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**Tribute
to
Frelimo**

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OUR PERSPECTIVES



by
Alfred Nzo:
Secretary General ANC

**Extracts from a speech
at the plenary session
of the
International Conference of
Non-Governmental Organisations
Against Apartheid
and Racial Discrimination**

The successes of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa have precipitated a deep running internal crisis within the centres of white power. Systems of exploitation entrenched over the centuries are in retreat.

Recent events have beyond any question served to vindicate the aims and means of the liberation movements. We of the African National Congress wish at the outset to place on record our tribute to the sacrifices of the peoples of Guine Bissau; our jubilation at their victory; our determination to do what we can to make that victory complete in Cape Verde. We welcome with great joy the investiture of the transitional government, under the tried and trusted leadership of Frelimo in Mocambique and look forward to June 25, 1975, when Mocambique will be totally independent. We wish also to express our support for the struggles of our comrades-in-arms in the other territories of Southern Africa; our admiration for the calibre of their leaderships; and our unqualified support for the demands of their people.

There can be no denying that the victories scored by our brother liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies were the decisive force behind the overthrow of the fascist government in Portugal. Here once again is convincing proof that the struggle against imperialism in the colonies is an indivisible part of the struggles of the masses of people against home-grown exploitation and political repression. If Portugal is today ready to

decolonise, this is because the people of the African territories, led by their liberation movements, proved with each passing week that no colonial army could defeat them, and that every attempt to prolong Portuguese colonialism was dragging the people of Portugal closer to their own destruction. The victories over Portuguese fascism and colonialism will serve to inspire our people to ever greater heights of revolutionary endeavour. The objective conditions of our revolutionary struggle, as that of the movements in all Southern Africa, have been significantly transformed.

The liberation movements of Southern Africa forged a working alliance because they have always understood the essential unity of their struggle. An advance in one area is an advance in the region as a whole. A victory for one movement is a victory for all. At the same time the dangers that confront any particular movement or struggle are dangers faced by all, and the recent changes in Southern Africa call for unprecedented vigilance in the further prosecution of the struggle.

Apart from the common economic and strategic interests of the white minority ruling classes, their strength lies in the centrality of Southern Africa and its rich resources for international monopolies. In the subcontinent it is becoming increasingly difficult to unravel the local and the outside or international components of capital. Old national colonialisms throughout Africa

have begun to change, as corporate giants cross national boundaries, putting new limits on the attainment of genuine independence by African peoples.

Bastion of Imperialism

South Africa is the bastion of imperialist intrigue and manoeuvre in Africa and above all in the South. It seeks to protect its own system of domination. It seeks to extend its control and exploitation to neighbouring territories. It tries to use nearby countries as buffer zones and a springboard from which to launch attacks on independent African states. Above all at this time South Africa will be the centre of attempts to ferment the counter-revolution against liberation victories on her borders.

Our movement is deeply conscious of our responsibility not only towards our own people suffering under apartheid, but of our responsibility in preventing the export and extension of this system and its military forces across the region. This danger calls on the one hand for the intensification of our own struggle, and on the other for tighter bonds than ever between our liberation movements on the different fronts of the struggle.

The liberation movements of Southern Africa share common perspectives and goals. At the same time each territory and each movement confronts local variations of oppression, and problems distinct and peculiar to its country and conditions of struggle. We shall attempt very briefly to characterise these issues for our country.

We continue to analyse South Africa as a system in which a white minority perpetuates its oppressive rule over a majority of black oppressed by a system of race tyranny unparalleled in the contemporary world. Our organisation is committed to the dismantling of this state and to its fundamental restructuring.

Our history and our experience of struggle confirm that power can accrue to the majority of our people not by any adjustment or reform within this system – for it is one that in its nature precludes any extension of political or economic power to the majority – but that this change will come only as a result of the total overthrow of the apartheid system.

The content of our struggle is thus the national liberation of the oppressed majority. With that liberation will come the release of our peoples' productive energies to build a system that will

allocate the resources of our country in the interests, not of a privileged minority and of domestic and international capital, but in the interests of the mass of South Africans.

Labour Coercion

There have been many periods in the history of our struggle, from peoples' wars against conquest in the last century to the growth of mass movements in recent decades, which were brutally repressed. The sources of South African state power must be sought not only in the presence of an aggressive white minority seeking to maintain its privilege but in an economic system that combines a high rate of capitalist industrialisation and growth with pre-industrial methods of labour coercion. It is an economic system that has fostered the largest working class in Africa, with the richest history of industrial struggles, but a working class which is subjected to a constant process of dismantling, driven from the factories the moment it engages in unions or strikes or political protest.

Apartheid is an economic system that generates exceptionally high rates of

profit precisely because the black oppressed is submitted to this process of super-exploitation. The other side of the process is the super-exploitation of the African peasantry, denied enough land for subsistence so that it is propelled into the labour market at cut-throat wages, and then, when it is considered redundant, expelled back into the rural areas, the Bantustans. It is because there are close inseparable links between the Bantustans and the super-exploited black people of our country that we see the need to struggle for the dismantling of the mechanics of oppression.

Economic growth to benefit whites and investors cannot and will not dissolve or reform apartheid, because apartheid is a system of forced labour allocation and the means through which the high growth rates are obtained. Wage increases on their own, without the transformation of the economy, will result in the grooming of a small urban elite but the deepening of the misery of the rural urban masses. This is not the occasion for an exposition of detailed strategies for our struggle. These are in any case not formulated in conference halls, but are hammered out in struggle down on the ground in South Africa.



We do not seek to extol our contribution at the expense of others, or to score points lightly. We do seek to clarify more closely, to **define** the forces for liberation and social change in South Africa. This definition of the forces for liberation is decisive, not only for our own political perspectives, but for the perspectives of any meaningful support work outside Southern Africa.

There are some who hope for a change within the power structure, a change in minority white politics. The United Party opposition within Parliament has never offered policies different in kind from those of the government. Recent accessions to Progressive Party strength indicate an important draining of confidence within the white community, but Progressive Party policies stop far short of the needs and demands of the African masses. In the nature of the political system in South Africa, the exclusion from power of the African majority makes impossible any meaningful reform within the system. In the last two years there have been repeated waves of strikes by black industrial workers. In a situation where the working class is denied trade union rights of bargaining and negotiation, every wage demand is treated as a challenge to the system. The army has been mobilised against strikers, and workers leaders have been hunted down, victimised in the factories, expelled from the urban areas and brutally murdered. Wage increases, where granted, have been insignificant, for this system dare not allow any changes in the wage structure and must take all possible steps to prevent the working class from feeling and using its full power.

Under these conditions every wage demand and every strike is a confrontation with the state as a whole. In the same way every political act by the African people is treated as subversion and treason, and generations of political prisoners in the jails of South Africa testify to the powers of the state and the continued resistance of our people.

Martial Law

The distinctive character of the South African revolution must therefore grow from several points. From the size, experience and consciousness of a black oppressed working class unique on the continent. From towns which have been strongholds of political resistance, now driven underground for over a decade, but sharpening new forms of organisation and struggle.

From the rural reserves, drained of labour power until they are no longer productive, remote from the centres of power, but the sites of extreme contradictions within them, generated by the government attempt to manipulate the elements of a neo-colonial situation of a special apartheid variety.

Mass unrest in South Africa is never far from the surface. The wave of strikes over the past two years is proof of this. The massive armed power of the state is continuing testimony to this. On the other hand, the problems of the liberation forces are to sustain UNDERGROUND organisation under conditions of permanent martial law, and to grapple with a powerful resourceful enemy. It is an enemy in command of a wealthy and technologically powerful state. It is also an enemy which comprises all classes of the dominant white minority, even the white working class, since all elements of the white minority share an immediate and direct interest in the perpetuation of the system of exploitation. We thus have to find ways and means to breach an industrially - based political and economic system armed with all the resources a modern state can command, and one that additionally uses the techniques of colonial exploitation to maintain oppression.

Our perspective is thus for the overthrow and the radical transformation of the system of apartheid. It is not a system capable of being reformed from within without the perpetuation, in some form or other, of race exploitation.

