

SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

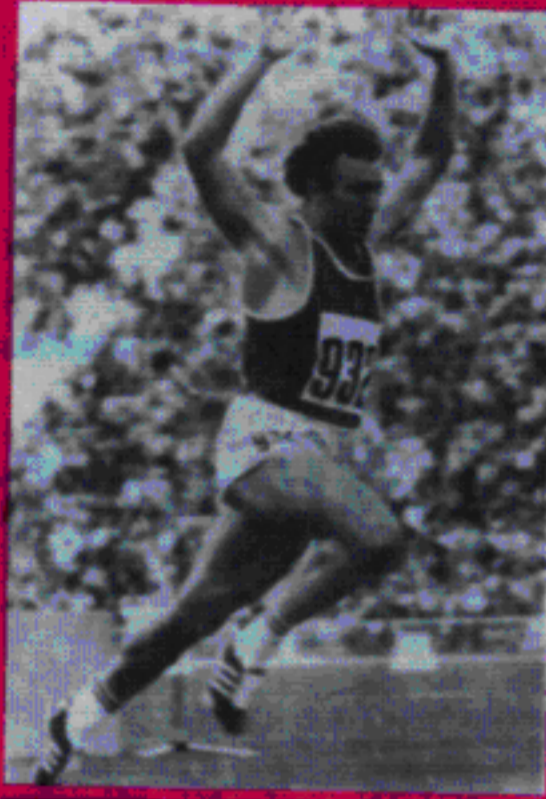
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SPITZ USA



BORSOW USSR



AKII-BUA UGANDA

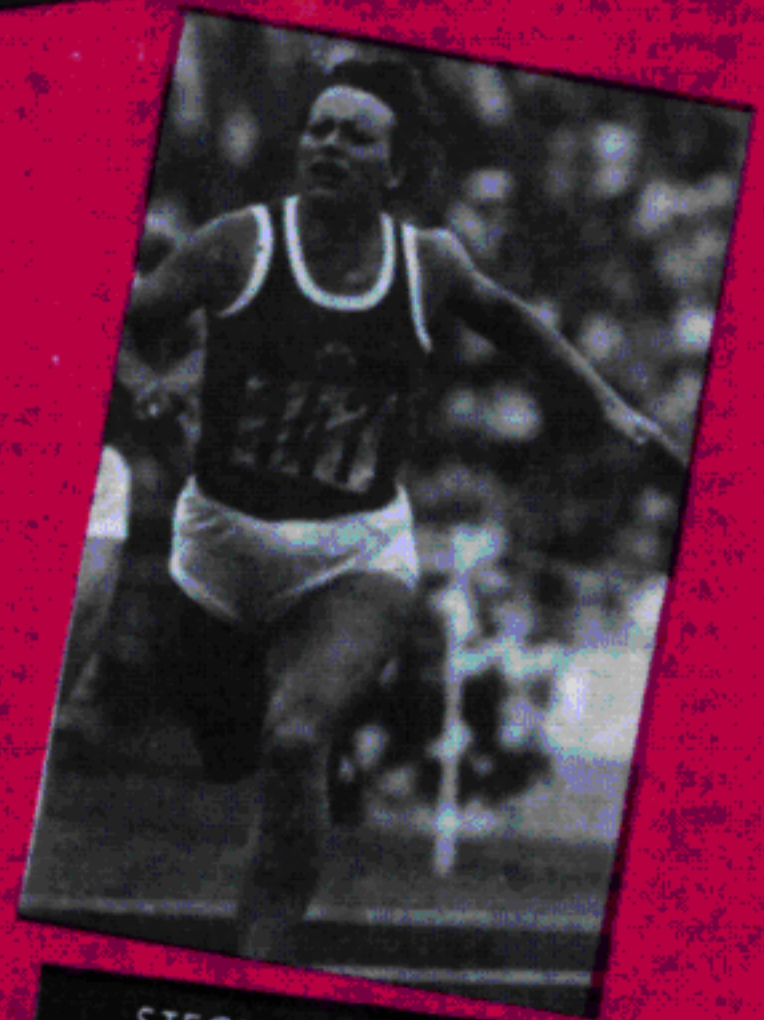
WHY NO SOUTH AFRICANS Page 9



KEINO KENYA



KORBUT USSR



STECHER GDR

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Anti-Apartheid Actions

Copies of two recent publications have reached our offices from South Africa. Both are clandestine publications.

The first is apparently a new publication entitled: **YOUTH CHALLENGE**, Volume 1, Number 1.

The second publication is entitled: **SEARCHLIGHT**, two editions of which has reached us – Volume 2 Number 1.

The latter publication unlike the first one states that it is produced by BCM and gives a London address.

Hereunder is a full text of what appears in . . .

youth



challenge

This is the first issue of what will be a regular bulletin which will seek to give a critical examination of the current trends in Southern Africa, in particular South Africa. We will address ourselves mainly to the young generation of youth and students. The main objective of such a bulletin will be to enrich the political consciousness and experience of South African youth, in particular Blacks, with the view to establishing more dynamic exchange of views and ideas on organised activities among them around the issues of the day. Our bulletin will concentrate on the responsibilities that the South African situation poses. The young generation is an integral part of the masses. It forms a dynamic, articulate sector of the oppressed population and therefore has to face up to the realities of the situation. This is not a new challenge historically speaking. It is one that the young men and women have faced for generations throughout the history of struggle for the emancipation of the Black man. It is a challenge which faced their forefathers when they met the marauding bands of white colonialists. The Black people have suffered a heavy toll in the course of this struggle. Many patriots have fallen; some have deserted and joined the enemy; others today languish in South African jails. But the struggle goes on. The task of regaining the rights of the Black man is everpressing today and demands not only understanding but appropriate responses.

THE YOUTH ON THE MOVE

The disabilities suffered by the black youth under the present white ruling class are the same as those of the oppressed people as a whole. The youth is one of the most important parts of our society. It is preparing itself for its future needs and therefore the activities of young people must of necessity be geared towards the common and noble goal of liberation. The recent upsurge amongst the youth is being condemned as anarchistic and inspired by the "forces of lawlessness and disorder" by its opponents. Such catch phrases are used to justify state action against those that dare dissent as was shown in the recent student unrest in the universities. But despite these attacks our youth cannot evade the complex problems under which they are brought up and experience. Certain important and significant developments have motivated the publication of this bulletin. One such significant trend is the disenchantment and open discontent that the oppressed people are expressing. After a relative lull, the late 60s and early 70s witnessed very important developments which are putting an end to the apparent silence (not necessarily acquiescence) of the Black South Africans imposed through the outlawing of their popular organisations.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Renewed opposition is expressing itself through such concepts as "Black

Consciousness", "Black Communalism", etc., by new organisations like SASO and the Black Peoples' Convention. These trends show a rejection of the existing mode of life, white societal norms and relationships and the state system as a whole, which has generated spontaneous protest and rebellious sentiment among the young people. These concepts are not new in the fight of the Black people. What might be new is the way they are abused in certain journalistic circles. There are those in the world of journalism who portray the Black man's striving for pride and dignity as an extremist reaction to the official policy of Black subservience and therefore potentially dangerous. But there is no need for us to apologise when we assert our national pride. The Black people are oppressed not only in class terms but as a nation. It is this nationhood that is the most potent force in galvanising the Black masses in any strategy to effect change in South Africa. The racial polarisation that has taken shape in South Africa cannot be blamed on Blacks but on Whites. We also welcome the rejection of Black exclusiveness by the exponents of "Black Consciousness". As the ex-president of SASO put it: "... Black solidarity is a motivation stemming not out of racism on the part of the blacks, but of a common system of oppression by whites". (Rand Daily Mail, 2. 5. 72.)

Even under conditions of utmost repression and intimidation, the Black students have risen to the occasion to denounce white racism and domination in all its manifestations – a demonstration of non-acceptance of the status quo. Black students have rallied in solidarity with those of their colleagues who have become immediate targets of high-handed authoritarianism and police brutality in the universities and schools. As to be expected, the government and its organs, in response to protest, has unleashed administrative (expulsions) and police terror to force students into submission.

RISING MILITANCY

Further signs of the defiant mood of the oppressed people are the lightning strikes of the Namibian workers and the dramatic rejection by the people of Zimbabwe of the terms of settlement contrived by the British and Rhodesian governments. There are similar signs inside South Africa itself – for example the PUTCO bus

drivers' strike. (See last issue of SE-CHABA) There is the constant piercing cry for participation in the decision-making process affecting the destiny of the Black people arising from a national sense of grievance - racial oppression, dispossession of land, denial of economic opportunity in the wealth they produce and above all, political power without which these grievances cannot be met.

Although the Black people do not govern themselves, they know that others in similar situations have revolted (or resorted to other means and methods) and won independence. Independence and majority rule in Africa have shown that people of whatever colour are aware that non-discrimination, equal opportunity, and human dignity are values that can be attained.

The South African government's reaction to the outcries against the apartheid injustices has not been a passive one. An increasing number of repressive laws have been enacted to consolidate white domination. Subtler forms of maintaining white rule have been the creation of dummy institutions like the Bantustans, Urban Bantu Councils, South African Indian Council, Coloured Peoples' Council etc., which have been introduced to divert people's energies from the tasks of total liberation in an unfragmented South Africa - their motherland.

The government is organising the white community to resist change. Indoctrination and propaganda have been intensified in such programmes as "youth preparedness". Prepare for what? That is the question that the Black youth should ask itself. It is also imperative that they also prepare to defend themselves against attack.

The South African Government has even recruited Blacks for military action on the borders in the Caprivi Strip in South West Africa to contain so-called terrorists in defence of white privilege. Black to fight Black - that is what the government would like. It is the duty of all of us to see to it that the fight is turned against the real enemies, i. e. those who humiliate and hound our people.

THE SHAM OF BANTUSTANS

A new concept of multi-nationalism, through so-called Bantu Homelands, is being peddled in order to divide the people at home and to mislead world opinion. In this way the white regime hopes to bolster up its so-called outward-looking policy and its policy of dialogue with the independent African states. We must reject this sham with the contempt it deserves. In order to save South Africa from isolation the government has gone in for other sophisticated forms of apartheid aimed at undermining the demands for true non-racialism in fields like sport and culture. Although the ma-



Students
defy
expulsion
during
strike

majority of sportsmen and artists have rejected this betrayal, a few others became willing collaborators with the system that entrenches apartheid. The English Rugby Union's tour of South Africa should also be seen in this light. Even though a few Blacks have unfortunately been hoodwinked into participating in their own oppression, it is encouraging to note that the majority of Black people have rejected multi-nationalism as an alternative to non-racialism. It is also to the credit of the international boycott campaign, sports, cultural etc., that the South African government has been forced to resort to such desperate measures.

INVESTMENT HELPS WHITES, NOT BLACKS

A notable point of debate among the Blacks is over the question of overseas investment in South Africa. Some have called for disengagement by overseas firms from South Africa. Others have suggested the retention and even an increase of investment by overseas firms. The questions that seem to escape the supporters of investment are: what have Blacks benefited from such investment? Has their material well-being improved? Has the system of exploitation decreased as a result of investment? Has the increase in investment over the past decade undermined the implementation of apartheid? On the contrary, surveys have shown that in Johannesburg, the heart of South Africa's industrial complex, the incomes of nearly

70% of African families fall below the minimum subsistence level for healthy living. Africans in the reserves exist on the border of poverty. With all the investment that has come from the Western countries, studies show that the per capita income of the average white South African is R1,140 per annum. The average income per head among Africans is R49 per year. Recent calculations appear to indicate that the per capita income of Africans has fallen and that Africans are poorer than they were 10 years ago, and certainly worse off compared to whites 10 years ago. For instance, the most spectacular differentials are in the mining industry:

1911 the ratio of white	
to black wages	11.7 to 1
1966	17.6 to 1
1971	20.3 to 1

Although there have been recent wage increases for Africans, after the increase the average monthly cash earnings per African is just below R22. Thus in spite of the increased investment and rapid industrialisation, Africans are worse off overall.

ORGANISE OUR ANGER

We have spoken of the re-emergence and unity of Black people brought together by common suffering, and the demands they have put across. What we need is to accept a common programme that concretises these demands - political, social, economic, cultural, etc., - and the strategies to achieve these. It is not enough to

assert the concept of Black Consciousness. What Communalism means should be spelt out in clear political terms. This consciousness must be translated into an offensive strategy to build a great movement with the active participation of the masses who form the bulk of the exploited working class and a correct leadership, to end racial oppression. As the great Black man, Dr. W. du Bois put it: "The supreme task is to organise and unite people so that their anger becomes a transforming force".

By correct leadership we mean those leaders that have the interests of the masses at heart. By correct leadership we mean consistency in policy formulation and pronouncements. Some leaders who collaborate with the government exploit the frustration of the masses and make false promises of alleviating their lot. Not only are their pronouncements inconsistent and opportunistic, but that is even worse, they are out of touch with the reality of the South African situation. It is hoped that the above analysis, though incomplete will form the basis of discussion of the problems that face the young generation and the masses at large. Not only must there be discussion but there should be clarity about the objectives that we hope to achieve and the appropriate actions to be taken. We have in this, our first issue, raised a number of key questions in a general way. We hope that further debate and discussion will be stimulated. In future issues we will deal more specifically and in more detail with some of the major problems which face the black people and the role of our youth in helping to set the pace for real and meaningful change in our country. We welcome comments, criticism and original contributions. It is our duty to speak out more and more and to prepare ourselves to play our part in the greatest task which history has set us - the liberation of the black oppressed majority in our land.

From understanding to action!
From action to liberation!

* * * * *

SEARCHLIGHT

Volume 2

Number 1

Addressed apparently mainly to the minority Indian community in South Africa, SEARCHLIGHT Volume 2, Number 1, deals among other subjects with the lessons to be learnt from the recent student strikes. It states:

The history of the movement for liberation in South Africa is studded with many valiant actions, almost always against the most terrifying odds, by the oppressed Black masses. The latest such action which will, as its predecessors, be recorded in blood, is

the revolt by Black students throughout the country. The unity, courage and determination displayed by our student population, under the banner of SASO (the Black South African Students Organisation - Ed.), in support of their demands, not only for greater academic freedom but also for the right to full freedom for all the oppressed Black masses in every sphere of life, has many significant lessons for our people.

