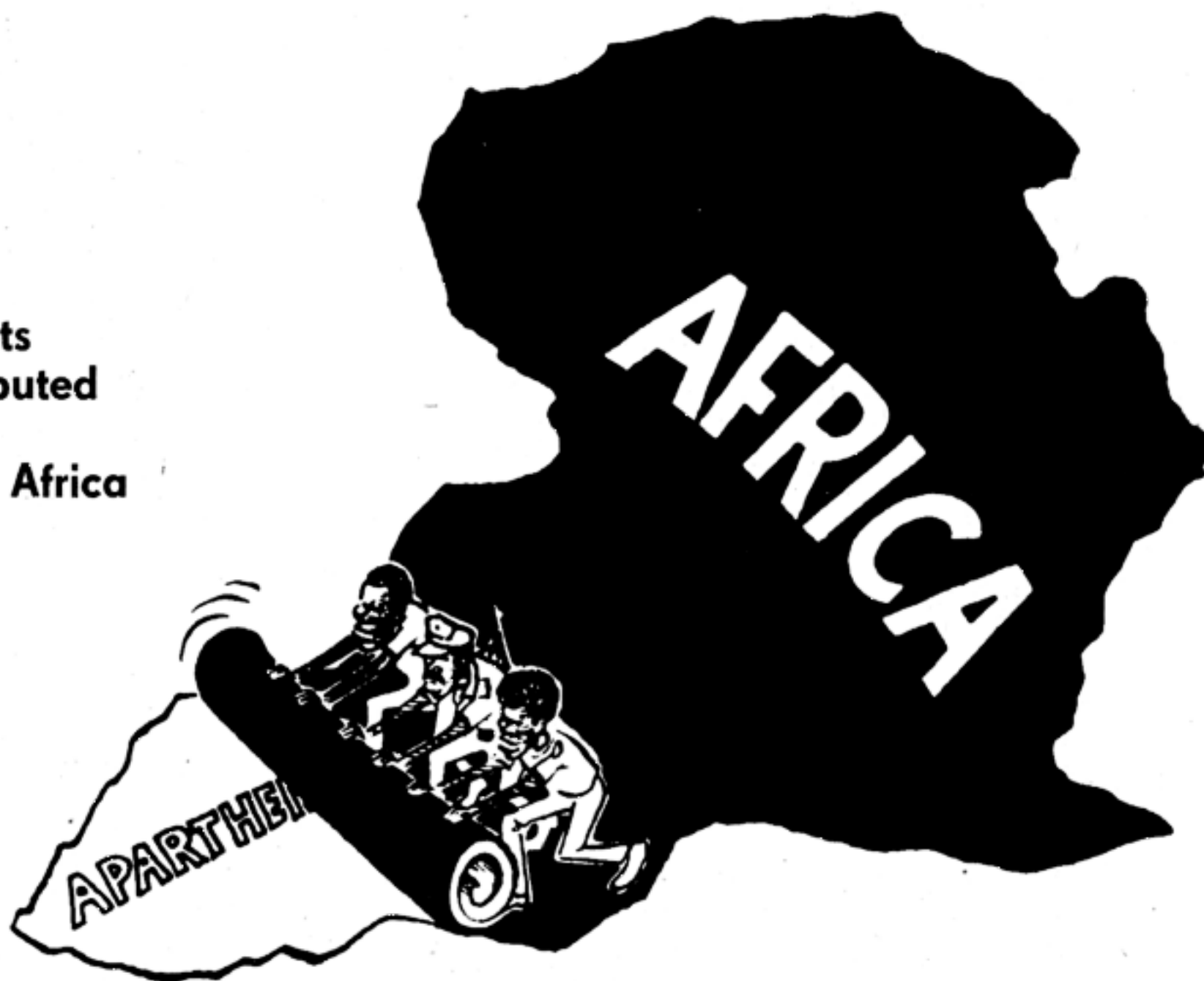
importance since the special branch cannot be everywhere at once. They use the informers as their eyes and ears — as their gatherers of information. We must work in such a way that detection methods fail to uncover us, and in such a way as to mislead the informers.

There are certain well-developed rules of conspiracy as given in *Phakati* that are of immense value in underground work. These should be studied, put into practice and developed. Remember that people who are already known to the police are very vulner-

able, since they can be easily watched and picked up. They have to take extra special care and must not 'contaminate' unknown people. The unknown activists can be of exceptional value, because if they cleverly conceal their involvement it is very difficult for the authorities to get on to them. That is why young people who have not yet come to the notice of the special branch are of such value. But all our people — young and old — can master the art of secret work. It is an iron law that each group be kept small — not more than three or four people.

# VUKANI!

Leaflets  
Distributed  
inside  
South Africa



Militants of the peoples' national liberation movement under the leadership of the underground African National Congress, have been active all round the country, playing an important part in rallying the people and guiding their heightened struggle. Newspapers report gatherings everywhere from a remote Transkei village, to the city streets of central Johannesburg, where fists are raised, and from thousands of throats comes the national slogan of the ANC: **Amandla Ngawethu!**

During June and July leaflet bombs – described by racist authorities as “ideologically dangerous” to their power – were exploded in Johannesburg. They distributed a message headed: “People of South Africa – the African National Congress calls on you. **AMANDLA SOWETO!**” The message read:

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS:** Vorster and his assassins have learnt nothing since Sharpeville. Once again he has called out his murderers to shoot down in cold blood innocent people in the name of preserving ‘law and order’. Once again the racists have blamed agitators, inciters, communists and black power militants for the disturbances instead of their hated Apartheid system. They will never admit that it is their system of racial oppression that has aroused the collective fury of our people, for to do so they would have to admit that it has been a complete failure! They have shown us again that they are not prepared to listen to our grievances and would rather shoot anyone who dares stand up to register them. The massacre of our people must end. We have had enough!

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS calls on our people in every walk of life – in the factories, townships, mines, schools, farms, to embark on massive protests, actions and demonstrations against white supremacy, against the murder of our children, against Bantu Education, Bantustans, the pass laws and all the hated policies of Apartheid. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT!!

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA; stand together firm and united and show the oppressor that we will not be intimidated. We have the strength to hit back. Our organised strength, unity and militant actions will give us more power than Vorster and all his guns. Rally to the call of the ANC – the tried and trusted organisation of all our people that Vorster and his police can never crush! United in this task we will smash the brute force of the oppressor!

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE BRUTAL MURDER OF OUR CHILDREN, OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN SOWETO AND OTHER TOWNSHIPS. DEMONSTRATE YOUR RESOLUTE OPPOSITION TO THE APARTHEID STATE, TO RACIAL OPPRESSION AND THE MASSACRE OF OUR PEOPLE.

VORSTER YOUR DAYS ARE NUMBERED! IZAK'UNYATHELI AFRIKA!

AMANDLA SOWETO!! FORWARD TO THE LIBERATION OF OUR SOUTH AFRICA! AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE ARONA! AFRIKA MAYIBUYE! FORWARD TO PEOPLES POWER!!

Another underground leaflet, distributed in June, was headed "Death to the murderous oppressors!" It called on the people to make Freedom Day, June 26, a day of dedication and solidarity with the fighting youth of Soweto, and with the families of the slain. It added: Meet at your schools and campuses on Freedom Day to protest against the killings, to continue the fight. Workers, women's organisations, church groups, youth and cultural clubs – people on the

land – organise gatherings and protests to make your anger felt. Paint these slogans in the locations, in the cities, wherever people gather:

Revenge our martyrs! Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke a Rona! Free Mandela – Hang Vorster!

An important bulletin: VUKANI – AWAKE, was widely distributed in the country in July. It was in connection with the printing and distribution of this bulletin, and ANC and South African Communist Party leaflets, that three Cape Town whites were charged under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act.

They are Dr. David Rabkin, a Cape Argus sub-editor, his wife Susan, and Jeremy Cronin, a Cape Town University lecturer. Dr. Rabkin and Mr. Cronin were found guilty and have begun serving their ten-year jail sentences.

Here are extracts from *Vukani*:

The events on the Rand and elsewhere last month in which 174 black people lost their lives at the hands of the SAP thugs stand as the most significant wave of militancy and mass protest in South Africa since the early 60s. The fighting youth of Soweto have proved their courage and determination. Our young men and women have maintained the fighting tradition of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and other leaders of the ANC youth league.

The June events happened in a very different context from that of the early 60s. Sharpeville and the national stay-at-home of 1961 were the culmination of a decade of peaceful protest. The reaction of the racist state then proved to our people that protest was not enough and opened a new stage of struggle in which the liberation movement prepared to seize power by force.

Our youth understood that their protest would be met by massive police violence but were not intimidated. They have won a great political victory. They have demonstrated the power of the people and shown that mass protest remains an important and indispensable part of the liberation struggle.



A number of valuable lessons have been learnt: solidarity actions in other locations and at black campuses showed the importance of spreading the struggle as widely as possible and the necessity of countrywide organisation and co-ordination; because the protests were largely confined to the locations, damage to the economy, the heart of white power, was limited – the struggle must be taken into the cities, the factories, the mines; the youth mobilised on the burning issue of forced Afrikaans – to maintain the militancy and keep the initiative, demands that unite and draw in the broadest mass of the people (Abolish Passes! Down with Bantustans and Group Areas!) must be advanced.

Leadership and co-ordination in a police state like South Africa means using both legal and illegal forms of struggle, linking mass protest, strikes and boycotts closely to the underground work of the liberation movement... What is the difference between Vorster's 'gift' of independence and the freedom and national liberation for which the African people led by the ANC are fighting? The independence of the Transkei is a lying sham – aimed at perpetuating white domination, dividing the African people of South Africa and ensuring that the superexploitation of our people's labour is continued by keeping the Bantustans in poverty and starvation, using them as reservoirs of cheap labour and dumping grounds

for those for whom the white man has no more use.

The freedom we are fighting for is different. It means one South Africa for all who live in it. It means power to the people. It means sharing the country's wealth by taking over the mines and great monopoly industries for the benefit of the people. It means the land shall be shared among those who work it. It means an end to bloodshed and war.

These basic goals for which we are fighting are set out in the Freedom Charter, the basis for a national democratic state serving the needs of all our people. Such a state aims at ending the exploitation of man by man, at

breaking the grip on our economic life of imperialism and the international monopoly companies. It would seek friendship and good relations with our brother African states and with all progressive and peace loving peoples.

This state is our aim. To reach it we must strive in every way to build up the national democratic front uniting all oppressed peoples in a common struggle under the leadership of the ANC and its armed spearhead, Umkhonto we Sizwe. With unity, determination, organisation and discipline — victory is certain.

\* \* \* \* \*

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## Bloody Friday:

### REQUIEM FOR MOHAMMED

For one moment General Murtala Mohammed, leader of Africa's large, oil-rich state of Nigeria, showed he was a staunch champion of true liberation for Africa. This heroic combination of power and commitment was too dangerous for imperialism. Murtala Mohammed was murdered... A tribute by Dr. P.F. Wilmot, University of Zaria:

Into the debris of Lagos  
into the air swept from the scum  
of the lagoon  
the hero fell in the morning  
bleeding  
like the baobab struck with an axe  
its sap  
bleeding into the broken earth  
into the ridges and furrows  
crafted by the hands of boys and young men  
its seed  
waiting for the rain

to bleed into the caverns  
gouged out of the land  
by the hoe  
rusted but proud.

Behold the man  
behold the hero Murtala  
struck down  
gored like an ox  
his spirit  
bleeding into the ravaged earth  
of Ajaokuta and Cassinga  
of Nassarawa and Pondoland  
of Bulawayo and Maputo  
of Africa  
resurrecting from the dust.  
When will the heroes arise  
Africa  
from your laps wet with the blood  
of Ramat the martyr

When will they come forth  
from the soil of your womb  
firm in the strength of their arms  
quiet in the buzz  
of the flies and the vermin  
of Washington and London and Dakar

When will they sprout up  
unbending in the wind  
like the arms of the mighty baobab  
thrusting into your sky?

**Jailings,  
Tortures,  
Killings**

# The Current Catalogue of Racist Oppression

It is impossible to give precise figures for the numbers arrested and detained during the disturbances since June 16, since the law enables the police to withhold information about detainees. Legislation was to be introduced in Parliament to prohibit newspapers from publishing any details whatsoever — at present the only source of names and numbers, however inadequate.

In August the Minister of Justice and Police said about 800 people were being held as a result of 'black rioting' — 77 under the Internal Security Act and 744 for "various crimes and interrogation". In September the Christian Institute alleged that over 5000 people had been arrested and at least 300 detained without trial since June 16. According to information from inside the country, even this figure is a gross underestimate, as the following incidents illustrate:

September 14 and 15 — over 1000 Africans arrested in Soweto and Alexandra alone in an effort to break the successful three-day strike.

September 14 — over 800 school students marching in protest at apartheid arrested in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

September 13 — about 400 demonstrating pupils arrested in Port Elizabeth.

This is a total of at least 2,200 known arrests in four centres in three days.

Thousands receive no publicity. Many of them disappear without trace or explanation. Nothing was heard for a long time of Thamasanqua Zani, Secretary of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) after his arrest in October 1975. Sources in Soweto report that many people have simply disappeared since June 16 — it is impossible to discover whether they have been detained, shot in the streets or fled the country.

In fact, despite Vorster's claim that there is no crisis, the country is now being ruled under an undeclared State of Emergency. The widespread use of indefinite detention in solitary confinement without trial, indicates the level of resistance in the country. Winnie Mandela, an executive member of the Black Parents' Association and the wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who is serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, is one of those held under the Internal



At the funeral of a 16 year old Soweto student . . .

Security Act, together with the rest of the executive of the BPA. Another target under this Act has been black journalists, including Joe Thloloe, President of the Union of Black Journalists, to prevent them from revealing what is happening in black areas where white journalists are not allowed. At least 13 black journalists are known to be detained without trial, many of the from the Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail and The World. Several white journalists have been arrested.

There are also no accurate details of how many people have been killed by police and white vigilantes in the months since June 16, but from conservative estimates it would not be an exaggeration to say that over 1,000 deaths have occurred.

In addition to those killed in the streets, more deaths have occurred in detention,

bringing the known number to 30 by November last year.

Since June 16 these are:

\* Maptela Mohapi, aged 29, arrested on July 15 and on August 5 the police informed his family he had committed suicide. The doctor who represented the family at the inquest, Dr Ramphele, was himself arrested, as well as two doctors who worked at the same clinic.

\* Luke Mazwembe, aged 32, who was said to have hanged himself with strips torn from a blanket, within two hours of his detention on September 6.

\* Fenuel Mogatusi, aged 22, a Soweto student who died on September 28 at the Johannesburg Fort while awaiting trial. The official cause of death was epileptic fits. His sister, aged 19, said, "This is surprising





**Namibians protesting outside the courts in Windhoek against the judgements pronounced on SWAPO members**

because Fenuel never had fits. In fact we saw him the day before his death and he looked healthy." He had appeared a number of times in court during his trial.

\* Jacob Mashabane, aged 22, also a Soweto student, died at the Johannesburg Fort on October 5. He is said to have hanged himself with his shirt.

\* Dumisane Mbatha, aged 16, disappeared on September 16. The cause of death is not known at the time of comiling this bulletin.

\* An unknown African man: Died in the Carletonville police cells on October 1st. It is believed that he had injuries to his head. Nothing more known.

\* William Namodi Tshwane, of Jabavu, Soweto. Arrested July 25. Father informed of his death on October 14 – after he had been buried.

### **Arrested in the Transkei**

Two internationally known actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, were arrested in Butterworth, Transkei, after giving a performance of the play "Sizwe Bansi is Dead". They were held under emergency regulations which have been in force in the Transkei since 1960. They were released, following an international protest campaign, in October.

Before the Transkei elections on September 29, leaders of the main Opposition party were detained without trial, thus being prevented from getting their names on the ballot.

The Christian Institute describes numerous allegations of torture in its recently published report – banned by the South African government. It lists the following described in recent court cases:

- Holding the head under water in a toilet.
- Applying electric shocks to the genitals.
- Deprivation of sleep.
- Standing blindfolded for five days and nights.
- Assaulting prisoners with kicks and karate blows.

### Children and students

\* In Port Elizabeth 271 pupils were charged with attending an unlawful gathering. The boys were given 8 lashes each. Sentence on the girls was postponed for two years. The ages of the accused range from 8 years to 17 years.

\* Tsietse Mashinini, chairman of the Soweto Students Representative Council and the man who led the demonstration on June 16 in Soweto in the first outbreak of police violence, told how an 8 year old girl was shot by the police after she had raised her arm in a black power salute.

\* While students were in class at Mara Primary School in Naledi, near Soweto, a police car filled with armed police in camouflage uniform stooped in the school grounds. The pupils saw them through the window and panicked. According to the Rand Daily Mail the children jumped through the windows in a frenzy of fear and ran towards the sports field.

The police drove along chasing them. Terrified, the pupils tried to run away from the car. The police opened fire. The school fence was trampled flat by fleeing children. The police drove over the fence in pursuit of them. Minutes later Francis Ntebele, one of the pupils aged 18, was lying dead next to a shop over the road from the school. The police continued firing and a number of pupils were wounded. The body of the dead child was left lying in the roadway for four hours.



That night Francis' grief-stricken father went to the police station to find out what had happened to his son's body. The police told him to come back the next day. When he did so he was directed to the government mortuary where he was given a number but was not allowed to see the dead body of his child.

More than half the people shot dead by police since race violence erupted in South Africa in June were hit from behind, a government commission of inquiry has been told.

South Africa's senior state pathologist said that two-thirds of the 229 people whose bodies were examined at the government mortuary here died of gunshot wounds.

# Pietermaritzburg Ten On Trial for ANC Activism

## The Pietermaritzburg Trial of Ten

The continuing upsurge against white racist domination in South Africa is being led with unbelievable courage by young blacks everywhere in the country. In years, the unarmed young people are children. But in courage, and political awareness, they are heroes. Eight-year-olds have been in the front line to be shot by indiscriminating police bullets. The numbers of detained include many under 13. They are children without a childhood, warriors without weapons. The Cape Town school pupils who marched against a barrage of tear gas into the centre of the city are part of a political precedent set in Soweto.

Their parents and grandparents before them have struggled against that system of human exploitation based on race discrimination which we have come to know as apartheid. Throughout South Africa there are political trials involving older veterans of the struggle, men and women whose lives have been devoted to the cause of freedom for all, to breaking down race barriers and sharing the country's wealth, for one man, one vote and towards a government based on the Freedom Charter.