We continue to work for the armed overthrow of this system. This does not mean that political resistance in South Africa must take an exclusively armed form. We believe that there is a great diversity of forms of struggle needed in our conditions, and that all possible resources and methods of resistance must be mobilised. But our perspectives tell us that **without the armed defence of the peoples' struggles** local resistance will be beaten back time and time again, that government reprisals will grow increasingly more savage, and that the struggle will be prevented from escalating to "higher levels.

Guidelines

What of this conference?

It represents a high peak in the international movement against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa. We are never conscious of the support for our struggle that flows from sources such as are represented in this hall. We are also convinced that even as

Southern Africa achieves victories **the dangers grow ever more acute.** The Oslo conference last April characterised apartheid not only as a massive denial of human rights, but as a threat to peace. **The Oslo conference adopted a comprehensive programme of action.** It remains valid. **Its implementation grows ever more urgent.** Without action on the resolutions the liberation struggle is disarmed. (See *Sechaba* Vol 7, No 8). South Africa's threat to peace in Southern Africa operates on many fronts:

- There is her continued illegal occupation of the International territory of Namibia, and her prosecution of open war against its people.
- There is her illegal intervention in Rhodesia: an armed intervention.
- There are her military, paramilitary and intelligence interventions in Angola and Mozambique.
- **Above all, there is the evidence of South Africa's use as a base for counter-revolutionary plots** against the liberation movements of the Portuguese territories.

This conference will, we hope, express the extreme urgency of this situation. South Africa's economic, political and military strength will try to undo liberation victories even as our forces win them. There is no time to lose. The situation calls for the tight relentless operation of mandatory international sanctions. Sanctions of every conceivable type, to grapple with the threat to peace and security in the region. Sanctions that are needed to **blockade the danger of South African intervention.**

There is no shortage of guidelines. There are present at this conference support organisations in Western Europe and non-governmental organisations with a vast experience in the strategies and tactics of sanctions operations. We would propose to this conference that it bend its back to refining these tasks in all areas of action which lead to concerted international pressure against South Africa and those powers which ally themselves to her.

Our hope is that this conference will formulate, not fresh resolutions of high sounding phrases, but proposals for concrete action. There are great gaps in the international work done on Southern Africa; there are areas in Western Europe which are South Africa's first line of support. We must be frank about short-comings, elated about our victories, and determined to achieve even more, first, and briefly, in the conference rooms, and then in the field of **action.**

In recent months, more especially since the coup in Portugal, Vorster and other members of his racist Cabinet have been at pains to convince the world that South Africa was reappraising its race policies and that all the country wanted was to live in peace with

its African neighbours. Recent actions by the regime, however, show that far from there being any change in policy inside South Africa, the country is still a Police State.



THE MASK IS OFF

South Africa has launched an expensive and diabolically "clever" propaganda exercise in an effort to hoodwink the world that there is a thaw in the granite-like attitude of the Vorster regime towards the Black peoples in the country.

With great pomp and ceremony, accompanied by widespread publicity, both at home and abroad, Vorster appointed - for the first time - three Black observers to accompany the South African delegation to the recent United Nations sessions held in New York.

The three men chosen were:

- **Chief Kaiser Matanzima**, head of the Transkei Bantustan, whose territory is still, since he was first appointed head of his "government" in 1960, "governed" under a virtual State of Emergency. Taking a leaf out of Voster's book, he recently requested the racist government to give him powers to ban his opponents in the Transkei.

- **M. B. Naidoo**, whose only claim to fame is that he is a retired high school principal. Naidoo entered politics two or three years ago when Vor-

ster appointed him a member of his so-called Indian Council.

- **D. R. Ulster**, a Coloured School principal who, on his own admission, has never taken part in politics until his present appointment.

Not Fooled

These appointments did not, however, fool the delegates assembled at the UN. African and other delegations immediately labelled the three men stooges of the racists and put forward the strongest-ever challenge to the right of the present South African regime remaining a member of the world body.

The first attack against South Africa's membership came after the Credentials Committee rejected the SA delegation's credentials by five votes to three with one abstention. (Voting for South Africa were the United States, Belgium and Costa Rica, with Venezuela abstaining. Voting against were: Tanzania, Senegal, the Soviet Union, China and the Philippines.)

The Credential Committee's report re-

jecting South Africa's credentials was confirmed by the General Assembly by 98 votes to 23 - with 14 abstention - after a four-hour confrontation which reached a climax when Pik Botha, South Africa's ambassador to the UN was given only five minutes in which to speak to the Assembly. He said that South Africa was "ready to seek and explore opportunities to come to an understanding with Africa."

His appeal was totally ignored!

After the rejection of the credentials, a call for the Security Council to "review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," was passed by 125 votes to South Africa's one. There were nine abstentions.

The final slap in the face for South Africa came when the General Assembly approved recognition of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The Assembly also agreed to pay approximately £1500 for the air fares of the represen-



Duma Nokwe

tatives of the ANC and PAC. The ANC was represented by Duma Nokwe throughout the session.

The West Supports Apartheid

The resolution calling for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations was vetoed by the three Western powers – the United States, Britain and France – after it had received ten votes on the fifteen-member Security Council.

Another image-building exercise which the racists have come up with is their decision to post African, Coloured and Indian representatives to overseas countries as information officers. We wonder what these information officers are going to do . . . represent the views of the Black peoples? We are sure they will not be allowed to do this . . . What then? Obviously to sell apartheid to the world at large.

South Africa Kicked Out

The final slap in the face was yet to come. Two weeks later, in an unprecedented vote the General Assembly, despite violent opposition from the USA, decided to suspend SA from the remainder of its present session. The vote was 91 for, 22 against and 19 abstentions.

Despite all his efforts to woo the UN into believing that there was a change

of heart by the SA Government, Vorster found that the world was not prepared any longer to be hoodwinked. The international pressure is bound to increase.

However, we wish to warn all our many friends throughout the world that the USA, France and Britain will not sit idly by.

We can expect these governments to use all the tremendous resources they have to destroy the firm unity that has been achieved by the Anti-Apartheid lobby in the United Nations.

Frelimo Demos Smashed

Meanwhile inside South Africa, despite all the pious promises of a new outlook on its race policies promised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hilgard Muller, at the United Nations and Vorster's assertions that he wants friendly relations with the new Frelimo interim government and all other African countries bordering the country, the racist regime once again showed its true colours when it brutally suppressed two pro-Frelimo rallies.

The rallies which were called by the

South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) in most of the main centres in South Africa were banned by the Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger. The organisers in Durban defied the banning and at Turfloop, the African tribal College in the North, a meeting of students was organised by the S.R.C.

At Durban, where according to reports a crowd of over 2000 had gathered outside the sports grounds where their meeting was scheduled to take place, a contingent of heavily armed police with scores of dogs confronted them. The people, in reply to the order from Colonel A. Jordaan, the Police District Commander of Durban West to disperse, began singing African National Congress freedom songs interspersed with shouts of Amandla! (Power!) the ANC's greeting and other pro-Frelimo slogans.

With every shout of "Amandla!" the crowd responded with "ngaWethu!" (to the people!) and raised their hands and gave the ANC's clenched fist salute.

As the singing built-up, the police with their dogs moved in with typical sava-

"Purely for status purposes – how about a guerilla or two on our board of directors?"





AMANDLA!

gery. They tore into the crowd and scores of people were injured, many seriously. Thirteen people were arrested during the attack.

At Turfloop, the students who had gathered for their meeting inside the College hall dispersed when called upon to do so by the police. They gathered outside on their sports field, where they were baton charged by the police who preceded their attack by firing gas cartridges into the crowd.

As in the the Durban attacks here also there were several students injured, including SASO's president and final year law student, Mr. Jeremiah Nefolovodwe, after a tear gas shell exploded on him.

Altogether at least 25 including 3 White students were arrested at both the rallies and these will be appearing before a Magistrate's Court under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Raids and Arrests

Then followed a series of pre-dawn raids throughout the country on the

offices of the BPC and SASO and the homes of leaders of these two organisations. The raids which began at 4 am also included raids on the homes of leaders of the National Youth Organisation (NYO) and the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU).

