



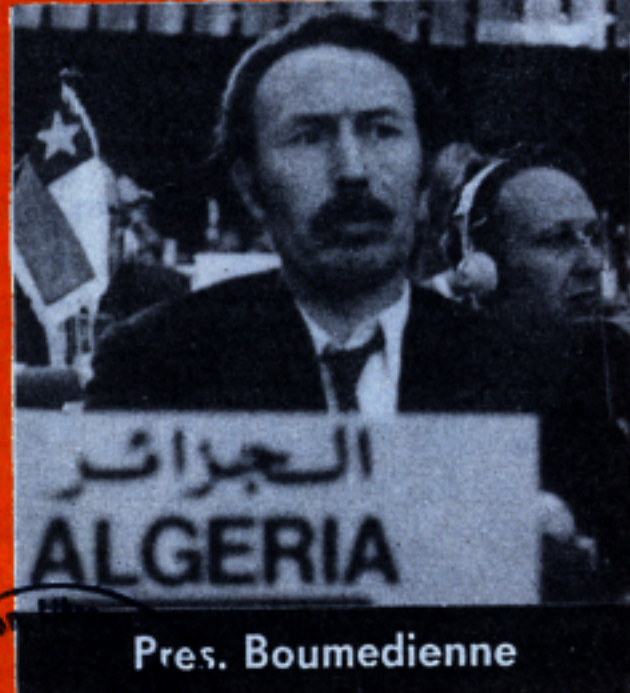
Mrs. Gandhi

VOL 8  
NO 1

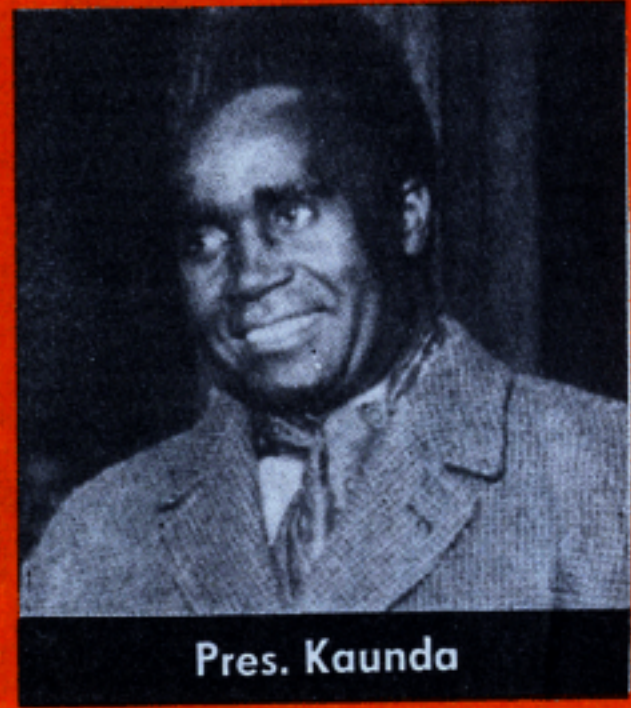
# SECHABA

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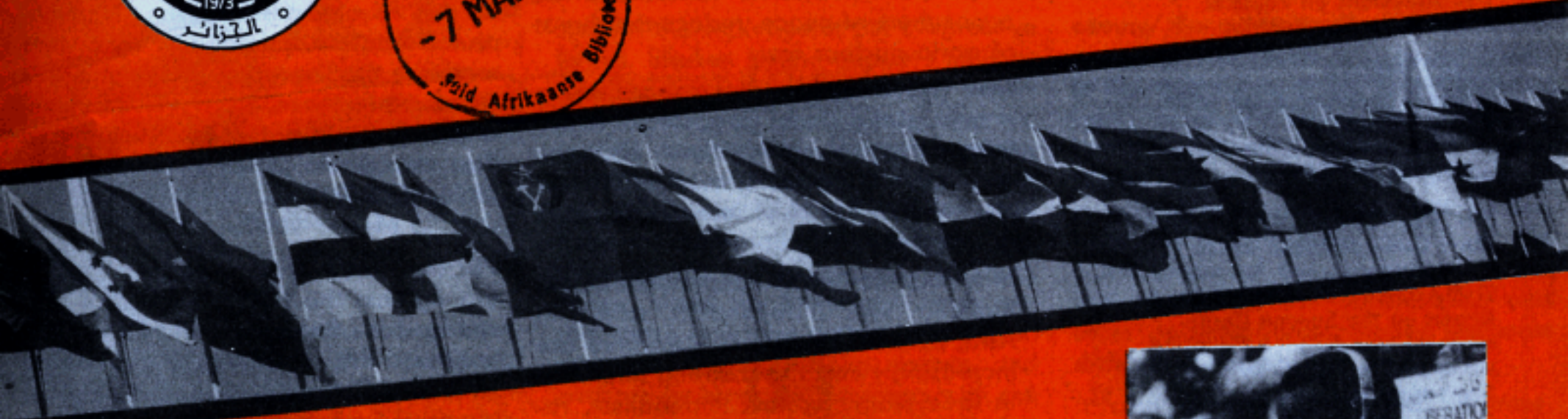
official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



Pres. Boumedienne



Pres. Kaunda



O. R. TAMBO



ARAFAT



# SECHABA

Vol 8 No 1 Jan 1974

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# SECHABA

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# Our Objective: THE SEIZURE OF POWER!

A call for Greater International Action Against Apartheid and Racism

The year that has passed was highlighted by a number of significant victories for the international democratic and anti-imperialist forces. The year 1973 will be remembered for the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam. In Laos and Cambodia great successes were also achieved.

On a world scale great strides were made to lessen tension between the major powers and to consolidate an atmosphere of peace, reduce the threat of world nuclear war.

The gathering of the peace loving people at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, last October, emphasized the need of humanity to remove the threat of imperialism from this planet.

In Africa, the newly independent States together with independent states in Asia, Latin America and elsewhere are increasingly exerting a strong influence in their stand against imperialism, racism and apartheid.

Their successes at the United Nations are legion. Towards the end of last year, soon after the historic confe-

rence of the non-aligned nations (reported in this issue), their representatives walked out en masse when the Finance Minister of South Africa rose to speak at the Nairobi International Conference of Finance Ministers.

At the United Nations soon thereafter they challenged the credentials of white South Africa to represent the country.

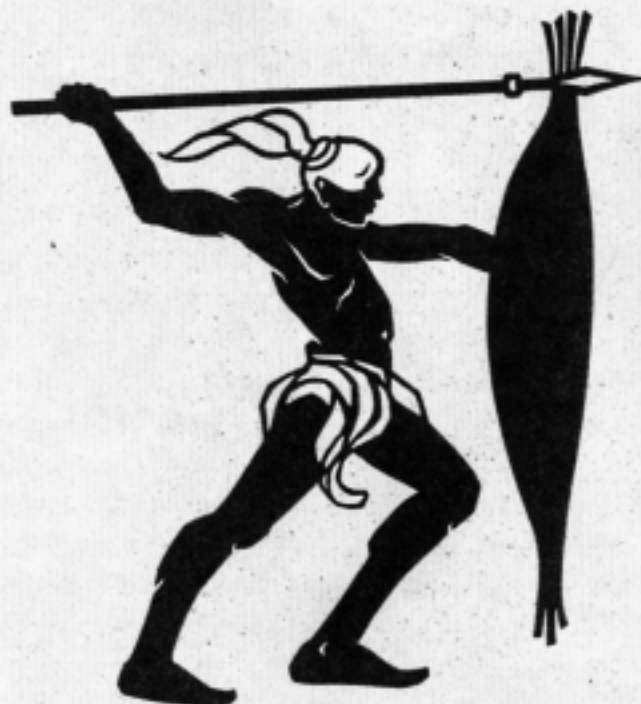
In the Portuguese colonies, Namibia and Zimbabwe, major advances were made by the liberation forces and it is with acclaim that the progressive movements throughout the world witnessed the emergence of the independent state of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of the PAIGC.

For the South African people struggling against the fascist regime of Vorster and his henchmen, the Oslo Conference, the Conference of Trade Unions in Geneva (reported in previous issues of Sechaba) and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers, were all demonstrations of the growing support for their struggle to end the rule of apartheid, national oppression and exploitation.

## Rocked By Action

Inside South Africa the apartheid regime was rocked by mass actions by students and workers. Hundreds of thousands of black workers striking for higher wages, better living conditions and against their barbarous exploitation by local and foreign profit pirates, despite the fact that strikes by black workers are illegal in the country, is a significant portend of what is in store for the white despots in power.

A renewed political awareness among the black people, workers, youth and





students in South Africa; the obvious failure of the government's apartheid policy which it must force upon the people with the use of terror, violence and fraud; the strengthening of the ANC's underground activities - all these are indications of the people's determination that they are no longer prepared to tolerate the burden of racist and fascist rule.

As the NEC of the African National Congress stated (Sechaba June, 1973): "Despite the repression and devious manoeuvres of the enemy through separate development policies, this revolutionising force has again broken into the open. The African majority in South Africa and the black people in general, have for too long borne the burden of extreme national oppression."

### Guns and Guile

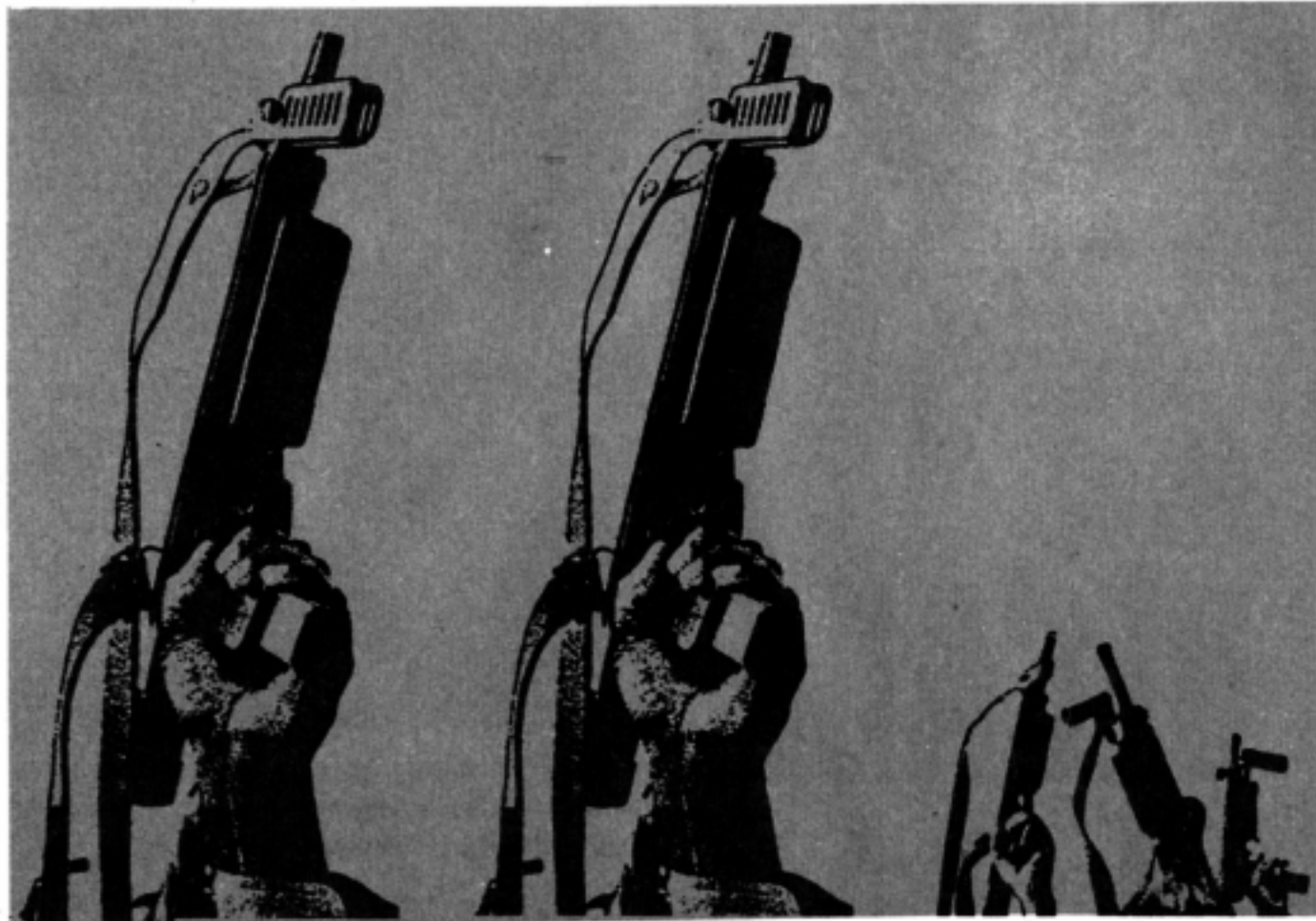
However, the successes of 1973 must not lull the people of South Africa, nor the international solidarity movement, into a false sense of complacency. The enemy still threatens and attacks, staining its dripping hands still further with the blood of the oppressed people. Imperialism has not yet been destroyed and its character remains unchanged.