That it happens in the year 1972, twenty four years after the Nationalist Party came into power; years during which there have been repeated attempts to stifle the voice and desire for freedom; Ahmed Timol murdered; Mohamed Essop bludgeoned while being interrogated at Gestapo headquarters in Johannesburg; the establishment of BOSS (The all powerful Bureau of State Security - Ed.) precisely to destroy movements of the kind organised by the students; and coming almost a decade after the people's organisations were silenced by the imprisonment, banning and banishment and, in some cases, the death of their popular leaders, gives us cause for pride in the resilience of our people and reaffirms our conviction that we, the Black majority, shall be free!

To hasten the day of freedom, we need to learn some lessons from the recent events:

● Only our combined strength as an oppressed people, and united actions on a mass scale for our just rights, will move growing numbers of White elements out of their laager and into a more rational approach to the problems besetting our country. This was dramatically demonstrated during the Defiance Campaign almost exactly 20 years ago, when White organisations emerged and supported the cause for which we had been struggling for centuries. It has happened again now, on the White campuses,

directly as a result of the actions by our students. And, it will happen again and again, as our forces grow and our demands for elementary democratic rights in our country.

● History has repeatedly demonstrated that a people struggling, as we are, against vicious oppression, cannot be silenced for ever. Whatever actions successive governments have taken against popular movements, new leaders must and will arise from amongst the masses. This has happened on a broad scale over the recent past and the student revolt is symptomatic of a new, widespread upsurge in political activity on almost every front. The Sonos and the Tiros, the Sewpersadhs and the Coopers, the Leons and Howas, are all playing a leading role in organising sections of the people against the obnoxious apartheid policy of the government. They are all motivated by a common desire - a desire to smash apartheid and obtain the just and inalienable rights of our people for full freedom and equality in our Motherland.

● As an oppressed mass we cannot afford the luxury of division in our ranks. Not only must we resist all attempts to divide us, but we must take deliberate and positive action to forge and cement our unity. Urgent attention must now be focused by all to work out a principled but broad and flexible, short term plan acceptable to broadest sections of our people and to form a united front against White racism and for a genuinely free and democratic South Africa. Division in our ranks will be exploited by the enemy to destroy us one by one, or to so foster divisions as to make us destroy each other.

SEARCHLIGHT therefore, calls on all sections of our people to CLOSE RANKS!

CONSOLIDATE into a united fighting force for the final overthrow of apartheid!

Demonstrations
by students
at the Durban
Westville Indian
University



White Terror in South Africa

The South African government and its Security Police, so quick to react to so-called terrorism of Black freedom fighters, have been noticeably silent about the creeping pattern of White right-wing terrorism against certain church organisations, academics and religious leaders. Clearly these acts of arson and sabotage have been perpetrated because these organisations and individuals disagree with established White viewpoints.

In the recent past over twenty incidents were reported to the police in Cape Town alone and as yet no arrests have been made. No arrests were made in Johannesburg as well where similar incidents have occurred despite the fact that South Africa boasts it has one of the most efficient security police force in the world.

Catalog of Terror: Cape Town

August 4, 1971: The parked car of Dr. Michael Whisson, senior lecturer in social anthropology at the University of Cape Town (UCT), was damaged and the rear window smashed by a brick.

On the same day, the windscreens of the car belonging to Dr. Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics at UCT, were smashed outside his home.

August 10, 1971: The front tyres of cars belonging to Dr. Whisson and his wife were punctured. The cars were parked outside their home.

August 26, 1971: A rock tied in a handkerchief was thrown through the windscreen of a parked car belonging to Barry Streek, vice-president of the National Union of South African Students.

August 27, 1971: Communist slogans were painted on the Christian Institute buildings in Cape Town.

August 28-29, 1971: Anonymous telephone calls were received late at night by several members of the Christian Institute.

October 15, 1971: The tyres of the car belonging to the Rev. Theo Kotze, regional director of the Christian Institute, were slashed and deflated for the third time in six weeks.

June 5, 1972: An anonymous death threat was received over the telephone by the Rev. Kotze.

June 6, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at the former home of Geoff Budlender, president of the Students' Representative Council of the UCT.

June 8, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown into the grounds of the Rev. Theo Kotze's home.

June 22, 1972: An attempt was made to set fire to the Ecumenical Centre, where the Christian Institute had its offices.

July 10, 1972: A second petrol bomb was thrown at the Rev. Kotze's home.

July 16, 1972: Libellous pamphlets issued falsely under the name of the World Council of Churches "with the help of the Rev. Theo Kotze and SPRO-CAS" (Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society.)

August 19, 1972: Similar libellous pamphlets issued falsely under the name of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town.

August 21, 1972: A petrol bomb was thrown at an outside wall of the Rondebosch Town Hall and sneezing powder was strewn inside while a public civil rights meeting was being held. The meeting was organised by the SRC of the University of Cape Town.

On the same day the home of Geoff Budlender President of the UCT-SRC, and of four other UCT students was destroyed by a petrol bomb.

August 22, 1972: Shots were fired at the home of the Rev. Theo Kotze and a bullet shattered a bedroom window.

August 26, 1972: Communist slogans and swastikas were sprayed in red on the walls of a Methodist Church.

August 27, 1972: An attempt to set fire to the Ecumenical Centre in Mow-



bray, Cape Town, where the Christian Institute is based, was discovered.

August 30, 1972: Libellous pamphlets issued falsely under the name of the Most Rev. Selby Taylor, Archbishop of Cape Town and the Anglican Church.

September 9, 1972: A fire destroyed the St. Thomas Church parish hall in Rondebosch, Cape Town.

Catalogue of Terror: Johannesburg

The pattern of terrorism in Johannesburg is no different.

November, 1970: A bomb hidden inside a book was sent to Johannesburg attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson. In recent years he had acted in a number of court cases involving Black freedom fighters. There were three other attempts on his life.

May, 1971: Mrs. Helen Joseph, a prominent member of the Congress Movement and formerly under house arrest for nine years, found an explosive device planted on her front gate. During August 1970, she received anonymous death threats and her house was advertised for sale and somebody had ordered several tons of top soil which was delivered to her home.

November, 1971: A vehicle owned by Eli Weinberg, who served a term of five years for belonging to a banned organisation and is at present banned, was set alight. Plate glass windows in his home were twice dama-

ged and he has received several threatening phone calls.

June, 1972: Dr. Basil Moore, Methodist minister and former secretary of the University Christian Movement, who is banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, found his child's cat skinned and left lying on his front porch. Earlier his children's plastic pool was smashed.

July, 1972: Professor John Dugard, Professor of International Law at the University of Witwatersrand was the victim of practical jokes. His home was advertised for rent, loads of coal and sand were delivered and he and his wife were threatened with violence by anonymous callers.

September, 1972: A telephone caller accused the Anglican and Catholic churches of not speaking out in criticism of the Munich Olympic killings. The priest who received the call was told that he might receive a bomb in a parcel.

A few days later an Anglican priest was offered R5000 by an anonymous caller to "eliminate" a priest under house arrest.

They Murdered For Fun

Two Whites who, together with two others who turned State witnesses, beat an African to death and had the audacity to say in court that they committed this evil deed "for fun", were each sentenced to only six years imprisonment. No Black man could have got away with less than the death sentence in South Africa or Namibia for such a crime.

On the night of April 30, this year, the four thugs - Abraham Williams, 20, Paul Opperman, 21, Hendrik Lusse 18, and Stephanus Lombard, 18 - drove around Windhoek in Namibia and found Mr. Paul Simon Mugunda, 25, stopped, gave him a lift and later beat him to death.

The following facts emerged in the case:

- Mugunda was assaulted without provocation and his body was left in the nude at a lonely spot next to the road. His belongings were taken, searched and some stolen.

- According to medical evidence even if Mr. Mugunda had lived, there was a 90 per cent chance he would



never have walked from the scene to get help.

- All four of the thugs that night decided on the assault. Their plan was to put the victim at ease and then to assault him.

- They drove around several miles looking for a suitable place to carry out their dastardly crime.

For this premeditated murder the accused only received a sentence of six years imprisonment. They will serve a maximum of four and half years and may be released even sooner as has been the case in a number of such convictions.

Yet, some so-called liberals, suggest that justice is not corrupt in South Africa.

Shanthie Naidoo Leaves South Africa

Relatives wept and friends sang "We shall overcome" at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, one evening last month. Shanthie Naidoo, the banned Johannesburg Congress-woman and former detainee, left South Africa on a one-way exit permit to freedom - and exile.

A large multiracial crowd gave Shanthie an emotional send-off at the airport, where she boarded a flight for London. Because of her banning order, she was permitted to speak to only one person at a time.

For nearly nine years now, "life" to frail, diminutive Shanthie, has meant the lonely half-existence of a banned and severely restricted person. It has meant more than a year in solitary confinement, followed by further imprisonment for refusing to give evi-

dence against her friends. Above all it has meant isolation - from friends, family and the welter of activities which were once so much a part of Shanthie.

At 37, Shanthie Naidoo presents a picture of quiet courage. Her gentle smile and soft brown eyes do not tell much about the battle she has fought for so long.

BANNING

In earlier years it was a different kind of battle, fought alongside others in the ranks of the Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Then came Shanthie's first banning order in 1963. It was renewed for another five years in 1968, which was when Shanthie started a new battle - to be allowed to leave the country she loves.

She made South African history of sorts last year when she became the first "political" person refused permission to leave the country on an exit permit.

Shanthie was granted an exit permit by the Minister of the Interior, only to be refused permission from the Minister of Justice to leave Johannesburg so that she could use it. Shanthie's ban restricted her to the magisterial district of Johannesburg. Jan Smuts Airport was 14 miles outside this limit.

PRISONER

Shanthie fought the decision in the highest courts of the country. Her appeals were turned down, first by the Supreme Court, and then by the Appellate Division in December last year. Shanthie was a prisoner in her own country but she continued her fight for freedom. A specially exempted trip to Pretoria followed for an interview with the Minister of Justice.

Her brother Indres is serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island. He was an accused in the first sabotage trial





A weeping Shanthie Naidoo is embraced by her mother before leaving Johannesburg on an exit permit

in the Transvaal in 1963, and will be released in May next year. Shanthie saw him for the first time since his trial a week before leaving South Africa when, after the two nights on a train to Cape Town, she was allowed a brief visit. It was an emotional half-hour for both of us, said Shanthie on her arrival in London. "Who knows if I will ever see him again - or for that matter any of us?" None of Shanthie's family have passports, or the prospects of acquiring them, which is perhaps easier to understand when one considers the family background. For three generations the Naidoo family has fought racial discrimination in South Africa. Shanthie's grandfather was a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, who "adopted" her father and three uncles. Shanthie's father, Nariansamy

died after giving his life to the cause of freedom.

FRAIL

Her mother, Mrs. Mononmoney Naidoo, was jailed during the 1949 Defiance Campaign in Durban. Today Mrs. Naidoo is frail and old after having watched each of her children suffer for their beliefs. A brother, Murthie, was detained under the 90-day Clause in 1964 and is now listed as a communist. Technically he is allowed to communicate with Shanthie while she - as banned person - is not permitted to speak to him. A sister, Mrs. Ramnie Dinat, also had brushes with the authorities. She left South Africa on a exit permit and

is now living with her husband in London.

Shanthie herself was detained under the Terrorism Act in 1969, when she was already well into her second five-year banning order. She was held incommunicado for a total of 371 days. After six months, she appeared briefly in court, called as a witness in the trial of 22 people alleged to have taken part in activities of the banned African National Congress. Shanthie refused to give evidence, saying that two of the accused were her friends. She was sentenced to two months imprisonment. After the 22 were acquitted in February 1970, Shanthie's detention continued - until June that year when she was finally released.

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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Spotlight on Apartheid

Super Exploitation of Black Workers

A Black labourer, Mr. M. Xhakalegusha, aged 31, who works an eleven-hour day, seven days a week for R6.50 (£3.25) was found guilty by a court in Simonstown last month for having taken a day off.

He was fined R20, or 40 days in prison, for refusing to "obey a lawful command of his employer". The sentence was suspended conditionally for two years.

Mr. Xhakalegusha told the magistrate that he had been unable to work when ordered to do so because he had washed his only pair of trousers the day before and they were still wet.

The terms of his 12-months contract with a poultry farm were an 11-hour day, seven days a week for R6.50 a week without rations.

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Union Calls for Big Pay Rise for Whites Only

A White mine union leader believes that if the free market gold price is maintained a R50-a-month increase for White mine workers will not be out of order.

In the same breath he argues against paying Black miners any great increase.

Black miners average about R18 a month compared with R375 for Whites.

In an article in "The Indicator", his union's monthly magazine, H. Mallet-Veale, general secretary of the South African Reduction Workers' Association, argues that "you cannot simply change the tradition of the Bantu overnight."

Pay the African reduction worker R250 a month, Mallet-Veale arrogantly argues, and instead of increasing his productivity "he will work for six months and then go and sit on his backside for two years in his homeland."

Another argument this stupid man

advances for not paying Africans the same as Whites for equal work is that this would result in unemployment. Employers would mechanise and automate.

Instead, he proposes the African worker's salary be gradually increased until 1980 when it should be about one-third of the White worker's salary and then further increased until 1990 when it equals half the White man's earnings.

This fool is living in cloud cuckoo land if he thinks he is going to remain 'baas' in 1990 and dictate terms to the Black workers.

Note: In the mining industry the gap between Black and White wages has widened considerably over this century: In 1889 the White pay packet was 7.5 times larger than that of the Black miner. In 1969 it had swollen to 20 times larger!

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Workers Win Pay Increases

Black transport workers who came out on strike in support of their demands for higher wages (see report in Vol. 6 No. 8 - September 1972 issue of SECHABA) have won a 33 per cent increase. The increases are back dated to September 6.

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Black and White Jobs

Six charges under the Bantu Workers' Act were recently withdrawn against Mr. J. L. Bester and Mr. R. Maree, after they had appeared four times in the Newcastle Magistrates Court.

The men appeared in two separate trials and were accused of illegally employing Africans to "do White work".

The prosecutor told the magistrate that certain State witnesses had vanished.

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No Right To Live in White South Africa

Urban Africans would always constitute a moving population between "White South Africa and their homelands, according to I. P. van Onselen, secretary for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He said that the urban African would remain just as long as Africans could meaningfully be engaged in "White South Africa's economy."

Opening the national congress of the so-called South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, van Onselen said no individual African could claim the right to live in "White South Africa permanently."

"He is here exclusively because of his labour, and not in a permanent context which can give him access to rights which Whites have in labour, economic, political and other fields.

"He can achieve such rights in his homeland.

"This is not discrimination," adds this arrogant racist, "but differentiation between people of unequal status."

Ignoring the fact that four-fifths of the population, that is the entire Black population, live on only 13 per cent of the land while the remaining 87 per cent is for White ownership and occupation, van Onselen dealing with the demands of Bantustand leaders for more land said these demands "were made for the sake of impressing their peoples and for publicity."