Car loads of books, correspondence, typewrites and duplicating machines were seized during the raids. Among those raided were the following who were also arrested and detained under the Terrorism (Torture) Act:

Muntu Myeza, Secretary General of SASO; **the Rev. "Castro" Mayatule**, Chairman of the Black Peoples' Convention; **Lindelwe Mabandala**, head of the Black Allied Workers Union and his wife **Bridgett**, who is youth programme organiser of the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations:

NkweNkwe Nkomo, National Organiser of the BPC and his assistant, **Mhlomola Skosana**.

Others detained are: **Miss Asha Rambally**, **Mrs Vinho Cooper** and her husband, **Saths Cooper**, the banned Public Relations Officer of the BPC, his

brother, **Revabalan Cooper**, **Ahmed Bawa**, **Yuganathan Naidoo**, **Hari Singh**, **K. S. Govender**, **Dr. Aubrey Mokoape** and **Haroon Aziz**, all members of the BPC holding various positions in the organisation.

Also detained are: **Strini Moodley**, banned Public Relations Officer of SASO, **Ben Langa** and **Byaneko (Barney) Pityana**, both former banned Secretaries - General of SASO, **Phumzile Majeke**, administrative Assistant of SASO, **Mapetla Mogape**, Cape Town Regional Secretary of SASO, **Mosiouwa Lekota (SASO)** and **Manzwe Mboe (BAWU)**.

Detainees under the Terrorism (Torture) Act can be held indefinitely and incommunicado. They are also held in solitary confinement and conviction carries a minimum sentence of five years. At least 22 such detainees are known to have died under torture.

Another arrest that has created quite a stir among English-speaking South Africans is the arrest of **John O'Malley**, Editor of the Natal Daily News, one of the Argus chain of newspapers. He



the Frelimo rally has generated, not only among the students themselves, but also among the Black academics, the University Council of Turfloop has called on the Minister of Bantu Education for a judicial commission of inquiry into the disturbances.

Getting to the nub of the matter, the Council wants a study into Black - White relationships at the college.

This is an extraordinary commentary on the very basis on which Turfloop, and the other apartheid colleges, were founded. The Nationalists drove Blacks out of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town Universities on the rationale that separateness was the only way to create inter-racial peace. But lo and behold, exactly the reverse has happened. We in the African National Congress warned as early as when the Bantu Education Act was first mooted in 1953 that separation will breed racial bitterness and that the only way forward for South Africa, not only in the field of education but at every level was for non-racial collaboration and co-operation.

* * * * *

Hang Vorster . . . Free Mandela

Three Africans were found guilty in Johannesburg Regional Court on charges of daubing slogans such as "Hang Vorster" Free Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, our true leaders" and Fight Against Pass Law Barbarism" on railway coaches. The three men, Letwaba Benjamin Tau, 25, Harris Ngobeni, 20, and Ariel Jabu Themba, 22, pleaded guilty.

According to evidence a large variety of slogans were painted on panels and blinds of 24 coaches. More than 70 panels were covered with slogans.

A thick file of photographs showing the slogans was handed to the court. The slogans included: Kill Big Nose Koornhof, Kill Vorster and his puppets, Fight Against the Boers, Wake up Africa, Away with Suzman, the so called liberal (Note: Koornhof is Minister of Sport and Suzman is a Progressive Party M. P.).

* * * * *

was charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act for allegedly printing a statement by SASO stating that they intended defying the ban on the Frelimo rallies. He was released on R50 bail.

Turfloop Backlash

Following the arrests at Turfloop, the University authorities ordered all students to leave the campus. The closing of the University particularly at this time of the year - almost on the eve of final examinations - was seen by many African leaders as yet another attempt to intimidate the students.

Professor Ntsanwisi condemning the closing of the University said: "Time and again we read about demonstrations, similar to the recent one at Turfloop, at White universities, but we never hear that they were closed, not even for one day."

The Black Academic Staff Association at the university squarely blamed the police for the violence that had erupted at the rally.

In a memorandum to the Rector of the university, Prof. J. L. Boshoff, they said:

"Given the peaceful nature of the celebration, which consisted of speeches and songs culminating in the singing of the African National Anthem, we contend that police intervention was uncalled for."

The memorandum, which was signed by the Chairman of the Association, Mr. G. M. Nkondo added: "Such intervention may have been called for were the celebration organised by SASO; as it is, there is no evidence that this was not purely an SRC affair; the insinuation that it was a veiled SASO occasion has no basis in fact.

"It is our contention," continued the memorandum, "that whatever student violence there was, was instigated by police violence; in a very real sense the police did incite the students.

"We hold the view that the indiscriminate arrest of students was yet one other strong factor that generated student violence; it triggered off much tension," said the memorandum.

The usual reaction by tribal college authorities to any kind of campus disturbance has been to damn the students and to embark on mass suspensions and expulsions. In this case however, because of the tension that

Outcasts

While three Black South Africans were telling the world that South Africa should not be kicked out of the United Nations because of the policies practiced in the country and while White South Africa was metaphorically tapping them on their heads for being such jolly good chaps, inside South Africa itself 12 Black academics, employed to teach both Black and White students at the University of South Africa, have been given outcast status. They have been rejected by the university's staff association as members.

The issue was placed before a special meeting of the 272 - strong all-White association. Discussion was avoided - obviously so that no one's colour prejudice would show - and a secret ballot was taken.

(Note: The University of South Africa caters only for external students and all lectures are by correspondence)

* * * * *

Four-Hour Day

A. K. M. Docrat, a 59-year old second-hand book dealer and former executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, has been banned and restricted for over ten years. He is subjected to one of the most extreme house-arrest orders to be imposed in South Africa.

In terms of his order he can only leave his flat for four hours a day on weekdays.

Docrat has been banned since 1964, but when the banning order was renewed in 1969 a 22-hour-a-day house arrest was also imposed.

His daily hours of "freedom" have since been extended to four - from 10 am to 2 pm. In these four hours for only five days in the week, he has to make a living selling books.

He suffers from a bronchial complaint and has to visit a hospital for treatment twice a month. He is not married and may receive no visitors - not even relatives.

At the end of his first two five-year bans, last October, the banning was re-imposed for a further two years.

* * * * *

THE BANNED: Evidence Unseen

WHEN Vorster told millions of American TV viewers last year that banned people were always given reasons for being banned, several victims decided to take him up on the offer immediately. Now, many months later, it can be seen again how cynical the statement was. Two Durban men have just received their "reasons" and they amount to the same old arrogant non-explanation: "The Minister was satisfied that they had engaged in activities which might further the aims of communism; his information could not be disclosed."

Banned people require reasons not merely to satisfy personal curiosity but because without them there is no legal way they can appeal. To quote Vorster on TV again, it was "the easiest thing in the world to have a banning order

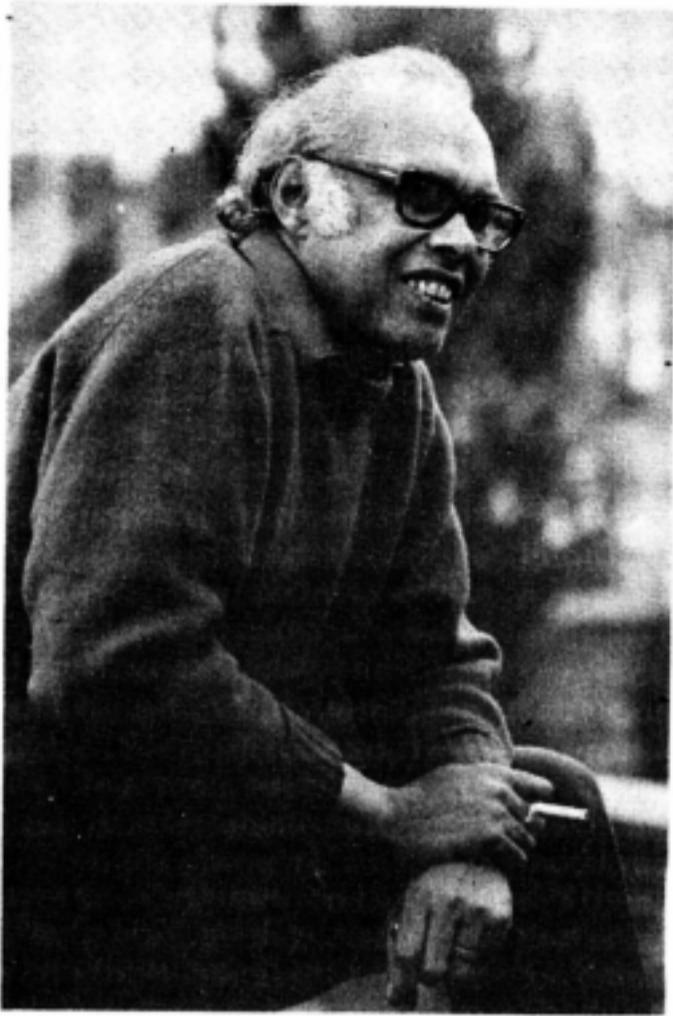
set aside by the Supreme Court." Lawyers do not agree. They say that the only relief for banned people is for a court to find that the Minister has acted mala fides - and who can establish that if the Minister consistently refuses to divulge his information? There is not a single case of a victim having his banning order upset by the courts.