Since 1963 when Solwandle Ngudle was reported by the police to have "committed suicide by hanging in his cell" 26 political

detainees are known to have died while in the hands of the security police. Babla Saloojee was among the first of the detainees to die in police custody in September 1964. Was he pushed by security police from the seventh floor window of the Greys building in Johannesburg to smash to the ground? One of the latest victims, Mapetla Mohapi, a strong, brilliant young man with a wife and two babies, was strangled in his cell on August 1, 1976. The police claim "he hanged himself with a pair of jeans."

Today we can feel more than ever that all who have died in the torture chambers of the special branch, the children shot by rampaging police, the countless families killed long ago during the Bambata rebellion and at Bondelswarts, the black mineworkers who died in 1946, those killed on June 26, 1950 as well as the dead of Sharpeville — have not died for nothing.

It is against this background that ten men have been on trial for their lives in the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Pietermaritzburg. Themba Gwala, Fano Khanyile, Ndoda Xaba, Zakhele Mdlalose, Vusimusi Magubane, Mokholeka Meyiwa, Azaria Ndebele, John Nene, Joseph Nduli, and Cleopas Ndhlovu were charged under the Terrorism Act with being members of the ANC.



**Nelson Mandela – ANC leader,  
life imprisonment on the Island**



**Walter Sisulu, another ANC leader  
serving life imprisonment**

The indictment stated that they were accused of sending messages to ANC representatives in Swaziland, that they received subversive literature and money from members of the ANC in Swaziland. They were also accused of planning routes "by which persons recruited for training of a political and/or military nature could be transported up to the border and/or sent across the border of the Republic into Swaziland and/or issuing instructions on routes to be followed for this purpose . . ."

They were further accused of establishing ANC cells together with 22 others, for the purpose of recruiting people to undergo military training; and of having instigated 24 people to help recruit others for military training; further, that they approached 43 other people named in the indictment to become recruits for training. The accused are said to have obtained and stored medical supplies "for use by terrorists."

The South African press, in attempting to denigrate the role played by the Soviet Union in its support of the liberatory

movement, picked up that section of the charges which relate to the recruits having been trained in the Soviet Union. "Reds trained ANC recruits, court told" was one Rand Daily Mail headline. The report states: "Black South Africans were recruited for terrorist training and sent to Moscow and Odessa in the Soviet Union. There they learnt Marxist doctrines and warfare tactics to be used in the overthrow of the Rhodesian and South African Governments."

In the light of the Kissinger-Rowlands shuttle between Smith, Vorster and the African "front-line presidents", and their attempt to keep southern Africa safe for Western capitalists and white racists, the evidence in the Pietermaritzburg Ten trial showed the role of the Soviet Union in sharp contrast. The trial also revealed once more that the African National Congress fights on, and will not be put down even after 15 years of special branch informers, torture and murder.

Some of the evidence related to events in the early Sixties. Inevitably there were

witnesses like the notorious Bruno Mtolo, who related that he was attached to Umkhonto we Sizwe and joined the High Command in 1961. He said it was he who had recruited Joseph Nduli. Another state witness, Leonard Nkosi, admitted under cross-examination that he joined the special branch in 1972. Not surprisingly, the State applied for the names of certain witnesses to be withheld. Although he rejected the application Mr. Justice Howard "left the matter to the discretion of the editors."

One of the important aspects of this case was the position of Joseph Nduli and Cleopas Ndhlovu. Both men were kidnapped

by South African special branch police on the Swazi side of the South African border and taken to Pietermaritzburg where they were joined with the other accused. The Swazi government has delivered strong protests to the South African government and demanded that they return the two men to Swaziland. They have accused Pretoria of violating Swaziland's sovereignty and of contempt for all the tenets of international law.

In July when the trial began Ndhlovu and Nduli lodged an interdictory plea against the court's jurisdiction, alleging kidnap and pointing out that the Swazi government had intervened on their behalf. Mr. Justice



**Dorothy Nyembe** –  
15 years



**Ahmed Kathrada** –  
life



**Herman Ja Toivo** – SWAPO  
leader unlawfully serving  
20 years on the Island



**Billy Nair** –  
20 years



**Denis Goldberg** –  
life



**John Hyat Pokela** –  
13 years

Howard adjourned the court for 18 days to consider their pleas saying "I can see all the dangers of flouting international law." But despite those words, the pressures must have been too great for when court resumed on 1st August he meekly ruled that they had been in lawful custody since 15th May when they first appeared and he dismissed the circumstances of their capture and arrest as irrelevant.

The "circumstances of their capture and arrest" are worth the telling. In an affidavit Mr. Nduli stated that he was a South African who had been granted political asylum in Swaziland in 1968. "He and Mr. Ndhlovu had arranged to meet a Mr. Samsu Lukele on the Swazi border on the night of 25 March. Mr. Lukele was to have transferred R10,000 to Mr. Joseph Mdluli who was detained on 18th March (and was found dead in his cell the next day). They drove to within 2 km. of the meeting place and walked to about 50 m. of the border fence. They saw a car on the South African side flashing its lights;



Mr. Nduli gave the agreed signal, and several people emerged and climbed over the fence. These and others surrounded and overpowered them. Nduli was taken to a camp in the Kosi Bay area of Zululand, where he was subjected to continuous interrogation while being made to stand blindfolded for five days and nights. He was beaten on the shoulders, hung from the rafters and given electric shocks." (Focus, September 1976).

Protests on behalf of comrades Ndhlovu and Nduli arrived in the ANC offices from all corners of the world.

The alleged role of Joseph Mdluli in this case is significant. On March 18 this year Mdluli was taken from his home, late at night, wearing pyjamas and slippers. Less than 24 hours later he was dead. In the outline of the prosecution case Mdluli was cited as having attended meetings in Durban of the ANC and of having paid for the transport of a number of young recruits to Swaziland. This was part of a detailed plan to overthrow the government by landing trained revolutionaries on the coast and forming them into a sabotage force. He is also alleged to have incited people at Lamontville to undergo military training outside South Africa.

Many months after Mdluli was found dead in his cell, the police had not yet released details of the post mortem nor had there been an inquest. There is cause for anger on all counts.

Mdluli's family have been relentless in their efforts to expose his murder. They succeeded in having four security branch policemen brought to court "in connection with an allegation of culpable homicide arising from the death of former ANC detainee Mr. Joseph Mdluli". The men, two white officers and two African detectives are Capt. D. van Zyl, Lieutenant Andrew Cavill Taylor, Sgt. Mandlakayise Makhanya and Constable Z. Ngobese. On August 2 they were charged with culpable homicide. In the sinister nature of things characteristic of political trials in South Africa, one of the four men charged with Mdluli's murder has been identified as one of those who kidnapped Nduli and Ndhlovu in Swaziland.



Students at Cape Town University express their solidarity with the struggle of the Black Students

# WHITES' REACTION TO SOWETO

It has been a long hot year for White supremacy in South Africa. In a year of natural disasters in other parts of the world the events which started in Soweto early in 1976, cracking the very foundations of apartheid, were far more serious than the post-Sharpeville rumblings a decade-and-a-

half ago, and the tremors of 1973. White South Africa, shaken with fear, turned out the might of its state armoury to quell the earthquake it had created itself, hurrying to paper over the cracks of the tottering edifice with assurances and threats to everyone concerned, at home and abroad.

"Sounds of hope heard in Durban this week must be joined by the voice of reason — and that voice must not be drowned by the roar of the mob," pontificated the editor of the Sunday Times of Johannesburg in August. It was referring to the Nationalist Party Congress as if that party, representing the

extreme of White racism was interested in ending the vicious system that continues to be the cause of untold misery and death. For want of words the Sunday Times bumbled that the fascists were now "prepared to put their full weight into educating the party faithful, and by extension, all White South 21

Africans, on the need for change — not gradual or cosmetic, but real and now. *What those changes will be has not been spelt out* (our emphasis) — and it must be soon if the flicker of hope that the speeches aroused is not to die again . . . . But with the Government at last committed to change, the time has come not only for White but for Black South Africa to listen to what it has to say.”

The most it did seem to have to say was that the Government’s new 30-year lease scheme for African township houses was to come into operation almost immediately. As if this was a panacea for all the country’s ills.

Perhaps the lesson lies in the tale of the Nationalist M.P. whose son had been told by his teacher to take an interest in his father’s work.

Pa, is there a problem with Blacks in urban areas? — Son, I don’t know.

Pa, is there a problem with Coloureds? — Son I don’t know.

Pa, is there a problem with Indians? — Son, I don’t know.

Pa, am I asking too many questions? — Son, if you don’t ask questions you’ll never learn anything.

## Vigilantes

So arms and ammunition dealers saw demands for guns, which had been building up for weeks, turn into an avalanche, and most were sold out. “Our trade was tremendous,” said a Cape Town dealer, “but the problem is to get the firearms. The West is destroying itself by not supplying weapons to its friends.” What type of people were buying? “Just about everybody,” was the reply.

Probably people like the White junior executive who grumbled during one of the Black stay-at-homes: ‘I’ve just carried a heavy mail-bag from the Post Office, and now I have to go out and buy my own cigarettes.’

The West might have been lax in supplying shotguns and pistols for vigilantes, but the state had no dearth of weaponry. “South Africans may face longer military service and a higher defence budget than this year’s

R1300 million,” the Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, told the Durban Congress before he and top-level officers set off for a dinner-and-dance in aid of the Southern Red Cross fund. He also added significantly: “South Africa cannot be defended by the Whites alone.” More Blacks would be drawn into the Defence Force which was “specifically designed to be capable of warding off attacks and maintaining peace and stability in the country. It had limited objectives of countering insurgency and of building up a conventional force and deterrent.” (Rand Daily Mail, 13 Aug.)

This was echoed in Rustenburg, Transvaal, by the new Defence Force chief, General Magnus Malan, who announced magnanimously through General Kotze, head of logistics, that Black soldiers had to be absorbed by local commando units and trained so they could plough the knowledge back into their “homelands.”

Likewise, Mr. Jimmy Kruger who holds down the portfolio of Justice, Police and Prisons, announced that, “South Africa’s Black townships would have their own police forces.” He wanted to put the plan into action in consultation with Black leaders in the townships. “And where are they?” he asked somewhat mysteriously, or should we say ironically. Nevertheless, he foresaw “a system of volunteer police and township courts that would follow the pattern of tribal justice. Powers would be carefully circumscribed, but would include the right to sentence people to caning and banishment from the township.” (Sunday Times, 15 Aug.)

## Kissinger

Behind all this one cannot help detecting the fine hand of the U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger no less, who had made a speech in Boston earlier on, which included in the U.S. assessment of things in Southern Africa, “African Solutions for African Problems.” Here we have a gambit which has been used time and again by American politicians. For instance, the “Asia for Asians” theory which was advanced shortly before





Protesting Soweto students . . .

the end of the war in Vietnam. The practical purpose of that doctrine was to get "Asians to fight Asians" and was aimed at crushing the liberation movement in Indo-China with the aid of the Saigon puppet army and other units trained and armed by the Americans. But the events moved too fast for this strategy to become properly operative. The heirs to this doctrine, however, believe that a similar policy could work in other circumstances and with more time to spare. In Africa the imperialists are searching for 'native forces' that will uphold their interests.

Jim Kruger growled that 'Black Power' would have to be destroyed "if race riots were not to become the order of the day." It must be noted that the term "Black Power" has now been adopted by the press and the authorities to avoid admitting that the clenched fist and the slogan "Amandla Ngawethu" (Power to the People) is the slogan of the African National Congress, the slogan which rose all over during the demonstrations by Blacks. Hoping to pass the buck, Kruger also scowled that the "Whites

most hated by the Black Power movement" were the Progressive Reform Party represented by Dr. Selma Browde, Mrs Helen Suzman, and Harry Oppenheimer — "Because he had sent thousands of Africans to their deaths in the mines."

We find no reason to exculpate the PRP with its more subtle policy of racialism and exploitation, but the other racists must find it hard to flutter their lily-white hands in innocence of Black oppression and murder as easily as Jimmy Kruger would have it.

But in order to 'give some aura of self-flagellation with the hope of quietening the throes of chronically sick apartheid, there have been hurried attempts to apply bits of plaster here and there hoping they would stick. Hence the "flicker of hope" and the whining for "change." The best the White supremacists could do was to give the appearance of what the Rand Daily Mail happily reported as a "strong verligte (enlightened) trend." 'This all because Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of National Education, had said the country's battle for survival would only succeed if "drastic adjust-

ments" were made in approach. While the Minister of Economic Affairs announced that future stability depended on "ability to meet the aspirations of all its peoples" and the Minister of Defence, momentarily discarding his war-paint, came to a conclusion that unless the country could establish a strong middle-class among the Black races, it would "run into trouble".

Also holstering his gun for the moment, Jimmy Kruger hopefully asserted "Blacks would have to be given enough to make them believe in separate development and want to protect what they had." The Minister of Interior and Information said regretfully, "however difficult and whatever the provocation, White people had to act responsibly and carefully towards people of all races at all times." This of course did not refer to such turbulent priests as Beyers Naude, later imprisoned for one year for refusing to co-operate with a government commission investigating such subversive organisations as the Christian Institute, the Race Relations Institute, the Union of Students and University Christians.

## Euphoria

Nevertheless, these utterances seemed to have given rise to a sense of euphoria to the English language press. Everything seemed to be on the verge of getting better — White supremacy would be saved in the nick of time.

But perhaps the last word of White reaction came from outside of the Nationalist Party as Brigadier Kurt von Keyserlingk (shades of the Prussian guard and the Junkers!) of the United Party toured Soweto during a lull in the Black uprising, for a sort of post-mortem. The police in Soweto and other trouble spots did their duty extremely well, he said admiringly. He spoke as a former policeman himself, and one could picture him wistfully wishing he had been there, firing into the crowds of Black school-children. Surveying the burnt-out shells of Bantu Administration offices, beerhalls, schools, he added regretfully: "All were symbols of the White establishment" . . . He also said: "I came away filled with ad-

miration for them ( the police). There is talk of Black Power and White Power, but there is also Blue Power — the police. They have done their duty well and the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, has been an inspiration to his men." Evidently he omitted to add, 'Sieg Heil!'

Altogether outdone, the boss of the United Party could only whimper over the awesome fact that the uprisings had also drawn in the Coloured people. "Why did the violence occur?" he asked dazedly. "What could have been done to avoid it?" Speedy and informed action (whatever that might mean, we ask) could repair the loss of confidence about the future. But his colleague Herr Brigadier von Keyserlingk had already beaten him to the draw.

Out of the platitudinous remarks and sterile observations from either side of the House of Assembly came nothing. The bankruptcy of racism, apartheid, White supremacy, could only continue to produce more gunfire, more deaths, as the police — Blue Power — fired into funeral-goers at the burial of victims of their previous incursions. All the talk of 'changes' turned out as nothing but the Internal Security Act and its speedy enforcement. "The White man is stronger than you think, and the Black man must not push us around," glowered Jimmy Kruger again, ignoring any previous conciliatory remarks he might have attempted, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Hildegard Muller emphasised that "changes" could only be made within the framework of the Government's separate development policies.

Mrs Helen Suzman declared somewhat hopelessly, "If Mr. Kruger and the Government think the way to solve the unrest is to slap the leadership of the blacks in jail — the leaders who have the confidence of the community — he will find himself much mistaken. These are the people he should be talking to, rather than arresting."

## Creaking System

*All White South Africa is attempting to shore up the creaking system as the earthquake of revolt continues to rumble beneath it. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries,*



**Cape Town: fascist terror unleashed against the people**

representing an important sector of South African industry, presented a 26-page document to Vorster, calling for improvement in the status of Urban Blacks to remove "simmering discontent" which since June had led to "bloody riots." Meetings of academics, business and professional people will go on being held "in which grievances will be highlighted" as was done in Durban, but the cracks appear in the apartheid ground and the fascists unlimber their artillery and others shut their eyes behind their blinkers, the more to forget the seismographic forecasts. "Effective government has broken down in South Africa," Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, said. "Is this the start of the final phase of the struggle for South Africa?" the commentator Stanley Uys asked with some significance.

**Is "The Godfather" of world imperialism, the United States, as represented by Kissinger, again too late? The United States appeals to the South African rulers to 'heed these warning signals.' The new U.S. programme**

**calls for a sort of modernisation of racism. It wants it cleansed of its ugliest manifestations, and given a more respectable appearance. It is thus hoped to weaken the anti-racist movement and gain time to turn the South African regime into a truly effective instrument of neo-colonialist policy on the African continent. But how to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear?**

The White racists and fascists must do their best to instil fear into the people by repression and terror. But the very opposite happened: its terror is rule by people who themselves are terror-stricken and trying to reassure themselves by useless cruelties. Such has always been the meaning, or lack of meaning, of counter-revolutionary terror. The savage tyranny of South African racism reflects a situation which the regime itself admits — if not in so many words — is hopeless. For when one goes against the course of history, he has nothing to hope for.

# MASSIVE SUPPORT FOR ANC STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA



After opening of Conference, ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo leaving the hall with Their Excellencies Brig. Gen. Teferi Bante, Chairman of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia (second from left) and Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary-General of AAPSO (extreme left)

Massive crowds of 80,000 people gathered at the Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, for two days at the end of last October, to join delegates from 87 countries, revolutionary parties and progressive organisations, in paying tribute to the courage of the South African people – and to pledge support for their struggle, under the leadership of the African National Congress.

The meeting – the Emergency International Conference of Solidarity with the people of South Africa – was the climax of a series of support demonstrations which dominated the OAU headquarters city for a week.

The Emergency Conference was jointly sponsored by the ANC of South Africa, and by the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO). It was opened on October 30 by the Chairman of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, Brigadier General Teferi Bante.

His speech was followed by an address from the Secretary General of the ANC, Mr. Alfred Nzo, and by the AAPSO Secretary General, Mr. Youssef el Sebaï.