Conscious of its defeats, outmanoeuvred by the change in the balance of world forces, it continued and will continue to strike out wherever possible, using violence and subterfuge; guns and guile, in its attempts to regain lost ground.

The murder of Amílcar Cabral, leader of the revolution in Guinea-Bissau last year and the murder of Salvador Allende and thousands of Chilean patriots, are examples of international imperialism's determination to survive, whatever the cost.

In South Africa, brutal persecution, imprisonment of freedom fighters, the massacre of mineworkers (see elsewhere in this issue) are manifestations of the desperate attempts of the racist exploiters to hold on to their ill-gotten gains in the face of internal and external opposition.

On another front the oppressors and exploiters use all means at their disposal to divert, undermine and



slacken the vigilance of the progressive forces. Shaken by the people's militant attacks upon apartheid and super-exploitation of the black masses, foreign investors and supporters of the appalling exploitation of the black people of South Africa went all-out to convince international opposition of the necessity of their presence in South Africa. Using the imperialist mass media, these investors acting in collusion with the South African racists and assisted by black collaborators with the racist regime, spent and are continuing to spend vast sums of money in large advertisements in the western press aimed at assisting them in their assault on the world public, to camouflage and white-wash the oppression of the South African people; the massacre of black workers.

### Seizure of Power

But these attempts with FN rifles and spurious propaganda are only indications of the inherent weakness of imperialism and racism. The ANC National Executive statement, quoted earlier, also pointed out: "An intensive struggle is taking place, among the ranks of the oppressors for a formula that would both defuse the explosive situation existing in our country and

ensure the perpetuation of white supremacy. The result is a policy which, in the statements of the ruling class at least, is characterised alternately by bursts of reformist fervour and obscurantist racism and reaction. The enemy is politically weaker now than he has been for a long time, thanks to the continuation of the struggle at home and abroad by our organisation and other patriotic forces, under the most difficult conditions."

It is an urgent necessity that the international community continue to exert and, in fact, intensify their efforts to give every support to the ANC and the liberation movement in South Africa.

Among the many recommendations for action to be taken by the international community, the Oslo Conference, last year, stated:

"The right of people of Southern Africa to strive for liberation by all appropriate means, including armed struggle, should be fully recognised."

We recognise that in South Africa the struggle will be bitter, bloody and long-drawn but despite this we are confident that the end is in sight as it becomes ever clearer to the people that in the final analysis the only escape from the vast prison that South Africa is for the black man, is the armed struggle and for the armed seizure of power!





# A DECADE IN PRISON

Statement by  
the United Nations  
Apartheid Committee  
on Political Prisoners  
in South Africa



Victims of South Africa's Apartheid policy who are serving life imprisonment in South African prisons. From l. to. r., Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada and Govan Mbeki

the "Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws" in 1952.

The Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and its aftermath, including the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, convinced the international community of the need for concrete measures rather than mere appeals in order to halt the drift to disastrous conflict. It was against this back-drop of increasing international concern that the United Nations General Assembly decided in 1962 to establish the Special Committee on Apartheid to keep the racial situation of the Government of South Africa under constant review.

One of the primary concerns of the Committee since its inception has been the consideration of measures to put an end to the ruthless repression carried out by the regime in order to harass, silence and punish opponents of apartheid, as such repressive measures tended to make a peaceful settlement increasingly difficult. The initial meetings of the Committee coincided with massive repression in South Africa, with the arrest of thousands of persons suspected of membership in "Poqo" and many adherents of the African National Congress, and the adoption of new repressive laws, notably the so-called 90-day no-trial act of May 1963. Laws like the 90-day law, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Sabotage Act and, later, the Terrorism Act of 1967, which violate all canons of justice, are an essential complement to the apartheid legislation enacted in order to institutionalize and preserve the legacy of racial discrimination and cut off all legal avenues for social and political change.

Under these laws, numerous leaders of the black people, and a number of white opponents of apartheid, have been jailed, banished, restricted and forced into exile. Thousands of people have been held in detention, without access to the courts, their families and their lawyers, often for many months at a time. Not only have they been subjected to the psychological torture of indefinite detention, but there has been overwhelming evidence in the last decade of brutal torture against many of the detainees.

## Rivonia Prisoners

In October 1963, 11 prominent leaders of the South African people, including Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmad Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi, were charged under the "Sabotage Act" in what became known as the "Rivonia trial".

In an historic moment in the United Nations General Assembly on 11 October, 1963, 106 Member States recorded their votes in favour of resolution 1881 (XVII), which called for the abandonment forthwith of the arbitrary trial being prepared against them and called for the unconditional release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for their opposition to apartheid. Only South Africa voted against the resolution. For the first time, the entire international community declared its commitment to seek an end to repression and apartheid.

Ten years have passed since the adoption of that historic resolution. In a number of subsequent resolutions, the

Nowhere else but in South Africa is there a Government which by its official policy is committed to the goal of a society based on human inequality on grounds of so-called race and colour. Only in South Africa is racial discrimination written into the very fabric of the constitution and law. For a quarter of a century, since it came to power in South Africa, the National Party regime has embarked with increasing ferocity on a path aimed at ensuring that racial inequality and white domination are indefinitely preserved.

The tensions and conflicts that have resulted from the enforcement of this policy and the resistance by the oppressed people have led to growing international concern since the United Nations General Assembly began consideration of apartheid during





General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations have repeatedly called on the Government of South Africa to liberate the opponents of the oppressive system of apartheid and to seek a peaceful solution to the situation in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Though at times the condemnation might have restrained the South African regime from some excesses, numerous trials have taken place during this decade and thousands of persons have been subjected to detention, imprisonment and harassment, and many to brutal ill-treatment and torture.

The number of political prisoners in South Africa has diminished in recent years, since many of those who were sentenced in the early 1960s for their opposition to the regime have completed their sentences. Many of those released from prison have, however, been immediately served with banning orders, or deported to reserves and resettlement camps in order to prevent them from carrying on political activities and, indeed, to punish them further by depriving them of means to earn a livelihood and lead normal lives.

These men and women are the genuine leaders of the great majority of the people of South Africa. They are in prison because they have had the courage to struggle for the legitimate aspirations of their people. They are the fighters for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Hundreds of leaders of the people and

eminent fighters against racism remain in prison, many of them sentenced for the rest of their natural lives under the abhorrent laws of the racist regime.

### **Mandela, Fischer**

They include Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, an outstanding leader of his people for three decades and the first accused in the Rivonia trial. For almost a decade, Mr. Mandela has been imprisoned on Robben Island, where South Africa's non-white political prisoners are kept. Among the prisoners on Robben Island are Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, prominent leaders of the African National Congress; Ahmad Kathrada, a leader of the Indian community who joined the struggle against apartheid while yet in his teens; John Pokela, a leader of the Pan Africanist Congress; Eddie Daniels, a Coloured photographer; and Neville Alexander, a brilliant scholar.

Bram Fischer, the distinguished Afrikaner jurist, forsook a life of privilege and chose to join in the freedom struggle. Now 69 years of age and ailing, he too is serving a term of life imprisonment for his opposition to apartheid.

All reports from the prisons indicate that these stalwart fighters for freedom remain full of faith in the inevitable elimination of racism and apartheid in their homeland.

### **Redoubled Efforts**

We are on the threshold of the Decade

of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which will be launched on 10 December 1973. During its forthcoming session, the General Assembly will consider the adoption of the draft Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which has been recommended by the Commission on Human Rights and the Special Committee on Apartheid, in order to develop the efforts to eradicate apartheid. It will consider other steps to intensify international action to secure the speedy eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

The Special Committee calls on world public opinion to keep alive the cause of the prisoners of the racist regime in South Africa, which is, indeed, the cause of all humanity.

We have a duty to demonstrate our solidarity with those who are persecuted for their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We must redouble our efforts and do all in our power to free those men and women who represent the best traditions of freedom movements, and to rid the world of the scourge of racism.

The men and women persecuted by the South African regime for their opposition to apartheid and racism, truly represent the people of South Africa. The National Party regime which conceived the odious policy of apartheid and continues to maintain it by force against a recalcitrant majority in no way represents the people of South Africa and should not be accorded that privilege.



# CARLTONVILLE:

## A Sweet - Sounding Name Which Means Murder

Towards the end of last year racist South Africa's trigger-happy White police brutally shot and killed 11 African miners. Subsequently three of the nine wounded by the hail of bullets also died.

This latest outrage began simply enough. According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail, 29 African machine operators stopped work at Western Deep Levels mine in Carltonville, near Johannesburg and were being interviewed individually by the management. A spokesman said that the police had been asked not to intervene.

In the same paper the following day, it was reported that 36 African miners had terminated their contracts and returned to their homelands.

It was admitted by a spokesman for the management that dissatisfaction with pay was the basis of the Africans' grievances.

It is now learned however that the 36 miners did not, in fact, terminate their contracts; they were dismissed!

This led to other workers openly rebelling and showing their frustration at the victimization of their fellow-workers for the simple reason that they had demanded a living wage from a mining company which made a profit of £28.32 million in 1972 compared with £17.08 million in 1971, at Western Deep alone.