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Below we print a Memorandum dealing with sport in South Africa dated 13. 7. 72 submitted by AD HOC COMMITTEE, NATIONAL NON-RACIAL SPORTS ORGANISATIONS (in South Africa) to the International Olympic Committee and to all its member countries National Olympic Committees. The following national sports organisations (all non-racial) are represented on this committee: South African

Amateur Swimming Federation, South African Soccer Federation, South African Table Tennis Board, South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control, Southern African Lawn Tennis Union, South African Amateur Weight-lifting and Body Building Federation, and South African Rugby Union. The African National Congress of South Africa fully supports the demands of these organisations.



Apartheid and Sport in South Africa

All codes of sport in South Africa are played under the cloud of racial discrimination (Apartheid).

The all-white sporting organisations do not allow blacks to participate with them, either by virtue of their statutes which confine membership to whites only, or by custom and practice.

In order to maintain and continue their membership in International bodies some all-white Associations, such as the Football Association (FASA) have in recent years amended their statutes to give themselves a non-racial complex; but this move is merely superficial and is designed to hoodwink and bluff the International organisations.

It must be pointed out that despite the non-racial aspect of their statutes these organisations still remain 100 per cent all-white. In practice and actuality, racial discrimination is still the dominating factor and Blacks are refused membership.

As an example: In April 1972 a non-white soccer player (Arthur Williams, also known as Smiley Moosa) played for the all-white Berea Park Football Club which is under the jurisdiction of FASA. Immediately after the match, FASA took steps to ban further participation by this player, despite FASA's so-called "open" statutes.

The above example is typical of the policy by the all-white sporting codes in South Africa.

ALL-WHITE ASSOCIATIONS HIDE UNDER GOVERNMENT POLICY

In recent times, the all-white bodies have sought protection, security and shelter for their racial discrimination, from the South African Government. The Government has laid down the policy that there shall be no mixed play in South Africa.

The Government has, however, qualified this policy recently by permitting mixed play in what they state are "International Competitions". For example: Permission was granted by the Government to the South African Lawn Tennis Association to stage the "Open" International Federation Cup matches in Johannesburg. Likewise permission was granted for the "Open" International Athletic meeting in Cape Town. They do this to pacify world criticism and to permit the white bodies to retain their membership in the International Federations.

Again it must be pointed out that these events do not get to the roots of the problem of racial discrimination. The doors are open in respect of isolated events which take place once or twice a year only. For the rest of the year the doors are closed and each racial group must play in its own separate compartment. In brief, racial discrimination is maintained in South Africa at all levels.

It is submitted that it is not enough for the all-white Associations to hide behind the Government's policy of "no mixed play". It is contended that if the all-white Associations exerted pressure supported by the International Federations, then the Government will yield in order to save South Africa from total and complete isolation, internationally. The white sportsmen and the Government do not want South Africa isolated. If the International Federations take a firm stand, threaten and impose isolation, we are confident that, in order to avoid isolation, the Government and the all-white sporting organisations will give in to reason and permit mixed play on a scale as to afford to non-white sportsmen the equal opportunities for which they have been clamouring for the past 20 to 30 years.

IT IS UP TO THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS TO ELIMINATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT BY TAKING FIRM DECISIONS.

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COUNCILS

Another line which all-white Associations are recently taking, is to form National Co-ordinating Councils for each code of sport. According to this line, the different racial groups (Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians) are to get together only in a superficial link-up. Again the idea is to show the International Federations that there is no racial discrimination.

It must be emphasised that this sort of link-up is merely superficial and there will be no mixed play.

London demonstration against apartheid in sport

Basil D'Oliviera



STOOGES

Further, the all-white associations are continuing to thwart and undermine the non-racial sporting bodies, because they encourage and finance splinter bodies to link-up with them. The officials of these non-white splinter bodies represent only minority interests and are regarded by the overwhelming majority as **Stooges and agents of apartheid.**

According to press reports, five delegates (2 whites and three non-whites) will be sent overseas to make representations for the whites-only bodies. Most probably they will seek help from the International Olympic Committee members for South Africa's re-instatement and they will seek help from FIFA members for the removal of the suspension of the white Football Association of South Africa.

FIFA members have already been informed by the non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) of these intended moves and we are confident that these non-white officials of the splinter bodies will receive the same cold and harsh treatment as was given to Beth Morolo (African - Ed.) whom the white officials previously took to FIFA Congresses. It is to be noted that FIFA members completely disregarded Beth Morolo and FASA representations and **suspended FASA from membership.**

In regard to the I.O.C., the South African National and Olympic Games Association intends to request that South Africa be re-instated. **THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF NON-WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA WANT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION REMOVED AND EARNESTLY AND SINCERELY APPEALS TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE TO MAINTAIN SOUTH AFRICA'S EXCLUSION UNTIL SUCH TIME AS ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR, OR CREED, ENJOY EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN ALL SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THEIR COUNTRY.**

DIALOGUE - A WASTE OF TIME

The non-racial organisations have continuously requested dialogue with the all-white Associations in order to rid South Africa of racial discrimination, but in every case dialogue has proved a waste of time because of the lack of sincerity on the part of the white officials who want no mixed play.

It is to be noted that the International Tennis Federation was not hoodwinked or bluffed by the "Open" International tournament held in Johannesburg in February and April, 1972. Despite this superficial show, the I.L.T.F., at its meeting in Copenhagen on April 14th, 1972, voted for the continued exclusion of South Africa from the Davis Cup competition. This decision by the International Tennis Federation is commendable and is the right and correct decision. (We regret that this decision has since been reversed. Now the South Africans will be playing in the Davis Cup competition in the South America Zone. - Editor).

The South African whites took part in the Belgium Athletic Championship in June, 1972 and took with them a black athlete as part of their team. But please note that this Black athlete will not be allowed to run with the whites in South Africa!

The non-white sportsmen of South Africa, who are naturally non-racial, appeal to the International Olympic Committee and all other international Federations to adopt the same policy and take the same firm decisions.

PUBLIC PLAYING FIELDS REFUSED TO NON-RACIAL ASSOCIATIONS

In order to thwart and undermine the non-racial bodies, the all-white Associations have requested the Government and the Municipalities to deny the non-racial bodies the use of public playing fields. Most playing fields are controlled by the Government and Municipalities. The white organisations



Precious McKenzie



Arthur Ashe

want these fields refused to non-racial bodies and given instead, to the racial splinter Associations. Such steps clearly indicate the lack of sincerity on the part of the white officials. If white officials tell members of the International Federations that they support mixed play and non-racial sport (except for Government policy) then, why have they used and still continue to use their influence to deny the use of public fields to non-racial sport?

UNFAIR SPONSORSHIP

Non-racial sporting bodies receive far less than the all-white bodies and even less than the splinter (apartheid supporting) non-white bodies from white business houses in South Africa.

This is due to the intervention of the all-white officials. The Government aligned itself with apartheid-supporting and racial non-white splinter bodies (who are in the minority and represent only a handful). Non-racial sporting bodies receive no support. On the contrary, they are refused facilities such as playing fields, etc.

VICTIMISATION OF OFFICERS

In order to silence and thwart non-racial bodies, officers and representatives of these bodies are being regularly victimised by the authorities.

The following are some examples:

● **Mr. George Singh:** Attorney-at-Law, veteran sports administrator, founder and secretary of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF), was banned in 1965 for five years. In terms of his banning orders, he was barred from attending meetings, social gatherings of more than two persons, confined to the Magisterial District of Durban; his passport was withdrawn; he was unable to make any press statements. **HE WAS SILENCED!**

● **Mr. Norman Middleton:** President of the South African Soccer Federation, was convicted and fined for quoting Mr. George Singh.

● **Mr. M. N. Pather:** National Secretary of the South African Lawn Tennis Union has been constantly visited by the Security Branch. Protests had to be made to the Government through Members of Parliament.

● **Mr. Morgan Naidoo:** President of the South African Amateur Swimming Federation, was dismissed from his employment with a liquor firm in June 1972. Mr. Naidoo had just published his Federation's application for membership to F.I.N.A.

● **Officials of non-racial bodies throughout South Africa are regularly visited and quizzed by the Government's Security Branch.**

● **Passports to non-racial sportsmen are refused.** The non-racial South African Table Tennis Board, the non-racial sports organisation which is a fully-fledged member of the International Table Tennis Board, has consistently been denied passports for both its players and officials. Several other officials have suffered a similar fate, even for private visits.

The above are merely examples of this country-wide victimisation. White officials raise no objection. In fact, it is known that in some instances they submit correspondence and reports to the Government.

AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

This Memorandum is submitted to the International Olympic Committee and to its members and to all other International Sports Federations, on behalf of all the non-racial codes of sport in South Africa.

An earnest appeal is made to the International Olympic Committee and to all International Federations to rid South African sport of racial discrimination and we maintain that the only way to achieve this objective is to exclude South Africa from International participation until such time as all players and participants have full and equal opportunity irrespective of race, colour or creed, at all levels at which sport is played in South Africa.

WOMEN OF AFRICA MEET

Report of All-African Women's Conference held in Dar-Es-Salaam

At the end of July this year, hundreds of women from all over the world gathered in Dar-es-Salaam to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the All-African Women's Conference.

Twenty eight National African organisations and fifteen National and International organisations from Asia, Europe and America, took part in a Seminar on the woman's role in the liberation struggle and her participation in the political, economic and socio-cultural development of her country.

Opening the Seminar, the vice-president of Tanzania, Mr. Aboud Jumbe stressed the necessity for women's participation in the liberation struggle. "Africa", he said, "can only be free with the full participation of women."

He went on, "In view of the noble aims of your organisation might I suggest that members of the All-African Women's

Conference look upon themselves, in their respective States, as liberation movements.

In the ten years of the existence of the All-African Women's Conference, women have contributed to the struggle for liberation, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and under-development and, he concluded, "Women of Africa, the future and success of Africa largely depend on your concrete actions."

Among its resolutions, the Conference decided to redouble its efforts to give total and effective support to the valiant African freedom fighters in Southern Africa. They solemnly reaffirmed their faith in the inalienable rights of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence. They totally rejected any attempt by any African State to enter into a dialogue with South Africa.

The Women's Section of the African National Congress presented the following paper to the Conference:

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN AGAINST APARTHEID

Apartheid or Separate Development as the South African racists would like it termed, is a declared policy of the White minority regime of South Africa. The main objective of this abominable policy is to continue holding the Black people of our country in subjugation denying them political, economic and social rights. The indigenous people who constitute more than two-thirds of the total population of the country have been relegated to the level of slaves.

The country is rich and industrially developed, but all the riches and wealth of the country are in the hands of the white minority. This wealth is produced through the ruthless exploitation of the Black people with the African being the most exploited, oppressed and humiliated in the country of his birth.

Threat To Peace In Africa

The conditions of life of the 18 million black people under the apartheid white minority domination continue to deteriorate. The racist Government of Vorster with its apartheid policy has arrogated to itself the role of protecting and maintaining this system which continue to pose a grave

threat to peace and security in Africa and the world. The methods employed by the regime inside the country to arrest the rising tide of our struggle are reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Our country has become a fully fledged police state. The racist regime brooks no opposition to its inhuman policies.

Our people are being moved from their homes and from the areas declared "White" by the racists. They are being thrown into barren areas - areas not fit for human habitation. This continuing policy of mass removals which has already affected more than one million people has caused untold suffering to the Black people.

While the white population's wealth is continuing to grow unemployment, disease and destitution among the Africans have increased sharply. The reserves, Bantustans and the resettlement camps have become reservoirs of cheap labour. Pass laws, being the cornerstone of our oppression, continue to be a means for forcible direction of African labour. It is worth noting that 87 per cent of the land of our country has been given to the White minority population while the Black people who constitute more than two-thirds of the total population of our country occupy only thirteen per cent.



Albertina Sisulu



Helen Joseph together with Lilian Ngoyi and Mrs. Pillay

Cheapest Labour

In order to understand and appreciate the contribution and the role of the oppressed and struggling women of South Africa, one has to view it in the broad general context of our liberation struggle. The Black women in South Africa are not accorded special privileges or treatment by the white oppressors. They are subjected to the same treatment as their menfolk. In fact they serve as the cheapest labour force compared to men for equal work. Seventy-three per cent (73%) of African women remain in the Reserves cultivating the families' tiny plots, while their husbands work as migrant labourers. But the pitiful small returns force the majority to work under feudal conditions on white farms or as domestic servants.

Only 27 per cent of them can find jobs in the cities as rigorous controls exist to keep them out. Those permitted to live on the employers' premises are liable, like those who live in locations to be disturbed by police raids in the night. And if the employer permitted it, it is illegal for a husband to spend a night in his wife's room.

The only thing not forbidden is the servant's right to love a white child though it will not grow up to treat her like a mother.

Apart from domestic and field work there are few openings for women. Mainly due to economic exploitation, only 0.1 per cent can manage to get secondary education. As a result there are very few African lawyers and university lecturers. Women doctors are rare. Typists, telephone operators and shop assistants are being barred by terms of the Job Reservation Act which seeks to create facilities only to White women in such positions.

The plight of wives and mothers of prisoners is even more tragic. They suffer fear, loneliness, destitution and despair.

"Our women are a rock" is a theme of an African freedom song and as the struggle mounts in heat and intensity more and more women are joining the ranks.

The women of South Africa have never remained indifferent

to the oppression and exploitation of our people. They have always played a prominent role in our liberation struggle.

History of Women's Struggle

Their history of struggle dates as far back as 1897 – but then only as individuals. The birth of Pan Africanism found women in its midst. When the Black radicals from the West Indies met in London to form an Association, Miss "Kincolin", an African woman from South Africa was elected treasurer of the Association. The following year (1898) she returned to South Africa.

When the African National Congress was founded in 1912, Charlotte Maxeke, the first African woman medical doctor in South Africa was the first woman to serve in its National Executive. Her presence in the Executive of the ANC became a source of inspiration to the women of our country. It instilled confidence in them and spurred the African women in the Orange Free State (one of the Provinces of South Africa) in 1913 to throw in their full weight in the fight against the extension of passes to them by the racist regime. This anti-pass campaign was launched under the guidance of the African National Congress. The first organised action was by women who assembled at the Administrative Offices in one place and made bonfires out of the passes. The campaign grew and spread to various parts of the Province. The government was left with no other alternative but to abandon its ill intentions. The idea of extending passes to the women was temporarily abandoned. Each successive government made attempts to impose passes on women, but in each case the attempt met with militant opposition from the women in our country.