Banning remains a vicious measure because there is no trial, no prosecution evidence, no testing of informants, no possibility of a defence and no opportunity to appeal.

As a trained lawyer and the Minister who used this law to ban more people than his two predecessors when he was Minister of Justice, Vorster must have known he was lying to his American television audience.



SA Police attacks demonstrator



Apartheid Coloured Council Flounders

by ALEX LA GUMA

The apartheid government's policy of separate representation for Coloured (mixed descent) people in South Africa floundered on the rocks of its own making last July when the so-called Minister of Coloured Relations prorogued the Coloured Representative Council.

At the session held in Cape Town a resolution, introduced by the opposition Labour Party, expressing no confidence in the policy of separate development and 'all its institutions including the Coloured Representative Council' was carried. The vote was 29 to 25 after Mr. Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party and chairman of the Council, left the chamber without voting and two of his members did not vote either. This represented the first defeat for the Government-supporting Federal Party.

The fraudulent Coloured Representative Council has always been regarded by radical groups in the community as a crude hoax perpetuated by the Nationalist Government to fit the Coloured people into its apartheid schemes. Indeed, a section of the people proposed a boycott of the first election, while only 48 percent of those eligible actually registered as voters. The election took place in September 1969. Others, like the Coloured People's Congress, pressed that any participation in the elections should become a demonstration against the apartheid policy of the racist government. This was manifested when the anti-apartheid Labour Party emerged as the biggest party with 45.3 percent of the votes cast and 26 of the 40 elected seats.

The CRC, foisted upon the Coloured people as a substitute for direct representation in the central Parliament after Coloured voters had been removed from the common electoral roll, consists of 60 members—40 elected and 20 nominated by the Government. To secure control of the Council the Labour Party had to win 31 of the total 60 seats. In order to make sure that their stooges retained that control, the Government appointed members of the defeated Federal Party to fill the 20 nominated seats. This gave the Federal Party which had only won 11 seats, the necessary 31 to make the majority, likewise appointing Swartz, who had actually been defeated in the election, to the chairmanship of the Council. Following the adoption of his no-confidence motion in July, Mr. Sonny Leon leader of the Labour Party called on Swartz to resign. Swartz refused and introduced a motion calling for the Council to adjourn until it could be prorogued, but he had lost his power to get his motion passed. At this stage the Minister, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, stepped in on the advice of Swartz and announced that he had decided to use his powers to prorogue the Council forthwith.

The State President, Fouché, announced that a second election for the CRC would be held after the completion of the second general registration of Coloured voters.

In spite of the racist government's hopes for the opposite, the CRC has regularly exposed itself as the fraud the progressive and democratic movement had warned it would be. A talk-

ing-shop wherein those who hoped to operate 'within the framework of apartheid' could achieve nothing concrete, its sterile debates at least revealed to the Coloured community in general that the apartheid central government had no intention of recognising any of the Council's suggestions, requests or demands. Now it is hoped that leaders participating in the CRC (at any rate the anti-apartheid leaders) will discard the illusions fostered by the CRC and turn their attention more towards organising mass activity of their members and the public in general.

Reformist Hopes

When the Labour Party was first formed its founders believed that the ambitions of the Coloured community might be achieved by working within the institutions provided by the Nationalist government in pursuance of their programme of 'separate development' or apartheid. In spite of this erroneous and reformist outlook, the Labour Party has in fact engaged in numerous public campaigns like bread boycotts, boycotts of stores refusing to employ Coloured labour, protests against the shooting and arrest of demonstrators in the Port Elizabeth area, etc. As the Black opposition to apartheid became more and more widespread and militant, coinciding with the emergence of 'Black Consciousness' over the latter years, Labour Party members began to think more and more of Black unity and open alliance with the rest of the Black



TOM SWARTZ . . .
still a stooge

oppressed. Branches began to think in terms of scrapping participation in the sterile CRC. The leadership itself again and again voiced their own frustration and have repeatedly denounced the CRC. 'None of the the important motions passed by the Council including a call for the abolition of the Immorality Act and job reservation laws, have ever been taken seriously by the Government,' Mr. Leon reiterated. (Rand Daily Mail, 21. 8. 74)

Unfortunately the concentration on the pursuance of their 'parliamentary' life, rather than attention to popular activity and unity, has also led the professed anti-apartheid leadership of the Labour Party into the trap of Coloured exclusiveness. While on occasion unfolding the banner of Black unity, the leaders of the Labour Party demonstrated its confusion by adopting a sort of Coloured 'apartheid' policy.

Talking at times of 'all races' the Labour Party often drops this for a 'Coloured only' stance. Returning from a 'fruitless' interview with Prime Minister Vorster in August, Mr. Leon, leader of the Labour Party again said, 'The mushrooming crisis can only be averted by real concessions to the political and economic aspirations of the Coloureds.' (RDM 21. 8. 74)

Indeed the motion passed by the CRC the previous July had been, according to reports, the call that the Council be abolished and direct representation be given to 'all the people' in Parliament and 'all councils of the nation.' When challenged about 'all the people' by van der Merwe, it later turned out that Mr. Leon was talking about **all the Co-**



SONNY LEON . . .
"Give it another chance . . ."

loured people, for he said later, (RDM 20. 8. 74) 'he would use to coming CRC elections to get a mandate from his people for full parliamentary representation.' He repeated (RDM 1. 9. 74), 'What we are seeking is representation

in parliament and total equality with whites.'

Far from demanding democratic rights for all Black people in South Africa, Mr. Leon actually warned that 'rejection of the Coloured demands for greater political freedom could lead to a consolidation of Black Power in South Africa.' (RDM 7. 9. 74) as if 'Black people would avoid in exchange for concessions.