### World Reaction

World-wide reaction to the shootings was one of abhorrence. Government spokesmen in Tanzania, India, Zambia, Algiers and elsewhere roundly condemned the racist Pretoria regime.

In Geneva, the World Council of Churches deplored the shootings and said it is a sign of Governmental fear.

The World Peace Council in a press statement issued from its Helsinki headquarters called the shootings "a dastardly massacre".

A Memorial Meeting held in London by the African National Congress of South Africa with speakers from the British National Union of Mineworkers, Liberal Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the National Union of Students, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Labour Party were unanimous in their condemnation of the Vorster regime.

The High Commissioner for Lesotho in the United Kingdom, His Excellency P. M. 'Mabathoana speaking at The Memorial Meeting condemned the shooting and said that his government is taking up the matter strongly with the South African regime, in so far as those killed were citizens of Lesotho.

Oliver Tambo, acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, speaking at the London meeting said that this act by the South African government is genocide, and urged all progressive mankind to raise their voices against this crime against humanity.

He called for greater practical and meaningful support for the African National Congress and the oppressed peoples in South Africa, in their just struggle to rid the country "of this evil regime".

### Recent Wage Increases

Following the widespread strikes in Natal and other parts of South Africa in the first half of last year, mostly by low-paid African workers, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, Chairman of

the Anglo-American Corporation (AAC), which owns the Western Deep Levels mine, announced wage increases averaging 26% for the 120,000 African miners employed by AAC in its gold mines.

About 80% of these workers work underground, and would earn an average of £20 a month as a result of the increases which came into effect in April.

In June AAC granted average increases of £49.69 a month to white miners. The white miners' increase was more than double the black miners' total new wage.

### 50 per cent Profit Increases

These increases were estimated to add £5.9 million, or 26 per cent to the gold mines' black wage bill, as compared with AAC's 50 per cent increase in pre-tax profits from gold mining (to a total of £148 million) in 1972, or a 40 per cent increase after-tax profits to £87 million for the year ending September 1972.

From these figures it is clear that not only can the AAC easily afford to give workers an increase, indeed they could double African wages without eating up too much of their profits.

### Starvation Wages

Even with the new increases Africans are receiving starvation wages. AAC would have to double its African wages to bring them up to the poverty datum line (PDL or minimum level for bare survival of the wage-earner and his family).

At the beginning of 1973 the ratio of black wages to white wages was 1:16. The April increases to black miners narrowed the gap to about 1:13. The June increases to white miners widened the gap once more to about 1:16.

The mines estimate the "value" to the African miner of the food and accommodation provided at £15.53 a month, but they do not ordinarily reveal the cost to themselves. A contributor to the *Financial Gazette*, Johannesburg (19 April 1973) however, calculating from statistics assembled by Francis Wilson, a leading South African economist, in his authoritative study "Labour in The South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969" (Cambridge University Press, 1972), pointed out that the cost of foodstuffs provided free to black miners was £2.92 a month in 1969 (the latest available figures) and accommodation was worth £2.02 - a total of £4.94 a month. Even if 25% is added to this figure for rising costs in recent years; the cost to the mines of the African miner's wage in kind is only £6.17 which, together with the average wage of £20 a month, brings the typical black miners wage to about £26 a month, or barely over half of the PDL.

### Storm Signs

The real lesson for white South Africa and those in the Western countries who invest in apartheid is clear. For the first time since Sharpeville in 1960, black South Africa is openly rebelling. This is true even before the shooting as we have reported in several recent issues of *Sechaba*.

The black miners in Carltonville died in action. They were not armed with modern weapons as the oppressors, but this can and will change!

\* \* \* \* \*





Black miners: At the end of the tunnel – death!

As early as September 1972, Black Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr, member of the United States House of Representatives and Chairman of its Subcommittee on Africa, addressing a Joint Committee of the Congress of the United States on International Monetary Reform made the following statement (which has been abridged):

When experts come together to discuss gold, they tend to theorize to the point where we forget what we are talking about. There are some very urgent human issues involved in gold-mining. Specifically, South Africa currently has a virtual monopoly of the gold market. And the methods used to force South African Blacks to go down the mines and dig the metal out amount to a mere variation of the age-old evil of slavery . . .

Many observers have commented on how ludicrous it is that gold should be labouriously dug out of the bowels of the earth in South Africa, only to be buried again in the bowels of Fort Knox. If we were not so obsessed by the tribal mythology of gold, this ritual would be seen for what it is. But it is very far from a joke. For the people who mine gold, it is one of the cruellest and most unjust systems of exploitation known to man at the present time. And our support for the industry, which is crucial to the economy and therefore lies in the heart of the apartheid system, conflicts with the expressed opposition to that system of the United States Government.

#### Cheap Labour

So let us look at the nature of this system. It is often argued that without the enormous supplies of cheap labour – labour without any human rights – the South African gold-mining industry would never have developed as it did. There was a great strike of African miners in 1946, which was ruth-

# INHUMAN CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S GOLD MINES



# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

## SOUTH AFRICA



The London Memorial Meeting . . . Oliver Tambo welcomes diplomats from the Lesotho Embassy in the U.K. From the left: Councillor Mr. T. E. Ntlhakana, and His Excellency P. M. Mabathoana, Lesotho High Commissioner, Oliver Tambo and Sobizana Mngqikana who was Chairman of the meeting

lessly suppressed by police attacks which killed and injured thousands of miners. At that time, the Chamber of Mines announced that to grant the demand of R1 per day (then worth \$2) would put 35 out of the 45 currently producing mines out of action. Since then no attempt at labour organization has been tolerated. If we compare wages and conditions in South Africa with those in the mines in the United States and elsewhere, many of which are now uneconomic to operate, it is obvious that South Africa's monopoly position as a producer of gold is a factor of the cheap labour system . . .

The system in South Africa is controlled by the mining industry and the South African Government, working together to effect absolute control over the recruitment of African mine workers, in South Africa itself; the so-called Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique; Malawi; Namibia, where South Africa is in illegal occupation; and the three countries within the South African customs union - Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The mines recruit through the monopolistic Chamber of Mines, and have agreed among themselves to eliminate competition in wage rates, even at times of great labour shortages. Power is concentrated in a small elite group of companies with interlocking investments and directorates. (1)

### Role of the Government

The State plays a vital role with bilateral agreements with Mozambique and Malawi for the supply of a given volume of labour units, for which payment is made to the labour-exporting Government in the form of compulsorily "defer-

red" wages. Even more important is the system of influx control, whereby Africans in the labour reserves are prohibited from leaving without a contract and where a job in the gold mines is often the only alternative to starvation. It was in 1760 that slaves in South Africa were first required to carry passes in moving between rural and urban areas in South Africa, but it was the tightening of influx after the 1930s that improved the mine labour supply from South Africa itself at a critical time, and still continues to be crucial to recruitment.

If there were a free labour market in South Africa, the mining industry would have to double its wages to compete with the manufacturing industry. This competition is eliminated by the full machinery of a police state, forcing people to take the lowest paid jobs. It is clear, then, that the South African legislation which forces Africans to stay in the reserves until they are needed on the mines is largely responsible for the fact that the international monetary system has the gold supplies that it does.

### Neo-Colonialism

Equally vital is the supply of non-South African labour, which was the major solution evolved in the 1930s to the problem of attracting more labour without raising wages. The Portuguese colonial Government in Mozambique supplies up to 80,000 Africans a year in terms of the 1928 Mozambique Convention. Since 1910, this territory has supplied over a quarter of the Africans in the mines. Apart from the few employed in the towns, Mozambique Africans are faced with the alternative of the South African mines, or conscription



as forced labour, to work on coffee and other plantations, or into the colonial army. When there is a conscription drive in any area, the South African recruiting offices have ample supplies of labour. The system is obviously capable of great abuse; however, it is said that conditions here are nothing compared to the degrading scenes in Angola, another Portuguese colony. (2)

Between 1936 and 1969 the total number of Africans employed in the gold mines rose from 318,000 to 371,000, while the number of Black South Africans fell from 166,000 to 131,000, less than one-third of the total.

Of the nominally independent African nations, it is Lesotho, entirely surrounded by South Africa and with very few natural resources, which is most dependent on the employment of its nationals in the mines. Botswana had cut its contribution to 4% in 1961, and Swaziland to 1%.

Tanzania, then a United Nations trust territory administered by the United Kingdom, provided 16% in 1952, but after the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, it cancelled the agreement providing 10,000 men a year. Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in Africa, but is setting a widely respected example in self-reliance.

It should not be assumed, of course, that the recruitment of foreign workers means that they are worse off than Africans in South Africa. In fact the labour reserves, or "Bantustans" of South Africa and Namibia are among the poorest areas in Africa in terms of income per capita, and even wages in non-mining sectors in South Africa compare unfavourably with a country like Zambia. (3) There is of course a very high level of unemployment and underemployment throughout the Third World generally, and much larger movements of foreign workers can be observed into the industrial centres of East and West Africa than into South Africa.

The main reason why Black South Africans form a declining proportion of the total labour force on the gold mines is because this is deliberate Government policy. In the first place, foreign workers are easier to discipline, and so the possibility of labour organization, such as that which produced a general strike last December through February (1972-ed) in Namibia, is reduced; and secondly, this is essential to the so-called "outward policy", which consists of increasing the dependence of Southern Africa on metropolitan South Africa, a classic case of neo-colonialism. There is very great and rapidly increasing unemployment among Black South Africans, for which the Government feels it has to suppress the statistics but which may amount, according to one calculation to 25% of the working population. (4)

In the South African Transkei, which is a traditional source of mine labour, many applicants are being refused, while recruitment in Lesotho, Botswana and elsewhere is still aimed at attracting the maximum possible number. The removal of the cream of the labour force from such countries is very harmful to their rural development . . .

### Conditions of African Miners

I should like to indicate briefly the conditions under which the African miners work. By the simple legislative expedient of defining employees so as to exclude Africans, these people are deprived of all their labour rights. Since 1911 it has been a criminal offence to strike or otherwise break the contracts, which usually last about a year.

There have always been convicts used in the mines, but there is so little difference between the wage of regular labourers and convicts that for all practical purposes they could all be convicts. They have no paid leave at all and a rigid discipline that means they are allowed to lose far fewer days through illness or family problems than the

## AT CARLTONVILLE

**Eleven lie dead  
eye-lids covered in mine dust  
cut-down by lead bullets  
and blows of three centuries.**

**Eleven lie dead  
gold-vein gushing their life-blood  
cut-down by brute hatred  
and greed of three centuries.**

**Eleven lie dead  
for raising their voices  
fighting for our rights  
and a golden tomorrow.**

**Eleven lie dead  
who wanted to stand upright  
so that millions can forge forwards  
and build a new future  
of peace and of progress**

**Lasting century upon century.**

**Ronnie Kasrils**

whites. They also work longer hours, being underground for about ten hours a day, six days a week. One of the miners' demands which has been consistently refused has been the reduction of the working week to five or five and a half days, since the Chamber of Mines fears that giving the Blacks spare time would create unrest. Any time they do have is rigidly organized - hence the mine dances on Sundays, for tourists.