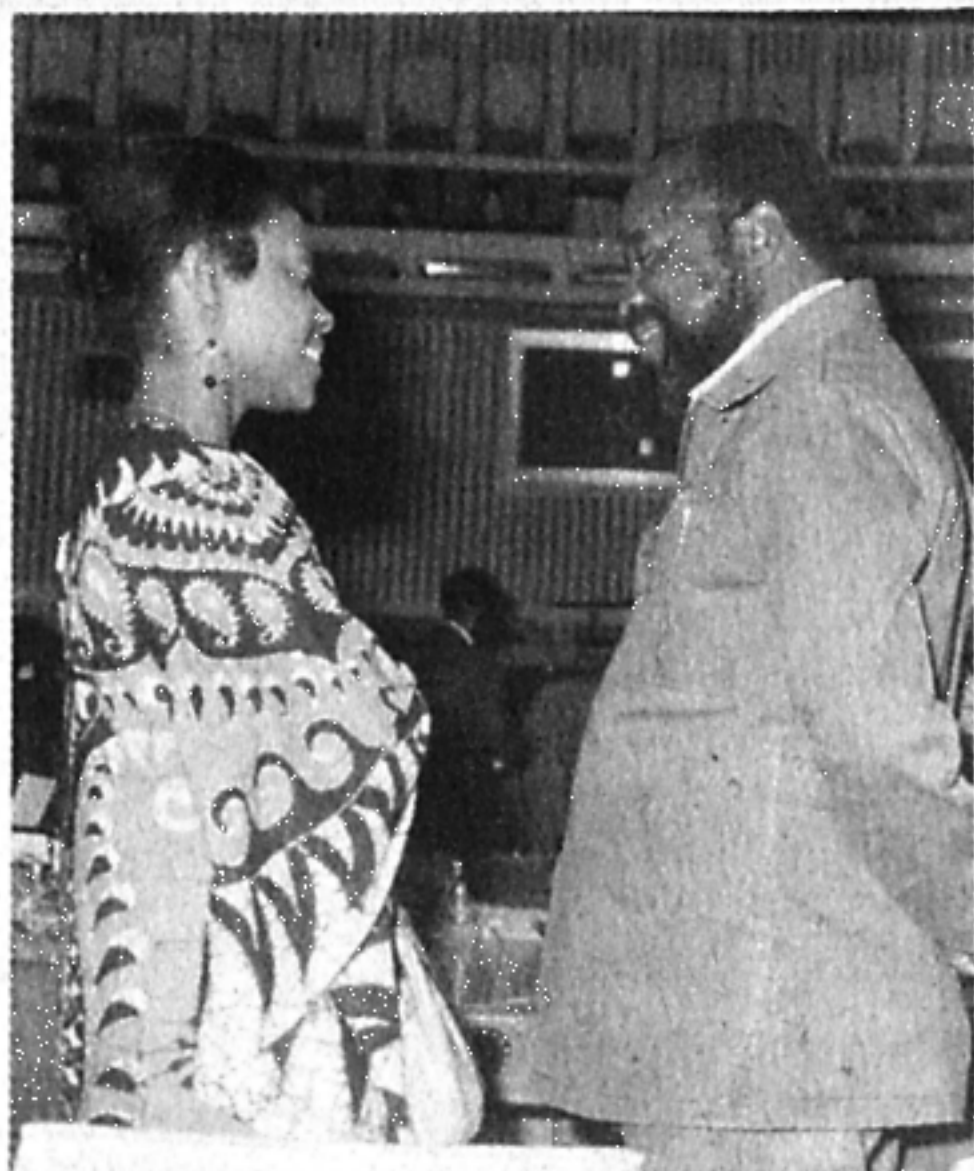
Delegations came from liberation movements, and progressive parties all over the world. They included the ANC Zimbabwe, MPLA, Frelimo, PAIGC, the Palestinians, the Vietnamese, the Koreans, the Chileans, and many African government delegations.

Comrade Nzo read a statement of the African National Congress paying tribute to the struggle of the Ethiopian masses against the worst forms of feudal oppression and capitalist exploitation.

The statement went on:

The enemies of progress recognise fully that the declaration of peoples power in Luanda and Maputo spells certain doom to the domination of the economies of Southern Africa by international monopoly capital.

This new situation represents the birth on the borders of South Africa and its colonial dependence of Namibia and satellite Rhodesia, of states that are not only bound by strong ties of solidarity with the African National Congress and the progressive forces in Namibia and Zimbabwe, but are also



The heads of the MPLA and ANC Zimbabwe delegations Dr. Lima Olga Conceicao and Mr. Michael Dube at the conference

establishing social systems that are dramatically opposed to and are in competition with the South African monopoly capitalist-colonial system.

We salute the revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Djibouti, and western Sahara.

The emergency conference which has now met in solidarity with the people of South Africa salutes the representatives of the heroic Vietnamese people and the people of Indo-China who have emerged victorious after long difficult years of unrelenting and glorious resistance against American imperialism.

The African National Congress also salutes the Palestinian and other Arab revolutionary fighters. The tragedy which imperialism imposed on the people of Lebanon sought to achieve these sinister schemes and, more specifically, to destroy the Palestine resistance movement. They will fail although it is still necessary that maximum vigilance must be maintained at all times.

Speaking of the sharpening struggle in South Africa, the Secretary General went on: It is

also clear to us that another group of countries is being activated to act as conduits and fronts for the big imperialist powers. We refer to countries such as Israel, Argentina, Uruguay, Taiwan and Iran.

Imperialist strategy with regard to South Africa remains unchanged from what it has been over the years. It aims still to strengthen the criminal apartheid regime, to enable it to protect the joint interests of the multinational corporations which have invested in and are trading with South Africa, and the super profits that accrue to these companies. This strategy aims also to ensure that South Africa will continue forever to be an important supplier of various minerals including gold.

While imperialism has these interests in South Africa, while it pre-conditions its own survival on the survival of the white minority regime, the confrontation between the African National Congress and the struggling people of our country on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by the United States on the other, cannot but get sharper.

For a strategy for the strengthening of the criminal apartheid regime is simultaneously a strategy for the destruction of the forces within South Africa, that seeks to bring about a genuinely popular change. The same



**Member of the Vietnamese delegation addressing the conference in Africa Hall**

sense is conveyed in statements made by representatives of the US government that a non-radical and peaceful solution for the South African question must, in the long term, be found.

Neither the African National Congress nor our people as a whole can accept such a solution. The attempt to build up collaborationist forces inside South Africa, that will accept such a solution, will also meet with inevitable defeat. The only basis on which to judge the acceptability of any solution is whether it accords with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the broad masses of our people.



**Members of the Finnish and Irish Anti-Apartheid delegations**

# The Fast-Moving Campaign against Apartheid Sport

by J.C. Ganga Secretary General Supreme Council for Sport in Africa

Africa started its international struggle to eradicate racialism in South African sport at the IOC Congress in Baden Baden in 1963. The IOC members from Western European countries wanted to retain racist South Africa as a member at all costs. Their main excuse then was, it would be easier to force South Africa to change its policies. "Don't close the doors, leave the doors open", they said. However, South Africa was suspended from participating in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics on the insistence of Africa and her friends because of its total violation of the IOC principle of non-discrimination in sport.

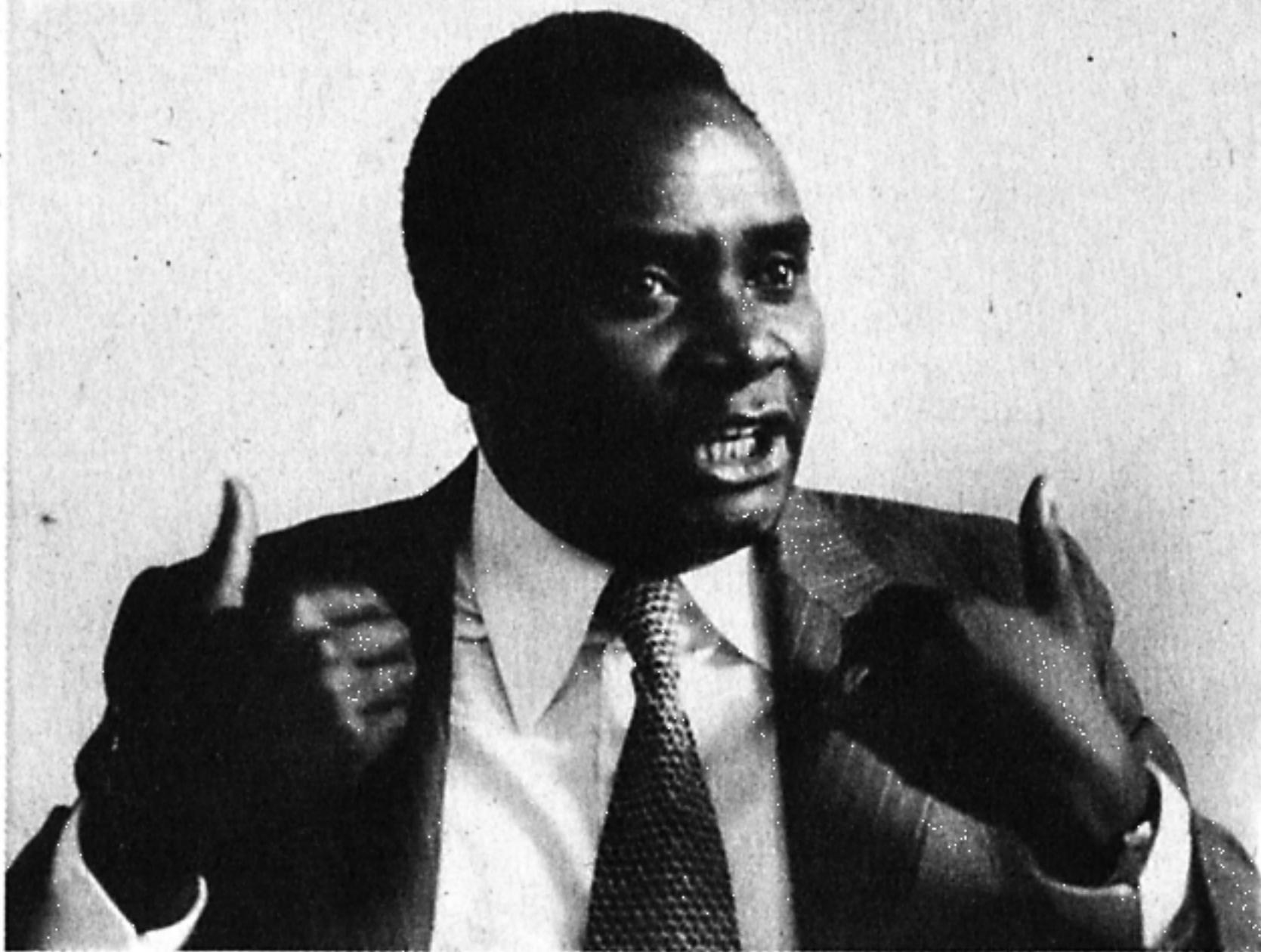
At the IOC Congress in Grenoble in 1968, after great manoeuvring by its Western European members, South Africa was told that it could take part in the Mexico Games. Africa, perturbed at this manoeuvre, immediately held a meeting in Brazzaville and declared a total boycott of the 1968 Games if racist South Africa was allowed to participate. This declaration was supported by Asian, East European and Latin American countries. The late Mr. Avery Brundage, the then President of the IOC immediately

called the IOC Executive and rescinded the Grenoble decision. Of course, the success of the African athletes at the Mexico Games was accoladed throughout the world.

In 1970, Lord Killanin, who headed an IOC Commission of Enquiry to South Africa, reported to the Congress in Amsterdam that South Africa had made no changes in its policy of racial discrimination in sport. The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) was asked to present the charges against racist South Africa. We presented a lengthy document to the IOC and pointed out that the only way to initiate change within South Africa was to expel them from the Olympic Movement.

Within South Africa the racists still believe that it should not change its policies — the world will then be forced to change its thinking and accept apartheid sport. On the other hand, the more progressive and realistic whites are now urging South Africa to change its policies, otherwise it will soon be completely isolated from international sport. For this reason we are totally against sports contact with South Africa. All individuals and sporting bodies who have sporting rela-





Mr. Ganga

tions with South Africa are certainly paying respectability to Apartheid Sport and they are giving abundant support to the racist South Africans to perpetuate racial discrimination in sport.

We are sad to report that many Western European sports bodies are encouraging and supporting racialism in sport by having sporting relations with South Africa. High up this guilty list are sports bodies from Britain, France, West Germany and now recently New Zealand.

Western Europe has had traditional sporting links with white South Africa for over 80 years. The racists made no changes during this time simply because their participation was secure. The only time South Africa has ever contemplated changing was when pressure was put by Africa and her friends to isolate the racists from international competitions.

To accomplish this, Africa has been reluctantly compelled to threaten withdrawing from international competition. This, unfortunately, seems to be the only language racist South Africa and its supporters understand.

Despite abundant evidence provided by International Sports Commissions, South Africa still enjoys membership of several international sports federations. This is mainly due to the blocking of expulsion motions by supporters of apartheid or South Africa is protected by loaded voting systems (e.g. tennis) in favour of Western European and Anglo-Saxon countries.

Rhodesia was invited to participate in the Munich Games despite Africa's presentation of evidence that racial discrimination existed in Rhodesian sport. Again Africa and her friends had to reluctantly threaten withdrawal before the IOC decided to annul Rhodesia's invitation.

In 1975, I presented Africa's case for the expulsion of Rhodesia. We provided ample evidence that white Rhodesia discriminated against its black sportsmen. The white Rhodesians were given an opportunity to disprove my evidence but they failed pathetically. The very same thing happened in 1970 when South Africa was expelled. White South Africa, after bluffing the world for so long, was at last kicked out of the Olympic Movement.



We will fight South Africa's racial policy in sport until it is changed.

New Zealand's Rugby Tour of South Africa is condemned outright. Since the change of government in New Zealand there have been 26 sporting matches involving the two countries. This is certainly as a result of the encouragement of the present Muldoon government. While pretending that it does not interfere in sport, it prepared a major part of its 1975 election campaign round opening up sporting contacts with racist South Africa. In 1975 the New Zealand Government sent its Head of State, the Governor General, to officially open the World Softball Tournament, which was boycotted by many countries because of racist South Africa's participation. Mr. Muldoon said the Rugby Team went to South Africa with his blessing not only as an individual but also as the Prime Minister.

Action against New Zealand in Montreal was not an impromptu decision. We pleaded and warned New Zealand for 18 months.

**Australians made things really hot for a racist SA rugby team as shown in this picture of a game in Sydney**



- \* Philbert Bayi — after taking advice from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa — refused to go to New Zealand.
- \* Many African Heads of State wrote the Prime Minister of New Zealand of the consequences of giving open support to racist South African sport.
- \* Ambassador Mr. Ramphal, Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs, flew to New Zealand to explain Africa's concern.
- \* After the Soweto massacres the Africans again urged New Zealand not to send its rugby team to South Africa. When New Zealand ignored this the O.A.U. took a decision to boycott New Zealand.
- \* At the very last minutes in Montreal, I urged Mr. Lance Cross, the President of the New Zealand Olympic Committee, to request his government to ask their rugby team to terminate the South African tour prematurely so that the Olympic boycott could be averted.

All this went into deaf ears. If New Zealand continues to support racism in sport then we will be compelled to take further action.

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# REASONS BEHIND THE HASTY SHUTTLE

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**The interests that brought Kissinger and Vorster together, the manoeuvres they planned, will not change course very much under the new U.S. administration. The axis should be studied carefully, and motives understood.**

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Whatever the intentions behind Kissinger's meeting with Vorster, whatever may be their plans for the future of Zimbabwe, it is clear that none of their moves are designed to facilitate the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa for political and economic liberation. The oppressors would not voluntarily dismantle the very system which offers superprofits to the monopolists and abundant privileges to the white minority. We must examine what the Vorster-Kissinger axis is about, in the rapidly changing situation in Southern Africa. And any

analysis of this situation must begin with the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and racism in Mozambique and Angola.

We cannot exaggerate the impact on the revolutionary process, and on the tactical and strategic policies of the rulers of Southern Africa and the imperialist world, made by the victories in Mozambique and Angola under the leadership of FRELIMO and MPLA.

Certainly US imperialism has been compelled to revise its strategic assessment of the developing revolutionary process in Southern Africa. Let us recall that not long before the events of April 1974 in fascist Portugal, Kissinger was advocating a very different policy: Since the national liberation movements were, in his view, neither strong nor competent to determine the course of events, US economic, political and strategic interests would be best served — he then thought — by continuing to bolster the white minority regimes. Now we are finding that racist South Africa and the imperialist world are claiming to be on the side of peace and progress in Africa. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The South African mass media and their allies in the capitalist world rejoiced at Kissinger's junketing and meetings with Vorster and Smith. Vorster, arch racist and self-confessed follower of Nazi ideology and practices, is now portrayed as an astute, moderate and reasonable statesman, who is "genuinely interested" in bringing about





**Demonstrations of support such as these were held outside the hall where the ANC was having a meeting in Mpopoma – Southern Zimbabwe**

peace in Southern Africa. The lie is monstrous.

Previously the fascist regime in South Africa had pursued the policy of containing the armed revolutionary struggle by fortifying its borders and strengthening the defensive cordons around Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique. But the victories of the revolutionary forces, and upsurge of mass political and armed activities have compelled the racist regime to revise its policies. This is most evident with regard to Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The imperialist world and the ruling circles in South Africa, realising that the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe is on the point of a big breakthrough – and to deflect attention from Southern Africa – have been feverishly attempting to arrange a settlement in favour of imperialism and racist South Africa. To that extent Vorster was prepared if necessary to dump Ian Smith, if he stood in his way, in bringing to power in Zimbabwe a regime over which South Africa would exercise considerable economic and political influence.

So we have the unsavoury spectacle of Kissinger negotiating with Smith through the “good offices” of Vorster in Pretoria. Of course a principal aim of the racists and imperialists is to avoid an escalating guerilla war, since any successes scored by our comrades-in-arms in Zimbabwe would have profound repercussions inside and outside Southern Africa. It is not the machinations and manoeuvres of the oppressors, but only the oppressed people of Zimbabwe, led by their genuine national liberation movement, using different methods of struggle, including principled negotiations, which will finally liberate Zimbabwe from her shackles.

Despite numerous UN resolutions, which the imperialist countries persistently refuse to implement, the racist regime is still illegally occupying Namibia. The decision of the Turnhalle conference on Namibia, regarding a so-called negotiated timetable leading to “independence”, is a fraud. The conference was no more than a showpiece in which the participants were selected on the basis of ethnic divisions, in line with the Bantustan policies.



**Mr. Joshua Nkomo in Geneva. Also in the picture is Mr. Chinamano**

Following the Kissinger-Vorster meetings the imperialist world has tried to create the impression that South Africa is willing to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia. This is another monstrous fabrication. Reeling under the pressure of the sustained blows delivered by SWAPO in the political and military arenas, and the immense international pressures, Vorster and his imperialist backers want to impose a neo-colonialist solution on Namibia. Consequently the imperialist powers and the racist regime in South Africa are now busily manoeuvring to further forestall the development of the armed revolutionary struggle in Namibia.