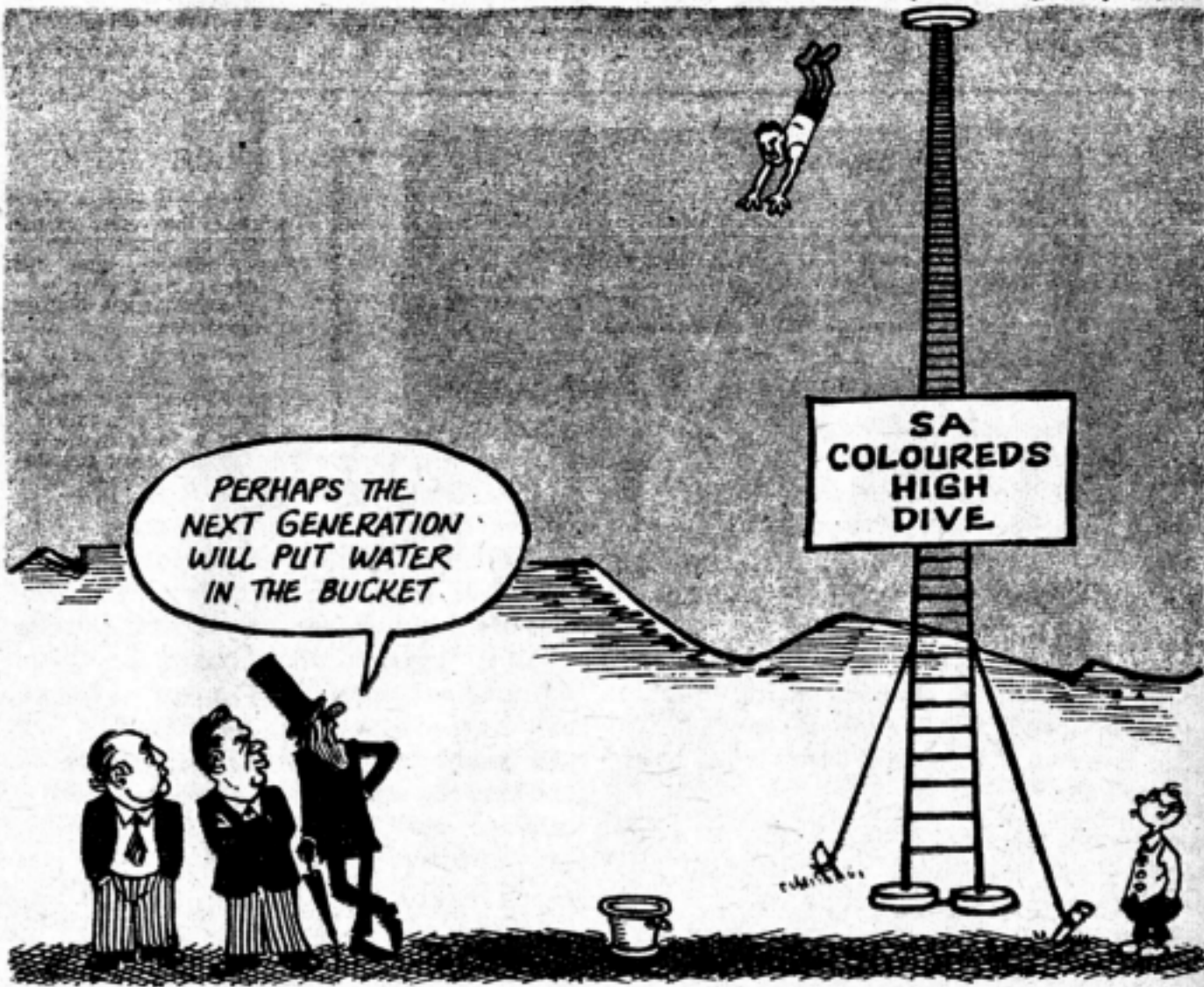
Going even further, Mr. Leon manifests an illusory faith in collaboration with the oppressor by requesting that Dr. Connie Mulder, nationalist Party leader in the Transvaal and a Dr. Andries Treurnicht, M. P. for Waterberg, should attend the meeting which the Coloured Labour Party leaders were to have with Vorster. 'These are two men who will dictate the future of the Coloured people. It is only right that they should attend the meeting and spell out our future.'

In the usual cynical fashion of the racists, Vorster replied later in the House of Assembly that 'he was opening the door for Coloureds and Indians to serve on statutory bodies like the Road Safety Council and the Consumer Council.' (1)

The Federal Party, the other major Coloured party has, as stated, acted as the Government's lackeys in the CRC, but even this party, hardpressed by the events of the day, in its annual congress recently adopted a new manifesto which declares that the party accepts 'nothing less than direct re-

POLITICAL SPECTACULAR

By Bob Connolly
RAND DAILY MAIL



Some Coloured Views ...



ADAM SMALL ... "Why should I be satisfied with less than a White guy"



MAY DOMINGO ... "They have at last realised that we are here"



ALBIE POP ... "The real problem is the whole apartheid structure"

presentation in parliament.' But Mr. Swartz admitted gloomily, 'The government did not have a good record for doing what the Coloureds wanted.' (Sunday Express 1. 9. 74). He said elsewhere that they would continue their 'dialogue' with the Government and continue to use the CRC for this purpose.

Another Chance

So while it appears that the Nationalist Government was hoisted on its own petard in the CRC last July, the parties involved have however declared their intentions to continue participation in the next session, due in November. To unconditionally concentrate on the CRC must give people the impression that these party leaders are more interested in playing at 'prime ministers' and parliamentarians' in their own Bantustan, than in the struggle to overthrow apartheid. The next elections for the CRC will take place in March 1975. The small Social Democratic Party of Mr. Eddie Rooks, holding one seat, may call for a boycott on the grounds that the CRC is 'toothless,' but the Labour Party wants the election to be a 'referendum' of support for their policy. 'Support for the Labour Party means support for Coloured representation in the Central Parliament,' Mr. Leon said. (RDM 26. 9. 74)

There is no indication that the anti-apartheid section of these parties are in any way going to explore ways and means of making the CRC completely unworkable. It looks as if they are going to adopt the old formula and allow it another chance, for what ge-

nuine purpose it is impossible to say. The CRC has been proved a fraud and a diversion, a realisation that must strike any honest and courageous leader really interested in advancing the cause of the people to complete emancipation from apartheid humiliation. On the level of public activity it appears as if the Coloured community will continue to be badgered with the confused policies of the CRC parties and their misguided emphasis on Coloured exclusiveness, while now and then paying lip service to Black unity.

Mass Action

The Coloured People's Congress, once most militant section of political organisations among this people, has been seriously immobilised by banning, imprisonments, intimidation and exile of its members. On the other hand there has been in circulation an underground bulletin, distributed illegally among Coloured people, called STRUGGLE, which stated (No. 4, 1974): 'Certainly we have not denied that when the situation demands, the old forms of legalistic activity are useful. But we have never advocated placing all our eggs in one basket. This year of mass action of the oppressed people will have shown our people that it is the might of unified offensive that has shaken the apartheid state to its foundations and not speeches of the "representatives" in the CRC.'

More recently the bulletin (No. 5) said, referring to the latest postures of the CRC parties: 'We are not interested in having a Coloured Minister of Coloured Affairs and "direct representation

for Coloureds in all councils of the Nation.'" Such ideas cannot but perpetuate an exclusiveness of the Coloured people. While the aspirations of the Coloured people as a community must be recognised, it must also be recognised that they will never achieve these aspirations as long as the African majority in South Africa remains oppressed. The liberation of the African people means the end of apartheid and so too the end of discrimination and humiliation of the Coloured community.'

The widespread mass action by Black workers, African, Coloured and Indian, have shown the people of South Africa once again that it is the unified power of the oppressed that makes the oppressor tremble. The action of Black people who defied the fascist authorities in order to demonstrate in support of the successes of Frelimo in Mocambique demonstrates the mounting awareness of the people that in the final analysis it is the overthrow of the oppressor that brings the victory. The participants in the Coloured Representative Council too must learn this if they are not to be isolated from the dynamic advance of the people. Or perhaps their isolation might indeed become necessary if they are to be prevented from misleading people further into the meshes of the apartheid machinery which, according to Vorster, 'is still working well.'

In 1965 the Rand Daily Mail, broke the newspaper silence on South African prison conditions by publishing three long articles by Harold Strachan, a Congress political prisoner who had spent three years in jail for conspiring to commit explosions. He was sent back to prison for having written these articles. A few weeks after the Strachan articles were published, the Mail published a full-page spread on electric torture at Cindrella Prison in Boksburg. All statements were sworn to on oath, and the most serious allegations of all were made by two White warders who said that they were sickened by what they saw. In 1969, after three years of prosecutions against warders and ex-Convicts, the authorities charged and convicted the then editor of the Mail, Lawrence Gandar and a senior reporter, Benjamin Pogrund. (See Sechaba Vol. 3 No. 1, January 1969).

Gandar and Pogrund appeared before the Judge President of the Transvaal, Justice Cillie who found that assaults in prison did not appear to occur with excessive or alarming frequency, and that cases of assault on prisoners were investigated if they came to the notice of senior prison officials.

Towards the end of last year, five years later, another judge found that assaults by warders on two African prisoners at Leeuwkop Prison was not an isolated incident; that the warders had acted with the approval of an officer, and if one prisoner had died the affair would never have become known. He likened the Leeuwkop affair to the Bultfontein police case in which policemen were found guilty of torturing suspects to make them talk.

That was ten years ago, he said, and the methods were still the same.

MURDER IN PRISON

a blow by blow account

If the prisoner in Cell No. 13 hadn't been found dead, the outside world may never have known what went on inside Leeuwkop Prison on December 26 and 27, 1973.