The men work two miles and more underground at very high rock temperatures, and the rock drilling creates almost intolerable levels of noise and dust. The result is a string of accidents, mostly from falling rocks, and a number of occupational diseases, including heatstroke, deafness (for which the mines do not even bother to keep records), and silicosis of the lungs, which makes them more vulnerable to tuberculosis. Some mines contain highly explosive methane gas, and there is constant danger of the stope face bursting under pressure, or of flooding, as in the West Driefontein mine in 1969. The development stage of mining is especially dangerous, as in the Orange Free State mines in 1952-1957.

### Thousands Die

Between 1936 and 1966, 19,000 men, 93% of them Black, died as a result of accidents in the gold mines, an average of three deaths per shift . . . There was also an enormous number of disablements from accidents. In 1968, a year when the fatality rate reached an all time low, 491 Blacks and 18 Whites were killed, and 25,000 Blacks and 2,000 Whites were disabled for at least two weeks by accidents, 98% of which were estimated to have been due to the inherent danger of the work. The overall accident rate for 1968 was 64 per 1,000 persons in service.





**Congressman Charles Diggs . . .**  
The system is rotten through and through.

In addition to this are the huge numbers of slow deaths and disablement resulting from lung damage and other occupational hazards, for which there seem to be no records but which, from direct observation in the Bantustans, appear to

be astronomical. In the Transkei, tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions, affecting almost one-quarter of those surveyed as opposed to almost none 25 years earlier. (5) This is also, of course, a result of chronic and increasing poverty in the reserves, which as early as 1914 were being described as little more than mining villages. If for no other reason than the enormous rate of deaths and disability, then, gold mining is a menace to the people forced to work there . . .

### Human Misery

It is quite impossible to convey here the degree of suffering imposed by the system. It is not simply a matter of physical deprivation; it is a question also of the mental suffering which results from the tearing apart of the fabric of African society, just as in the old slave trade.

I was able to gain some idea of the human problems inherent in apartheid, as it affects people in the township ghettos. But I was not allowed into the "Bantustans" which is where increasing numbers of people are being deported, by now over one million of them, mainly what the South African Government calls "surplus appendages" — the wives, children and other dependents of migrant workers. I should like to quote Dr. Anthony Barker, a doctor in the Zulu reserve for many years, on the effect of the system on African family life:

"Economic or even social analysis of migratory labour will fail to reveal the full picture of its cost in terms of human misery. To learn this you must listen to the lonely wife, the anxious mother, the insecure child . . . It is at family level that the most pain is felt, and we cannot forget that the African cultural heritage enshrines a broader, more noble concept of family than that of the West. The extended family has proved a marvellous security for those for whom, otherwise, there was no security at all.

". . . Deprived of their natural guides, children of migrants grow through insecure, uncertain childhood to an adult life whose sole preoccupation may be to escape the system. There must be a harvest of aggression, with the weeds of violence growing rank within it." (6)

### Subsidizing Neo-Slavery

In the light of these facts, it is clear that South Africa's

### FOOTNOTES

(1) Dr. Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold mines, 1911-1969*, (Cambridge University Press, UK, 1972), p. 28

(2) Wilson, op. cit., pp 128-129

(3) See Barbara Rogers, *The Standard of Living of Africans in South Africa*, United Nations, Unit on Apartheid Notes and Documents No. 45/71.

(4) Trade Union Council of South Africa, quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 12 April 1972

(5) Study by Dr. Guy Danes, St. Lucy's Hospital, Transkei

(6) Dr. Anthony Barker, "Community of the Careless" *South African Outlook*, April 1970

**South African Finance Minister . . .**  
glad, but alone.





goldmining industry operates on a basis of a labour force which is totally without rights, even the right to choose between employers; and the international monetary authorities, by providing a guaranteed market at a guaranteed minimum price for South African gold, is in a sense subsidizing the industry and its neo-slave system. This has the effect of aid to the South African Government, which has also subsidized marginal economic mines very heavily in times of difficulty because the industry is so crucial to the entire white-owned economy, and therefore to the entire structure of South African society.

The economics of South Africa's gold, where the grade of ore is distributed uniformly over a wide range, operate in such a way that any changes in the cost structure or the price of gold affects the amount of payable ore reserves. Increasing costs reduce the payable reserves, and an increase in price increases the reserves. Although the expected life of the mines is increased, however, current output is reduced, as is happening now with the deliberate reduction in the grade of ore processed, at Government instructions. With reduced output, of course, South Africa can reduce the supply to the speculative market without violating the letter of the 1969 Agreement with IMF.

In the case of the heavily subsidized marginal mines, the high premium on free-market sales has been of enormous benefit recently. In fact, a guaranteed rising price is crucial, since costs are accelerating in South Africa, and once a mine is closed down it is virtually impossible to reopen. From this it is obvious that South Africa's 1969 Agreement with the IMF has been crucial to keeping some of the mines open. The prospect of an increasing gold price has also been essential in order to attract foreign capital for new investment in the industry, and to present a general impression of infinite prosperity for anyone interested in South Africa as an investment.

International support for the gold-mining industry, in the first place, with an unlimited demand at the official price from the United States Reserve Bank, and now with a guarantee against falling prices and balance of payments problems for the IMF — has not been beneficial to the workers in the industry. The protection of an unlimited demand at constant prices encouraged the complete abolition of competition between the mining companies, which could therefore concentrate on matters of common interest, notably collusion to keep Black wages down.

The time of large increases in the gold price has never prompted increases in Black wages . . .

### Exploitation Backed by Gold

Since over a century ago, the whole white supremacy system in South Africa has been backed up by gold. The expropriation of the best land and crowding of all Africans into tiny reserves, under 11 % of the total area, was to provide cheap labour for the mines. This industry served as a model for all subsequent sectors of the white economy. Above all, gold has attracted foreign capital, and paid for the enormous wastefulness of apartheid, its armed forces, secret police, constant political surveillance, the mass deportation of Africans, the detailed administration of segregation in all its ludicrous aspects, and the propaganda machine that represents South Africa abroad as a bastion of anti-communism and therefore indispensable to the West . . .

Any argument that the gold-mining industry of South Africa benefits the Africans who work there must be rejected, just as the arguments for continuing the old slave system had to be rejected. The system is rotten through and through, and can only survive on a basis of human suffering . . .

## West German Firms Guilty

### Most Pay Starvation Wages to their Black Workers in South Africa

Following the exposure in the British press, last year, of British companies operating in apartheid South Africa, paying their Black workers appallingly low wages, the question of the West German firms with subsidiaries in South Africa was raised by a member of the Bundestag.

No proper report of their activities in South Africa could be obtained in the country as figures on investments and wages in South Africa are treated as "top secret" by most of the firms.

Late last year a group of sociologists visited the Republic and their report shows that twenty four subsidiaries of West German monopolies in South Africa draw extra profit by paying their Black employees starvation wages.

The report mentions subsidiaries of such companies as, AEG, the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik (BASF), Daimler-Benz, Demag, Farbwerke Hoechst, Krupp, Bayer Leverkusen, Siemens and the Volkswagen Trust, as being guilty of such practices.

The report shows that these and other West German firms pay African workers an average wage of R45 a month. The official subsistence minimum is between R78 and R110. In a breakdown of wages paid by some of the companies, the report states that the AEG subsidiary in Johannesburg pays 68 per cent of its African workers wages which are below the subsistence minimum. Below subsistence level wages are also paid to 61 per cent of the Henschel workers; to 52 per cent of those employed by Klockner-Humboldt-Deutz AG; to 65 per cent by Farbwerke Hoechst and, to 63 per cent by Krupp. Some firms pay starvation rates to 75 per cent of their employees.

The sociologists who spent four months in South Africa said that subsidiaries of West German trusts, without exception, refused to give them official figures. The experts therefore had to rely on information they got from the workers themselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

### West German Churches And Apartheid

By giving almost three times more money to the racists than to the anti-racists, the Evangelical Churches of West Germany are practically subverting the efforts of the World Council of Churches, according to a recent report received by Sechaba.

From a special fund, the Evangelical Churches of the Federal Republic have contributed \$101,000 to the Geneva-based anti-racism programme of the World Council of Churches while contributing as much as one million marks (roughly three times the amount given to the WCC) to the German-speaking Lutherans in South Africa.

According to a group of West German clergymen expelled recently from South Africa for their stand against apartheid, next to the Afrikaners, the German-speaking Lutherans "are often the very people who are determining affairs in the state and thus the system of apartheid."



# THE FRANKFURT DOCUMENTS

Secret Bank Loans to the South African Government

The Corporate Information Centre, based in New York, recently obtained confidential internal documents known as the "Frankfurt Documents" originating from sources within a U.S.-based multinational banking firm, the European-American Banking Corporation. These materials reveal that a group of forty banks from the United States, Europe, and Canada have been jointly involved in direct loans totalling over \$210 million to the South African government and its agencies since late 1970.

Participants for two of the six loans, representing \$70 million of the total, include 11 American banks. It is likely that other American banks are involved in the additional loans. Representatives of the European-American Banking Corporation confirmed the veracity of the documents in a meeting in New York with Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa, Rev. Donald Morton, South African consultant to the Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, and Professor Sean Gervasi, economic research officer at Oxford University.

The fact that these transactions were carried out in complete secrecy has extreme political significance. The banks involved obviously were seeking to avoid public protest at subsidies to the racially oppressive South African government.

From 1966 to 1969, American churches, community organisations, the United Nations, and other groups conducted a successful "Bank Campaign" against 10 American banks that were providing a \$40 million revolving credit arrangement to the South African government. While the banks then denied that public pressure caused them to cancel the credit, these latest revelations of secret loans suggest the opposite.

With the documents' revelations, church agencies and other organisations concerned about South African issues have begun organising protest at the loans. The following discussion provides an initial basis for action on the developing new bank campaign.



## THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN BANKING CORPORATION

According to the secret documents, the European-American Banking Corporation (EABC) of New York was the chief organiser of substantial credits, making six major transactions with the South African government. These loans are far larger than any previously given to the South African government.

EABC is jointly owned by six of the largest banks in Europe – the Deutsche Bank, West Germany; the Societe Generale, France; Midland Bank, U. K.; Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, N. V. of the Netherlands; the Societe Generale de Banque S.A. of Belgium; and the Creditanstalt-Bankverein of Austria. EABC represents the link between these European financial interests and the U.S. money market. It also is one of the most powerful banking groups in the world.

With combined deposits and loans of nearly \$1.1 billion, it is one of the top 70 banking organisations in the U.S. EABC is also probably the most important source of finance for the importers of diamonds in New York. The bank thus has a unique connection with South Africa, where the bulk of the world's diamonds are marketed through South Africa's De Beers Corp.

By selling participation in the various credit arrangements to American and multinational banks, EABC tapped the U.S. money market, largely through the offshore subsidiaries of these banks. It then re-lent the money to the South African government. Three of the six credit transactions each \$50 million and made from the bank's Nassau branch, were arranged with the Ministry of Finance in Pretoria. The three other loans were made with METKOR, ISCOR, and ESCOM, all South African government agencies. Sources within EABC have indicated that a further credit of approximately \$50 million has been negotiated with the Finance Ministry within the last few months. It appears that \$150 million has yet to be repaid to the bank.