It is only the consistent revolutionary struggle led by SWAPO which will bring about an independent unitary Namibia, and not the political intrigues and machinations of the racist regime and the imperialists. We can see that the racists and imperialists are united in their main aims. These aims are:

- To retain Africa's richest and most highly developed country within the orbit of the world capitalist system
- To ensure the domination of South African monopoly capital and imperialist type political power over Southern and Central Africa, so that the racist regime may fulfil its task of being the bulwark of counter-revolution and neo-colonialism in Africa
- To attempt to isolate the National Liberation Movement — the African National Congress — from its allies in Africa, the socialist world and the capitalist world.
- To create splits and divisions within the OAU so as to facilitate the continued existence of the racist regime in South Africa.
- To defend South Africa's geographic and military strategic position. Thus, with the open connivance of US imperialism, Israel and South Africa are coming together in a racist military, economic and political alliance. Moreover US imperialism is seeking to create a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation on the lines of the aggressive NATO and SEATO military blocs, which would include South Africa, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina. All the efforts are designed to give the South African regime political respectability, so as to stem the tide of South Africa's growing isolation.

It is thus the identity of views between US imperialism and the South Africa racists which led to the series of contacts and talks, with Kissinger playing his charade as the carrier of peace and equality, like an evil clown. We are still witnessing the monstrous effects of imperialist policies in Cuba, Vietnam, Chile, South Korea, Angola and a host of other countries.

In the United States the Afro-Americans, Chicanos, American Indians and others suffer daily from the cruel indignities of racist abuse, and discriminatory policies. US imperialism is not and cannot be responsive to the needs, aspirations and grievances of the exploited peoples. It is built and structured to exploit these peoples. It is the foremost enemy of mankind.

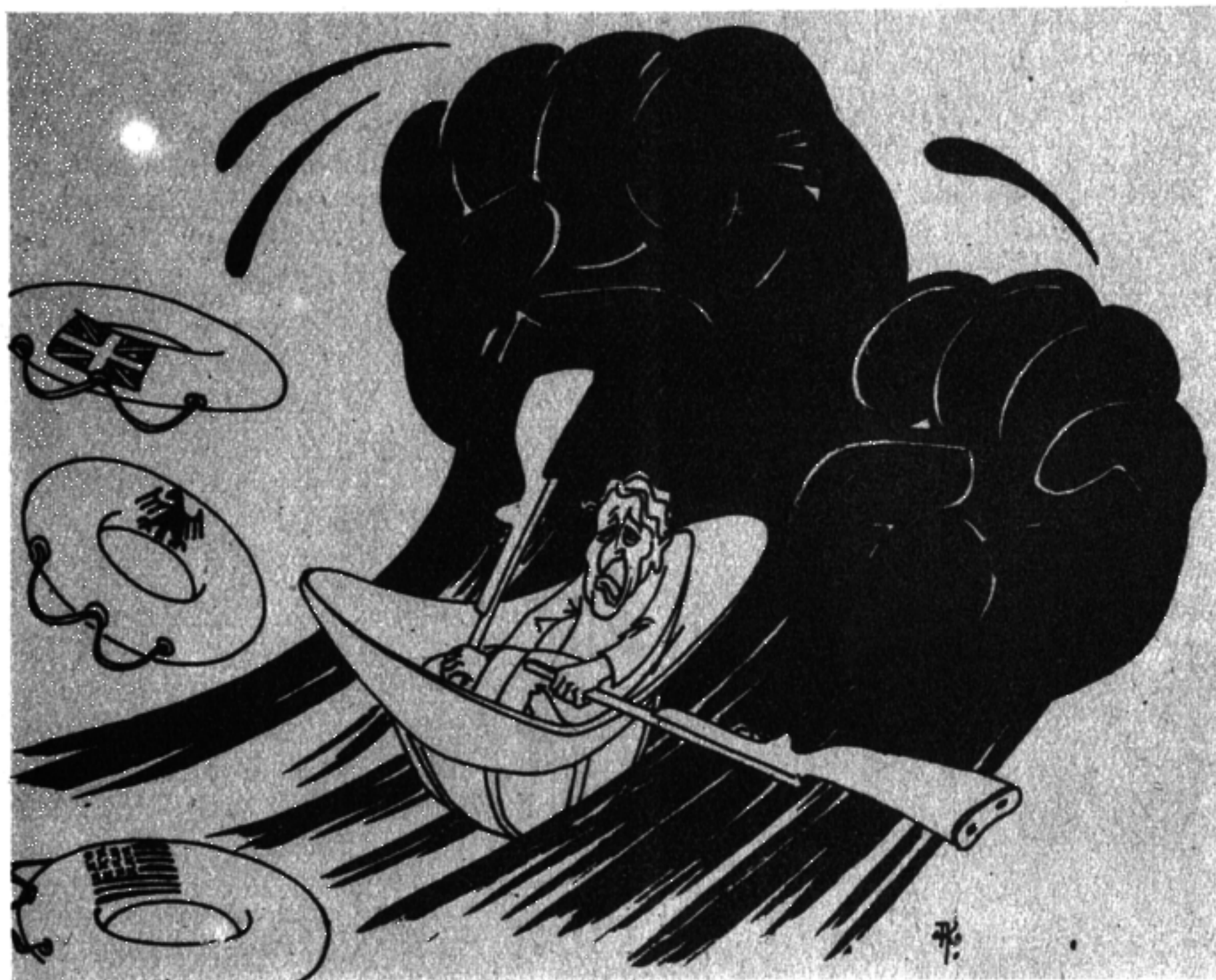
In analysing the motives behind Kissinger's African safari let us recall that during the

time of the imperialist and racist aggression in Angola the US Government used strong-arm and bullying methods against those African countries which had come out in support of the MPLA. The rebuff imperialism received from the African countries — especially Nigeria — taught the imperialists a lesson. US imperialism in reassessing its strategy has to take into account its investments in other parts of Africa. Since 1960 US investment and trade with Africa has grown very rapidly.

As Lumer points out: "Direct private investments in Africa (excluding South Africa) have grown from \$639 million to \$2.87 billion in 1971. Direct investments in South Africa have grown from \$286 million in 1960 to \$964 million in 1971, and imports from \$534 million to \$1.24 billion." Since 1971 US investment and trade has grown even more rapidly. (Political Affairs, July 1973.)

Also of great significance are US economic links with Nigeria. Nigeria is now America's second largest supplier of crude oil, after Canada. The economic stake of the US in Nigeria now is almost as large as its stake in South Africa. As Jean Herskovits points out: The dramatic change has come, of course, from oil. Investment figures are hard to ascertain. The best estimates for US capital in 1974 are \$1.2 billion in South Africa, and over \$900 million in Nigeria. Further, much of the investment in Nigeria is new, whereas in South Africa increases come from reinvestment; the rate of increase in investment is approximately four times as high for Nigeria as for South Africa." (Foreign Affairs, January 1975.)

Thus when Nigeria under the leadership of the late General Murtala Mohammed came out in support of the MPLA, and the other national liberation movements in South Africa, imperialist policies received a set-



Smith: Help me, whoever can!

back. It is also not generally known that when Kissinger made his first trip to Africa the Nigerian government refused to meet him.

It is clear that Kissinger's shuttle was designed to achieve four main objectives: to shield racist South Africa from attack and isolation, so as to keep it within the orbit of world capitalism and imperialism; to convince the African countries that the US "sincerely" seeks to bring about peace in Africa — mainly by offering Ian Smith on a silver platter — so as to protect their own and other imperialist countries' economic interests, and to try to prevent the African countries from pursuing progressive policies both nationally and internationally; to stave off a huge campaign in America itself in support of the struggles of the oppressed black peoples. The US government, still trying to recover from the impact on US public opinion of the peoples victory in Indochina, is afraid that the natural sympathy the black American people have for our struggle should be translated into mass campaigns against imperialism, monopolies and racism; and fourthly, following the perfectly justifiable and legitimate support

given to the MPLA by the socialist world, especially Cuba and the Soviet Union, the South African racists and the imperialist world launched a hysterical anti-communist, anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet campaign. These racists and imperialists are using all their influence, pressure and even blackmail to attempt to form some kind of an anti-communist front in Southern and Central Africa. For this long-term perspective it is vitally necessary for world imperialism that there should be a rapprochement between South Africa and her neighbours.

Above all we should be aware that Vorster's so-called detente policy and Kissinger's demagogic platitudes about "support for the aspirations of oppressed peoples" in South Africa are all designed to weaken the position and influence of the African National Congress and its allies, internally and externally.

Over a decade ago Vorster boasted that the back of the national liberation movement had been broken and that all that remained was for the fascist storm-troopers to "mop up the remnants." Like so many of the pronouncements of reactionaries throughout

#### **Vigil Slams Smith Regime. An anti-Smith vigil in Birmingham which lasted 12 hours**



history, this one has bitten the dust of history. The racists have been compelled to admit — though not publicly — that they cannot destroy the historically tested and proven National Liberation Movements, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Furthermore, fearing that the initiative may be passing into the hands of the oppressed people and their organisation, the ANC, the racists and imperialists are doing everything in their power to limit the growing influence of the ANC and its allies. Our enemies won't admit it, but they know that the continued existence and spirit of no-surrender of the ANC and SACP — under conditions of deep illegality, and naked terror — has inspired the masses in their actions throughout the past decade, and especially over the past few months.

The South African ruling class and its backers know that the ANC is not fighting for mere reforms, but seeks a fundamental and revolutionary transformation of the entire socio-economic system which sustains racism in our country. As the ANC points out in its strategy and tactics document adopted in Morogoro in 1969: "In our country more than in any other part of the oppressed world, it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without the return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole. It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy, and does not represent even the shadow of liberation. Our drive towards national emancipation is thus in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation . . . But one thing is certain — in our land economic emancipation cannot be effectively tackled unless the basic wealth and resources are at the disposal of the people as a whole, and are not manipulated by sections of individuals, be they white or black. This perspective from formal liberation to a genuine and lasting emancipation is made more real by the existence in our country of a large and growing working

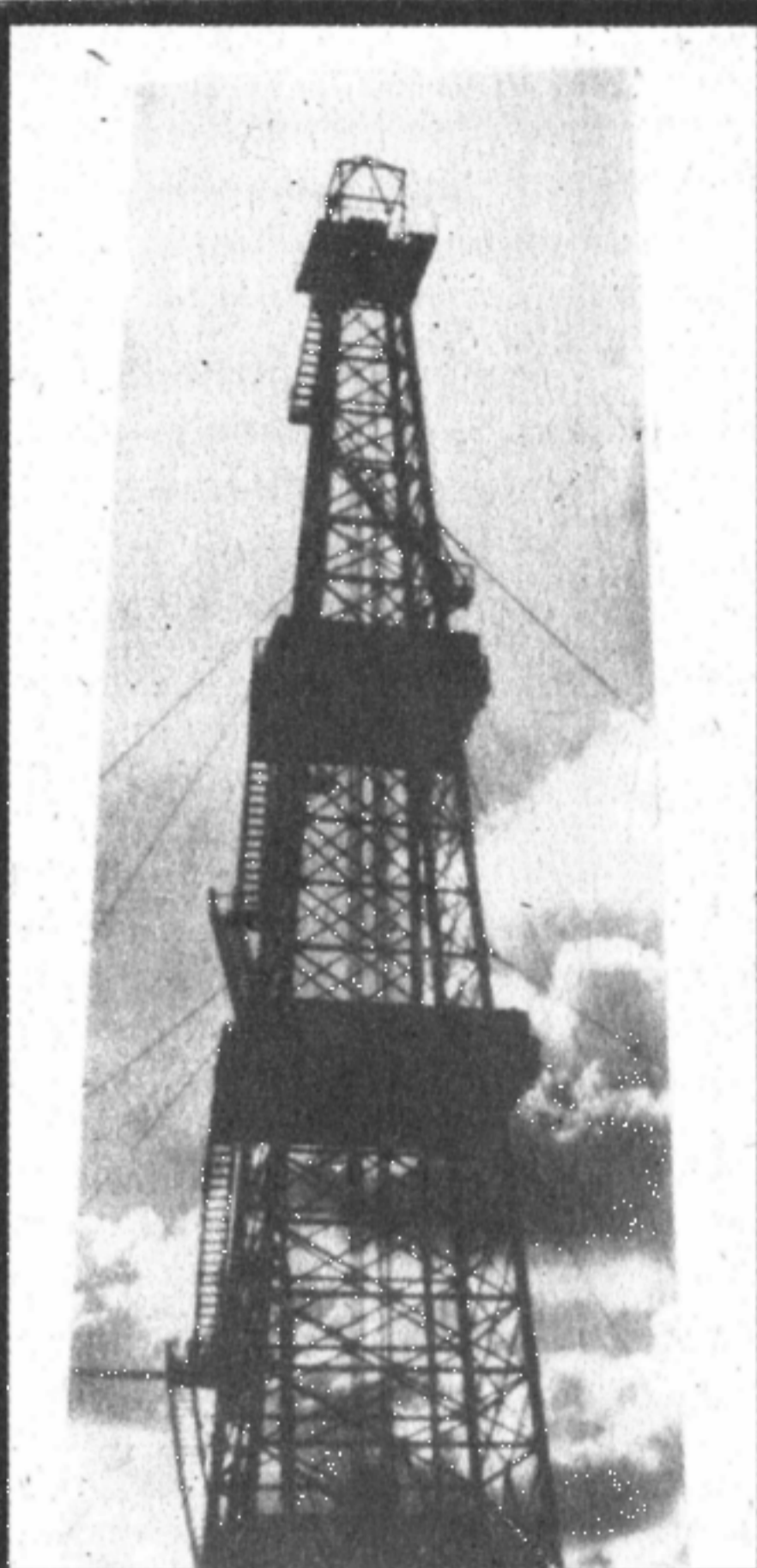
class, whose class consciousness complements national consciousness." (Sechaba, July 1969).

The racists and imperialists are strenuously trying to cut the ground from under our feet. They are afraid that a liberated South Africa under the leadership of the ANC and its allies would spell the doom of their super-exploitative interests. To be sure the Kissinger-Vorster axis will:

- Make all kinds of noises about reforms and concessions
- Portray the racists and monopolists as "genuinely" seeking to change the situation in our country
- Intensify the search for black collaborators inside and outside our country
- Not hesitate to exploit and encourage the activities of tribalists, reactionaries and renegades; the experience of Angola, where UNITA and FNLA were used as instruments of imperialism, racism and neo-colonialism, should always serve as a gruesome reminder
- Intensify the anti-communist campaign, using the renegades and dissidents from our movements as carriers of this poison.

It should be emphasised that the oppressed people of South Africa are vehemently opposed to the Kissinger-Vorster axis. Though it is very dangerous to protest openly, there were a number of demonstrations inside the country at the time of Kissinger's arrival. We cannot forget that the first meeting between the principal spokesman of imperialism, and the chief representative of racism, took place in Bavaria last June very shortly after the first massacres of our people in Soweto. Since then while the contacts have expanded the fascist machine has continued to kill, maim, torture and imprison thousands of our people.

For the masses and their organisations, the choice is clear: to intensify and heighten the struggle at all levels, including armed activities, until the enemy is defeated. For the ANC there is no alternative. We reject all reforms and concessions designed to sustain white rule and exploitation in our country. The struggle is not for minor tinkering with the exploitative socio-economic system, but for the seizure of power.



# Oiling the Wheels of Apartheid

Part one of a look at the expansion of foreign oil companies in South Africa, and how this would fortify the racist regime and multiply oppression. From a report by Barbara Rogers for ICCR, New York.

The announcement by Caltex that it is planning a \$134 million expansion of its operations in South Africa makes more urgent a re-examination of the role of the oil industry in South Africa.

This short paper is to give some background facts on the oil industry and expansion plans of Caltex and Shell.

What happens when such giant companies expand in South Africa? Foreign-owned companies are urged to finance 75 per cent of all expansion in South Africa by foreign capital, whether directly from the parent company or from a loan on the US or European currency markets. Thus, expansion provides urgently needed foreign currency inputs, a vital necessity for South Africa at a time of heavy involvement in Angola, mounting foreign arms purchases, and a declining international gold price exacerbating the balance of trade deficit.

Expansion represents a direct subsidy for South Africa at a time of impending economic crisis for the apartheid regime.

Expansion and foreign capital inputs inevitably increase US financial and therefore political commitments to the present racist structure in South Africa. The greater the American stake, the more pressure there is on the US Government to intervene on behalf of the apartheid regime in the event of serious challenge to it, as the covert US intervention on behalf the South Africans in Angola already indicates.

In calculating political risk, the companies decided that South Africa is a "stable" country offering a high return on investment. Because of the long-term nature of their involvement, they require an assurance that the present apartheid regime will survive. Such a decision is in the nature of a self-fulfilling prophecy, since the companies



seem committed to ensuring the survival of the system. Ironically, experience in Greece, Portugal and elsewhere indicates that the greater the American commitment to ensuring "stability" in a repressive regime, the greater the hostility in that country toward the achievement of greater freedom. Southern Africa, of which the Republic of South Africa is the centre, is experiencing increasing tension and open war; it cannot be assumed to be stable.

Expansion of operations by US multinational corporations in South Africa involves a chain reaction of further involvement by US and European sub-contractors, banks and other concerns attracted by the expansion in such a critical sector as petroleum. Investment attracts further investment, with the giant multinationals leading the way. Caltex's proposed expansion alone will increase the US economic stake in South Africa by 11 per cent and with a handful of other companies' expanding, investments will rise by over 40 per cent.

Under pressure from the South African government, foreign-based companies in South Africa are starting to sell shares to local whites to finance expansion, thus increasing their identification with the minority regime. This tendency towards increased South African control of a US company's subsidiary reduces the ability of the parent company to determine policies other than those dictated by the regime, particularly in the event of a crisis. Those companies which are aggressively campaigning for an increasing share of the South African market, notably Caltex, do so by identifying closely with the policies of the South African government, and implementing these policies more enthusiastically than their competitors.

An argument often used against withdrawal of US operations is that South African exchange-control regulations make it difficult if not impossible to repatriate capital invested there. This is also an important argument against expansion of existing operations: there is little or no prospect of recovering the investment in the event of a crisis.