Sifted from a welter of conflicting and perjured evidence, this is the story of the events of those two days, as Mr. Justice Hiemstra, in his judgement after almost a year's investigation, trial and adjournments, found they occurred:

On boxing Day, December 26, **Warder J.M. De Beer** placed R60 (approx £30) in notes under the mat of his motor car, or said he did, because he did not want to keep it in the pocket of his shorts while he mowed the lawn of his house at Leeuwkop Prison.

Why he put the money there instead of in his house when he changed his clothes he could not explain to the judge's satisfaction.

"He thought it was the safest place but his reasons for this belief were so thin that I doubt whether he ever really put the money there", the judge said.

De Beer then locked his garage and his wife kept the keys. Towards evening he missed the money and "immediately and precipitately" suspected the prisoner who worked in his house as a servant.

The prisoner was **Lucas Khoaripe**, who had been promoted to the position of monitor.

During the trial De Beer could not give the judge an acceptable theory as to how Khoaripe could have known that there was money under the car mat, or how he could have got into the garage. Nevertheless, he decided that Khoaripe had stolen the money.

He reported the supposed theft to his officer and friend, **Lieut. S. L. Potgieter (now captain)**, head of the medium prison where the monitors are housed. Potgieter summoned a member of the prison hospital staff, **Warder R. F. Kachelhoffer**, to feel in the prisoner's rectum.

De Beer took Khoaripe to the maximum prison where there were facilities for such an internal examination. In the hospital section of this prison Kachelhoffer searched the prisoner's rectum without finding the money. Khoaripe was then "interrogated."

Tormented

Kachelhoffer told the prisoner: „Look, if you don't want to come out with the truth I have ways of making you talk." Khoaripe kept saying he knew nothing about the money; that he did not know what they were talking about.

In Potgieter's presence, Khoaripe was plunged into a bath of water. Three or four prisoners were called in and ordered to push him under. There was a "terrible struggle" and the prisoners had to climb on the "tormented" man's chest to keep his head under water. Kachelhoffer stood by with a watch and gave the signal when Khoaripe was allowed to come up.

When his head came up the third time, Khoaripe said he would talk but the wording of the confession he then made is totally uncertain.

The judge decided the confession was "most probably a false admission made in deathly fear." Khoaripe's statement, in the course of his confession, that he had given the money to a fellow prisoner, **Isaac Gumede** was also



false, and made to free himself. Why he should have picked Gumede did not emerge.

Potgieter, De Beer and Kachelhoffer went to Gumede's sleeping place and his cupboard was searched. Kachelhoffer examined his rectum but no money was found.

Gumede also had to undergo the water treatment and other prisoners were again called in to help keep him under. Kachelhoffer again stood by with his watch. According to De Beer, Gumede was ducked about 12 times. Gumede struggled a lot and said he was made to swallow water until his stomach was full. After "considerable assault", Gumede suggested that the servant's quarters at De Beer's house be searched. This, the judge believed, was to escape the ill-treatment and possibly because Gumede hoped Khoaripe might have hidden the money there.

"I cannot believe that if the two prisoners really knew where the money was, they would have endured the terrible treatment rather than say so", he said.

This was especially so because Potgieter had promised that no further steps would be taken against the men if the money was found. A similar promise was made by an even more senior officer, a Captain Van Zyl.

Knead, Kicked, Punched

Shackled, Gumede was taken to De Beer's house where he searched about in a small storeroom. Back at the maximum prison Potgieter said to him:

"You are wasting our time." He punched the prisoner in the stomach and kicked him. It was decided to lock the two men in the isolation cells for the night. At the exit to the maximum prison Khoaripe was kneed, kicked when he was down, and slapped in the face.

Potgieter told him: "You are just like a donkey, you don't want to talk, but tomorrow I'll make you sing."

The next morning Potgieter visited the isolation cells. De Beer was there and a large, powerfully built African warder, Frans Hika. The prisoners were sent to Capt. Van Zyl who asked them about the money. They denied all knowledge of it and Capt. Van Zyl said that the investigation must continue. Hika was told to take the prisoners back to Lt. Potgieter, but instead of doing so Hika took them to a yard where he made them frog-leap - that is, jumping forward, crouched on their haunches, hands on hips. Hika forced the prisoners to keep going by hitting them with his baton. He also made them run up and down a flight of stairs before taking Khoaripe to Potgieter. Gumede was left to jump under the supervision of David Leballo, a young warder, who had only been five days at Leeuwkop.

Warder J. N. Human was coming away from breakfast when he met Hika taking Khoaripe to De Beer's house, where, Hika said, the prisoner was going to point out the stolen money. Human accompanied them to De Beer's house, where Khoaripe made a fruitless search accompanied, Human said, with blows from Hika's baton. Told of this further fruitless search,

Potgieter ordered Human to proceed with the interrogation. Human said he understood this to include assault. "After this followed an orgy of ill-treatment which is simply scandalous, especially by this time it must have been abundantly clear to the interrogators that the prisoners really did not know where the money was", said the judge.

Khoaripe and Gumede were taken to a small storeroom where Hika ordered the new young warder, Leballo, to hold Khoaripe's feet while Human ordered another prisoner, known as "Star Black", to hold Gumede's feet.

The men lay on their backs, with their legs raised vertically and the soles of their feet uppermost. Hika used his wooden baton to strike the prisoners on their soles, but Human forbade this and also told Hika not to strike the prisoners' heads. When Warder W. P. Rousseau came on the scene, Human ordered him to fetch a rubber baton which could be used in place of the wooden one.

"The rubber baton can cause terrible pain", said the judge. I tried it myself on my hand".

The hard blows on the prisoners' feet were "refined torture" and of long duration. Not only Human, Hika and Rousseau struck the prisoners but also others whom the judge did not feel it was "fair" to name because they were not before the court. De Beer sat and watched the proceedings.

Gumede then suggested they search the servant's room at Lt. Smit's house, where he himself worked as a house monitor. Needless to say, the money was not there either.

Death in Cell 13

When Human returned from Smit's house, he decided that the beatings were of no further use, and he ordered that Khoaripe and Gumede be put into straitjackets. He planned to leave them there until they talked.

"It must be a horrible experience to lie tightly strapped in like that in the heat of summer", the judge said mindful of the fact that Khoaripe's heart had by this time already sustained the bruising, from kicks and blows, which would see him dead before morning.

However, when Potgieter arrived on the scene he ordered them to be taken out of the straitjackets and placed again in the isolation cells.

The prisoners could no longer walk - they had to be carried. A medical staff member who was summoned put a few stitches in Gumede's head.

The two men remained in the isolation cells for the rest of the afternoon and the night.

At 11.30 pm Warder S. Eloff heard groaning from Khoaripe's cell. He

wrote in the duty book: "Attention: Convict in Cell No. 13 at the isolation complains that he is ill. Walked past isolation to Cell No. 13 and heard groaning and crying. Convict complained he was dying. Reported to second watch."

The next watch, **Warder Petrus Du Toit**, did not read the entry but Eloff mentioned the incident to him. Du Toit listened outside Cell 13. He heard nothing, so did nothing.

The next morning, just after religious parade, Potgieter heard that Khoaripe was dead. There was to be a departmental inquiry and **Captain F. J. Van Zyl** was told to hold it.

Potgieter claims that **Capt. Van Zyl** advised that **De Beer, Hika and Human** should "tell the same story". **Capt. Van Zyl** denied this and the judge was not called upon to make a finding. However, **Potgieter** admitted openly that he joined in the deliberations about the best story that could be concocted to conceal the cause of Khoaripe's death.

And this was the man, the judge said, who after these events was promoted from lieutenant to captain. "It reveals a cynicism on the part of the Prisons authorities that I cannot condemn enough", he said.

Meanwhile **Gumede** spent four weeks in hospital as a result of the assaults. His kidneys were damaged, his feet had to remain bandaged for weeks and even nine months later, at the trial of the warders, he could not stand for long in the witness box.

The medical evidence in court was that **Khoaripe** died of bruising of the

heart, caused by tremendous hard blows on the breastbone, and by the violence done to the ribs on the left hand side — two ribs being cracked in the process.

It was thought that these injuries were caused by kicks in the ribs and the "tramtrack bruises" on the chest most probably by blows from a baton.