Since 1913 there have been many anti-pass revolts, some big, some small. Many were unorganised. As our struggle developed so did the political consciousness of our people, including women. This made our people realise the important role women could play in our liberation struggle; it made them understand the true character and content of our struggle.

Thus in 1943 the African National Congress had noted with satisfaction the need to have an organised body of women. In 1948 the African National Congress Women's League was officially inaugurated at the Bloemfontein Conference of the ANC. Its first President was Miss Ida Mtwana. Since its inception until the banning of the ANC in 1960, the Women's League always worked on a definite programme of activities, besides tackling the problems of a society mad with racism. Regional conferences were held annually; Provincial ones every third year and the National Conferences were held after every five years to plan new strategies, adopt resolutions and elect new office bearers.

S.A. Women's Day

March 8 has always been observed by the South African women together with the progressive women all over the world as International Women's Day and August 9 as South Africa's Women's Day. August 9, 1956 was the culmination of many years of struggle by the women of South Africa; it was born in the heat of the struggle. The African National Congress Women's League was a founder-member of the Federation of South African Women and played a leading role in all its activities. When the Federation was formed in 1954, it had already become crystal clear that in the struggle against apartheid, white domination and oppression the role of women had assumed a dynamic character and that their struggle was inseparable from the overall, nationwide struggle for freedom. The same year, 1954, the Federation of South African Women affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation. Many militant struggles were conducted by the women of South Africa against the removal and dispossession of whole tribes and the banishment and deportation of patriotic chiefs.

Many of them were arrested for taking part in the 1952 Defiance Campaign which was launched by the African National Congress. Their role also stands out in the struggle against the Bantu Authorities Act in 1957 at Zeerust, Sekhukhuni and Dinokane.

They also played no small role in the struggle against Bantu Education Act of 1954 which in the final analysis reduces our children to whiteman's slave, leaving them with no prospect of effective contribution in the society we are aspiring to build.

On 26th June, 1955 the Congress Alliance led by the ANC organised a multi-racial Congress which was held in Kliptown near Johannesburg. Other sister organisations were the South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats (representing progressive whites). The Kliptown Congress adopted for the future democratic South Africa a programme which is known as the "Freedom Charter". This Charter has now become the recognised document of the United Nations "Unit on Apartheid", as it embodies the fundamental human rights as set-out in the U.N. Charter. The fascist Government made every effort to break this historic meeting but failed through the determination of the gathering of the representatives of all racial groups of our country. The year following the adoption of the documents, 156 leaders of all races were arrested and charged with high treason. After four years of trial they were all acquitted. Families were broken and some died during the course of the prolonged trial. June 26 is observed inside and outside our country as South African Freedom Day and is recognised by the U.N. Both in the preparations for the historic Congress and during its deliberations, our women played no small role. They launched a house to house campaign collecting the people's demands.

Section of 20 000 women outside Union Buildings in Pretoria



20,000 Women March

The climax of the Women's campaign against unjust laws came on August 9 in 1956, when more than 20,000 women from all parts of our country and from all walks of life and of racial groups converged on the Union Buildings (Pretoria) to meet the then Prime Minister Strijdom in a protest against passes.

Fearing the disciplined but angry mood of the women the Prime Minister absented himself from his office. The women on the war-path were led by the President and Secretary-General of the Federation of the South African women, Mrs Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph respectively. Among the women representatives were teachers, nurses, factory workers, domestic workers and so on. The delegation of the Women headed by the President handed the Prime Minister's Secretary the petitions of grievances and demands signed by women all over the country with a word of protest that they swear that they would never rest until they have won a happy future for their children and the nation.

Police tried without success to prevent the women from getting to Pretoria. Since then, this day August 9 is known as South Africa's Womens Day. The mammoth demonstration intimidated the racist oppressors. Many women were detained on their way to Pretoria, some on their return.

In 1957 in the small town of Zeerust in the Western Transvaal another attempt was made by the Government to compel the women to carry passes. Realising that the women of this area were solidly against the measure, the police opened fire on a peaceful meeting which was convened to express disapproval. Many women were seriously injured and about 58 arrested. Later 51 had their charges withdrawn. Immediately after this incident the ANC suffered its first ban as an organisation in that particular Province.

In August 1959 women in Umzinto and Ixopo in Natal Province destroyed 75 per cent of dipping tanks. 113 were arrested and found guilty. Fine was £25 or three months in jail. As a result of the prolonged struggle by the women and continuous police provocation, in one month in the Natal Province 600 women were in prison with fines totalling £13,000, alternatively 223 days in prison. In the same Province in Ixopo women were sentenced to four months in prison or £35 fine each. They all decided to serve the sentences rather than pay the fine out of the ANC funds. Addressing a protest meeting Chief Albert John Luthuli tabled the following grievances as a cause of women's protest and arrests:

- Removal of people from places they had built and demolition of their homes.
- Influx control and extension of passes to women and the refusal of permits to seek work in towns.
- Increase of rents for houses in locations and increased poll tax.
- New regulations regarding the filling of dipping tanks by women without pay and gathering people for resettlement schemes.

Less than £10 per month

According to figures related in the Survey of Race Relations (1958-59) in Cato Manor, Durban, the 1956 family incomes survey of Africans had shown that 61 percent of workers earned less than £10 per month. The families who were removed to other places had the extra burden of increased transport costs. Women could no longer afford to get part-time work. Opposition to the Government discriminatory laws increased.

In October 1958, in Johannesburg, South Africa, noted big



Lilian Ngoyi

demonstrations of African women against the extension of passes. The women of Sophiatown also played a big role in fighting against the removal of the township; they also initiated a big anti-pass demonstration where thousands were put in jail. In spite of protest and bitter fighting by our people the racists decided to use force in uprooting our people from the area and declaring it White. In support of their Sophiatown sisters against passes, the women in Alexandra township, which was also a free-hold land, staged their anti-pass demonstration and also met the same fate of mass arrests. Alexandra is today being removed to the slum areas of Soweto and barrack-like hostels for domestic workers are being built.

Recently (March) a big hostel for single women was completed in Alexandra. This hostel accommodates 2,834 single women. Its doors are electronically operated from the gate. In case of any trouble the fascists will use these doors to divide the whole hostel into three, locking all the people inside.

Rent (monthly)

- 25 residents share one bath
 - 35 residents share one shower
 - 20 residents share one basin
 - 20 residents share one toilet
- No family accommodation. The bathrooms are very small.

In 1957 when the tribe of Sekhukhuniland (Northern Transvaal) revolted against Bantu Authorities forced removals, Chieftainess Madinoge Kholokwe was among those sentenced to death for her role in the disturbances during which traitors and police were stoned to death for provoking the riot. She was reprieved and, was released on the 26th January, 1971, on parole after serving ten years in prison. Political prisoners do not benefit from parole; she was an ex-



Mrs. Mini and her four children. Her husband was hanged after the death of an informer

ception as the fascists allege she was a criminal; to us she is a heroine.

In 1959 in Veeplants (Port Elizabeth) a team of pass officials came to issue passes to women. The women lined up as though they were going to accept them. Instead of taking them they started singing revolutionary songs chanting and shouting slogans. Many of them were arrested. Similar incidents took place in other part of the country, e.g. Lady Selborne (Pretoria). During the same year, African women mobilised and organised a mass scale campaign to boycott the buying and selling of potatoes. Potatoes were being grown by white farmers on the basis of starvation wages and the use of convict labour. This Campaign was initiated by the ANC and the ANC Women's League played a leading rôle in it.

Banned, Jailed and Tortured

The first person to be placed under house arrest in South Africa was a woman, the Secretary of the Federation of South African Women, Mrs Helen Joseph.

Many of them such as Dorothy Nyembe are languishing in jail. Dorothy Nyembe is today serving 15 years in prison for furthering the aims of our struggle. Florence Matomela and many others were tortured to death in detention. She died upon her release. When the ANC embarked upon the armed struggle many women joined its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe and underwent military training. They

played no small role in Zimbabwe when the soldiers of the ZAPU-ANC engaged the fascist soldiers in Zimbabwe in 1967-68.

In 1969 five women were among the 22 Africans who faced charges under the Suppression of Communism Act and promoting the aims of the ANC. They were Winnie Mandela, Martha Dlamini, Joyce Sikhakhane, Virginia Mngoma and Rita Nzanga. These women were subjected to Nazi-type torture; being pulled by their hair, spending sleepless nights, standing on bricks during their detention. Shanthie Naidoo and Brysine Namkahla were in solitary confinement for almost a year sleeping on cement floor for refusing to give evidence against the accused.

Leaders and many cadres of our Women's organisation have been banned, restricted, house arrested, deported and others have been subjected to other forms of persecution.

Winnie Mandela is still a victim of persecution. Last month on the 13th June, 1972, among the four Indians who appeared in court charged under the notorious Terrorism Act there is a woman Mrs Amina Desai. The State alleges that they were preparing to distribute leaflets by bucket bombs similar to those distributed by the ANC in South Africa. They were also charged with furthering the aims of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The participation of the women in our struggle for freedom is growing daily. As our struggle develops more and more will join our ranks.

OFF THE CUFF

A SECHABA INTERVIEW

Interview
With ANC
Secretary-General,
ALFRED NZO,
on the
questions of . . .

UNITY AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE



SECHABA: Comrade Nzo, due to misrepresentations, misinformation and misunderstanding, some people appear to be getting false ideas on some of the policies of the African National Congress.

The questions we are about to put to you are designed to correct some of these misconceptions.

To begin with, some people are saying that the ANC in 1961 decided that the only way to bring to an end the suffering of our people was through armed struggle and that they see little signs of such a struggle developing. How realistic was the decision to launch the armed struggle in South Africa?

NZO: The African National Congress decided on armed struggle only after detailed discussions lasting many months. Our discussions embraced all sections of our National and Provincial leaderships. It went even further. We discussed our proposals with leaders of our allied movements. In the end noting that all our attempts at getting a fair and just deal for our people through non-violent campaigns

were being met by increasing police terrorism, the decision to prepare our people for armed struggle was taken.

This decision is as valid today as it was in 1961. It is true that this phase of our struggle has not made the progress all of us want to see. There are many genuine and valid reasons for this.

Let me enumerate some of these difficulties. Life in South Africa demonstrates that the whole facade of the White racist regime in power has been built on fascist terrorist methods. Over a number of years the government has maintained its grip on the country by terror and massacres.

One must also take into account that the white racist regime has been preparing for war on our people for centuries. It must be appreciated that the revolutionary forces in South Africa face a powerful enemy; militarily, consisting of the most well-equipped armed forces on the continent of Africa, except perhaps for Egypt and Algeria. Apart from this, the regime is backed not only by its highly developed economic resources, but it also has

the unequivocal support of all the western imperialist nations who, despite resolutions to the contrary, continue to trade with and, what is worse, supply modern weapons of destruction to the racists in our country.

Another aspect that should be borne in mind when considering this question is that any serious organisation undertaking such a struggle must fully prepare the people. It must be appreciated that our people had not had any armed combats with white forces that had invaded our country for many decades. In fact, the last armed confrontation between the whites and the blacks was during the Bambata Rebellion in 1906.

When in 1961, we took the decision to embark on armed struggle we had many disadvantages. Our movement had been banned a year earlier. A number of our leaders were banned, banished or restricted to specific areas. We had no way of speaking to our people except through leaflets issued clandestinely. We were untrained. No African was allowed to own a gun while almost every white family

possessed at least one weapon. It was because of these reasons, among others, that it became necessary to send out our cadres for training in free Africa.

It must be noted though, despite the difficulties I have enumerated that our forces have confronted the enemy in two separate engagements in Zimbabwe. Together with units of ZAPU our men demonstrated that they have developed into a strong core which can face the enemy and defeat him.

Of course, there are many intricate problems facing us in sending back our trained cadres. The task of preparing our people to receive our trained men once they get into the country and the task of getting our men into South Africa, which is cut-off from free Africa by Mocambique, Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa's client state, Malawi, are questions that are constantly engaging our attention.

But these difficulties, formidable as they are, are not insurmountable. Considerations of security prevents me from giving any details about people working inside the country but in recent years you will have noticed that several persons have appeared in court charged with having received military training abroad and of conducting illegal organisational tasks within the country. These tasks continue and in time will reach the proportions we require for armed confrontation with the enemy.

One thing we will not do is to rush into some adventuristic encounter with the enemy merely to score a temporary propaganda victory. The art of a successful guerrilla movement is for it to decide the time, the place and the

manner of its operations. When the decision to prepare for armed struggle was taken in 1961, we had no illusions. Neither do we harbour any illusions now. We analysed the situation obtaining in our country very carefully. We fully appreciated all the difficulties that we were confronted with: no common border with a friendly country; the difficulty of speaking to our people, except through the hard, unromantic and always hazardous process of preparing and distributing clandestine publications. We knew then and we know now, that our struggle will be a long, bitter and a bloody one.

But, no mature people's organisation, least of all the ANC with its long tradition of leading the oppressed masses in South Africa, can postpone a correct decision merely because of difficulties. Whilst taking cognisance of these difficulties, we must work out methods to overcome them. This is what we are in the process of doing. It is no easy task, we know.

Each arrest of our trained men who have gone back into South Africa teaches us new lessons. Like all revolutionary organisations we learn from our errors. And, we have no doubt that we shall, in time, solve our many problems and confront our enemies, with arms in hands for the final battles for the liberation of our Motherland from the fascists who rule us today.

SECHABA: You have talked about preparing our people for the armed struggle in South Africa. As an exile organisation how do you keep in touch with our people? Some people say whatever the position may have been twelve years ago, on what basis

can we today say that we speak for the oppressed Black masses in South Africa?