Expansion often involves boosting South African exports, especially of raw materials, and reducing its imports — significant contributions to the balance of payments. In the case of Shell, massive new installations for the mining and export of South African coal are both subsidizing South African coal consumption, and facilitating the bulk export of coal to the US and elsewhere. There has already been a strong campaign by the United Mineworkers and others in the US to stop the importation of South African coal.

Investment in a new refinery and other facilities in South Africa is an alternative to such investment in independent countries of Africa and elsewhere in the Third World, where such installations are desperately needed. It may also detract from investment in the US.

Any oil company operating in the region is likely to become a significant US commitment to one side or the other in any conflict, either severely embarrassing the US Government (as in the case of Gulf Oil in Cabinda) or tending to increase US Government intervention "to protect US interests."

For strategic as well as economic reasons, South Africa needs expensive and technically sophisticated new refining installations. Only the major multinational oil companies can supply such installations and the capital required to finance them, and they are proposing to do precisely that.

It has been argued by Texaco that because of the South African Official Secrets Act, it is impossible to divulge details of supplies to the armed forces; Texaco also states that Caltex in South Africa is obliged to supply the military. (Meeting of National Council of Churches representatives with Texaco management, December 17, 1975.) This is confirmed by Standard Oil of California: "Further, we have been advised that it would be a crime under South Africa's law were Caltex, South Africa to undertake a commitment to not supply petroleum products to the Government of South Africa, whether for use by the South African Military or any other branch of the South African Government." (Letter to Mr. Robert

C.S. Powell, NCC, from Mr. D.N. Maytum, Standard Oil of California, December 19, 1975.) According to these statements, involvement in refinery operations in South Africa inevitably means supplying the apartheid regime and its armed forces — wherever they may be operating — and it would appear likely that the degree of involvement in such military supplies would correlate approximately to the company's share of the refining and petroleum marketing industry.

Through supplying the South African military, the companies are involved in supporting South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, and the South African invasion of Angola — whether directly or indirectly. Texaco states that there is no way of monitoring third-party purchases of petroleum products on behalf of Rhodesian buyers. Standard Oil of California takes a similar line: "We are advised that there is no legal means whereby Caltex can insure that petroleum shipped or sold to a third party will not later be shipped to Rhodesia." Yet both companies are aware that petroleum is shipped daily to Rhodesia from South Africa. Texaco has a subsidiary in Rhodesia, which is operated directly by the illegal regime there.

Expansion and large-scale investment by oil companies has often been accompanied by a falling proportion of black workers in the labour force, together with declining total numbers of those employed. Because of increasing automation and rationalization, this may also be the case with the currently planned investment. The familiar argument of the companies that investment automatically "produces more jobs" for blacks in South Africa is far from proven.

Employment practices at their establishments are openly discriminatory, in line with overall South African law and practice, enforced in particular by the white unions.

Not only are there no black unions at US subsidiaries' refineries and other installations — which would indicate an important step towards the idea of equalizing employment procedures — but the attitude of

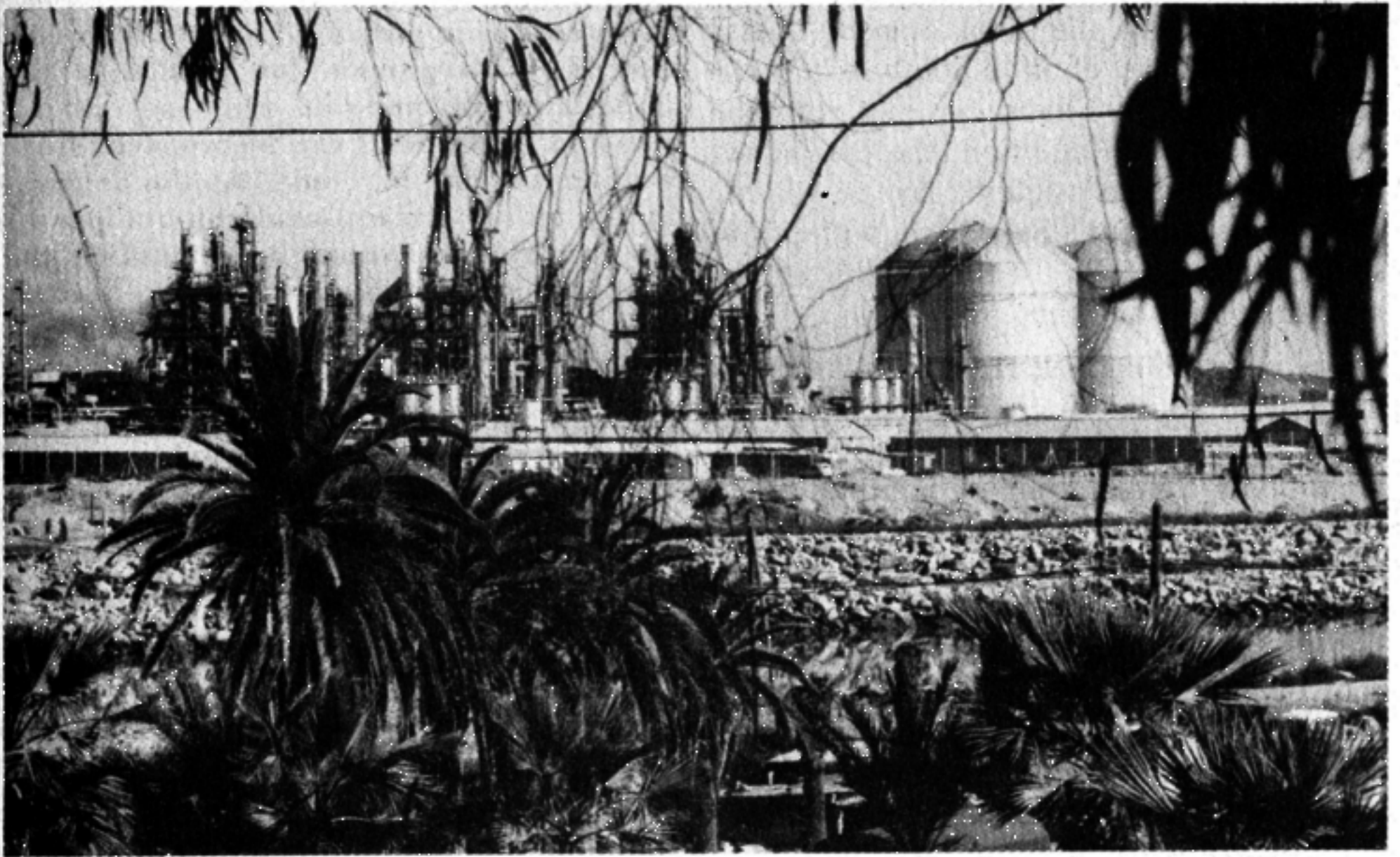
Caltex in particular seems to be actively hostile towards black labour organization. Texaco management has stated that as a matter of policy it opposes unions everywhere as "not necessary."

Without the massive resources of the big international oil companies, applied through their South African subsidiaries, the oil industry in the Republic would not have built into a R700 million business. A stake in the South African market is of great benefit to the oil "majors", for it is a lucrative one and ripe for expansion. In return they have put a vast amount of capital and know-how into the country.

The South African government has established a high degree of control over the oil marketing industry in the Republic, because of its hold on permissible octane ratings and retail prices. South Africa and Namibia are carved up into refinery zones served by the various companies concerned. This imposes severe restrictions on the possible expansion of markets by any company acting on its own.

To offset this disadvantage, however, is the profit to be gained from distribution of petroleum products. As pointed out by the 1971 oil supplement of the South African Financial Mail, service stations are very cheap to run: "In South Africa, all you need is a few Africans under White supervision." The only way to get an edge on competitors in this lucrative but limited market is therefore to collaborate closely with the apartheid government, whether in juggling tanker routes to supply crude oil in defiance of the O.A.U.-sponsored oil embargo, investing heavily in the apparently fruitless search for oil in South Africa, or constructing new facilities to meet the strategic priorities of the government.

In addition, of course, the companies sell products directly to the government and its agencies, which require them for their major strategic oil storage program, military exercises and incursions (as in the motorized column which invaded Angola) and a variety of other activities, many of them directly or indirectly involving the enforcement of apartheid.



**The petrol-chemical complex at Skikda in Algeria**

In 1967, the South African government further exerted its control over the oil companies with the announcement that, as a condition of their remaining in South Africa, all foreign-owned companies should:

- make their refineries available for processing crude products from any source, when excess capacity was available;
- give South African institutions and individuals the opportunity to buy shares in the local operations;
- ensure that the major proportion of their earnings remained in South Africa to finance the future expansion of the industry; and
- be prepared to produce specialized petroleum and oil products required for strategic and other logistical reasons irrespective of the commercial potential.

The stated aim of these measures was announced as forcing a closer identification of the multinational companies with South African interests, which would include resistance to any restriction of crude oil supplies, and neutralization of the controlling influence of parent companies.

Caltex, Shell and the other multinational oil companies have proved more than willing to comply with the policies of the South

African government, involving institutions with close links to National Party circles in their new ventures; retaining earnings inside South Africa that could have been repatriated, and adding to them by utilizing their own international connections to attract new investment to South Africa, both their own capital and that of other US and European concerns; and expanding refinery capacity in line with the government's priorities, regardless of the commercial justification. This is true also of Shell's massive investment in the oil-based chemicals industry, in planning a new coal mine for export complete with a planned pipeline to be turned over to the government on completion.

South Africa's weakest point is in the supply of crude oil, since it is the only product of which it has no supply. It is here that the multinational oil companies particularly proved their value to the regime. The companies could either purchase crude oil from the Persian Gulf through a non-South African subsidiary, and then resell it in South Africa (e.g. Caltex), or execute a complicated series of swaps to allocate more Iranian crude to South Africa than had previously been provided for. Since the multi-

nationals control the world tanker fleets, the actual delivery of oil to South Africa was also arranged by them as part of the purchase deals. In addition, the companies are leasing tankers acquired by the South African government's Safmarine, with provision in the contracts for the government to reclaim them at any time.

As in every industrialized country, the oil industry in South Africa is of crucial importance to the economy. Although oil comprised only 26 per cent of South Africa's energy resources at the end of 1973, which is less than other Western countries, its importance has been increasing, concentrated in the vital transportation sector. 80 per cent of all crude oil becomes some kind of fuel, whether for private motorists (36 per cent of total oil consumption), industry (36 per cent), agriculture (11 per cent), commerce (10 per cent), or aviation (5 per cent). In addition, oil is a vital raw material for the chemical industry, providing the basis of plastics, asphalt, fertilizers and other important commodities.

The situation is far from static; since the 1973 oil embargo on South Africa, there has been a rush for industry to turn to coal-fired plants. In addition, the opening of the Suez Canal has reduced the demand for bunker fuels. This has resulted in a sharply tilted demand for the lighter petroleum products, with diminished demand for the heavy fuel oils for industry and shipping. This new demand is what the major investments by Caltex and Shell in refinery modifications are designed to meet. A given quantity of crude oil can be made to provide a considerably larger volume of the lighter fuels, which are so essential to the transportation industry. In turn the transportation industry is basic to white South Africa's prosperity, the migrant labour system and the mobility and force of the apartheid regime and its agencies.

The new investments by Caltex and Shell are therefore serving the interests of white South Africa in two ways: First, they provide a major source of capital inflow, which is of crucial importance at a time of a declining real gold price and resultant balance of payments squeeze (to which the

rising cost of imported oil has contributed). Second, they provide for savings in the importation of crude oil, since more of the required lighter fuels can be produced from a given amount of crude. As the commitments of the transnational corporations to the South African regime are intensified, the US and other Western countries become more closely identified with the status quo in South Africa.

At the same time as they are pouring in hundreds of millions of dollars, the multinational oil companies are destroying large numbers of jobs hitherto held by blacks in South Africa. They are themselves employing fewer people now than before their massive investment programs of the 1960's; most of those on their payrolls are whites, both South African and foreign. In addition, increasing use of fuels to automate industry and agriculture is driving much larger numbers of blacks out of their jobs, and often leads to their forced deportation from their homes to the reserves, or Bantustans, where they may have no basis for subsistence whatever.

South Africa's balance of payments position, and its whole domestic economy, have been greatly jeopardized by a combination of circumstances which are inherent in this unbalanced economy, of a rich minority and desperately poor black majority. These problems are now coming to a critical stage. The decline in the price of gold, which has until now subsidized the whole South African economy, is the cause of great concern in South Africa. Because of the difficulty of selling industrial products in the rest of Africa, the Republic's most obvious market, the increasing import burden is proving hard to pay for in the long term. The South African invasion of Angola also tended towards an over-extension of its limited armed forces and government funds.

In these circumstances, the long-term commitment by Caltex and Shell, in particular, in more than doubling their existing investments in South Africa, result in supporting the apartheid regime's own strategic and economic demands.

(next issue: Caltex, Shell, Mobil and others)

# THE LATIN AMERICAN CONNECTION

**First of a two-part series taken from a special report on South Africa's growing links with fascists and stooges across the South Atlantic**

In recent years, South Africa has made increasing efforts to establish or re-establish diplomatic, political, economic and other relations with the Latin American countries. The South African régime has felt that a breakthrough in Latin America would significantly contribute to reduce its international isolation.

Speaking in 1975 in the House of Assembly, Dr. H. Muller, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, reaffirmed that South Africa attached particular importance to relations with Latin America because "they are our neighbours on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean" and they had an enormous economic potential, with rich natural resources, including oil. He went on to explain that the Latin American countries "play an important role in the United Nations." Latin America's strategic importance as the western flank of the South Atlantic was an additional consideration in the South African Government's calculations.

South Africa's growing penetration in the Latin American sub-continent is shown by the intensification of contacts at both official and other levels. The drive to strengthen

relations with Latin America began in 1966 with a well-publicized visit to Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of Commerce and Industries. A few months later, a trade mission from Brazil visited South Africa. The first Argentinian trade mission to South Africa arrived in March 1968. These initial contacts developed into "a flood of visitors in both directions" after 1973.

During 1974, several technical missions were sent to Brazil to foster co-operation in mining and forestry development. A group of Venezuelan sugar experts visited South Africa in October 1974 for on-site inspections of South Africa's sugar industry; more groups from Venezuela were expected in early 1975. The South African Minister of Mines, Mr. P.G.J. Koornhof, visited El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Brazil in December 1974, reportedly to hold "discussions with the mining sector."

In January 1975, a South African mission led by Mr. B.G. Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs – and including the Secretaries for Commerce, Finance and Industries, the 43



**Dictator Stroessner of Paraguay**



**Agusto Pinochet Ugarte head of the blood-bath which is the order of the day in Chile today**

Chairman of the Board of Trade and Industries, and a representative of the South African Sugar Association – visited Paraguay and Uruguay. The purpose of the mission was “increased economic co-operation and the further development of trade, as well as the strengthening of relations in other fields”

The highest point reached by South Africa’s “dialogue” policy was the official visit to South Africa by Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, in April 1974, and the visit of Mr. B.J. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, to Paraguay and Uruguay in August 1975. Gen. Stroessner, whose visit touched off protests inside South Africa, leading to an official ban on all demonstrations, was only the third head of State to visit South Africa since the National Party came to power in 1948. He was accompanied by a party of more than 70, including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

Defence, Finance, Agriculture, and Industry, and over 50 leading businessmen.

Mr. Vorster’s visit to Paraguay and Uruguay was the first by a South African Prime Minister to Latin America, and Mr. Vorster’s first trip outside the African continent since 1970. The visits were hailed by the régime as an important breakthrough in South Africa’s efforts to establish a presence in Latin America, and led to several economic and cultural agreements between Paraguay and South Africa.

Several Latin American countries severed diplomatic relations with South Africa or refrained from establishing them following the General Assembly resolution of November 1962. In recent years, however, some of these countries have re-established relations with South Africa or upgraded existing relations.

South Africa’s first diplomatic breakthrough

in Latin America followed a visit by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay in July 1966. At that time, South Africa had diplomatic relations only with Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The South African Ambassador to Argentina and Chile was then accredited to Paraguay and Bolivia, consular missions exchanged with these two countries, and a South African honorary consul appointed to Panama. In the following years, South Africa appointed an ambassador to Uruguay and established or re-established consular relations with Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru. This trend was greatly accelerated from 1973. Mexico, however closed its consulate in Cape Town in March, 1974, in implementation of UN resolutions.

In 1973, diplomatic relations were re-established with Costa Rica: the two countries exchanged ambassadors and opened consulates. Diplomatic relations were also established with El Salvador and Panama: South Africa appointed an ambassador to both countries and upgraded its consulates to the level of consulates-general. The South African consulate in Guatemala was also elevated to consulate-general. A new South African consulate was opened in Argentina.

In 1974, diplomatic relations were established with Nicaragua and Paraguay. South Africa appointed an ambassador to Nicaragua, and established a consulate-general. South Africa and Paraguay exchanged ambassadors after the visit of Gen. Stroessner to South Africa in April 1974. Diplomatic relations with Brazil were raised from the status of legation to that of an embassy. Bolivia appointed its first diplomatic representative to South Africa (a chargé d'affaires). The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in September 1974 that South Africa had opened an embassy in Chile. In 1975, Uruguay established an embassy in South Africa, with a chargé d'affaires.

**Economic Relations:** As the figures indicate, total trade between South Africa and Latin America increased almost fourfold between



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1969 and 1973. While figures for the entire Latin American zone are not available for 1974, figures for individual countries show a further substantial increase.

The fact that South Africa succeeded in reversing its unfavourable trade balance with Latin America by increasing its exports more than six times in the period under consideration, is of particular significance in view of South Africa's efforts to reduce its dependence on its major trading partners and to redress its international balance of payments.

However, trade between Latin America and South Africa remains small in comparison to the total foreign trade of South Africa and the Latin American countries. South Africa's exports to Latin America amounted to only about 1.9% of its total exports in 1973, and total trade with Latin America to about 1.4% of its trade with the rest of the world. For

Latin America, trade with South Africa was only 0.3% of total trade.

Surveys of the Latin American market carried out in recent years by the South Africa Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) and other associations indicated that favourable export possibilities existed mainly in the less developed countries of Central America, which depend on foreign imports for most of their manufactured products and even for many of their food needs.

In the more developed countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela, the existence of a well-established manufacturing sector protected by high tariffs and of an agricultural sector producing many of the same commodities as South Africa allowed few opportunities for direct exports. South African manufacturers were advised to establish long-term joint ventures with local companies, especially in sectors such as mining, construction, and processing of local resources, which were stressed in the development programmes in most Latin American countries.