The Ministry of Finance loan was organized on favorable terms in September 1970 with the stipulation that it be re-



paid in two years. This transaction occurred shortly after the end of the Bank Campaign. At that time the South African government publicly denied the necessity for its receiving favourable credit. Money drawn on the credit was held in the South African Reserve Bank, which suggests it was used for general balance-of-payment purposes.

In June 1971 the bank approved another \$50-million credit, this time stipulating repayment during the next three years. EABC's management fee increased 50 per cent for this loan, from \$100,000 to \$150,000. For each of these two loans EABC contributed \$5 million from its Nassau branch. The names of the subparticipant banks in either loan are not yet known.

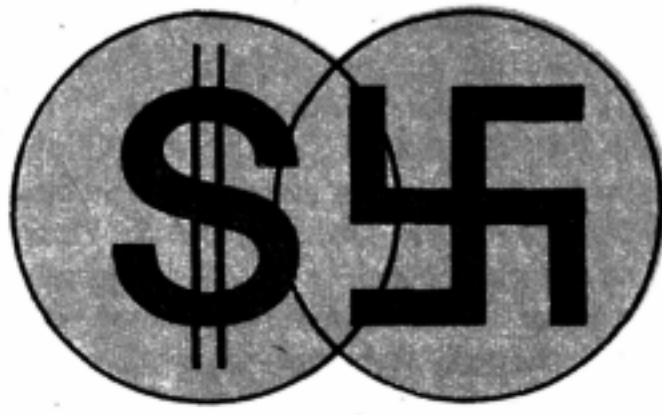
**Most Recent Loan**

The most recent known credit to the South African Finance Ministry was approved in June 1972. Again, it was organised through a consortium of banks by the European-American Banking Corporation. This loan is due to be repaid by July 1975. EABC has contributed \$3.5 million, the other banks \$46.5 million. Again, the funds are probably being used for general balance-of-payment purposes.

The names of these bank participants in the most recent agreements were this time revealed in the secret documents. Included are four American banks that sought to have their participation remain "undisclosed" - Wells Fargo, Central National Bank of Chicago, Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis, and City National Bank of Detroit. An EABC official confirmed that at least one of these banks admitted it wished to remain anonymous because of the political sensitivity of its loan.

**The banks and their dollar participation are:**

U. S.	\$ (Mil)
Wells Fargo Bank (N. A.) Luxembourg branch	2.0
Central National Bank in Chicago	1.0
Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis, Nassau branch	1.0
City National Bank of Detroit, London branch	.5
Republic National Bank of Dallas, London branch	3.0



First Israel Bank and Trust Co. of New York, Nassau branch	2.0
First National Bank of Louisville	2.0
Maryland National Bank Nassau branch	2.0
United Virginia Bank, Nassau branch	2.0

**European \$ (Mil)**

Banque Europeenne de Credit a Moyen Terme S.A., Brussels	3.0
Midland and International Banks Ltd., London	3.0
Midland Bank Ltd., London	3.0
Societe Generale de Banque S.A. Brussels	3.0
Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N. V. Amsterdam	2.0
Compagnie Financiere de la Deutsche Bank A.G., Luxembourg	2.0
Creditanstalt-Bankverein, Vienna	2.0
Societe Generale, Paris	2.0

**Canadian**

Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, New York Agency	3.0
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The Toronto Dominion Bank, Toronto	3.0
Bank of Montreal, Montreal	2.0

**Japanese**

Japan International Bank Ltd., London	2.0
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**ISCOR**

In October 1970 EABC organised bank participation in a \$20-million credit for the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), which is wholly owned by the government. ISCOR was created by act of the white parliament. This strategic industry is white-dominated and firmly controlled by the government. It presently supplies 75 per cent of South Africa's steel requirements. As Barclays Bank's economic survey states, "ISCOR plays a vital and increasingly important role in the nation's economy".

Foreign companies have also supplied ISCOR with equipment necessary for operations. For example, General Electric recently provided \$25.7 million of automation control equipment and motors as well as \$3 million of computers.

The ISCOR loan is to be repaid by the end of 1976. Though its use is unspecified, this loan is probably for the importation of machinery and other equipment for industrial expansion.





EABC contributed \$3 million from its Nassau branch. The other participating American bank, which sought to participate anonymously, is the Wachovia Bank and Trust Co., Winston-Salem, contributing \$2 million.

The other banks participating are:

	\$ (Mil)
Standard Bank Ltd., London	4.0
Bank of Montreal, Montreal	3.0
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce	3.0
Toronto Dominion Bank, Toronto	3.0
Compagnie Financiere de la	
Deutsche Bank A.G., Luxembourg	1.0
World Banking Corporation	1.0

## METKOR

In October 1970 EABC organised a two-year \$8.5 million credit for Metkor Investments Limited, a 79.8 per cent owned subsidiary of ISCOR. In late 1971, Metkor requested and received an increase to \$10 million and an extension of repayment to 1975. The loan's original purpose was the expansion of Wire Industries Steel Products and Engineering Co., in which Metkor holds an interest. Funds have also apparently been used for general financing. Participating in the loan's extension are four banks, including EABC, which contributed \$2.5 million from its Nassau branch.

The other three are:

	\$ (Mil)
Bank of Montreal, Montreal	2.5
Midland Bank Ltd., London	2.5
Midland and International Banks Ltd., London	2.5

## ESCOM

In late 1970 EABC contributed \$5 million toward a consortium loan of \$28 million for the Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa (ESCOM). This is a public agency of the government whose members are appointed by the government to supply the country's electrical needs. ESCOM, as the government agency in charge of power for South Africa, is one of the major industrial sectors of the South African economy, essential for keeping that economy strong and healthy.

In June 1972 this loan was increased

to \$30 million and extended to mid-1977. The purpose is to help finance additions to the generating, transmitting, and distribution systems of ESCOM. Currently one of ESCOM's prime projects is the supplying of electricity from the Cabora Bassa dam under construction in the Portuguese colony of Mocambique. There an intense struggle is taking place by the Portuguese army to defeat the Mocambique liberation movement, FRELIMO.

Other bank participants in the loan are:

	\$ (Mil)
Midland Bank Ltd., London	5.0
Samuel Montagu and Co. Ltd., London	5.0
Midland and International Banks Ltd., London	5.0
The Standard Bank, London	5.0
Societe Generale de Banque S.A., Brussels	2.0
Societe Generale, Paris	2.0
Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N. V., Amsterdam	1.0



## Political Implications

The EABC and other banks' sponsorship of substantial credit arrangements represents a concerted effort to assist the government of South Africa to overcome serious economic and financial problems. The secrecy surrounding these transactions confirms what the banks involved would no doubt wish to deny, that these loans have the important political effect of providing concrete assistance to the white-supremacist government. One of the prime objectives of that government in order to preserve its racial policies in the face of international condemnation is the achievement of economic self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency would free South Africa from crippling international economic pressures to isolate the white government and to challenge its ability to maintain the apartheid system.

Economic self-sufficiency requires rapid industrial and technological development. Since much of this technology has to be imported, South Africa has incurred huge trade deficits in recent years to finance greater economic security.

## Strategic Implications

Balance-of-payment loans to the South African Ministry of Finance, used to help offset trade deficits, are financing a privileged position for South Africa in international trade. This increases the country's political and economic strength. The other loans directly assist the government's "development" policies in strategic and critical sectors of the economy. These policies are designed to achieve "stability" and preserve the racial status quo.

Contributions to South Africa's economic strength are indirect contributions to its military and police systems, designed to perpetuate the domestic racial helotry. These policies are also aimed at retaining direct control over neighbouring Namibia (South West Africa) and aiding the Rhodesian regime, led by Ian Smith, in its defiance of majority rule and the United Nations. They maintain a network of poverty-stricken black client states - Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana - in the region, and prop up Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mocambique. South Africa has continually indicated its intention to help its white-minority neighbours keep power.

## No Confidence

A number of foreign banks withheld credits from Chile when the Allende government came to power in 1970. Such credit denial is a political act expressing "no confidence" in that Chilean government and seeking to weaken the Chilean economy.

The converse argument applies to South Africa. Loans to South Africa's government provide psychological and political support for its policies. The most meaningful international vote of confidence for apartheid is a vote with cash. These loans are a strong approving voice for apartheid's future.



# The Algiers Summit



A bird's eye view of the Assembly Hall

## Report on the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which met in September last year.

(The delay in publishing this report is due to the fact that we incorporated our December issue with that of October and November last year)

The fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held in Algiers in September last year, was an unqualified success, despite the diversity of political ideology of those who participated and the different stages of economic development in those countries that were represented at the Conference.

Leaders of eighty-six countries took part in the Conference, including over fifty heads of States.

Among the galaxy of world statesmen

at the Conference were: Presidents Kenneth Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, General Mohamed Said Barre of Somalia, General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria, Anwar Sadat, Josip Broz Tito, Mousa Traore of Mali and Mokhtar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, and Prime Minister of Cuba Fidel Castro.

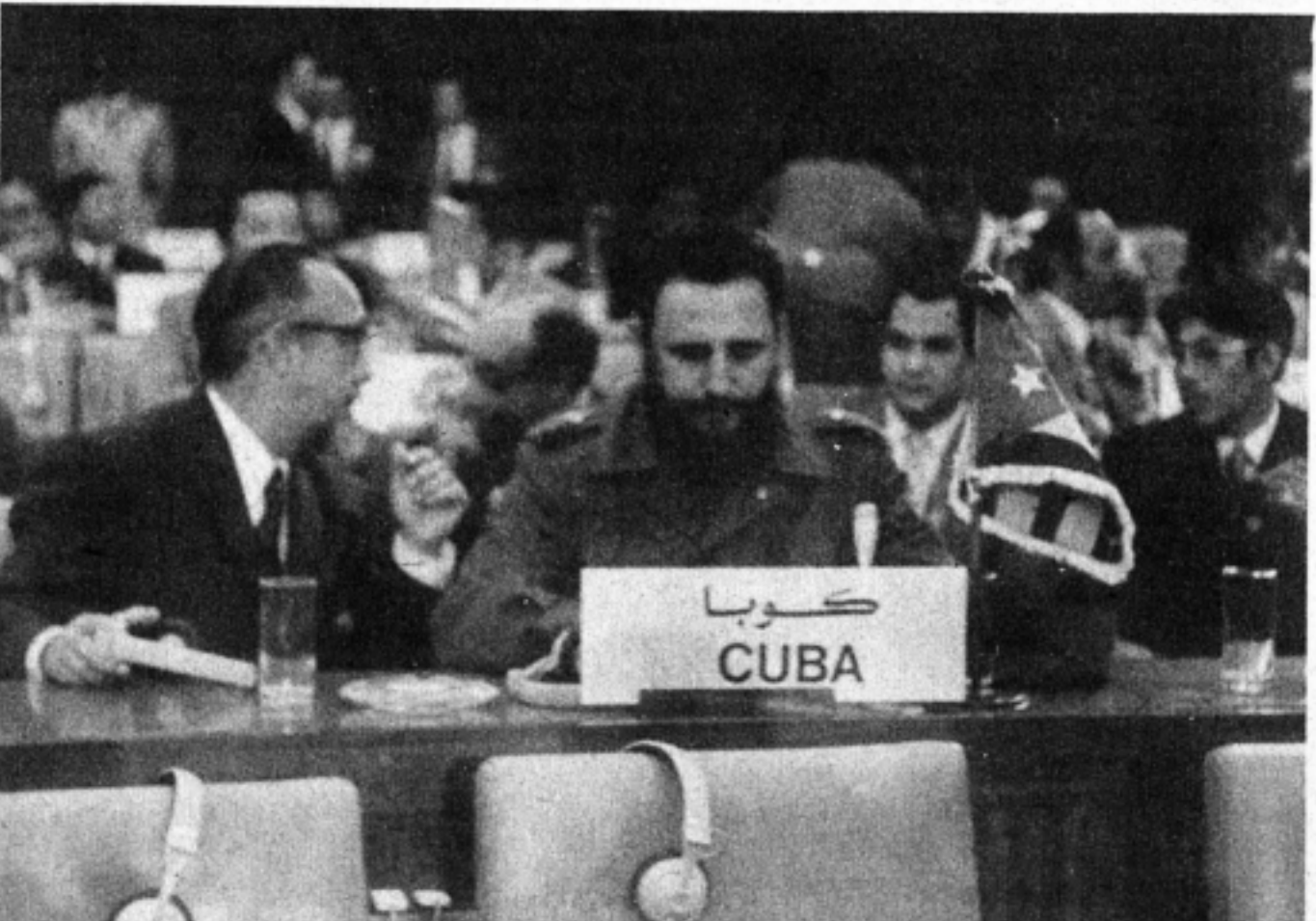
Also present were Emperor Haile Selassie, King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva of Nepal and Salah al Salem Al Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait.