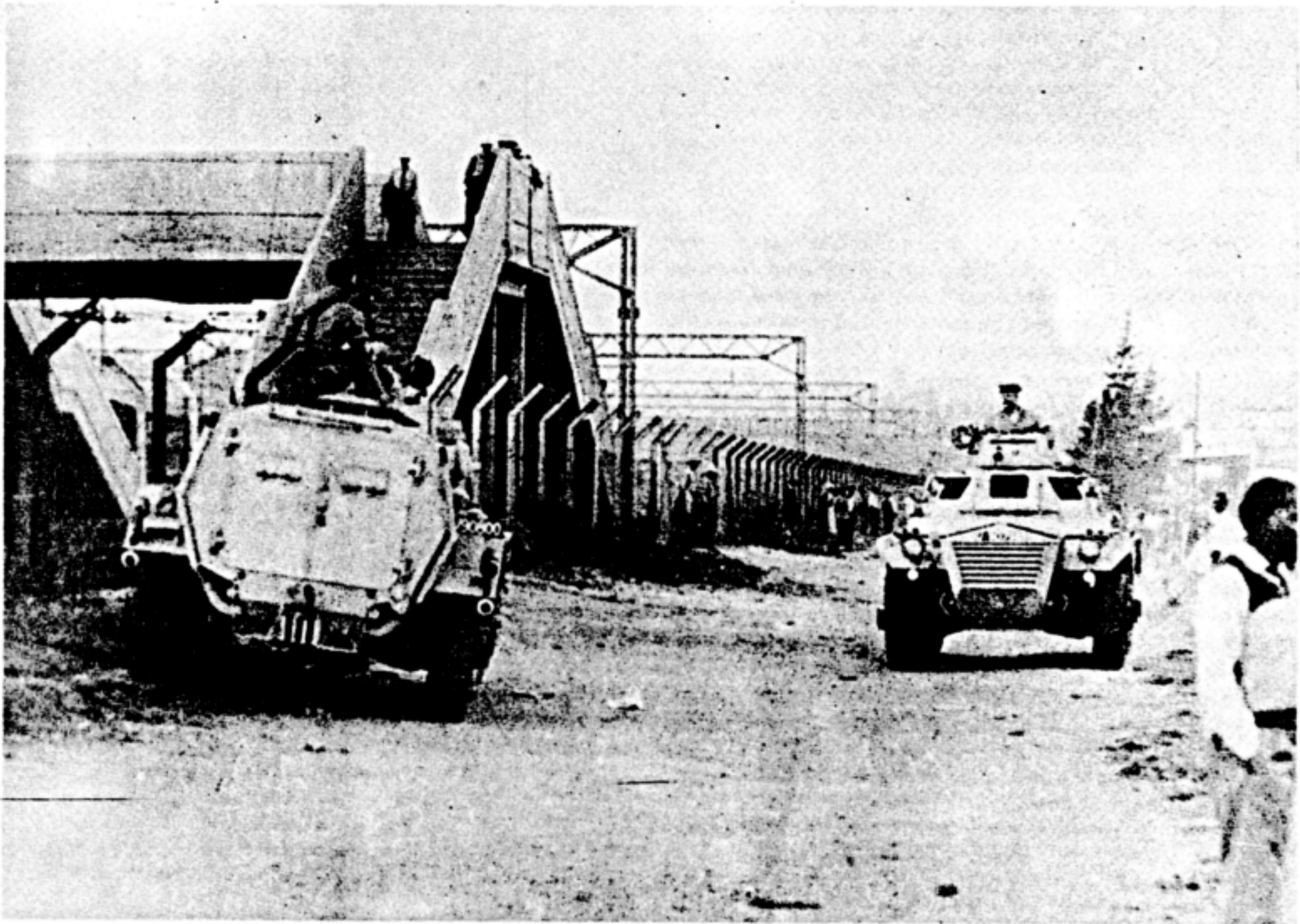
NZO: In the first place let me clear up a misunderstanding; that the ANC – what you see of it outside our country – is an exile organisation. We represent an external mission of the ANC whose task mainly, when it was set-up, was to mobilise international support for our organisation functioning underground within the country.

It is known that the enemy struck several blows against us, the most damaging to our internal structure being the arrest in 1963, of Nelson Mandela and others of our national leadership in the country.

The task of rebuilding and reconstructing our internal machinery fell temporarily on the external mission. This did not mean that the ANC has now established itself as an exile organisation. Having said this let me deal with the second part of your question. There can be no doubt that the ANC continues to enjoy widespread support amongst the people of South Africa. We admit that our underground leadership is not as yet as strong as it was before the Rivonia arrests (The arrest of Mandela and others at the ANC's secret headquarters in Rivonia – Ed.).

However, the task of rebuilding our underground machinery as I have already said is our top priority; our task number one. We have not been able to rebuild as speedily as we would like to and, the reasons for this is obvious. Our people at home face one of the most powerful security police in the world, with unlimited powers, unlimited funds and backed by a host





Armoured vehicles patrol an African township

of legislation enacted against our movements by an all-White parliament. Our cadres at home faced with such difficulties have to cut down their losses to a minimum. They have to check and recheck, over and over again, every new recruit, every new hiding place, every new meeting place and any number of things that have to be done in order to establish an underground machinery in a neo-fascist state that South Africa is today. But, let me assure you that this part of our work is being done and not without success despite the recent arrests of sections of our cadres who were doing this work.

SECHABA: Comrade Nzo, let us now deal with another aspect of Congress policy which some people appear not to understand: Why is it that the ANC has been adamantly resisting various resolutions by the Liberation Committee of the OAU to unite with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)? Is it not a fact that unity of the oppressed people

will strengthen the struggle in South Africa?

NZO: The ANC has always supported resolutions of the OAU. In particular we have supported unity within the OAU itself and unity among the liberation movements.

This stand of ours was endorsed, very clearly and unambiguously at a meeting of the extended National Executive Committee of the ANC held in Zambia in August last year. Emphasizing this aspect of our policy we said: "The NEC fully supports the clarion call for a united Africa and a united national liberation movement. We repeat this call to all South African revolutionaries. But, we warn against the opportunistic creation outside South Africa of formations devoid of substance and intended merely to serve either the purposes of convenience for the supporters of our cause, or worse still, in the interests of favourable publicity."

Let me add: The ANC has a long

history of seeking and actually working for the unity of all revolutionary forces inside South Africa. We have followed this policy in our external mission as well.

As early as 1946 the presidents of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress came together and decided that henceforth both organisations will work together on all matters of common concern to our respective communities.

This first step developed in the fifties and we were joined by the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats, a democratic white organisation.

In so far as the Pan Africanists are concerned there is ample evidence of our efforts to work together with this organisation inside the country. Those of us who are acquainted with our most recent history will remember that in 1960, at the initiative of the ANC various African organisations, includ-

ing the Pan Africanists came together to discuss ways and means to organise the peoples of our country to fight against the despotic rule forced upon us by the White minority. In particular we wanted to discuss the situation created by the Sharpeville massacre and steps the Black people in South Africa should now take to destroy the enemy. As a result of this initial meeting a Continuation Committee with representatives of all the organisations that participated was set up. This committee included members of PAC.

But, the Pan Africanists were not interested so much in unity. Every effort by the committee to get a decision for the calling of a national conference was met with all sorts of opposition from the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress. It became clear to all those who participated in the setting up of the committee that the Pan Africanists were only interested in asserting their own leadership on the committee. Finally when the Continuation Committee decided to call a national conference to discuss the political situation obtaining at that time and to work out methods of struggle, the Pan Africanists walked out of the Committee. Later when the Conference met in 1961 and decided to call a general three-day strike, the Pan Africanists issued leaflets calling on the people not to support the strike. Despite this we have always held our door open to all those from the PAC who wished, to re-join the ANC. Quite a large number have done so. (Incidentally, I should point out that the Pan Africanist Congress was started by a handful of dis-

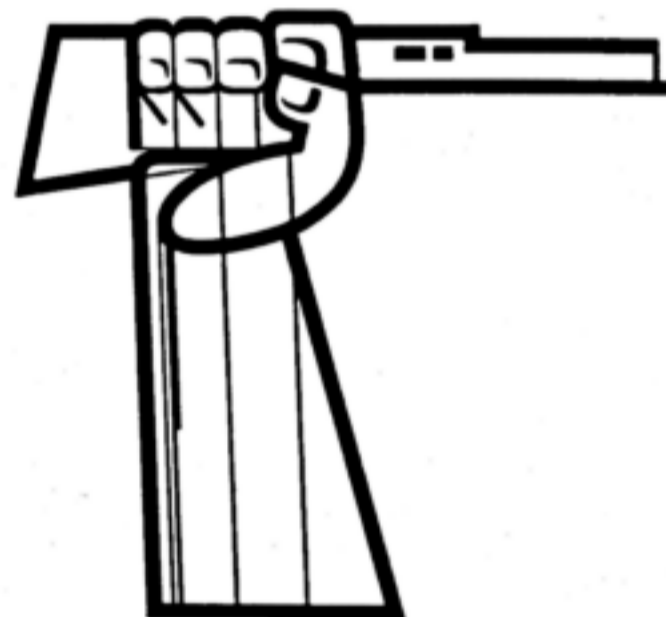
gruntled members of the ANC who broke away from the ANC in 1959.) We cannot also close our eyes to the fact that what is known as the PAC externally has disintegrated into so many warring factions that any talk of a Pan Africanist Congress raises the question: Which PAC? We therefore think that any call for unity with the PAC which presupposes the dissolution of the ANC and the creation of a new organisation with members of both the ANC and PAC will do more harm to the South African cause than good. At this stage let me re-iterate what we said in 1971 after the extended meeting of the ANC's national executive meeting. We said, and I quote, "True and meaningful unity must grow inside South Africa in the field of battle as part of the revolutionary process and find expression in organisational forms dictated by the strategic and tactical needs of the mass struggle". If the PAC is able to present its forces inside South Africa there can be no doubt that the ANC forces in direct confrontation with the enemy will work jointly with them. We must stress that meaningful unity will only come out of direct action inside our country.

SECHABA: A final question Comrade Nzo. When the ANC decided on armed struggle, did that decision mean that the ANC had decided that legal forms of struggle cannot or should not continue?

NZO: No! Most certainly not. When in 1961 we decided to embark on an armed struggle we simply regarded that the struggle will take up an added

form. We have never said, nor do we say today, that armed struggle is exclusive and independent of any other form of struggle. Where feasible we have encouraged legal forms of struggles.

Whatever forms resistance takes in our country is a great contribution towards our final struggle for the defeat of our common enemy. It is always necessary to raise the political consciousness of our people at all times and in every possible way. One of the best ways to do this is, of course, is on a mass scale. This can be done more successfully by legal forms of struggle which can draw the masses into such struggles. But this is not always possible however and therefore underground newspapers and pamphlets must continue to be published as our underground is doing more and more consistently. All this activity, in our opinion, is vital for the armed struggle for the final destruction of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic South Africa.



Malawi: Minister Sacked

A few glasses of wine too many have cost Malawi's Minister of Transport and Communications, John Gwengwe, his job. Mr. Gwengwe went to Mozambique recently for talks with the Portuguese authorities on railway and air transport. By the end of a cocktail party given in his honour by the Portuguese, the Minister had had well over the eight, threw away his prepared speech and insisted on speaking without notes. Mr. Gwengwe told his guests that Malawi's policy of co-operation with the Portuguese

colonial authorities was "sheer flattery". He added that both Malawians and Portuguese well knew that Mozambique belonged to the Africans and that sooner or later FRELIMO would take over power. Needless to say the Portuguese were upset by the speech and complained to President Kamuzu Banda. The latter immediately sacked his undiplomatic minister and dismissed him from the Malawi Congress Party.

AFRICA No 14 - Oct. 1972

SOUTH AFRICA THREATENS PEACE IN AFRICA



Document submitted by the
African National Congress
To the Assembly of the Heads
of States and Governments
of East and Central Africa

On the occasion of this august assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the East and Central African States, the African National Congress of South Africa has great pleasure in saluting you. We respectfully ask you to convey our comradely greetings to the revolutionary people of East and Central Africa who share with the liberation movement in Southern Africa the historic duty to fight for the total liquidation of colonial oppression, imperialist exploitation and White minority racist domination from our common fatherland – Africa. Your Excellencies, we beg your indulgence as we recall the last paragraph of the Mogadishu Declaration that was adopted by the 7th Summit of this distinguished and honourable assembly when it met in the revolutionary Somali Democratic Republic:

"We, the leaders of East and Central African States also appeal to the international community to take urgent and strong measures towards the liquidation of all forms of colonial oppression and to uphold the fundamental principles of self-determination and the inherent rights of all peoples to freedom and liberty in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on Granting Independence to People under colonial rule and the principles enshrined in the OAU Charter."

TYRANNY

That earnest and urgent appeal still carries the pressing validity that it embodied a year ago because in South Africa alone there are no fewer than 18 million Black people subjected to the inhuman degradation and brutality which the system of apartheid imposes. In the whole of Southern Africa embracing Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and some Indian Ocean islands such as the Comoro and Seychelles the domination of colonial rule and racist tyranny is still the order of the day.

We regard this assembly as a logical continuation of the historic role which the countries of East and Central Africa have played in the past through PAFMECSA and which they continue to fulfil to this day in revolutionary solidarity with all the oppressed people under foreign domination in Africa. The fact that you pay constant and direct attention to the liberation struggle in the unliberated parts of Africa enhances the dignity and image of African statemanship in the eyes of the world. But above all, it strengthens the revolutionary bonds of solidarity and brotherhood between the oppressed and struggling African masses and their brothers in the liberated portion of the African continent. Your Excellencies, your gathering in Tanzania is a welcome blessing to the liberation movements of Southern Africa because this country not only stands in the frontline of the struggle to eradicate the remaining colonial and racist dictatorships from Africa but it also directly experiences through its revolutionary commitment and solidarity with the liberation movements the ever mounting daily sacrifices that such commitment involves.

The revolutionary solidarity of Tanzania with the African freedom struggle started before she attained her independence. And the support and political sanctuary that freedom fighters enjoy in Tanzania also go back to the period before independence. History will yet assess the tremendous role that Tanzania plays in our struggles. Suffice it to say that upon Tanzania, upon all the East and Central African states as well as the oppressed masses of Southern Africa devolves the sacred duty to continue our common struggle and to consolidate the bonds of fraternal solidarity that unite us.

Although the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonised peoples was adopted twelve years ago; in spite

of urgent appeals by the OAU and other peace-loving forces in the world for its implementation by the colonial and White minority regimes, the Black people of South Africa still suffer the evils of that colonial system known as apartheid.

The task to eradicate this brutal and inhuman system from the face of the earth becomes more urgent and dangerous as the South African fascist regime embarks on an intensification of oppression under apartheid. This continuation of the system of apartheid also assumes an expansionist character as the internal and external struggle against White supremacy gathers new momentum.