Several measures have been taken by South Africa since the mid-1960's to promote trade and facilitate investment by South African companies in Latin America.

In 1966, the South African Minister of Finance, Dr. Nico Diederichs, announced a Government decision to make finance available for the extension of lines of credit to a number of Latin American countries. This was followed early in 1967 by a mission of the South African Foreign Trade Organization, the Industrial Development Corporation and the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation to several Latin American countries to discuss projects involving the supply of equipment, services or expertise from South Africa. Several such projects have since been financed by South Africa.

In 1968, the South African Reserve Bank bought R1.8 million worth of bonds in the Inter-American Development Bank. The purchase entitled South African companies to bid for any capital works contracts in Latin America financed by the IADB.

A Barclays Bank fact-finding mission visited Brazil and Argentina for several weeks in 1970 to discuss the financing of exports in the field of civil and mining engineering with government and private industry officials. The following year, Barclays became the first South African bank to open offices in Latin America, with a branch in Rio de Janeiro and another in Buenos Aires. Barclays already had important links with these and other Latin American countries through its participation in the Bank of London and South America.

In 1974, it was reported that the Industrial Development Corporation had provided R20 million in export credits for goods destined for Latin America and was considering granting another R10 million.

The rapid improvement in communications between South Africa and Latin America has been an important element in promoting economic and other relations. In 1969, South African Airways (SAA) and Varig (the Brazilian airline) introduced the first service between Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg. The service was expanded in 1972. In 1973 SAA and Aerolineas Argentinas inaugurated the first service between Cape Town and Buenos Aires. By the end of 1974, SAA was reporting a steady increase in cargo and passenger loads on both routes.

Shipping links were also steadily improved. In 1970, the Compania Argentina de Navegación Intercontinental (Canisa) established a service to the Far East by way of South Africa. A similar service was introduced by ELMA, the Argentine state shipping line, in 1973. It was reported in 1973 that the west coast of Latin America was served by the Bank Line, a British shipping company, and the north coast by Safmarine, the partly state-owned South African company. However, a Safto official, in 1973, identified inadequacy of shipping services as one of the principal problems in promoting trade with Latin America. In 1974, Unicorn Lines introduced the first shipping service to Brazil by a South African company using South African flag vessels.

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# BONN-PRETORIA ALLIANCE LIVES ON

**An account, by Jurgen Ostrowski, of the way the Federal Republic of Germany is fast becoming one of the truly important props of South Africa's minority regime**

It was only seven days after a new epoch was opened in the freedom struggle — in Soweto, June 16 — that Vorster met Kissinger, and some West German leaders, at a Bavarian town called Grafenau.

As Soweto came to mean sharpened struggle, so Grafenau is a symbol of the continued conspiracy between imperialism and its South African clients, to try to save imperialist interests in southern Africa.

Though the news media and the West Germans tried to make the world believe that Bonn was merely acting as some kind of honest broker, it was not by chance that the talks took place in the Federal Republic of Germany. The FRG is one of the main partners of southern Africa's racist regimes, and has contributed much to the survival of white minority power against the surge of the liberation struggle.

This tradition reaches back into the early stages of German imperialism, during the last decades of the 19th century. Imperial Germany for instance backed the Boers in their war against British imperialism and followed their own colonialist ambitions with the occupation of today's Namibia) which is still familiarly called "Sudwest" by a

number of West German politicians. Although the colony was made a South African-mandated territory, close relations were re-established during the era of German fascism. They corresponded with the rise of the South African Nationalists a number of whom like the now president Diederichs and Vorster himself — were detained during the war years because of their ardent support for German fascism.

Consequently there was almost no interruption in this relationship after 1945. South Africa was one of the few countries, like fascist Spain and Portugal, which did not expropriate German property during the war. Thus, even before the foundation of the Federal Republic in 1949, there was a West German-South African Association for Imports and Exports, precursor of today's flourishing German-South African Chamber of Commerce. In 1953 the FRG was the first foreign country to participate in the Johannesburg Rand Easter Show. One year later, chancellor Konrad Adenauer was heard to be expressing his hope "to succeed in strengthening the already existing ties of sincere friendship". Two years later the then minister of economics, Erhard, visited the Union, and stated that "if there should be



**Federal Chancellor Schmidt with SA Cabinet Minister Schoeman**

any country which would be attractive to German enterprise initiative this would certainly be South Africa”.

Whereas economic engagement remained small during these years, with the growing West German capital concentrating on the internal market, the traditional economic alliance had been re-established at the beginning of the Sixties. One of its elements was crude cold-war mentality and anti-communism, a doctrine shared by the FRG as well as of South Africa's regime. West Germany's president Heinrich Lübke declared in 1959 while visiting South Africa: “South Africa is the protection of Europe's flank. If Africa is going to be communist, then Europe will be taken between two fronts!” This was followed by stressing the importance of S.A. as a “bastion of the free world” – a propaganda formula reproduced continuously by the South African regime until today. In the same year the Commerzbank opened its subsidiary in Johannesburg.

Relations were not hampered by the Sharpeville massacre which followed in 1960. On the contrary – they were consequently developed. In parallel with the rise of the FRG in the late sixties towards becoming the second most powerful imperialist country, there began a sharp increase of German monopoly capital flow into South Africa. In 1968 a delegation of the West German Industrialists' Federation BDI visited South Africa, the first such delegation since 1938.

Within six years the FRG had become South Africa's main trading partner, putting England into second place. Exports to South Africa numbered 3.6 billion marks, imports amounted to roughly two billion marks. In 1975 the trade volume was about the same as in 1974 because of a slight decrease of exports from the FRG, and in the first half of 1976 South Africa exported goods for more than 1.1 billion marks whereas imports increased again to 1.7 billion marks. The

FRG is now South Africa's main supplier of machinery, electrical equipment, automobiles, aircraft and ships, thus contributing greatly to the development of South Africa's apartheid industry.

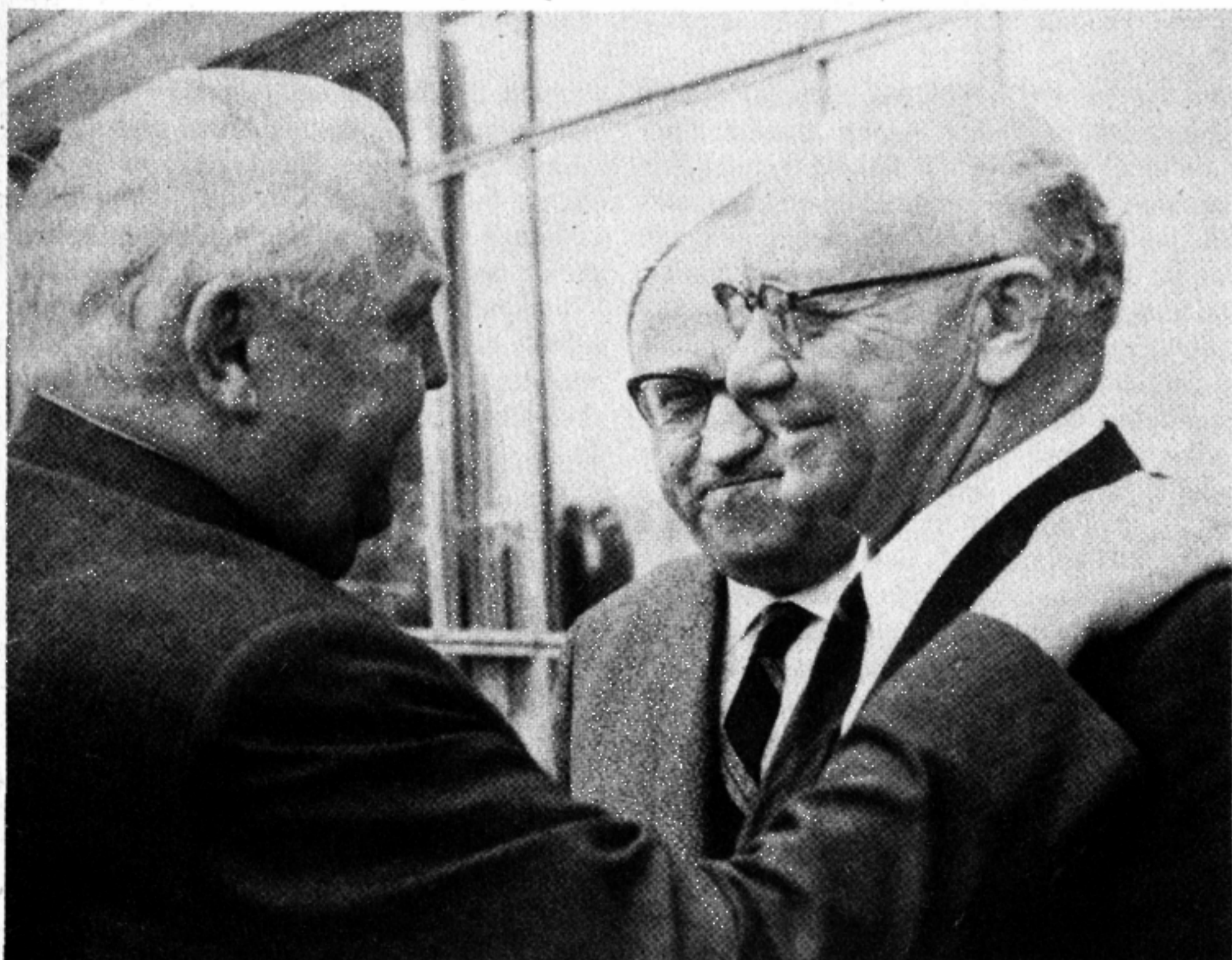
According to the Johannesburg German-South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, there are today about 5,300 West German companies participating directly or indirectly in South African trade and the economy. The last delegation of the FRG's industrialists' federation BDI, which took place in November 1975, stated: "In accord with the Federal Government the delegation does not see any political reason to restrain trade and capital intercourse"

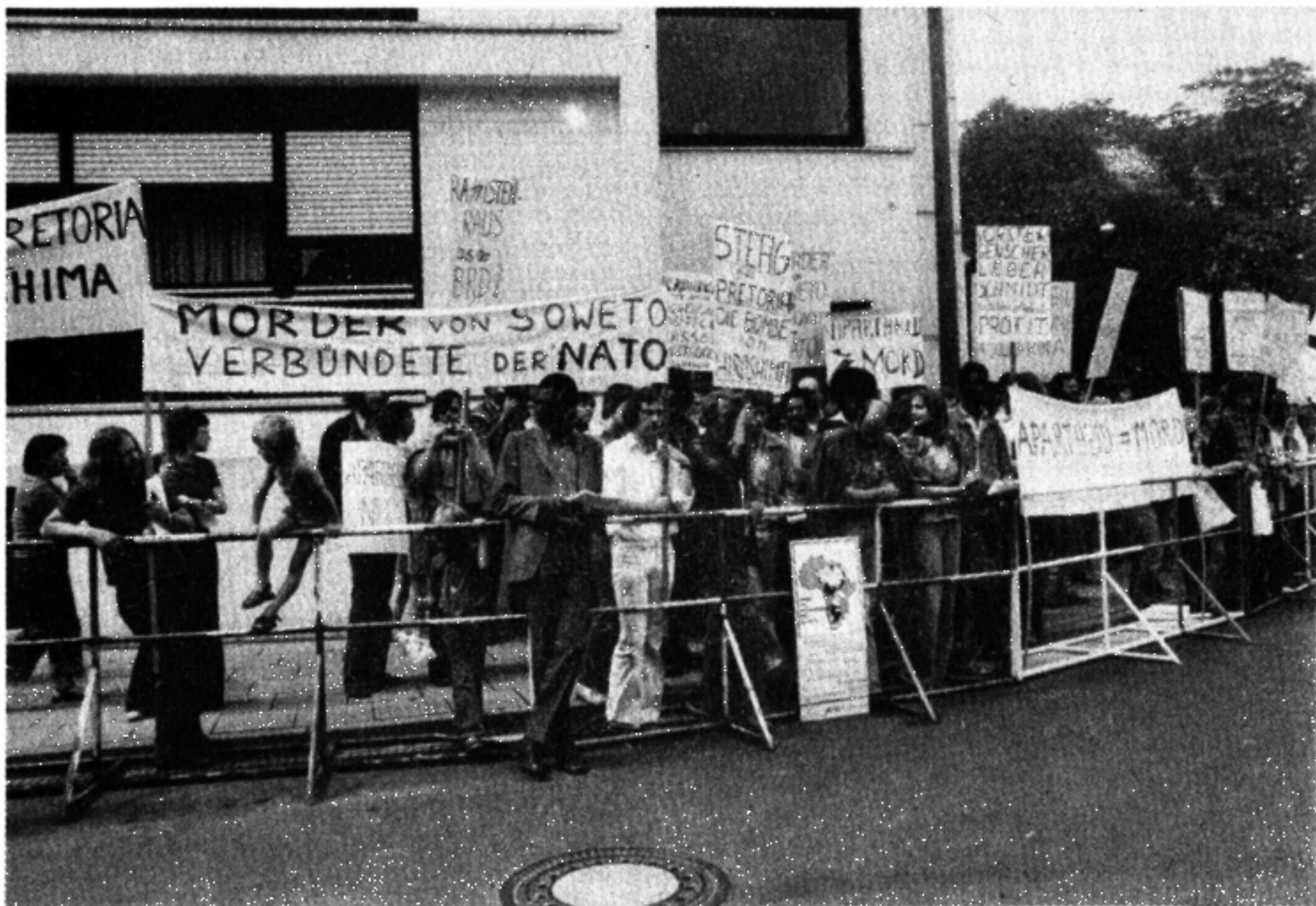
Guided by such principles, it took West German capital only ten years to become South Africa's second biggest foreign investor, exceeded only by British investment. About 300 companies from the FRG

have established dependencies throughout South Africa and the total of their investment amounted to more than 3.5 billion marks by the end of 1974. Some of these investments have been channeled into the 'homelands' - the chiefs of which have lately been begging for investment from the FRG capitalists. The chiefs pointed out that there are no minimum wage restrictions within the Bantustans. Convenient conditions, among which low wages rank first, have motivated most of the 300 companies to build factories in South Africa.

Leading among the German companies in South Africa is Siemens which sold electrical equipment and electronics for about 500 million marks in 1974, followed by Volkswagen of S.A., which supplied South Africa's market with automobiles for almost the same amount; Hoechst specified sales of 300 million marks for plastics, synthetics

**Ludwig Erhard former FRG Economics Minister and Chancellor, and Nico Diederichs former Finance Minister and now State President have always been great buddies**





**Though there bonds between the leaders of the two countries, this most certainly does not fall in line with the wishes of the progressive people of both countries. The above picture shows a protest demonstration outside the SA embassy in Bonn during Vorster's visit there last June**

and medical supplies. Other leading German companies in South Africa include AEG (electrical equipment) Demag (conveying equipment), MAN (commercial vehicles) and Henkel (detergents and chemical products). Bayer, West Germany's third largest chemical corporation, is the exclusive contractor of Rustenberg Chrome Mines; West Germany's big banking corporations like the Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerzbank are present, as are insurance companies, transport firms and trading companies.

The vast amount of German interests in South Africa – not to mention involvement in Namibia and Zimbabwe – has been criticised more than once internationally. On December 10 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which condemned “the actions of those states and foreign economic and other interests which continue to collaborate with the racist regime of South Africa and thereby encourage it to persist in its inhuman policies.” The resolution strongly urged West Germany and other trading

partners to “cease collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa and to cooperate with the United Nations in the efforts to eradicate apartheid”. The FRG abstained in the voting. It was continuing policy not to follow any resolution of the UN which might imply concrete action against colonialism and racism. Bonn would stick to mere claims of anti-racism and anti-colonialism before the world public.

When Bonn's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Genscher, toured several African states in the summer of 1975 he dared to claim that the FRG did not break any UN sanctions against South Africa ‘because there were no sanctions demanding trade boycott or similar measures’. The only truth behind this is that there have been no mandatory sanctions – why? because the imperialist powers in the Security Council – West Germany's NATO partners – managed to prevent this. In 1963/64 even the Security Council called on all states to implement an arms embargo. Since then history has reshaped the political



**Whilst Vorster was being harrassed by demonstrators throughout his visit, Reginald September, representative of the ANC of South Africa, was, at that same period, able to address large meetings throughout the FRG. Here, he is addressing a meeting held in Bonn's Munster Square where almost 40 000 people from all over the FRG assembled**

landscape, particularly in Africa. To bridge the growing contradiction between Bohn's claims to follow UN principles, and the reality of continued collaboration with the forces of racism and colonialism, its government resorted to threadbare apology. Brandt as Foreign Minister in 1968 denied the connection between commerce or economics, and politics. Mr. Sohl, head of the powerful industrialists' federation BDI, was less hypocritical.. He flatly stated in February 1975 that "economy and politics are closely connected with each other today". So-called progressive members of the Social Democrats, like Mrs. von Bothmer, member of the Bundestag, tried to claim that the government was "in no position to force our companies into anything". This is only half-truth. There are a number of government-owned or -influenced corporations, like Salzgitter steel and Schenker, doing business with apartheid. And FRG-companies get tax money for their public relations work in South Africa, for instance during fairs like the Rand Easter Show. This

money from the taxpayer amounted to one million marks in 1974 alone.

West German companies are among the many to pay wages sometimes far below the poverty datum line. Among them are AEG, Demag, Hoechst, Krupp, Siemens and Volkswagen. And it is through South Africa's political system that such low wages – and therefore soaring profits – have been guaranteed throughout the years, making South Africa "an almost ideal capitalist country", to quote the president of the Johannesburg stock exchange. This "ideal capitalist country" is distinguished by several advantages concerning its "investment climate". Late in 1975 the BDI praised the assumption that "there are almost no strikes because a plurality of labour rules restrict the blacks' freedom to strike and to help good relationship between management and employees"; and "steady government benevolence towards business and a safe order of law are important factors of South Africa's business and investment climate"

All this is guaranteed by the racist regime and its brutal repression of South Africa's non-white population. It is an insult, then, to argue that investing in apartheid could prompt reforms of the system! Foreign investment is attracted by cheap labour in the first place.