Lies

In their evidence about Khoaripe's injuries, the three White warders in court — **De Beer, Rousseau and Human** — appear to have conspired to say that when they returned to the storeroom with **Gumede** after the final fruitless search, they found **Leballo** striking Khoaripe, who was lying on the ground, with a chain — actually foot-shakles. **Rousseau** said he ordered **Leballo** to stop the beating with the chain but that the African warder took no notice.

"If this is true then he (**Rousseau**) is a wretched coward, too weak to take action against a junior busy beating a prisoner to death", the judge said. If it is not, then it is one of the ugliest pieces of perjury I've ever heard and the other two were a party to it."

They tried with a lie, the judge said, to fasten Khoaripe's death on the young African warder. He found their evidence "absolutely untrue".

Who gave Khoaripe the blows which killed him is not known. The five warders on trial — **De Beer, Rousseau, Human, Hika and Leballo** — all tried to distance themselves from Khoaripe.

Outrageous

After having said all this, and more, the judge passed the most outrageous sentences on the accused.

Human, Rousseau and Hika were sentenced to only 18 months each and no doubt will be out of prison in one year after remission.

De Beer and Leballo were sentenced to one year and six months respectively, their sentence being conditionally suspended.

Meanwhile what has the government done to stop such dastardly crimes which are an everyday occurrence in most jails? Precious little!

Immediately, **Justice Hiemstra's** conclusions were published in the press, **South Africa's Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger** said that a full investigation will be held.

A week later he announced that a Magisterial Inquiry will be held into the question of whether **Kachelhoffer and Potgieter** should remain in the Prison service.

"After studying the judgement and a letter of elucidation from the judge, I came to the conclusion that it would serve no purpose to have a general inquiry into conditions in the prisons of the Republic", he said.

The three warders who were jailed were sacked but for the other two only suspensions pending a departmental inquiry — as though the judge's conclusions are not enough.

As for **Lieutenant, now Captain Potgieter**, he was back at work the day after the trial!

ISU CHIBA, was arrested, tortured and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment in 1964. He is serving his sentence on Robben Island. The following poem by his sister-in-law, **ZARINA CHIBA**, illustrates the courage of Isu, and indeed all our prisoners on Robben Island and other prisons in South Africa

ISU

while supporter of a family
at the age of thirty three
you took on the responsibility
of resisting the authority
that reduces most to fear
you joined the fight for freedom

the Rand resounded with the blasts
of gelignite explosions
for Sharpeville made you sick
no less than Vorster's bantustan
and kwashiorkor policies
then they informed on you

now condemned to Robben Island
for the summer of your years
you still stand tall and proud
with your hunger strikes and shouts
you demand a better lot
your spirit is not crushed

hearsays still revealing
of your unrepentant feeling
for the stand you took against what's vile
ten years served and more to go
more hard labour, jackboots, raids
they've gaoled your body but not your soul

Crisis in the Mines

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M. C. Botha, replying to questions in the South African House of Assembly recently, revealed that 475,387 foreign Africans – the majority from Malawi, Lesotho and Mocambique were working in the country during 1973.

Of these, 22,214 Africans from Botswana were employed in the gold mines. Another 80,625 from Lesotho, 112,432 from Malawi and 88,585 from Mocambique were also employed on the gold mines.

Almost from the time gold was first discovered in the country, the gold mining tycoons have been faced with a shortage of Black South Africans willing to toil underground for low wages and horrible, indeed dangerous, working conditions. Last year for instance, 737 miners died and over 29,000 were injured in accidents on the mines.

At present 78 per cent of the total Black labour force working on the mines are from outside South Africa. Of this, Malawi, until recently, supplied 28 per cent.

In April last year, following an air crash in which 77 Malawians were killed, President Banda unilaterally suspended the recruiting of workers in his country. Four months later the annual convention of the ruling Malawi Congress Party unanimously requested Dr. Banda to make the suspension permanent. Although Dr. Banda's reaction was non-committal, it is clear that the majority of the people of Malawi are totally opposed to working on South African mines.

The effect of the suspension was dramatic. Almost immediately there was a shortage of over 40,000 Black miners (14 per cent of the underground requirements).

At the time of writing the new interim government, led by Frelimo, in Mocambique have not taken any steps to stop recruitment of labour in their country. However, the mining magnates are not unaware that ultimately the supply of labour from free Mocambique is also in danger of drying up.

To multiply their problems, workers



Toiling miners

from the other countries, particularly Lesotho, from where large numbers of workers are recruited, have revolted on several occasions recently against the conditions under which they work on the mines. Many thousands terminated their contracts prematurely and went back to Lesotho.

Strikes and Riots

The industry's problems are further compounded by the growing number

of riots and strikes on the mines in recent months.

Fifty two Black miners have died in rioting at 10 goldmines during the past year. In the closed conditions of the mine compounds, strictly segregated ethnically, totally denied any social life and living as bachelors, the miners take out their frustrations on miners from other national or tribal groups.

In the most recent tragedy two Black miners died in a riot affecting 500 wor-

kers following a strike for higher wages by 6000 at the Hartebeestfontein mine at Stilfontein, Western Transvaal.

One of the dead miners was found shot, obviously by the police.

About the same time 1500 miners, mainly Malawians, were on strike at the Western Deep Levels mine, demanding to be sent home.

At the ERPM mine in Germiston 1000 Mocambicans struck work for higher wages and were dispersed by a contingent of armed police with dogs.

To dismiss these riots as "mindless" as some mine managers do is obviously wrong. The riots are symptoms of a deep-seated restiveness among the industry's Black labour force.

Even if Mocambique and Malawi allow recruiting to continue in the immediate future, the mining industry in South Africa is aware that it cannot depend indefinitely on the 200,000 workers that are recruited annually from these two countries.

Frantic

The Chamber of Mines, bewildered by the Malawian decision to suspend recruitment and the turn of events in Mocambique, is frantically making plans to make South African Blacks change their traditional opposition to working on the mines.

Mr. Tony Fleischer, general manager and Mr. A. W. S. Schumann, the president of the Chamber unashamedly admit that wages up to a year ago were deplorable.

According to them some of the steps they are taking to encourage Black South Africans to the mines are:

- A further increase in wages – the fourth increase in the last year, and
- Permission is being sought from the Government "to extend married quarters for senior Black employees" in the mining compounds.

Mr. Fleischer, in a recent press statement announcing the intention of the Chamber to further increase wages said:

"Our first step in attracting more South African labour to the mines will be a campaign to improve the image of the mining industry, which has not been good in the past because of poor wages . . ."

Replying to a question by the Mining Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, he said that the "homelands" provide the main field for expansion of recruiting. "Broadly speaking", he added "there are two major areas of high potential. One is a belt stretching along the north-western border of South Africa from Kuruman to Pietersburg, and embracing the "homelands" of Bophuthatswana and Central Lebowa.

"The other", he said, "is a belt running down the east coast, embracing northern and southern Natal with a Zulu speaking population".

"Each major area has a male population of about 250,000" he said.

This concluding statement emphasises our contention that the so-called homelands were just a reservoir for cheap labour: **Five hundred thousand unemployed workers in just two and one third of the eight "homelands"!** Earlier we referred to the riots and strikes that have been bedeviling the

industry in recent months. These have not arisen by some chance. They have arisen because mine labourers are no longer uninformed and submissive as they were in the past. They have heard about the Natal strikes and the big wage increases that followed. They have heard of Frelimo's triumph in Mocambique and other Black advances and naturally they harbour greater expectations.

It must be borne in mind that these strikes followed soon after the most recent increases in wages and therein lies the greatest problem confronting the mining industry.

The wage increases are too little and have come too late.

The year when Guinea-Bissau has attained independence, Mocambique is free, and, Angola is on the verge of independence; in the year in which freedom fighters are increasing their activities inside Zimbabwe and Namibia; in the year in which South

Striking dairy workers from the Dominion Dairies in Turffontein with Brig. J. Weise during sit-in



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: On The Workers Front

Africa has witnessed an unprecedented wave of strikes by workers and students; in this atmosphere for the mining magnates to offer miners an average of only R52 (approximately £26) per month, is most certainly unacceptable.

And, we have little doubt all the propaganda the mine owners produce to attract Black South African miners will not appreciably help solve the worker shortage of the mines.

* * * * *

Another Strike

Three hundred and eighty five dairy workers walked the 15Km from Turfontein in Johannesburg to Diepkloof Hostel where they staged a sit-in.