Nearer home, the land-locked independent states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were represented by Sir Setrese Khama, Chief Leabua Jonathan and Vice-Prime Minister A. Z. Kumalo respectively.

Fourteen Liberation Movements were also represented, including Oliver Tambo Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, the newly-elected Secretary-General of PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau, Aristides Pereira, El Fatah leader, Yasser Arafat and Mario Bras Juan, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Distinguished guests at the Conference included U.N. Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim and Mr. Nzo Ekwangaki, Secretary-General of the O.A.U.





Over 1000 pressmen, and radio & television reporters from all over the world covered the Conference.

Held at the Palace of Nations the tone of the Summit was set by both the outgoing President of the Non-Aligned Nations, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and the incoming President, President Houari Boumediene of Algeria who in his inaugural speech said: ". . . Contrary to the gloomy predictions advanced by some concerning the viability of non-alignment, the basis of the movement is still widening and becoming more diverse, its scope extending and its principles acquiring ever sharper definition and richness of content. All these facts demonstrate that the movement, contrary to what has been said, is not merely the product of an emergency international situation and of temporary circumstances, such as would lose its meaning and disappear with the ending of that situation and those circumstances, but the expression of a profound reality corresponding to the fundamental and legitimate interests of those countries resolutely and jointly striving towards self-assertion and control of their own destinies."

### Guiding The Destiny of Man

"The increasing number of members joining the ranks of the movement, the international repercussions of the holding of this Conference, and the growth of world interest in it – as manifested in the closeness with which its actions are being followed and its results observed – all these facts cannot but confirm the force of the concept embodied by the movement, a concept which translates the aspirations of the popular masses into tangible and practical reality."

Continuing, the President said, "these are some elements which prove the vitality of the policy of non-alignment, the peoples and nations supporting which are intent on applying it as a means of liberating themselves from neglect and oblivion on the international scene; of having their say among the nations; of discarding the label of insignificance pinned upon them by colonialist and imperialist rulers for long centuries . . ."

**"In spite of the variety of political regimes in our countries, of the huge**

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From top to bottom, the delegations of Botswana, Ethiopia and Cuba, which were led at the conference by President Seretse Khama, Emperor Haile Selassie and Prime Minister Fidel Castro respectively



distances separating them, of the cultural peculiarities of each, of the conflict of national and regional interests sometimes existing between them, these countries have found in this common denominator both a form of expression and a means of action enabling them to be for ever full parties in determining the course of world events and guiding the destiny of man".

"Thus", said President Boumediene, "the non-aligned movement is no mere international assembly or gathering but has become a point of convergence for all the Third World Countries as well as the other countries seeking to safeguard their freedom, defend their independence and sovereignty, secure their progress and rebirth and affirm their personality . . ."

## Detente

Referring to the new relations of cooperation now developing between the Great Powers, President Boumediene said that international relations have been eased, the effect of which has been strengthened by very important diplomatic events, such as China's recovery of its rights within the United Nations, the various summit meetings that have taken place between East and West, and the inauguration of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"This development" he added, "is clearly a positive one inasmuch as it contributes towards the establishment of peace. However, should it stop halfway without going beyond the confines of the industrialized world, it would, as far as we are concerned, be a mere mirage of a development and a source of tension between the more favoured sector of the world and the rest of mankind . . ."

Stating that while peaceful co-existence and co-operation may be extolled in this or that country, the President said, "we still see colonial wars, the establishment of military positions, the consolidation of strategic bases, divisive manoeuvres, the exploitation of armed conflicts by third parties seeking advantages by underhanded interference at the expense of peoples, not to mention many other and varied methods ranging from scheming political interference and economic pressure to direct military subjugation.

"Hence peace continues to hinge upon the over-all conflict between the powers of domination and enslavement, on the one hand, and those of liberation and progress, on the other.

This confrontation is the source of the violent conflicts with which Africa, Asia and Latin America are beset.

"No firm peace", asserted President Boumediene "can be established, nor genuine development occur, so long as the concept of trusteeship over the world prevails, for peace can be achieved only by our unstinting sacrifices, our constant struggle, our acute awareness of the need for close solidarity among ourselves, and above all by absolute faith in ourselves and in our possibilities and in the use of our actual and potential capacities . . ."

## Southern Africa

Dealing with the situation in Southern Africa and in the Portuguese Colonies, President Boumediene said of the continuation of colonialist and racist domination, especially in Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, "we believe that taking official stands cannot by itself be an adequate means of dealing with these issues; rather, we must all strive to find the appropriate political and material means of accelerating the liberation of these countries and completing the recovery by all African peoples of their sovereignty and dignity among nations.

**"The struggle being waged in Africa", he said, "is of vital concern to all of us. We cannot afford to accept the flouting of the dignity of the peoples still under the yoke of colonialism and oppression.**

"Thus, as long as many peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, South Africa, Zimbabwe and several other African nations are still resisting colonialism and still suffering from various forms of oppression and racial segregation, Africa will continue to consider itself threatened by world-wide imperialistic actions in support of the vestiges of colonialism and to believe that the independence of African countries is threatened and likely to disappear.

**"This situation", he added, "will change only through the escalation of the armed liberation struggle of the African peoples and the continued solidarity shown by all African countries and powers supporting liberation movements throughout the world and backing these peoples in their just struggle . . ."**

## Palestine

Explaining the diverse aspects of imperialist and colonialist policies predomi-

# The Algiers Summit



nant in the Middle East region where Israel acts as the instrument of aggression against, and domination over, the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, President Boumediene said: **"The exercise of racist policies, the expulsion of an entire people from their land, the repeated acts of aggression against Sovereign States and the occupation of territory by force are all of them facts which reveal the true nature of Israel and show it to be an imperialistic and militaristic entity as well as a colonial settler and an intruder, a forward echelon of imperialist penetration and a colonial bridgehead.**

"The Palestine resistance," he added, "is one of the popular liberation movements which confront imperialism in a vital part of the Third World. This consideration makes it imperatively incumbent upon us to back the Palestinian people and support their struggle.

**"Furthermore, the principle of solidarity with liberation movements which forms the basis of non-alignment is indivisible and should not remain without implementation."**

President Boumediene said that the decision taken by a number of fraternal African countries to sever relations with Israel confirms the emergence of an awareness of growing sharpness and clarity and is tantamount to a materialization of the solidarity which the concepts of our non-alignment require us to adhere to.

**"In this context", he said, "it should be noted that whatever the future bears, Israel will never manage to overcome in the long run the resistance and will of the people, nor be able to endure in the face of their large numbers and the vastness of the lands they inhabit.**

## Indo-China

Dealing with the currently prevailing conflict in Indo-China, President Boumediene said, that the steadfastness of the Vietnamese people is a lesson to be followed and at the same time constitutes a warning to the imperialist powers.



approaching victory of the Cambodian fighters, all announce the inevitable collapse of the policy of force in the whole of Indo-China . . ."

### Eliminate Colonialism

Asserting that the elimination of colonial domination through the recovery of national independence has become an historical fact, President Boumediene said that it is nonetheless obvious that this independence would remain a mere myth unless it is coupled with full economic liberation and given a social content.

Continuing he said: "It is true that colonialism has withdrawn from several fronts and parts of the world but it has maintained its influence under different guises and continues to seek domination over the natural wealth and resources of developing countries.

"In consequence, Third World nations labour under various kinds of constraint and oppression exercised by foreign countries and transnational companies in a bid to keep them in economic subservience and subjugation, frustrating all their attempts to promote development and progress.

"Thus the plundering of national resources in African, Asian and Latin American countries," he said, "is no longer merely responsible for ever-greater backwardness in all fields, but remains also a permanent cause of deterioration in the economic and so-



Prince Souvanna of Cambodia

"The Vietnamese people's resistance", he said, "proclaims that hostile forces shall not overcome a people's strong determination, despite all the forms of destruction and extermination they are faced with.