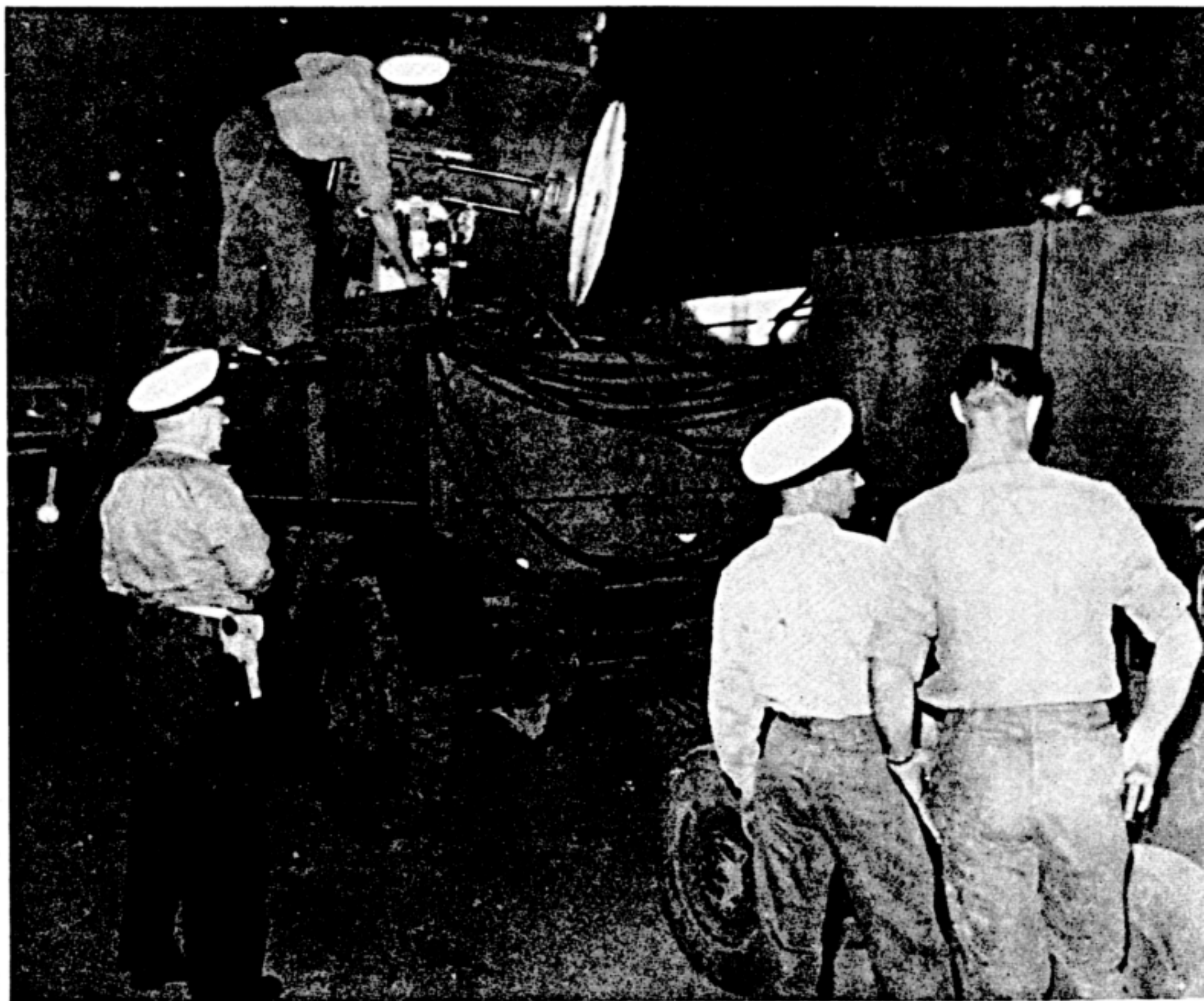
The situation in South Africa is not only a crime against humanity; it is also a threat to international peace and security. It is everyday growing into an integral and vital part of world imperialism in its efforts to hold on to those areas where human oppression still guarantees fabulous profits; and in its determination to use neo-colonialist methods to reconquer those parts of the world that have already won political independence. We believe that the South African system of racist domination embodies this two-fold character of world imperialism and fulfils it in actual practice.

INTERNAL REPRESSIVE CHARACTER OF APARTHEID

The internal situation in South Africa is marked by the growing impoverishment of the Black people who constitute the basis of the cheap labour system that operates there. More than half a million African people go to jail every year in South Africa because one or other of the numerous regulations under the Pass Laws is involved against them. In this way, the farm-jails of the rich Boer farmers obtain African labour at rates of pay and under working conditions which have regularly been condemned by the International Labour Organisation and other international workers bodies.

For the industrialists the apartheid system has evolved a policy of decentralising industry called "Border industries". By this is meant the construction of industries by the White capitalists on the borders of the African reserves known as "Bantustans" or "Bantu homelands". Again the operation of this decentralisation programme ensures the super-exploitation of the African workers from the rural areas whose wages are kept at subsistence level or a little above

Searchlight on barbed township during the strike in 1961 called by Nelson Mandela



it whilst the products of their labour are exchanged on internal and world markets at grossly inflated prices. These "Border industries" therefore operate as a disincentive to industrial development inside the so-called Bantustans. They keep the African worker power whilst ensuring a gigantic return in annual dividends to the local and foreign White investors.

The lop-sided development of the South African economy reveals the apartheid system as the political structure for the mass impoverishment of the Black people. The shortage of skilled manpower raises the wages of the White workers and also raises the prices of consumer goods whilst reducing the rate of economic growth. This entire process in which African wages are low results in a severe limitation of the internal market. And out of the need for external markets to sustain the position of capitalist investment, comes the need for the South African regime to develop links with Africa and the European Economic Community. These links are also of a neo-colonialist expansionist type and have been exposed and condemned by both the OAU and the liberation movements.

During the past 5 years, the earning ratios between African and White workers has progressively widened from 5.1:1 to 5.7:1 in the manufacturing industry and from 17.5:1 to 20.3:1 in mining. This tendency of the economy to impoverish the Africans also refutes the belief that liberalisation policies would accompany the expansion of the economic processes inside South Africa.

The reformist programme in which the South African regime has relaxed sections of the Job Reservation laws to allow African workers to do skilled work at unskilled rates of pay merely serves the interests of the Whites. The economy is in such dire straits that the interests of the foreign investors can only be protected by the pursuit of economic trends that encourage the emergence of a class among the Black people whose wages or businesses give them a stake in the status quo. The development of the Bantustans and the false promises of "independence" to them constitute an important arm in this South African Government attempt to delude the South African people, the OAU, the UNO and world public opinion.

The recent student and worker strikes; the emergence of Black peoples resistance to Bantustans and Bantu education all reflect the intensity of the struggle going on in South Africa.

GENDARME OF IMPERIALISM

Apart from the general persecution which all opponents of apartheid suffer under the detention-without-trial laws, there is now an extension of the repressive police and military machinery to include Black para-military units. These Black mercenaries have been used when South African troops were sent to Namibia to suppress by brute force the Namibian workers general strike against the slave contract labour system. These para-military Black mercenaries are also used in the Caprivi Strip against the Namibian liberation struggle.

This brings us to the role that the apartheid system plays as an instrument of imperialism whose investments in South Africa and Southern Africa continue to grow despite U.N. Security Council resolutions forbidding such activity.

South Africa and Namibia

The defiant presence of the South African administration in Namibia is well-known. The extension of the South African



President Nyerere announcing the Arusha Declaration in 1967

Bantustan programme to Namibia in order to break up the territorial integrity of that country and ensure the continued domination of the tribal groupings by the Whites is also very well-known. The killing of Namibian patriots, by the Boer police and armed forces; the imprisonment of Namibian freedom-fighters in South African jails exposes South Africa as the gendarme of imperialism in Southern Africa. Indeed it makes South Africa a vast prison for all the hopes and aspirations of Africa.

South Africa and Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe the South African military forces and the rebel Rhodesian army, police and airforce cooperate in joint anti-guerrilla activities. South Africa now holds investments in Zimbabwe through the interlocking directorate system that unites Rhodesian and South African business enterprises which threaten to outpace even British investment in Rhodesia. This economic penetration of South Africa into Zimbabwe developed through the UN sanctions-breaking activities of South Africa and the import substitution policies followed by the rebel Smith regime under the disguise of diversification of the Rhodesian economy.

South Africa's role in Mozambique and Angola

Lourens Muller, a Deputy Cabinet Minister in the Vorster regime described South Africa's role in the Portuguese colonies as follows:

"We believe that the future of the Portuguese provinces and that of my country are very closely linked. For this reason, we believe that South Africa will, with the passage of time,

be drawn closer to Portugal and its provinces in Southern Africa."

In August 1971, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, supported this expansionist policy when he said:

"We are good neighbours (that is with Rhodesia and Mozambique) and good neighbours do not need an agreement to combat murderers. Good friends know what their duty is when the neighbours' house is on fire. We will fight the terrorists wherever we are allowed to fight them."

Apart from the aggressive military strategy that expands the apartheid state into Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola, there is the basic economic interests which determine the politico-military alliance of the White fascists in Southern Africa. We contend that South Africa, in view of her military and economic resources exercises in this area the strategic role of imperialist aggressor and exploiter. South Africa is therefore the base and bulwark of reaction in the South; the citadel from where subversion against independent African States is directed for the recolonisation of Africa or the instalment of African governments amenable to the dictates of the Boer regime.

The economic stake which South Africa holds in Mozambique in the Cabora Bassa Dam Project and in Angola in the Kunene River Hydro-electric Plant, also manifests how South African monopolies are determined to dominate the entire economy of Southern Africa and to make free African states in the area economic dependencies of South Africa. This situation calls for initiative and vigilance on our part and a realisation by our brothers and supporters of the necessity to keep the South African imperialists pinned within South Africa itself. It calls for added support to the liberation movement in South Africa to meet the challenge of the fascists.

Dialogue and Arms Exports

The policy of "dialogue" which South Africa vigorously propounded a few months ago whilst ignoring the Mogadishu Declaration and its sober assessment of Africa's attitude to the White minority regimes is the political expression of the imperialist expansionist character of apartheid.

The industrial output, finance-capital and arms and ammunition production of South Africa seek new outlets through the "dialogue" policy. It is a policy that coincides with the interests of both the White South African rulers, the White capitalist class, and the forces of international imperialism with South African investments.

Those African countries who harbour some tolerance for this South African policy whether it is called "dialogue" or by another name will inevitably find themselves having to buy South African arms, South African products and later South African polices. They will also be used as launching pads from where aggression against the rest of Africa is mounted.

South Africa and Portugal have already started a campaign of intimidation and infringement of the territorial integrity of Zambia and Tanzania. The objective of economic subjugation by South African interests will grow a greater menace as the internal South African situation deteriorates.

South African Militarisation Programme

France, Britain, West Germany, the United States and other countries play an active part in the South African Programme to enlarge its military capabilities to fulfil its imperialist role in Southern Africa. Where arms and am-

munition is not directly supplied, the Western imperialist countries provide South Africa access to the various licences to manufacture arms in South Africa. On the basis of this relationship in the 1969/1970 South African budget, spending on POLICE rose by 19% to R85.6 million; PRISONS AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT rose by 16% to R43.00 million; the ARMY VOTE rose by 7% to R271.6 million; Bureau of State Security R4.1 million; and in the current financial year, the expenditure on the army alone has risen to R335,336,000. The civilian White population is drawn into this war-machine through skiet-kommandos, pistol clubs, and many para-military groupings including women and youth. As we mentioned earlier in respect of South African aggression in Namibia, the South African military personnel now includes Black para-military forces.

South Atlantic Treaty Organisation

In order to break out of the isolation which world abhorrence and condemnation of the apartheid system imposed on South Africa, the Boer regime has been accommodated within the imperialist global strategy that is maintained through a system of so-called "collective security" pacts. In regard to Africa, the Vorster Regime proposed their own version which they described as "non-aggression pacts". But the wider imperialist role of South Africa is expressed in its membership of the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) which is a logical extension of NATO to include the Southern Seas.

In 1969 a French journal "La Revue de la Defense" put the South African role as follows:

"Of all the so-called non-aligned nations the Republic of South Africa is incontestably the one which is of great strategic importance for the Western world. It is the question of a similar role which Sweden would play guarding the northern flank of NATO but more important to the South."

The SATO directly involves South Africa in the Indian Ocean security arrangements of France, U.S.A., Britain and other NATO countries. And this makes South Africa the military instrument of "cold war" tactics in Africa and beyond. The general assessment of the two-fold character of apartheid leads us to the submission that the struggle to defeat such a monster will require sober planning, vast material and political resources and well-calculated action both internally and on the world arena so that the forces of revolutionary opposition to the apartheid system can marshal their collective might to liquidate this evil system.

World action is the natural complement of the internal resistance that the Black people are waging in the vanguard against White domination in South Africa. We applaud the role that the OAU and its Liberation Committee are fulfilling in support of our liberation struggle. The political, diplomatic and material support coming from the member-states of the East and Central African Summit further reinforce and consolidate the resources of all the liberation forces in Southern Africa. To these bodies as well as the U.N. Anti-Apartheid Committee, the World Council of Churches, the Socialist countries, the Defence and Aid Fund and all international and regional organisations that condemn the colonial system of apartheid, we extend our heartfelt thanks. We believe the immensity of the task to eliminate apartheid and colonial subjugation from the unliberated parts of Africa constitute the most urgent problem without whose solution the existence of peace, security and human dignity in the world will remain in grave danger.

In that spirit we salute the 8th Summit of East and Central African States and wish it success in its work.

NEW ZEALAND, APARTHEID AND SOUTH AFRICA

Reprinted from 'FIGHT APARTHEID - A Manual for Action' Published by the Organising Committee of: Apartheid - A Conference to Consider New Zealand's Relations with Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, Wellington 18-19 March, 1972

Trade with Rhodesia ceased following the imposition of total sanctions in 1968 as a result of the UN Security Council resolution of May 29.

Total trade between this country and South Africa is small in terms of total imports and exports. In 1967/68 New Zealand imports from and exports to South Africa were nearly \$2 million of a total trade of about \$750 million (1).

The New Zealand Government has frequently ignored the requests of the United Nations General Assembly to apply voluntary trade sanctions to South Africa. An exception is the refusal to sell arms. Since this country has virtually no munitions industry this hardly counts, except perhaps in an irrelevant sense. Nevertheless, the present New Zealand Government frequently uses this fact as evidence that it complies with United Nations resolutions (2).

Sorrenson writes: "The latest resolution of the Special Political Committee of November 19, 1970 calls on Members to terminate all military, economic, technical and other co-operation with South Africa: to end tariff and other preferences to South African exports and facilities for investment in South Africa: and to ensure that companies registered in their countries and their nationals comply with UN resolutions on this question. New Zealand abstained on this resolution . . ." (3).

More important than the actual abstention is the fact that the New Zealand Government allows tariff concessions to South African goods, has sent civil servants on trade missions to South Africa and has assisted private companies and firms to advance trade links between New Zealand and South Africa.