There is unconditional support for the South African system by West Germany's Christian Democrats. Within the Social Democrats' "left", arguments are that "trade and economic relations with South Africa unfortunately are in our own economic interest. South Africa is one of our leading trading partners." Given such corresponding points of view it is small wonder that by the end of 1974 West Germany's capital still was assured by one of its propagators, Mr. Rosner in Johannesburg, that for the foreseeable future South Africa should be looked at as an economically interesting and politically stable investment country".

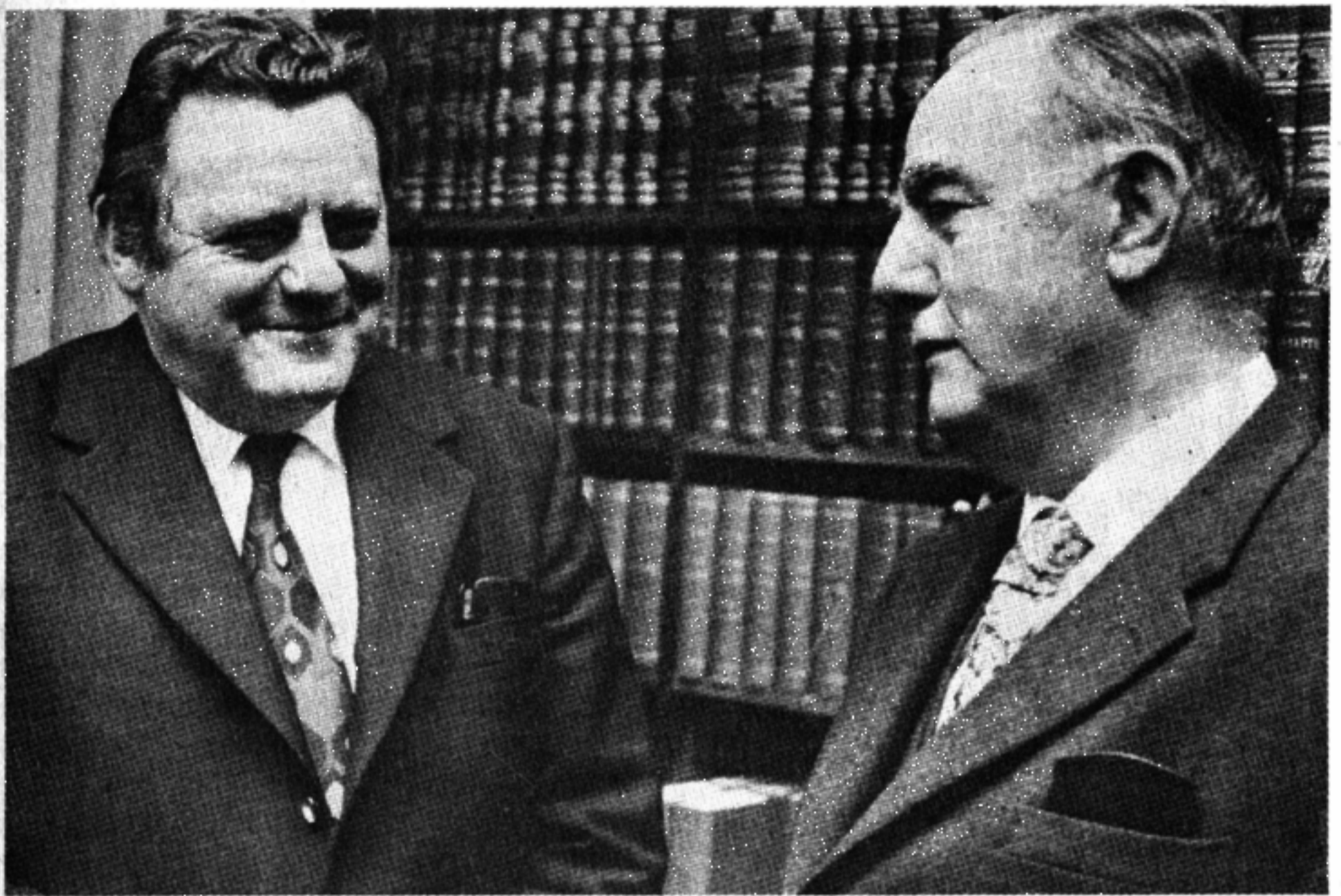
The outcome of imperialism's efforts to crush the Angolan revolution has clouded this once 'bright' perspective. All efforts of South Africa's imperialist allies are now concentrating on how to prevent the liberation movements from gaining control of the racist dominated countries. One way they hope to achieve this is to strengthen the economic and military position of the Pretoria regime. The FRG has provided military support. In 1970/71 South Africa was provided with transport planes of the "Transall"-type which are produced partly by France; the FRG delivered several helicopters built by Messerschmit-Bolkow-Blohm, carrying the model designation B0 105; in 1974 about 130 transportation cars for tanks were shipped to South Africa; the "Milan"-rockets South Africa bought from French agents are being produced in cooperation between German and French companies.

Such arms sales represent deliberate violations of UN resolutions. They represent a threat to peace not only in southern Africa, as was demonstrated unmistakably by South Africa's invasion of Angola in August and October 1975. South Africa is part of the imperialist powers' military network and was

provided with the "Advokaat" military communications system early in 1973. This is said to be able to maintain surveillance from South Africa's coastline across the South Atlantic to South America and across the Indian Ocean to Australia and New Zealand thus making it a cornerstone of the global strategy of the United States and its NATO allies. The electronic equipment for this system was developed and installed by AEG and Siemens of the FRG using NATO codes.

The FRG has been and still is involved in the development of South Africa's nuclear research and industry. In 1975 it was disclosed that there has been intensive cooperation for years. Using processing methods developed by the government-financed company GFK in Karlsruhe, South Africa developed nuclear technology which enables it to build atom bombs. Although the planned delivery of two nuclear reactors for the Koeberg nuclear power plant by the German company Kraftwerkunion (KWU) was not realized (a French company made the deal) West German corporations are still involved, and this with the consent of the government. For instance it was declared that Bonn had been prepared to support the delivery by giving guarantees for export credits needed to bring about the transaction. M.A.N. company on the other hand signed contracts with South Africa in September 1974 to deliver compressors for the Koeberg nuclear plant and again these parts are to be marked with NATO codes. Not least, there remains the fact that General Rall, whose visit to South Africa's nuclear research center in Pelindaba started the disclosures, did so with the obvious consent of his superior chiefs and the Bonn government.

South Africa never signed the non-proliferation treaty and its leaders have never excluded the use of nuclear technology to build nuclear weapons — and to use them against their neighbours. 'Newsweek' magazine once concluded: "Despite its assertions that the homeland policy will solve its racial problems, South Africa's massive military power clearly indicates that, in the eyes of



**A regular visitor to SA is the right-wing politician Frans Josef Strauss. He is seen at one of his many meetings with Vorster during his visits**

its white leaders, the real problem-solver is sheer force". The FRG has contributed much to South Africa's ability to exert brutal military force against the oppressed peoples of Namibia and South Africa itself and therefore shares responsibility for the menace.

Even the events of Soweto and the development of the liberation struggle within South Africa since then has not led Bonn to any profound changes of its policy. The FRG government is strongly supporting Mr. Kissinger's ambiguous efforts to 'solve' the problems of southern Africa by separating the issues of 'Rhodesia' and Namibia from the essential problem, South Africa itself. It is supporting the objective to save imperialist interests in South Africa by compromising on the Namibia and 'Rhodesia' issues — while using every trick to try and turn these colonies into neo-colonies. Conditions set up for any transfer of power to the black majorities are mere ciphers for the common objective to maintain capitalist exploitation and the search for black and white collabo-

rators, like the demand for "peaceful solutions" which is aiming at the unconditional disarmament of the liberation movements.

But even now Bonn is obviously unwilling to apply sanctions against South Africa to end the bloodshed by its fascist police forces, whereas it is constantly directing its warnings of so-called external interference to the African peoples.

It is only natural that an imperialist country like the FRG is continuing its efforts to prevent the victory of the liberation movements in southern Africa because of the enormous importance of its capital and strategic interests there. But just as imperialism was forced to resign in parts of Africa notwithstanding its manoeuvres of adjustment it will be the same in southern Africa. Basing on wrong assumptions, and against the interests of the oppressed peoples, German imperialism once more will stand on the side of the loser. What has been called a "stable country" one year ago already has turned into a last stand of colonialism and racism which soon will be falling.

# PLAN for the PEOPLE of NAMIBIA

From  
“The Political Programme of SWAPO  
of Namibia” —  
outline of the liberation movement’s  
policy

Before the formation of SWAPO, uncoordinated, anti-colonial activities were expressed in the form of localised strikes against colonial rule and individual petitions to the United Nations concerning the South African racist oppression in Namibia. It was realized that the establishment of a political organization was the most effective way by which the politically conscious elements of our society could come into direct and constant contact with the broad masses of our

people to give articulate expression to their problems, aspirations and hopes. Thus SWAPO was formed on 19th April, 1960, as a concrete response to that fundamental need.

Rooting SWAPO firmly in the Namibian society came to be the main task during the early half of the 1960’s. Steps were taken to establish branches in different parts of the country, especially in the industrial areas of Windhoek, Otjiwarongo, Tsumeb, Walvis Bay, Luderitz Bay, and Oranjemund.

Since the system of contract labour has been and continues to be one of the most blatant manifestations of colonial oppression in Namibia, it was felt essential to initially root the movement in the workers’ section of the population. This close identification of our movement with the interests of the toiling masses of Namibian people is one of the main factors which explains the resilience of our movement when compared to other anti-colonial groups which emerged in Namibia and have either collapsed or remained paper organizations.

SWAPO had to place the particular problems, such as those of arbitrary residential relocation and contract labour, into the broader context of Namibia’s national independence. This was the real beginning of the development of Namibia national consciousness. It brought about new waves of repression against SWAPO. For instance, by December 1963 the South African government banned all public meetings in Namibia. A score of SWAPO cadres came under severe harassment — dismissal from jobs and schools, and expulsions from urban areas to the countryside. The South African government set up a commission (known as the Odendaal Commission) early in 1964 to draw up a plan for the balkanization of Namibia into a chain of bantustans.

In the face of these new colonial measures it became necessary to establish a guerrilla network of which the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) — SWAPO’s military wing — is today the living expression. Consequently, armed struggle is now the main form in which politics is being expres-



sed in Namibia. It will continue to be the main form of resistance until the following pre-conditions are met:

— South Africa must publicly accept the right of the Namibian people to independence and national sovereignty.

— South Africa must publicly announce that Namibian territorial integrity is absolute and not negotiable in any quarter

— All political prisoners must be released including Herman ya Toivo and our many other leaders and colleagues on Robben Island and elsewhere.

— All political exiles, of whatever political organization, must be allowed freely to return to their country without fear of arrest or victimization.

— South Africa must commit herself to the removal of her police and army and stop using Namibia as a base for aggression against neighbouring, independent African countries.

— Any constitutional talks on Namibia must take place under United Nations supervision, and should aim at the holding of free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control.

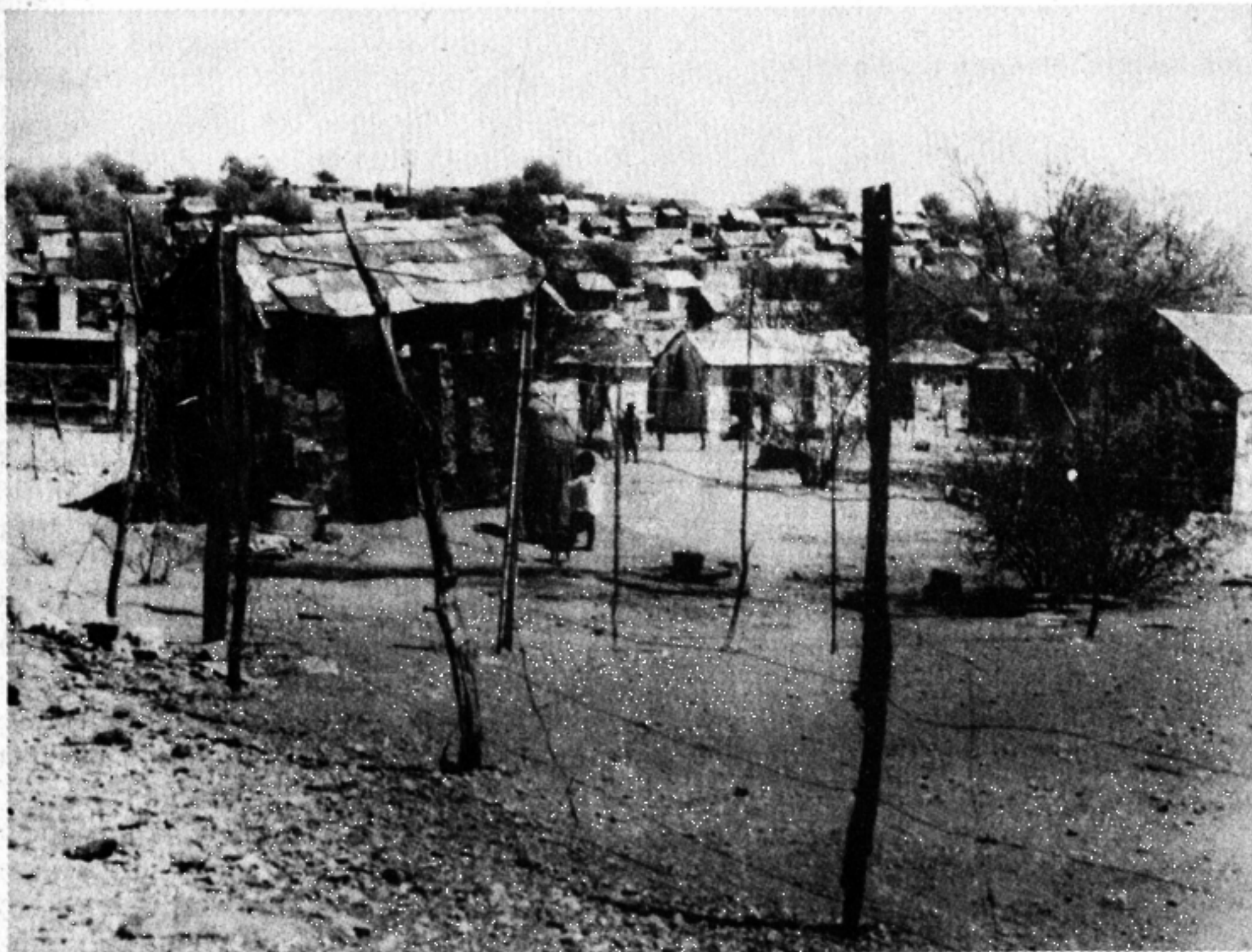
To this end, we will continue to fight on and intensify the liberation struggle both politically and militarily in order to oblige South Africa to abandon her design to impose a weak puppet confederation of Bantustans, a confederation incapable of contradicting orders from Pretoria.

Among SWAPO's task are the following:

— To mould and heighten the tone of national and political consciousness of all the Namibian people in the thick of the national liberation struggle.

— To combat all manifestations and tendencies of tribalism, regionalism, ethnic orientation and racial discrimination in order to cement and advance our struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

**Residential area for Africans. A slum in Windhoek**



– To unite all Namibian people particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard party capable of safe-guarding national independence and the building of a classless non-exploitative society based on scientific socialist ideals and principles.

– To work in solidarity with other national and social liberation movements and other anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world with a view to rid Namibia, the African continent and mankind of colonialist and imperialist domination.

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### International Affairs

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SWAPO holds high the banner of African and international Anti-imperialist solidarity:

– To support and promote the ideal of African unity as provided for in the Charter of the organisation of African Unity (OAU).

– To co-operate closely with all those progressive and authentic liberation movements

fighting against remnants of colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist domination in Africa.

– To work in close co-operation with progressive governments, organisations and forces for the total emancipation of the African continent.

– To foster anti-imperialist unity for the strengthening of the world socialist, progressive and peace-loving forces.

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### Political Guidelines

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To achieve the aims and objectives of SWAPO and to implement its revolutionary political line all sections of the Organization are charged with the immediate task of disseminating the constitution and policy documents to the broadest masses of the Namibian people.

All sections and organs of SWAPO are called upon to make supreme efforts towards the building up of a reliable core of leading cadres who are capable of being in close and constant touch with the people at all levels.

This task is to be accomplished in the following ways:

– strive to heighten the political consciousness of the cadres through regular discussion groups in the local community; the discussions must aim at imparting a fundamental knowledge of the concrete political reality in Namibia and the world revolutionary process

– the most politically conscious cadres in each section and organ are urged upon to put themselves in direct contact with the comrades who are less acquainted with the complex issues of national and social liberation.

The Foreign Relations Secretariat of SWAPO is urged to streamline foreign missions in different parts of the world for intensified diplomatic offensive to expose the current manoeuvres to impose a puppet confederation of Bantustan on our people.

– Expose the attempts by certain Western governments to give international publicity to the Turnhalle collaborationist puppets by extending invitations to them and giving

**Sam Nujoma – President of SWAPO**





**African freedom-fighters, somewhere in the jungles of Southern Africa**

publicity to their treacherous views on radio, television and in the press. It must be made clear that this publicity is being orchestrated behind the scenes by the South African government and its big business public relations lobby — the South African Foundation.

— Strengthen our anti-imperialist international solidarity with the socialist countries, working class movements of the capitalist countries, popular organizations, friendly governments and ordinary people

— Heighten the campaign to isolate South Africa from every possible source of support and of contact with the rest of the world, because of its illegal occupation of Namibia and its institutionalized race oppression at home.

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## **Armed Struggle**

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Much as we are convinced that armed struggle must now be the main form of our

liberation activity we do not beautify war. We see war for what it really is, and extension of politics by other means.

In examining any war, as in social relations, political acts are either just or unjust. We consider our own armed liberation struggle as just and, therefore, deserving support from all the justice and peace-loving people. For where there is oppression, there will always be armed struggle for justice. SWAPO is working towards a universal arming of the people, that is, to transform the armed struggle in Namibia into a truly people's war. The necessary political mobilization to implement this vital aspect of our programme is in motion.

In pursuance of this strategic objective:

— All cadres of PLAN should uphold the supremacy of the organization over all its organs.

— All commanding cadres of the Liberation Army are called upon to make concrete efforts towards the correct grasping of the role of the masses in the struggle as well as

to recognize that role is the primary condition for victory.

— These cadres are not only to lead the war but also to assist in propagating SWAPO's political line among the people in all the zones of combat

— New zones of combat must be constantly opened up in application of the strategy of active attacks on the enemy at many places at the same time in order for PLAN to maintain and extend its control of the battlefield.