"This further emphasizes the great contribution the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia have made by their achievements. They have given added strength and concreteness to the political currents which find their

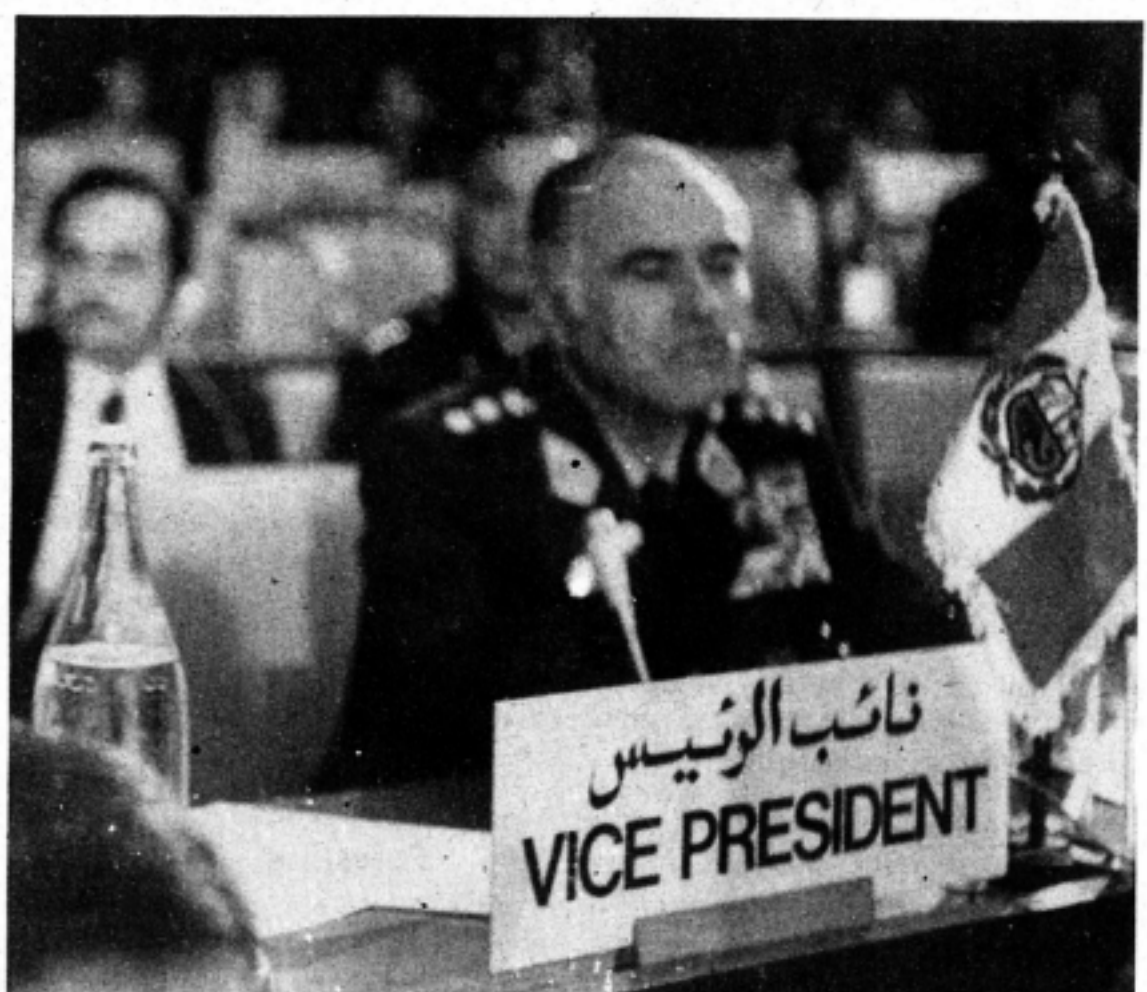
expression in the idea of non-alignment", declared President Boumediene.

Stating that all danger has not yet been eliminated, and this necessitates continued vigilance, the President said "the successes scored by the struggling Vietnamese people in their victorious advance and the victories achieved by the Provisional Revolutionary Government, which are consolidated by the genuine neutrality of Laos and the

Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike on her arrival at the Algiers airport



The delegation of Iraq







# The Algiers Summit



Presidents Assad of Syria and Gowon of Nigeria on their arrival in Algiers

cial situation of these countries which see the gap separating them from the industrialized nations widening in a critical way with each passing year.

"It is hardly necessary to recall that yesterday's plundering and looting which characterized the colonial conquest and still continue though more fiercely and in a more subtle way contributed largely to the economic progress of the West and its tremendous enrichment at the expense of our peoples," he said.

"This fact is clearly illustrated by the intensification of the methods of exploitation typical of neo-colonialism, whose appetite knows no bounds and whose greed is taking increasingly vicious forms in its efforts to drain the riches of the developing countries and control them in the vilest forms", the President added.

"The solution to these problems and many others," he said, "lies in our own hands, for only Third World peoples and their leaders are in a position to effect radical changes in the current situation by relying first and foremost on their own energies and on the mobilization and utilization of all their human and material potential in the interest of their countries.

"Moreover", he added, "by their determination people can reverse the present situation, normalize the course of events and fight against the many and various external threats, provided

this determination is properly channelled, oriented and free to express itself".

## Tasks Ahead

Summing up the tasks incumbent on the non-aligned countries, President Boumedienne said these are:

- to ensure economic independence,
- to bring about development in order to complete and strengthen this independence,
- to support liberation movements of peoples, to combat zionism, racial segregation, foreign interference whether political or military, economic pressures, and all manifestations of exploitation, neo-colonialism and imperialism; to avoid joining any alliance or bloc, to liquidate foreign military bases, to work towards international co-operation on a completely equal footing between peoples, and to achieve democracy in international relations.

## Resolutions On Apartheid

Every speaker who followed President Boumedienne to the rostrum roundly condemned the policies of the racist regime in Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau.

Their total commitment to the struggle

of the Black oppressed masses in South Africa was embodied in three documents adopted by the Summit Conference and the Conference of Foreign Ministers which preceded it.

A resolution submitted by the African National Congress on Apartheid which was unanimously adopted states that the fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries,

**"Seriously disturbed** by the intensification of repressive measures by the racist minority regime in South Africa against the South African people,

**Deeply concerned** at the large-scale deployment of military power by South Africa throughout the territory, constituting a threat to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world,

**Alarmed** at the increasing intervention by the South African authorities for the purpose of supporting the other racist colonialist regimes in Southern Africa,

**Noting with abhorrence** the adoption and implementation of the fraudulent Bantustan policy by the racist regime as an alternative to full and unfettered political and economic rights for the people,

**Deploring** the economic, financial and military assistance that certain NATO powers continue to allocate to the racist regime in South Africa,

**Noting with satisfaction** the increase in popular resistance in the face of savage repression,

**Viewing with deep concern** the continued incarceration, for over ten years, of leaders of the liberation movement such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others,

**Disturbed** by the continued investment in apartheid by many Western countries, especially the United States, Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany in defiance of resolutions to the contrary by the United Nations,

**Welcoming** the programme of action relating to South Africa, adopted by the **International Conference in Support of the Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid, held in Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973,**

1. **Reaffirms** its full support for the South African people in their legiti-



mate national liberation struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and for the seizure of power,

2. **Commends** the determination of the South African people in their just struggle to achieve their national liberation,

3. **Pledges itself** to increase its financial, material and political assistance to the South African liberation movement,

4. **Condemns** the Bantustan policy aimed at balkanising the territory and dividing the people along ethnic lines as being abhorrent to the concept of true Africanism,

5. **Further condemns** the continued economic, financial and military assistance given to South Africa by certain NATO powers, in particular the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, thereby enabling the Government in Pretoria to maintain

and reinforce its policy of repression and apartheid,

6. **Invites** all States and especially the major Western Powers and Japan to suspend all scientific collaboration with South Africa, in particular with regard to arms and atomic power, and to refrain from granting patents and licences to that country.

7. **Calls** on all Non-Aligned Countries to take steps, including diplomatic and, where possible, economic, both through the United Nations and unilaterally, to get countries which encourage investments in South Africa to withdraw their investments,

8. **Urges** all non-aligned governments to take every opportunity to demand for the release of all South African political prisoners.

9. **Calls** for recognition and assistance to be given to those independent countries, land-locked within the boundaries of South Africa, namely Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho.



Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus

### Declaration On Anti-Colonial Struggle

A second document headed "Document On Anti-Colonial Struggle", which was also adopted by the Conference states: "Colonialism assumes different manifestations all rooted in economic exploitation and political subjugation. Apartheid in South Africa is not just a system of racist discrimination; it is a colonialist system based on the fascist oppression of the population by a minority of alien settlers who deprive the people of basic human rights and challenges the moral values of mankind.

"Settler colonialism is increasingly becoming the contemporary brand of colonialism. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and the territories under Portuguese domination, the oppressor is bent on rooting foreign settlers in the land, changing its ethnic composition and stunting its cultural heritage, using racism and white supremacy as the motivating force.

The inherent manace in this trend is particularly glaring in the case of Palestine where Zionist settler-colonialism has taken the form of a systematic uprooting of the Palestinians from their homeland and thereby seriously threatening their very survival as a people.

"Having exhausted all peaceful avenues to obtain justice, and after un-



U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim addressing the Conference





Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho



M. Ekangaki, Secretary - General - OAU

# The Algiers Summit



respective countries so that the people in the non-aligned countries and those in the colonial territories "identify deeply with the liberation struggle against the common enemy."

2. Give aid to the liberation movements. Among other suggestions the call urged members of the non-aligned conference to "provide information, namely, by the opening of offices of the liberation movements, granting visas and, whenever possible passports and permits to facilitate movement. "Such help," the statement adds, "should be given in the spirit of Solidarity and considered a fraternal duty. All efforts should be made to preserve the autonomy, integrity and unity of the liberation movements."

3. Make the isolation of the colonial fascist and racist regimes "an important objective of our common struggle in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

"The success of such a struggle demands the imposition of sanctions against these regimes which are universally accepted as perpetrators of crimes against humanity".

## Isolate the Enemy

Continuing the declaration adds, "It is urgent for the non-aligned countries in particular and the world at large to completely sever all relations - political, military, economic, diplomatic, commercial, cultural and interstate communications - between Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel, on the one hand, and the rest of humanity on the other, at the same time enforcing the decisions already taken concerning the embargo on the minority regime in Zimbabwe and Namibia".

"Side by side with these actions, measures have to be taken against western countries such as the United States, The United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany which are the main supporters of colonial powers in the perpetuation of the super exploitation of the peoples of these territories.

"These western powers must choose

successful appeals to the colonial powers," the statement continues, "in Southern Africa, faced with the failure of repeated pleas and demands of the international community, the liberation movements have been compelled to take up arms for their national liberation. But," the statement adds, "armed struggle must be supplemented by political and diplomatic action."

"Since the Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1970, the liberation movements have achieved significant successes. Vast areas in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique have been liberated. The successes of these liberation movements in the field of national reconstruction in the liberated areas is now common knowledge. All this provides an eloquent testimony of the inevitability of their final victory".

"In other parts of Africa, namely in Namibia and Zimbabwe as well as in South Africa, political and military struggles are being intensified", adds the statement.

## Military Aid

Commenting on the military and economic assistance which the colonial and aggressive regimes of Smith, Vorster and Caetano receive from some Western Powers, the statement states that: "It is now a generally accepted fact that the reinforcement of those

regimes' military and economic might through weapons, supplies and investments, serves to strengthen their internal repressive capacity as well as to increase their aggressive potential.

"The patent reinforcement of the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis, as well as that of Israel," continues the statement, "calls for special attention and coherent action. All these aspects have been masked to world opinion by the control exercised over the mass media by the very countries compromised in the perpetuation of colonial rule. At the same time, whilst moral support has not been lacking, concrete material assistance to the liberation movements has hitherto fallen too short of the needs dictated by the situation facing them."

Stating that no independent country will remain free for long if imperialist bases and institutions remain even in one colony, the statement challengingly asserts, "the assistance that non-aligned countries offer, therefore, to their brethren in the liberation movements is not a form of charity, but a duty based on a common struggle against a common enemy."

## Call for Action

The Statement concluded with a call to all members of the Non-Aligned Conference to:

1. Mobilise public opinion within their





Madam Bien  
with  
PRG delegates

liberation movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and decided to call a special conference of non-aligned countries on colonialism and apartheid in 1974.

In his closing speech President Boumediene of Algeria said: "We are now convinced that no important decision can be taken whether it is in the field of disarmament or international trade or of reforming the international monetary system without active participation of the Third World".

President Boumediene presided over the conference and remains its president until the next conference to be held in Sri Lanka in 1976.