Duty Free

Concerning tariff concessions, Sorrenson provides the following information: "New Zealand admits a variety of South African fresh and dried fruits free of duty and various other products at tariffs lower than or equal to the British Preferential Tariff. In return South Africa admits free of duty New Zealand casein, hops, rennet, seeds and raw wool, and at a lower tariff certain other products like butter, cheese and meat" (4). The preferences given to South African goods, according to the latest schedule include: oranges, stone fruits, raisins, sultanas, wines (sparkling and others), spirits. The range of imports from South Africa into this country is, of course, much more ex-

The purpose of this article is to document the type and extent of trade relations which individuals and organisations in New Zealand have with racism and colonialism in Southern Africa.

The aim is to provide a basis upon which comprehensive and effective

strategies of protest can be drawn up against individuals and firms in this country which derive benefit from policies of racism and colonialism, and whose success can reasonably be described as underwritten by the repressive apparatus necessary to enforce apartheid.

New Zealand trade with Southern Africa, 1969-70 was as follows:

Territory	Imports (\$NZ)	Exports (\$NZ)
Republic of South Africa	3,941,408	2,111,639
Namibia (South West Africa)	575	168
Botswana	nil	nil
Lesotho	nil	nil
Swaziland	nil	nil
Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)	nil	nil
Mozambique	53,259m	610,000
Angola	nil	nil
Guine Bissau	nil	nil

Sources: Sorrenson, M.P.K. "A Survey of New Zealand's relations with Southern Africa", NZ Race Relations Council, February, 1971)



Trade Mission

Members of the 1968 Trade Mission included representatives from the following private firms and Government Departments (9):

Company	Representative	Products
Air New Zealand Limited	K. Barton, Snr. Sales Representative	International Air Services – Passenger and Cargo (Mission Travel Officer)
Cable Price Downer Ltd.	D. S. Ritchie, Manager, Engineering Division	Electric ceramics and insulators: high/low switch gear and controls: electric appliances.
Crown Lynn Potteries Ltd.	A. R. Topham Marketing Manager	Ceramics, tableware, vitrified hotelware.
R. J. Fisher, Electrical Engineering Co. Ltd.	R. J. Fisher Managing Director	Electric light fittings, Electric lamps.
Fisher & Payke Ltd.	G. A. Lockery Export Executive	Domestic refrigerators & home freezers. Ice cream cabinets, electric ranges.
C. W. F. Hamilton & Co. Ltd.	C. Davison Manager	Marine Jet Units, complete Jet Boats, Marine Engines.
Holeproof (NZ) Ltd.	R. Brodie Export Manager	Fashion wear – men's trousers, ladies slacks.
W. A. L. Leech & Co	S. A. L. Leech Managing Director	Frozen foods, knitting yarns, knitwear textiles.
NZ Bankers' Association	B. S. Margetts Manager, Invercargill	Financial Advisor to the Mission Representating NZ Bankers' Assoc.
New Zealand Dairy Board	A. L. Friis, J. S. Hickey	Butter, butteroil, cheese & milk powders.
NZ Forest Products	D. Main	Timber, Woodpulp, Kraft and other papers
New Zealand Govt. Dept. of Industries and Commerce	D. O. Walker Managing Director	Government Representative
NZ Government Department of Tourist & Publicity	W. F. Quinn Executive Officer	Mission Publicity Officer
Production Engineering Co. Ltd.	S. Malcolmson, Principal, Overseas Publicity Section.	Oil Company product handling equipment. Service station oil handling and dispensing equipment.
J. A. Ross Ltd.	R. W. Williams, Managing Director	Plumbers supplies. "Handtite" polypropylene plastic waste traps & fittings.
Russell & Somers Ltd.	D. B. Saunders Manager	Cargo liner services for General, Refrigerated and Bulk Liquid Cargo.
UEB Industries Ltd.	D. J. Percival Shipping Manager	Rugs, blankets, carpets, woollen yarns.
Arthur Yates & Co. Ltd.	L. H. Hale General Manager	Pictorial packet seeds. Vita-Pak (conditioned) bulk seeds.
	B. L. Chisholm Regional Manager	

tensive and include: tobacco, oil seeds and oil nuts, industrial diamonds, organic chemicals, dyeing and tanning extracts, plastic materials, chemical materials and products, rubber manufacturers, paper and paper-board, glass, precious and semi-precious stones, iron and steel bars, shapes and angles, electrical wire and telecommunications apparatus (5).

According to Gervasi the real foundation of the South African economy "for some time has been the system of forced labour" (6). This is a system which trade between South Africa and other countries, including New Zealand, preserves. The New Zealand Government contributed to the preservation of forced labour when it prepared a "Handbook" for use of members of a trade mission by the New Zealand Manufacturers' Federation to South Africa in 1969 (7). The New Zealand taxpayers, whether they knew it or not, had also previously subsidised support for apartheid a year earlier when representatives of two Government Departments (Industries and Commerce and Tourist and Publicity) were members of a trade mission to South Africa and to East Africa. On this occasion the taxpayers actually paid the salary of the publicity officer of the mission, Mr. A. Malcolmson, Principal in the Department of Tourist and Publicity (8). The Government has also appointed an Honorary Representative of the Tourist & Publicity Department in Durban, H. R. Ballington.

Partnership of Apartheid

The significance of New Zealand's trade relations with South Africa is not to be assessed by looking at total trade volume between the two countries. As we have seen, the amount involved, approximately \$3 million per annum, is exceedingly small in terms of trade by each country and hence a boycott of South African goods by New Zealanders would have economically negligible effects. Some argue that for this reason alone a moral point can be made cheaply, but this is unreserved cynicism which does not confront the question of apartheid.

On the face of it, New Zealand appears not to be in economic partnership with apartheid because there are no New Zealand owned corporations or banks or investment houses in this country which can support the economic and political structure of apartheid. If New Zealand does support apartheid, it is often argued, it is through sporting exchanges and diplomatic channels: certainly not economic ally. This view is misleading, as is the corollary that opponents of apartheid in this country have no economic structures and activities they can confront, and that an individual boycott of goods exhausts the attack on the economic front.

As Gervasi has noted the problem of apartheid is linked with that of neo-colonialism: "The great powers no longer exert a direct political influence in the life of their former colonies. When they do, it is almost invisible. Political power and the African regimes have been replaced by economic power and the multi-national companies. The economic influence of the west in independent Africa is enormous and growing. Foreign investors, foreign banks, aid programmes, production for export, a perverted kind of economic growth, indebtedness, capital intensive technology and high import costs are moulding a new independent Africa. And it is an Africa whose way to progress is blocked, an Africa which is dependent upon the western economies." (10).

These things are on the whole and rarely spoken of, especially in New Zealand. Yet, the fact of the matter is that although trade between South Africa and this country is small there are frequent attempts to increase it, many individuals and firms in this country are involved in existing trade relations and there exists in New Zealand many subsidiary and associate companies of parent corporations, either in South Africa itself or in the

United States or European countries, which are major investors in the apartheid economic structure. In other words, there are a variety of ways in which New Zealand is economically related to apartheid and, hence a variety of strategies which the anti-apartheid movement can adopt. It is no longer simply a question of individuals boycotting particular goods, it is now a matter for action on an organisational level and along a fairly extensive front.

Southern Africa is certainly not dependent upon the New Zealand economy and yet the existing trade relationships we have, particularly with South Africa, and attempts by private firms in this country to improve upon these must be of political comfort to the Vorster regime, just as they will prove embarrassing to this country when the New Zealand Government is called to account in the General Assembly. As we have noted, the Government's involvement in assisting private companies to trade with apartheid is in defiance of United Nations resolutions. Sorrenson notes a further, and possibly more important instance of collaboration between New Zealand and apartheid in South Africa. This is the fact that the Government has made a direct grant "to the so-called 'International' Wool Secretariat, a body composed of the New Zealand, Australian and South African Wool Boards. Hitherto, the New Zealand Wool Board had found its own contribution - taken from a direct levy on wool producers.

But now the government has levied the taxpayer to promote marketing of South African as well as New Zealand wool" (11).

Several other New Zealand producer Boards co-operate with their South African counterparts in the marketing of produce. These include the Dairy Board and Apple and Pear Board, which has been involved in a joint-advertising campaign with Australia and South Africa to promote New Zealand, Tasmanian and 'Cape' apples (12). The Wool Board exports at least eight different products to South Africa. The South African fruit and wool is produced with the aid of forced labour, as are many other products which we import from that country, this is clearly an area for action by the anti-apartheid movement.

If the Federation of Labour and individual unions have endorsed the International Labour Organisation reports on slave labour it is clearly an area for action by them also.

Imports

New Zealand imports a wide range of commodities from South Africa and many of them, by their nature, cannot be identified according to brand name or finished product. The following is a list (it is not comprehensive) of South African goods widely available in retail stores, by trade or brand name:

JAMS AND MARMALADES

Golden Glory

WINES

Nederburg (red & white sparkling and still.)
Roodeburg
Springbok (sherry & port)
Two Diamonds
Franschoek
Van der Humm (liquers)
Lanzerac (red & white: sparkling & still)
Paarl
Stellenbosch

GROCERIES (General)

Raisins (Springbok)
Peanuts (not known)
Dried apricots (Safari)

FRESH FRUIT

'Outspan' oranges
'South African' grapes
'Cape' apples

CANNED FRUIT

Kloof
Golden Reef
IXL
Pearl
Malkern (pineapples)

TOBACCOS

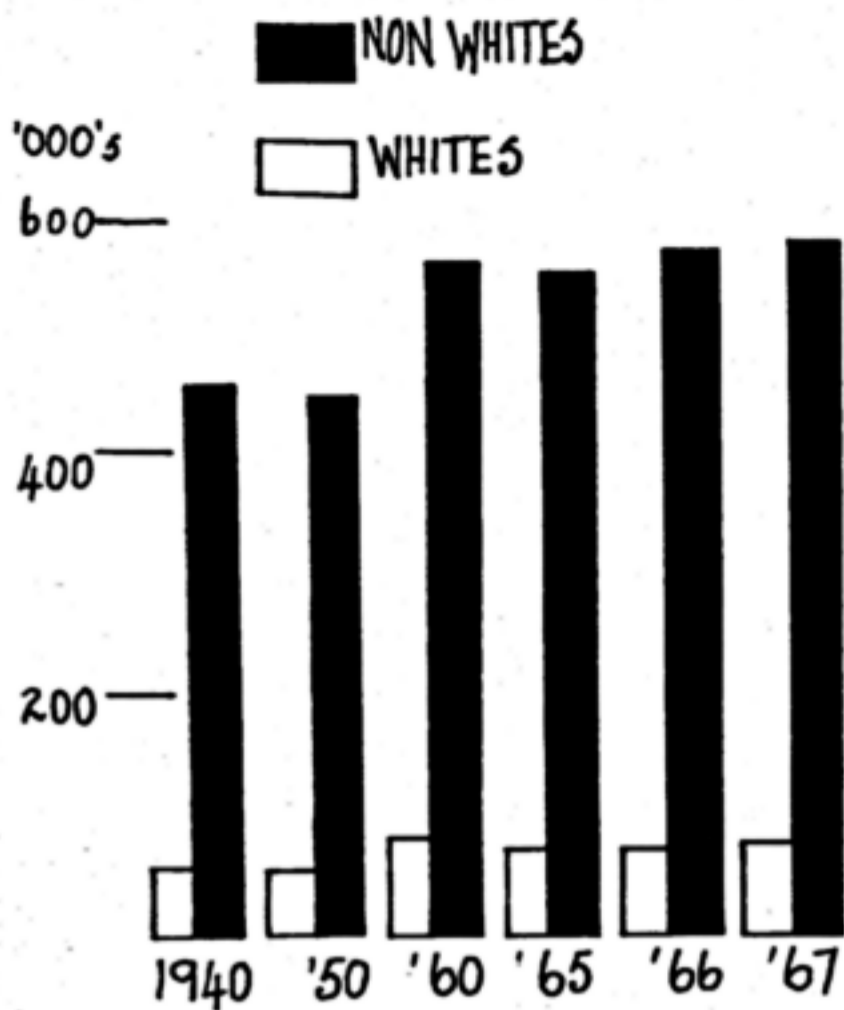
(Main brands handled by Rothmans)
Peter Stuyvesant
Rembrandt
Rothmans
Pall Mall International
Pall Mall Filter/Plain
Consulate
Dunhill
Cambridge
Lexington
Cameo
Courtleigh
Belmont
Perilly's
Paul Revere
St Moritz

Companies Involved

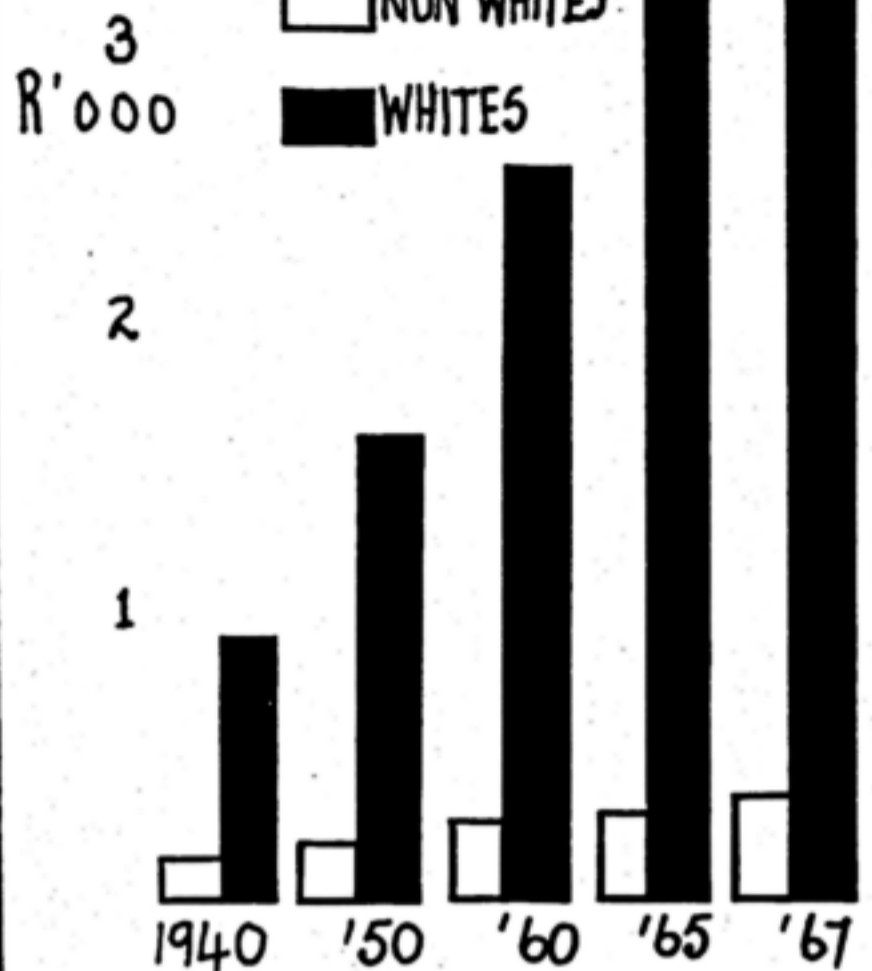
New Zealand companies which either trade with South Africa, have subsidies in that country, or are connected in some other (specified) way (this is not a complete listing):



NUMBER OF PERSONS AT WORK IN MINING.



AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGE & SALARY BILL IN MINING.



● FLETCHER HUMPHREYS & CO. LTD.

904-908 Columbo St. Christchurch. According to the Managing Director, Mr. R. G. F. Kingscote, his company is the largest importer of Stellenbosch wines particularly Nederburg, in the world. (Wine Review, December 1970). Stellenbosch is the largest winery in South Africa. Fletcher Humphreys is a private limited company with seven shareholders. They are agents for Nederburg Winery Pty. (SA) and also for South African fruit juices. A subsidiary company of Fletcher Humphreys is Frank A. Cook Ltd. (grocers, wine and spirit merchants), 58 Kilmore St. Christchurch. 240,000 of the 500,000 shares of Fletcher Humphreys are owned by Ballins Limited, Christchurch. Mr. Kingscote and B. H. Ballin are directors of both Fletcher Humphreys and Frank A. Cook Ltd.

● HARRISON AND CROSSFIELD (ANZ) LTD.

12-22 Johnston St. P.O. Box 1996, Wellington, 1. Importers, manufacturers and agents (tea, rubber, timber etc.) and exporters (tallow, casein, timber etc.) Their agencies include South African products and they are agents for Wattie Industries Ltd.

● PHILLIPS AND PIKE LTD.

93-107 Featherston St., Wellington 1, P.O., Box 3146. The agencies of this company include Co-operative Winegrowers of South Africa Ltd. They are agents for South African wines and brandies.

● AIR NEW ZEALAND LTD.

Airways

House, Customs Street, Auckland 1.

This is one of several airlines in this country which act as general sales agents for South African Airways. Its significance is that it is a public corporation owned by the people of New Zealand, even though its expenditures do not need to be approved by Parliament. It enjoys the same status as the Bank of New Zealand, and other public corporations.

● AIRWORK ENGINEERING LTD. "Airwork Engineering", Rangiora.

This firm, together with Palmer and Doak Ltd., Rangiora export engineering equipment to South Africa. Airwork Engineering Ltd. are a wholly-owned subsidiary of Airwork (NZ) Ltd., Harewood.

● NEW ZEALAND DAIRY BOARD.

P.O. Box 147, Wellington. Along with other producer and marketing agencies this is privately controlled. The Board has regularly exported the following products to South Africa: butter, anhydrous milkfat and ghee; natural cheese; spray skim milk powder; spray buttermilk powder; spray whole milk powder; blended full cream milk powder and lactic acid casein.

● ROTHMANS

Rothmans Holding (NZ) Ltd. Rothmans (NZ) Ltd.; Rothmans Tobacco Company Ltd.

Rothmans Holding (NZ) Ltd. is a subsidiary of Rothmans Tobacco (Holdings) Ltd. a London based company, which in turn is 99.9% owned by Ru-

pert Tobacco Corporation (Pty) a South African company which in turn is 99.9% owned by Rembrandt Controlling Investments (South Africa). Rothmans (NZ) Ltd. is 50% owned by Rothmans Holdings (NZ) Ltd. and 50% owned by Butland Tobacco Ltd. a New Zealand firm wholly owned by Sir Jack Butland and his family.

Rothmans Tobacco Company Ltd. is partly owned by Rothmans (NZ) Ltd. - 35% of share issue; a further major share holder in this company is Partnership Investment Ltd. Overlapping directorships, occur among the following New Zealand citizens: Sir Jack Butland: Rothman Holding (NZ) Ltd. Rothmans (NZ) Ltd., Butland Tobacco Co. Ltd., and Partnership Investment Ltd. Mr. J. M. Butland: Rothmans (NZ) Ltd., Butland Tobacco Ltd. and Partnership Investment Ltd. Mr. K. D. Butland: Rothmans (NZ) Ltd. Rothmans Tobacco Co. Ltd. Butland Tobacco Ltd. and Partnership Investments Ltd.

All three companies operate under the same letterhead "Rothmans of Pall Mall" and between them they are responsible for importing the bulk of South African tobacco leaf used in the manufacture of cigarettes in this country. Rothmans also operates Sporting and Cultural Foundations in this country. The purposes of these Foundations is to provide grants, scholarships and prizes to various sporting and cultural organisations.

● WONDER FOODS LTD.

Nelson.

This is a fish processing firm which exports tinned fish to South Africa. Wonder Foods is a partnership between Sharlands and Dalhoff and King Holdings, who took over the sea product processing plant in April, 1969.

● **NEW ZEALAND INSURANCE CO. LTD.** 105 Queen Street Auckland. P.O. Box 165.

The significance of this company is that it is one of the few New Zealand-based firms which have subsidiary or associate companies in Southern Africa. This company operates in South Africa and Rhodesia through the subsidiary New Zealand Insurance Company (South Africa) Ltd. In 1968 and 1969 the contribution of this subsidiary was 7% of total direct premium income and the 108th Annual Report says that profit for 1967 from Southern Africa groups was approximately 5% of the total profit.

● **SOUTH BRITISH INSURANCE CO. LTD.** 326 Lambton Quay, Wellington, P.O. Box 1893.

This is another company in New Zealand which has a subsidiary in South Africa - South British Insurance Co. (South Africa) Ltd. The assets of this latter company are worth R6.5 million and the company contributed 7% of total gross premiums in 1970.

(Note: The information presented here has been derived from: The New Zealand Business Who's Who (1969/70), Who owns Whom? (1970 UK edition), research undertaken by the NZUSA, and from various individuals and companies).

Boycott South Africa

The question of why trade figures, brand names, and business connections between firms in this country and Southern Africa are relevant to the anti-apartheid movement deserves attention. The answer depends upon the type of strategies the movement wishes to adopt. This information has been presented because it allows the New Zealand opponents of racism and colonialism to develop the increasingly effective strategies of our British and American counterparts.

For instance with facts such as those given it becomes possible to approach individual firms in this country which trade or have connections with apartheid and to ask them to assess the political and moral consequences of their activities: it begins to identify in a detailed way the extent to which the Government is willing to collaborate with agencies and Governments in Southern Africa in defiance of UN General Assembly resolutions: and it provides information with which to conduct a boycott.

On the question of a boycott there is

often differing opinion: on the one hand it is argued that a boycott of (principally) South African goods would be economically insignificant and negative in its influence. On the other hand, if related to an information campaign advising shopkeepers and customers of the wage and labour conditions of workers who make the products one asked to boycott could have positive consequences. Likewise, a boycott by New Zealand Insurance would not ask this company to withdraw from South Africa and Rhodesia, but would ask the shareholders to ensure that all employees in these countries are treated equally.

Notes:

- (1) See Gillion and Suckling "New Zealand" Trade Relations with South Africa" a paper delivered before the Institute of International Affairs, July, 1969: and Sorrenson op. cit. pp. 13-17.
- (2) For example, former Minister of Justice, Mr. D. Riddiford, speaking to a Wellington audience in March, 1971, stated that the government complied with UN directives because New Zealand never sold arms to South Africa.
- (3) Sorrenson op. cit. p. 15.
- (4) ditto
- (5) see "Imports - country of origin and commodity group". Department of Statistics, for a comprehensive list of the type of commodities and values involved.

(6) Gervasi, S. Industrialisation, Foreign Capital and Forced Labour in South Africa (Unit on Apartheid, UN, New York, 1970). See also "Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour. (International Labour Office, 1953, paras. 372-375).

(7) "Handbook for the New Zealand Manufacturers' Federation Trade Mission to South Africa" (Department of Industries and Commerce, Wellington, August 1969).

The Department also prepared a "Handbook" for the Federation's Trade Mission to Mozambique in Oct-Nov. 1969. There have been condemnations of the activities of commercial concerns in Mozambique in various UN General Assembly resolutions (not supported by NZ). The Government places no restriction on trade with Mozambique.

(8) "New Zealand Trade Mission to East Africa and South Africa, 1968". (New Zealand Manufacturers' Federation), official report.

(9) NZ Manufacturers' Federation op. cit.

(10) Gervasi, S. "The Significance of South Africa's Economic Relations with the Western Powers", a paper prepared for a conference to commemorate South Africa Freedom Day, July 4, 1971, (Anti-Apartheid Movement, London).

(11) Sorrenson, op. cit. p. 16

(12) ditto

(13) See New Zealand Dairy Board, 1970/71 Annual Report.

An African farm labourer



POEM FROM PRISON

by Hugh Lewin
On Friday, 24. July 1964 . . .



He was standing
in front of me
shouting
– Jew bastard –
You Jew bastard –
which, as he well knew by then,
was incorrect on both counts.
Still he stood in front of me
screaming
– Jew bastard you Jew bastard
I'll kill you –
and a lot of additional filth
about my mother, my grandmother
all of it irrelevant.

The generations talked that night
the generations screamed
from the depth of the hulk
in front of me
screaming
– Jew bastard Jew I'll kill you I'll kill you.

Because of the bomb.
The bomb had killed that night
a lonely unwanted bomb
spluttering rage
in the great hollow hall
of the tidy whites on their way home..
The bomb spluttered and killed.

He screamed Fourteen
– Your bomb killed fourteen
Jew bastard I'll kill
you you
your bomb you mother

Not my bomb, of course,
as he knew only too well,
but
Fourteen
he spluttered
– Fourteen
coming closer
the rage and the fear
of the generations
screaming
and coming closer.

He took off my glasses
and put them down on the table
so that they wouldn't break

So
I stood in front of him
unsheltered by glasses that might break
and his arms
 – Jew bastard –
began waving towards me
and I tried to concentrate
 – I'll kill Fourteen –
 on the hands of the arms
 coming towards me
telling myself this is it.

This is what it will be like
when it really happens
when it really happens to me.

And the hands clenched
 and hit
 and struck
sharp
gaspings blows
 at the eyes
 ears
 eyes
clenched blows
 at the head
with cupped fists
on each of
 Jew
 bastard
 I'll kill
 kill
 kill.

And I watched as the body
went down to the floor
and I thought so this is what it'll be like
for me
 when it really happens
and I saw the body on the floor
 being kicked
and I thought
 when it gets up
 it'll be the end.

But when I saw the body on the floor get up
I remembered what Stan had said
about when you're arrested
 for a pass or something
and they start beating you up
that the best thing is to scream
 scream anything
 scream
because that pleases them
and it takes your mind off it.

So when the body got up
 I screamed
 screamed
 screamed something silly
like No No
 and Please no no please
 please
 please no

And it pleased him so much
that he screamed
 – Jew bastard kill –
and the hands hit the body again
down to the floor again.

Then the screaming
 and the body
 and the scrabbling on the floor
 and the kicks and the shouts
was one
was me
me.

So I got up
 – Jew bastard.
And then there were two of them
the second watching the first
and the first waved his hands
 – Hy's 'n Jood
 'n bliksemse Jood –
and the second nodded and I said nothing.

Then, above, the floor began to rumble
 like my floor had rumbled
 muffled rumbles and thuds,
 thudding cries
 spluttering thuds
and then
 nothing, quiet.

The first looked at the second
 – We've got him? –
and the second nodded.

The hands paused
pushed across a chair
handed me the glasses from the table
and said
 – Here, Jew
 have a smoke.

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U.S. Ambassador in South Africa . . .

Callous Towards Blacks

America's most widely read syndicated columnist yesterday accused the United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr. John G. Hurd of displaying "callousness" toward the Republic's Black population.

Mr. Anderson, whose column appears in more than 800 papers, charged that Mr. Hurd had called Blacks in South Africa "Nigras", that he had unsuccessfully fought the appointment of a Black American diplomat, and had gone pheasant hunting on Robben Island - "One of the world's most notorious prisons".

State Department officials said they were "concerned" about the attack on Mr. Hurd, a Texas oil millionaire and personal appointee of President Nixon. But they defended Mr. Hurd's alleged controversial hunting trip to Robben Island with Transport Minister Mr. Ben Schoeman.

"Ambassador Hurd didn't know where they were going when he accepted the invitation to join that hunting party", they said.

PULITZER PRIZE

Mr. Anderson, the most widely syndicated columnist in the world, won the Pulitzer Prize for journalism this year for revealing secret White House documents showing Mr. Nixon was "tilting" toward Pakistan in its war with India.

Mr. Anderson wrote that when former Attorney General Ramsey Clark was in South Africa, he was refused permission to visit Robben Island.

"To the chagrin of top United States Embassy officials in Cape Town, Ambassador John Hurd, a tall Texan who has given thousands of dollars to the Republican Party, has succeeded in visiting the island - to go pheasant hunting.

"With a pack of beagles leading the way and two men from the prison to pick up the dead birds, Mr. Hurd went shooting with Mr. Ben Schoeman, the South African Transport Minister.

HIS DISPLAY

"Nor is this the first time Mr. Hurd has displayed callousness toward the Black population in South Africa.

"He has been known to refer to Blacks there as "Nigras". He also fought vigorously, although ultimately unsuccessfully, against the appointment of a Black diplomat to the American Embassy in Pretoria."

Mr. Anderson said South African Embassy and State Department officials in Washington had refused to comment. Mr. Anderson added that his office had telephoned Mr. Schoeman in South Africa and the Minister had insisted that he and Mr. Hurd used prison employees, not inmates, on their mini-safari.

"However, reports persist that at least some of the helpers were prisoners."

FOOTNOTE:

● Replying to a statement by Minister Ben Schoeman that Robben Island was not a prison for political offenders but "for hardened criminals," Mr. Brit Hume, a member of Mr. Anderson's staff said he did not think Nelson Mandela, former leader of the African National Congress could be described as a hardened criminal.

● For further evidence that only political prisoners are kept on the Island see "Sechaba" Vol. 6, No. 10, October, 1972 for a statement by a member of the African National Congress recently released from Robben Island.