— Political education in the people's armed forces must at all times be deep-going, since it is the most vital pre-condition for bringing about a steeled revolutionary discipline among the combatants.

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## Economic Reconstruction

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Colonized Namibia has two economies: A wealthy white-owned economy based on extensive extraction of the country's varied natural resources and a separate subsistence economy enveloping the majority of the African population who are forced to live in bantustans. The two economies have been consciously designed in accordance with the interests of the white settler group and international monopoly capitalism.

The African masses have been forced to live in impoverished Bantustans. They are being held in these Bantustans as labour hostages because in order for them to survive, they must of necessity seek employment as cheap labourers in the white controlled mining, fishing and ranching industries.

The colonialists argue fallaciously that Namibia does not have agricultural potential. Their strategy has been to prevent the process of commercial farming in Namibia so that the country can depend on the agricultural products of South Africa that is to say, Namibia has been consciously reduced to a captive market or dumping ground of South Africa's own agricultural industry.

A close analysis of Namibia's agricultural potential can show that the northern central areas of Namibia are quite capable of producing more than sufficient food to feed the entire Namibia population — provided that

a conscious policy is adopted to engage a considerable number of the working masses of the people in this particular field of production; and that the State takes an interest in providing adequate modern tools for large scale agricultural production.

The colonial regime in our country has not only been interested in making Namibia a captive market of South Africa's agricultural industry, but also in concentrating the African labour in an extensive extraction of Namibia's mineral resources with a view to taking out a maximum of our resources in the shortest possible time.

The other negative consequence of this colonial strategy has been the conscious effort to prevent Namibia from developing processing industries. Thus the huge bulk of the finished products in Namibia come from South Africa. In this respect, Namibia is again used as a dumping ground for the products of South African factories.

The economic reconstruction in a free, democratic and united Namibia will have as its motive force the establishment of a classless society. Social justice and progress for all is the governing idea behind every SWAPO policy decision. The government of a liberated Namibia will therefore be called upon to take the following measures

— Wage the struggle towards the abolition of all forms of exploitation of man by man and the destructive spirit of individualism and aggrandisement of wealth and power by individuals, groups or classes.

— All the major means of production and exchange of the country are in the ownership of the people.

— The creation of an integrated national economy in which there is a proper balance between agricultural and industrial development along the following lines:

- the establishment of processing industry.
- a comprehensive agrarian reform aimed at giving land to the tillers.
- the establishment of peasants' or farmers' cooperatives or collectives.
- the establishment of state-owned ranching and crop farms, aimed at making Namibia agriculturally a self-sufficient nation.

## Education and Culture

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A deep going socio-economic transformation of the Namibia society depends upon the speedy development of the Namibia productive forces, particularly the development of the skills, knowledge and cultural creativity of the toiling masses. Hence our movement is called upon to embark on:

Urgent training of technical and professional cadres at institutions of technical and higher learnings in different parts of the world as well as the newly established United Nations Institute for Namibia.

Provision for work-oriented functional literacy, that is comprehensive education and training for illiterate and semi-literate adults (with a literacy component built in) at SWAPO schools.

Laying the foundation of a free and universal education for all Namibians from primary, through secondary to university level by training many teachers and educationists.

Developing the people's cultural creativeness as a weapon in the struggle for liberation. The elimination of all tribal or feudal mentality.

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## Health and Social Services

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In an independent Namibia, we shall strive for preventive as well as curative medicine for citizens:

There shall be free medical services in an independent Namibia. There shall be hospitals and clinics in every district; nurseries and clinics in every community for workers; health education centres for preventive medicine and family planning; training institutions for medical and para-medical personnel, and rehabilitation centres for the disabled and the infirm.

At present SWAPO aims to strengthen existing clinics in the rear bases as well as to establish new mobile clinics in the operational zones.

## Reggie Hlatshwayo

The African National Congress regrets to announce the death of Comrade Reggie Hlatshwayo (Bungu) a member of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who passed away on July 11, 1976, at Whawha prison in Rhodesia.

According to the report we received, he died of stomach cancer.

Comrade Hlatshwayo was among our MK comrades now serving various prison terms in the Smith regime's prisons following their capture during the ANC-ZAPU operations in Zimbabwe.

The African National Congress lowers its banner to this fallen son of our land and pledges to continue the struggle for national liberation which he died fighting for, until our motherland is liberated.

The ideas for which he and countless patriotic sons and daughters of our soil laid down their lives will continue to serve as a beacon and inspiration for those fighting for the liberation of our country.

His death, together with that of many other martyrs of our liberation struggle will be avenged!

**Hamba Kahle Hlatshwayo!**

**Amandla! Maatla!**

**Alfred Nzo.**

**Secretary-General,**

**African National Congress (S.A.)**

# Embers of Soweto

A.N.C. Kumalo.

Out of the crucible  
warrior army of new age  
despising gas, batons, bullets  
defying centuries of slavery  
advancing without care on armoured cars  
striking metal with clenched fists  
warrior cry Amandla!\*  
rising in every throat.

Despising death:

Under muzzle of machines  
Under muzzle of butcher  
teenagers and the 8-year-olds  
press forward into the piercing storm  
advance into the hail of lead  
advance into the lead and  
weight of centuries  
and tumble — in an instant tumble —  
freeze tumble and sprawl  
like rag dolls in the dust  
collapsing under barbed-wire eyes  
butcher's chorus baying Vrystaat! Vrystaat!

Afterdeath:

They cover the faces  
the faces in the township dust  
cover the soft faces with sheets of paper  
crimson newsprint on paper faces  
under the eyes of the butcher  
the barbed-wire eyes of  
Vorster-Oppenheimer-Kissinger.

They write the numbers  
the mortuary numbers  
on the rows of foreheads  
the forest of foreheads  
where brains once beat  
the challenging beat  
under the barbed-wire eyes.

Yet still the warrior cry Amandla!  
rising from the ashes of  
the smouldering schoolyards  
springing from young lips  
back into adult throats  
rising in the larynx of factory,  
mine and farm  
rising in the larynx of the Phoenix child.

Out of this crucible  
out of this blast furnace  
rising sparks whirl and dance and  
soar in the red-hot wind.

These the embers of Soweto  
igniting the eyes of Mamelodi  
enflaming the heart of Guguletu  
burning like flowers in Bonteheuwel.\*

Winging with the incandescent embers  
warrior cry whirls and  
soars with collapsing child  
ignites triumphant Freedom's gun.

Mother •  
Children  
Father  
People listen . . .

The cry Vrystaat! dries on assassins lips.

*Note\**: Amandla! — People's Power;  
Vrystaat! — evocation of White racist  
power;  
Mamelodi etc. are all black townships.

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## ANALYSING SOUTH AFRICA'S REVOLUTIONARY ROAD

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Since the dramatic collapse of Portuguese colonialism, Southern Africa has occupied the centre of the stage in African affairs. The accession to power of the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and the stunning victory of the MPLA in Angola, have accelerated events in that area of the continent to an extent that the once intransigent Smith regime has been forced into negotiations by its imperialist mentors and the Vorster regime in South Africa. Vorster himself faces an unprecedented challenge to White domination inside his own borders. Since the June uprising, the cities of South Africa have been transformed into battlefields and despite brutal repression the struggle shows no signs of abating.

This volume, "Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution" (Pelican African Affairs Library), comes as a timely publication. The book is divided into three sections, each dealing with a specific area of the sub-continent. Basil Davidson, a seasoned observer and supporter of the revolutionary movements in the ex-Portuguese colonies, contributed the first section. The successes scored by movements of which he has been such an eloquent advocate is a vindication of his previous writings whose impact contributed to the solidarity these movements gained in the English speaking countries. He is joined

in this venture by Joe Slovo and Anthony R. Wilkinson, whose contributions deal with South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively. I shall concentrate on Slovo's contribution.

The dissection and analysis of the complex social formation that is South African society is the main thrust of Slovo's article. The significance of this essay, "South Africa – No Middle Road", is that it focuses on one of the more vexing problems of revolutionary transition in our epoch, the relationship between national and class struggle. Though many of the socialist revolutions since the October Revolution of 1917 occurred in colonial or semi-colonial settings, nowhere is the relationship between these two currents that dominate the history of the 20th century, posed more sharply than in South Africa. The project of a South African revolution therefore promises to inaugurate new approaches to the interaction between these two currents.

Three inseparable elements determine the nature of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa:

- The nature of the South African state, which is at once White racist and capitalist, and therefore defines the national context in which the struggle is unfolding:

- The relations between this White racist/capitalist state and the world imperialist system – a system in the process of disintegration under pressures from the national movements and socialist revolution; which defines the international context of the struggle:

- The two constituent elements of the national liberation movement, the Black working class and its allies, and the Black petty bourgeoisie.

The inseparability of these three elements lies in the character of present day South Africa. Two inter-related historical trends

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contributed to the character of South Africa — the conquest and dispossession of the indigenous peoples and the construction of a dynamic capitalist economy, closely linked to world imperialism, on the backs of the conquered.

Though South African capitalism has its own specific features, it shares with other capitalist societies one fundamental feature; viz, typically, political, economic and social power flows from the ownership and control over the means of production. It is from the White minority, who comprise 19 per cent of the total population, that all the local shareholders, directors, managers and administrators of the mining, industrial and financial institutions are drawn. This White minority also enjoys a virtual monopoly over the leading positions in the professional classes, skilled categories of work and the ownership of small property. Law has set aside 87 per cent of the land area of the country for its exclusive occupation. Their economic dominance is buttressed by a monopoly over the body politic of the country through a "Whites only" franchise. The upper reaches of the civil service, the judiciary and local government are likewise the preserve of the Whites.

From the outset Slovo distinguishes himself from the liberal critics of apartheid, who tend to treat the two predominant national communities in South Africa as homogenous groups. He stresses instead that they each comprise a plurality of interests. Though the literature of the liberation movement emphasises the solidarity of the Whites as a group in their opposition to Black advancement, it cannot be contended that all Whites share equally in the fruits of domination. Under close scrutiny, "White domination" is seen in fact to be domination by certain Whites who represent their *particular*

interest as the general interest of all Whites by means of an ideology of White racism. However, the extent to which the White working people have been incorporated into the machinery of oppression and their adherence to the racist ideology of the political representatives of White capital, confronts the Black majority with an almost solid White reactionary front.

This immediately experienced reality is what determines the consciousness of the majority of Black South Africans as they take their first step towards liberation. Their immediate motivation is a national consciousness that compels them to struggle against oppression and, therefore, it cannot be seen as morally equivalent to the 'oppressive nationalism of the Whites. Revolutionary theory must take account of this sense of national grievance but it must also relate it to a scientific analysis which identifies apartheid as the *modus operandi* of capitalism in South Africa. Joe Slovo's article is a valuable contribution to the development of such a theory.

Revolutionary theory is as much a matter of thought as it is of practice. The author, alert to this mutual dependence, tries to locate his theory within the political tradition developed through the practice of the national liberation movement. This political tradition has two sources — the social radicalism of the working class movement and the political ideals of the nationalist movement. These two aspects reflect the complementary, yet contradictory constituencies of the national liberation movement. In South Africa the tension between these two is greatly diminished by a spontaneously generated identification of the claims of the poor against the rich with the claims of the Blacks against the Whites. In addition, the numerical strength of the Black working



class and its allies, the rural semi-proletariat and the peasantry, has left its stamp on the programme, strategy and tactics of the liberation movement.

Apart from the social weight of the Black working class and its allies, the present distribution of power in the South African economy will be a crucial factor in the shaping of a future democratic state. A significant hallmark of South African capitalism, which came to full flower during the era of imperialism, is the swiftness with which monopolies came into dominance. This trend received a great impetus from the concentration of this industrial revolution in mining and related industries, the participation of the state in economic development and state encouragement of monopolistic practices in the marketing of agricultural produce. Indeed today 70 per cent of private manufacturing is controlled by companies that employ over a thousand workers! The state sector is the largest single investor in the economy as a whole and a handful of banks and insurance companies dominates finance.

These factors have shaped the development of the South African liberation movement and Joe Slovo tries to draw together the threads of this development in his article. It is the effect of industrialization through national oppression that has lent to that movement its close identification with socialist currents in the world today. The links between South African racism and imperialism directly affect the alignment of forces in the liberation struggle. Thus today, when the policy-makers of the leading imperialist powers are striving to find a neo-colonial solution to the Zimbabwe problem, they are keenly aware of the hoofbeats of the horsemen of the apocalypse close on their heels. But, their prescriptions have

## Southern Africa The New Politics of Revolution Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson



# • BOOK REVIEW •

already been outstripped by the speed of events since the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

Though Slovo's article is a commendable effort it is by no means the last word on the question. Though he clearly recognises that the struggle expresses itself in terms of a national conflict, he does not succeed in disentangling the immediately perceived reality from its more remote class content. He argues very eloquently for the necessity of the armed overthrow of White domination and the dismantling of the racist/capitalist state but does not clearly identify those class forces among the oppressed who have an interest in the most thorough social restructuring and have the capacity to carry the revolution to its logical conclusion.

In this regard the political experience of the Black working class should not be underestimated. Its daily life at the forges, in the factories and mines of White capital has given it a cohesion which cannot be rivalled

by other classes; its struggles have imparted to it a recognition of the vital need for organisation and unity; and its strategic placement at the sinews of the economy give it a power which cannot be matched. These truths were demonstrated in practice during the past months of struggle inside South Africa. The attributes of the Black working class will give it an inordinate influence over both the course and the outcome of the liberation struggle.

The events in South Africa underline the timeliness of this book. The brutal repression of the revolutionary upsurge has once again demonstrated to all those who still cling to that illusion the futility of efforts at dialogue and peaceful transformation. The ball is now in the court of the liberation movement and we should bend all our efforts to expedite the liberation war which will bring into being a democratic society.

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Land of Contrasts**

**The gold mines of South Africa are in the hands of Black workers.**

**Of the 403,996 workers in the mines, 366,538 are Black.**

**Workers are paid as follows, per month:**

<b>Whites:</b>	<b>R561</b>
<b>Coloureds:</b>	<b>R191</b>
<b>Asians:</b>	<b>R133</b>
<b>Africans:</b>	<b>R 43</b>



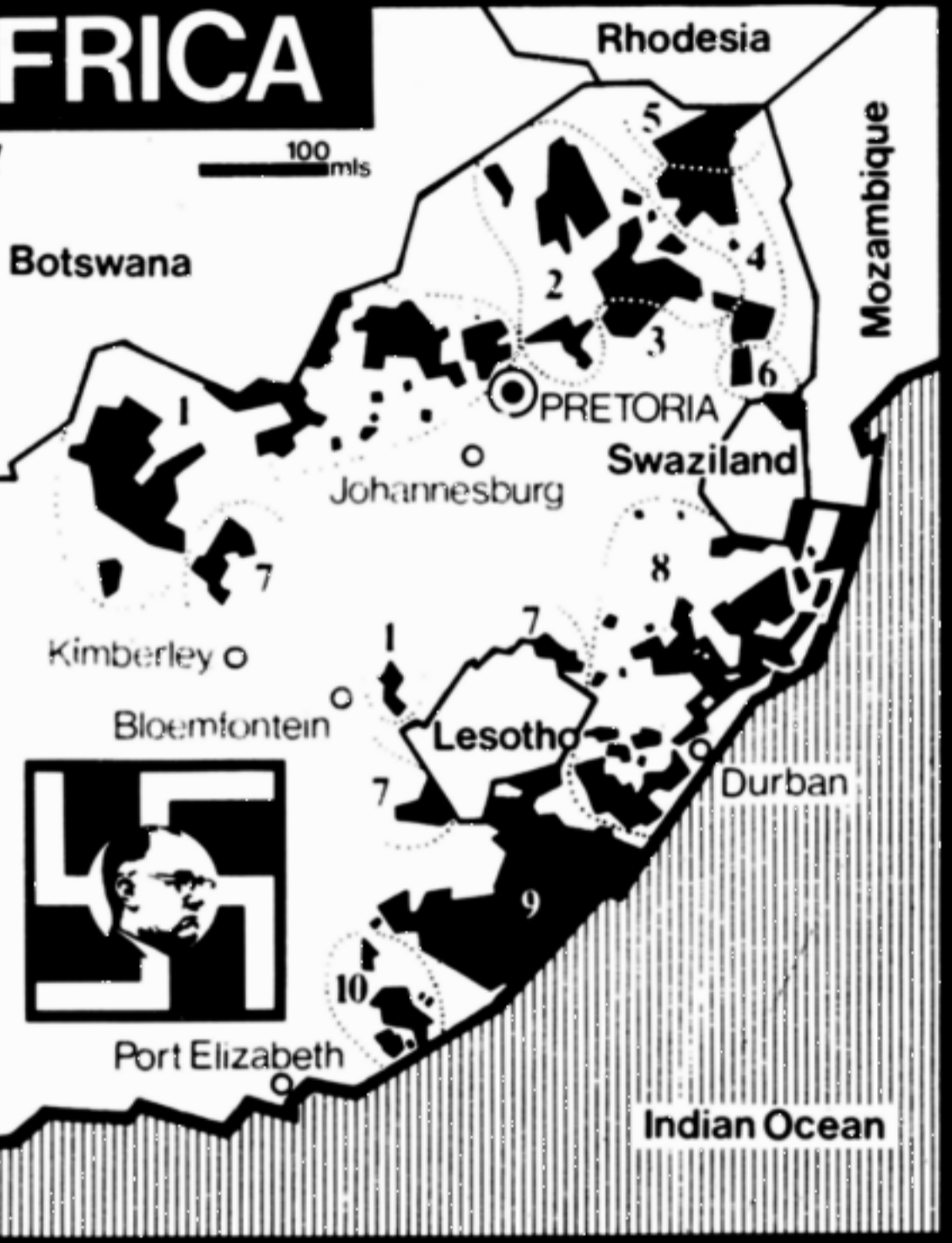
Spotlight on the...

# Transkei

## SOUTH AFRICA

### THE 'BANTU HOMELANDS'

HOMELAND	PEOPLE
1 Boputhatswana	Tswana
2 Lebowa	North Sotho
3 Ndebele	Ndebele
4 Gazankulu	Shangaan & Tsonga
5 Vhavenda	Venda
6 Swazi	Swazi
7 Basotho-Qwaqwa	South Sotho
8 Kwazulu	Zulu
9 Transkei	Xhosa
10 Ciskei	Xhosa



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Spotlight on ...

# SOWETO



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