### Aid Fund

Apart from the general political statement the conference approved an economic declaration providing for a fund to assist economic development of less-fortunate non-aligned nations.

The money will be furnished by better-off countries notably Arab oil states. Another solidarity fund will be used to help liberation movements.

Leaders of the liberation movements were more active outside of Conference than at the Conference itself. They met several heads of states and discussed their respective struggles at length.

Fidel Castro and Dr. Julius Nyerere jointly held a meeting with the heads of the National Liberation movements of Africa, as did Mrs Indira Gandhi.

A highlight of the Conference was the unanimity with which speaker after speaker pledged support for the struggle in Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau.

A score or more of the speakers urged that resolutions on the Southern African situation were not enough and that practical and meaningful aid must be given to the struggles of Southern Africa.

For the African National Congress as we stated in the opening paragraph of this report: the conference was an unqualified success. It showed a deep understanding of our problems and a sincere desire to help eradicate racism in South Africa.

Already, the effects of the decisions adopted at this historic Conference is rocking international inter-governmental meetings. At the Nairobi meeting of finance ministers, non-aligned ministers walked out on South African Finance Minister Diedrichs when he rose to speak.

between the friendship of the non-aligned countries and the support they give to colonialist and racist regimes.

Asserting that the non-aligned countries must use every means at their disposal, including political and diplomatic pressure, against these powers, the declaration adds, "They must also put pressure in the fields of economics and trade in those countries who blatantly violate every decision of all major international organizations to isolate colonial regimes.

"The sacrifices that all this entails are part of the price which the non-aligned countries must be prepared to pay to safeguard Africa's freedom and independence and world peace," concludes the declaration.

### Liberation Movements Speak

Speaking on behalf of the African Liberation Movements Comrade Aristides Pereira, Secretary General of the PAIGC welcoming the decision of the Conference to allow representatives of the Freedom Movements to participate in the Conference deliberations said that throughout South Africa and in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, St. Thomas and Principe, the Comores Islands, on the Somali Coast and in the Seychelles and the so-called Spanish Sahara, our peoples are winning military and political victories.

"The colonialist, fascist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia," he said, "are suffering daily defeats. They are increasingly resorting to massacres of populations and to the policy of mass destruction, mass burning and mass murder. The physical elimination of the people's leaders is becoming a systematic practice in these oppressed regions.

"Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian troops are fighting together and are daily becoming more and more a single army fighting against our peoples."

Referring to liberation struggles in Palestine and Puerto Rico, Comrade Pereira said, "We feel the deepest sense of solidarity with our brothers-in-arms in Palestine and Puerto Rico, and assure them of our unshakeable support in the difficult fight they are waging to realize the legitimate aspirations of their peoples. We salute the great victories won by the heroic people of Indochina, victories which are a great encouragement to us and a further pledge of our own success.

### Declaration

At the end of the Conference the heads of States adopted a lengthy declaration unanimously condemning imperialism, multi-national companies and the manufacture of atomic weapons.

They proclaimed full support for the



# Profile

## JOYCE SIKAKANE



According to a report in a Johannesburg newspaper, Joyce Sikakane a former journalist, banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, has disappeared from her parents' home in Orlando West, Soweto, the Black ghetto of Johannesburg.

Joyce was among 19 Africans acquitted in September 1970, of charges under the Terrorism Act. She and other detainees were later served with restriction orders.

The Rand Daily Mail reported that before her detention, Joyce was barred from all African areas and townships except Orlando West.

She was also banned from newspaper offices, factories, educational institutions and social and political gatherings. She had spent 17 months in detention, most of it in solitary confinement.

Born in Johannesburg on June 24, 1943, Joyce matriculated and completed a degree in Political Science at the University of South Africa.

When in 1954 Bantu Education was introduced the Anglican Church closed the primary school she was attending

in protest against this unjust law which ensured that African children will receive inferior education.

Her parents sent her to live in Natal with her grandfather, the late Rev. A. M. Sikakane a founder member of the African National Congress.

### First Meeting

It was at her grandfather's house that I first met Joyce. She was then eleven or twelve years old, innocent and devoid of any political commitment. However, she constantly wanted to know why she had to come to Natal and why her previous school had to be closed. I remember well her grandfather trying as patiently as he could to explain to the child.

When a large number of our leaders were arrested for Treason in 1956, leaders such as Chief Luthuli, M. B. Yengwa and others often visited Rev. Sikakane during adjournments of their trial. At his home they held secret meetings of the Natal Committee of the ANC and it was during this period that I think the first glimmering of political awakening stirred in the young Joyce. As is customary at such meetings it always ended with the singing of freedom songs with Chief Luthuli leading the members of his committee. Often Joyce used to join in. In later years she was to often talk of those days with deep fondness.

It was during this period also that she "became involved," as she said to me once, "with the activities of the ANC." Her "involvement" was that she took messages to members of the ANC in the district advising them that a meeting will be held on such and such a day.

But what shocked her into political consciousness was, I think, the arrest of her grandfather during the State of Emergency in 1960.

Some years later when I met her she told me she was shocked and bewildered when her grandfather was "picked up" by the police.

"The police", she said, "arrived at my grandfather's house armed with what I later learned were sten guns. I was very shocked for this was the first time I saw a gun. This struck me as absurd and I realised that something was very wrong. My grandfather was such a peaceful man. I had never seen him quarrel with anyone or utter a harsh word in all the years I stayed with him. Yet, the police had taken him away after raiding our house for several hours, as if he was a common criminal."

During the same discussion she told me of her life after she had left her grandfather's house. She went off to a boarding school at the Inanda Seminary, on the Natal North coast. Here, her political understanding of the problems confronting our people began to take clearer shape.

The teachers at the school encouraged the children to correspond with pen pals in other parts of the world. She made some such friends in Nigeria and Kenya, at a time when both countries were either independent or on the verge of attaining their independence.

Her friends wrote to her telling her of their own struggles for independence and freedom and addressed her as "sister" and told her how deeply they felt at the plight of the Black peoples in South Africa.

Such communications made her question her History syllabus and to wonder why the students were being misinfor-

Continued overleaf



Continued from Page 23

med about these countries. She probed more deeply into what was really going on on the Continent and to quote her: 'I felt I had to do something to alleviate the suffering of my people.'

### Solitary Confinement

While at the Seminary another incident made her even more determined. Mrs. M. B. Yengwa who was a teacher at the school did not come to work one morning. Soon it was known that her husband, who had been the Natal secretary of the ANC and whom she remembered from the days of the Treason Trial, had been arrested and detained in solitary confinement under the obnoxious and fascist Terrorism Act.

When Mrs. Yengwa finally returned to school and told the children what the Law really meant, Joyce became even more convinced that one day her role must be on the side of those fighting for freedom in South Africa.

After winning an essay competition at the school, her English teacher advised her to concentrate on writing.

On completing her studies she applied for and obtained a job as a reporter on The World, which purports to be an African paper but which in reality is a paper owned wholly by Whites and its editorial policy controlled by a White editor-in-chief.

She soon lost interest in her job for she was expected to

write stories on sex, crime and socialites. It was at the time of the Rivonia and other trials and she felt these trials and the reasons for them were of more importance for the readers than the type of stories covered by The World.

She saw her employers with a request that she be allowed to do the type of reporting she wanted to but when they refused she left them. She then became a freelance reporter and soon found a new job at the offices of the Rand Daily Mail. The Mail had, at that time become a campaigning newspaper.

I then lost touch with Joyce for a while and met her briefly after her detention, trial and banning. She told me that the best years of her life were while working for the Rand Daily Mail. Here she covered many stories of mass removals and the aftermath of such removals.

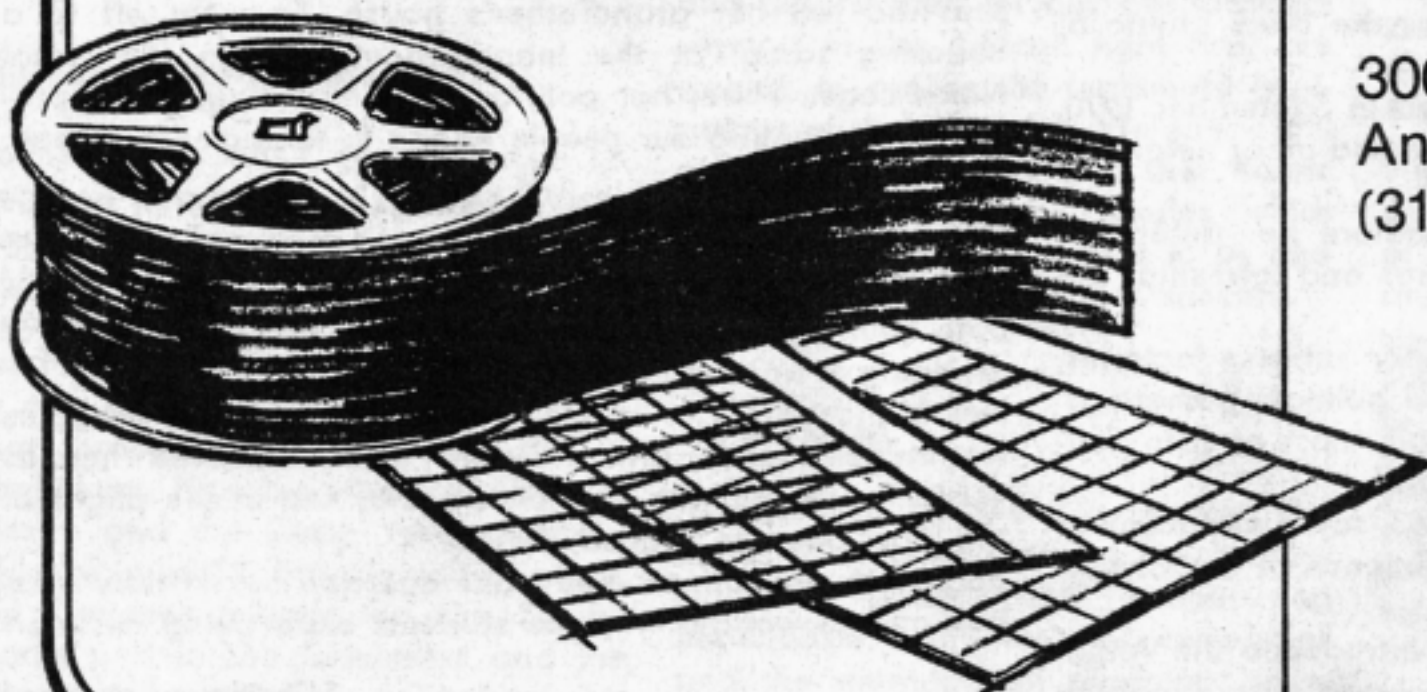
With her banning, of course, she was not allowed to work for a newspaper or enter the offices of a newspaper or a printing press. She had bought herself a knitting machine and, in the area where she was restricted, she made jerseys and sold these to the local people in order to provide for herself and her two children: Nkosinathi, a boy who should now be seven and Nomkululeko, an eight month old girl.

When I last saw her Nomkululeko was about a month old.

I am sure we have not heard the last of Joyce Sikakane.

— Modisane,  
Johannesburg  
October 10, 1973

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