The men, employed by Domimon Dairies, told a police officer who appealed to them to go back to work:

- They were not happy with their wages;
- Their complaints to the management through a representative had fallen on deaf ears"
- Deductions were made from their pay-packets without explanations; and
- There were too many "indunas" (foremen) who acted as management informers.

When the officer, Brigadier J. Weise, told them to form a works committee (the government's alternative for proper African trade unions) they replied that they had tried this before but the management refused to have anything to do with the committee.

When questioned by a newspaper reporter about this, the manager of the dairy said that he was prepared to talk to "one or two workers about problems - not to a group of them". Although the workers went back to work after a day on strike feelings are still tense among them and we are sure we shall hear more about these workers soon.

* * * * *

Pay Cut

A man who has cleaned a block of flats in Houghton the millionaires su-



Mr. John Malebye . . . pay cuts

burh in Johannesburg, for the last 21 years has had his monthly take-home pay cut from R45,11 to R42,18 and finally R36,68 after a new owner, Chaim Wainer had bought the building.

Mr. John Malebye, 58 is the head cleaner at Grosvenor House, which was sold to Wainer. Transfer took place at the end of May. In June his pay was down R2,93 to R42,18.

He received the same in July, but in August his travelling allowance had been left out. This left him with a take-home pay of R36,68.

The flat superintendent said she had complained about this to Wainer but had no satisfaction.

"I've got no complaints about his work", he said.

* * * * *

Aid to Strikers Banned

Both the Government and the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) have told the Kwa Zulu "homeland Government", to keep out of workers strikes.

The Secretary of Bantu Administration, I. P. Ouselen, in a communique, warned the Kwa Zulu "government" against "interceding on behalf of Zulus in Labour disputes in White South Africa".

He gave two reasons for the prohibition:

- The Zulu administration did not have jurisdiction in white areas;
- Kwa Zulu was not yet an "independent" homeland.

Meanwhile, Tom Murray, TUCSA's president has re-iterated an earlier statement by Arthur Grobbelaar the TUC's secretary that **TUCSA has taken "a definite stand that in no circumstances should homelands leaders become involved in urban labour matters"**.

Masters Voice

When it comes to the crunch, regardless of all its so-called desire to suddenly accept African unions into its fold, after having expelled them when the government decided that they should be, TUCSA once again echoes its master's voice. When it comes to Black workers in South Africa, the Government and TUCSA speak with one voice on all essentials as we have shown above.

Let us give another example:

Grobbelaar has often accused the non-racial South African Congress of Trades Unions (SACTU) of being a submissive organisation just as the Government does.

Recently in an effort to convince the Government that its insistence in recognising only works committees rather than African Unions, Grobbelaar, in a press statement said: "the Government can exert a considerable amount of control over registered trade unions, but it will never be able to control many thousands of committees, and I repeat - they are a wonderful tailor-made device for the enemies of our way of Life".

Continuing, Grobbelaar said: "As evidence of this I recently came across a copy of the latest publication of the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which claimed that although the Government has disrupted its trade union activities in the Republic, SACTU's factory committees and I quote, 'on which we have mainly concentrated continue to this day'".

Grobbelaar was obviously lying when he tried to equate the management and Government fostered works com-

mittees in the factories with the SACTU organised **factory** committees which are secret underground units. Whether recognised Unions exist or not SACTU's factory units will continue to exist if for no other reason than to see that such unions do not sell out the workers under pressure from the government, TUCSA and other such enemies of the Black workers in South Africa.

No doubt when he referred earlier to the control the Government has over registered Unions, he was thinking of the power the Minister of Justice has to arbitrarily ban, arrest and detain without trial and hold incommunicado those unionists who do not toe TUCSA's line, or act, or say anything against the government.

Small wonder, therefore, that although scores of trade unionists have been hung, jailed, banned and banished for belonging to SACTU, very few, if any unions affiliated to or fraternising with TUCSA, such as Lucy Mvubelo's African Garment Workers Union, have had any of their leaders treated in a like manner.

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Slap in the Face

Nine trade unions, the five racially and provincially divided Garment Workers' Unions, the two Textile and the two Leather Workers Unions which are also divided racially received a resounding slap in the face from their international federation – the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, towards the end of the year.

The nine unions were initially invited by their international federation to send representatives to the African Regional Conference of the Federation which was held in Nigeria in November, last year. The Federation had also arranged for a considerable part of their expenses to be paid by a West German Foundation.

Towards the end of October, however, the Federation's general secretary, Mr. Charles Ford, informed the Unions that they would not be able to support South Africa's participa-

tion due to the "United Nations opposition to such participation".

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Strikers Jailed

One hundred and thirty nine workers – the total Black labour force – employed at the Prefabricated Concrete Industries were fined R40 (more than two weeks wages in most cases) or 60 days, half of which was suspended for three years for striking.

F. W. Koch a senior Department of Labour officer told the court, which was held in a conference room because the court was not big enough, **that after their arrest the workers clapped their hands contemptuously.** He added that the strike, like others in Johannesburg, were caused "by outside influence – and I know who it is".

He neither volunteered nor was asked by the magistrate or prosecutor who this outside influence was.

Koch said that all the workers at the Concrete works refused to work. Their wages ranged from the minimum laid down R15 to R22 (£7-50 to £11.00) per week.

Though the employer offered them an immediate increase of R3 a week and a further R2 after Christmas, they persisted with their strike, he added. "This sort of behaviour could only be stopped by imposing heavy penalties", he said.

And the magistrate duly obliged.

We can safely tell him and the magistrate that such action's as theirs will not only fail to stop strikes but will, on the contrary, create more of them and these, not necessarily as peaceful as this one. In recent months there is ample evidence of this!

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Hollow Catch Phrases

The Minister of Statistics J. J. Loots, replying to a question, disclosed in the Senate recently that there was not a single African mechanic in South Africa.

Such occasional admissions should

make those who swallow the South African Governments' propaganda hook, line and sinker, realise just how hollow the "freedom for all racial groups", and "seperate development", catch phrases are.

* * * * *

Railroded by Apartheid

How's this for political irony? One day last month the Minister of Labour warned employers that they did not seem to recognise that inflation hit lowly-paid Black workers hardest. On the same day the Minister of Transport ignored the lesson by imposing a direct and special burden on these same workers. Increased third-class rail fares will affect millions of African workers who will suffer most anyway from the generally inflationary effects of the Railways Budget.

It is hard to believe that the Minister, Mr. Muller, was not being deliberately obscure when he spoke of "resettlement" areas having to bear a fares increase of more than 12 per cent. Resettlement areas? It turns out that this is the evasive apartheid jargon for massive complexes like Soweto, Thembisa, Langa and Kwa-Mashu. Soweto, for instance, is hardly a "resettlement" area; it is a permanent city of nearly a million people, many of whom live close to or on the breadline and most of whom have to travel to work by train each day.

Mr. Muller predicted airily that, overall, his new rail tariffs would hardly bother "the average family", putting up expenditure by only half a per cent a year. But the "average family" he had in mind we discovered is white and earns R7000 a year – at least seven times as much as the average family of the townships.

On top of that, this average Black family did not choose to live so far from its places of work. Apartheid placed it there to preserve a semblance of Whiteness in White towns. Nevertheless, it is going to have to pay more for the privilege of being segregated far away. That is the way apartheid works.

DON'T DICTATE TO US

says **MARK SHOPE**, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, referring to the report of the British Trade Union Congress visit to South Africa.

He was speaking to the Workers' Group attending the 59th session of the International Labour Conference in Geneva.

The delegation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) considers this 59th Session of the International Labour Conference as a follow-up to the historic International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid held from June 15 to 16, 1973.

One of our main purposes, therefore, in attending this Session is to listen to reports of the various workers' delegations on how the decisions embodied in the programme of action against Apartheid have been implemented and/or what future plans the participants have for the realisation of this programme.

You will recall that this programme was unanimously adopted at a conference attended by 380 delegates representing 200 trade union organisations with a total organised membership of 180 million workers.

As we are all agreed, this was the largest and most unified gathering of trade unionists ever held. A unique conference. Its uniqueness lies in the unanimity and solidarity of delegates, who, without exception, condemned the suppression and oppression of Africans and other Black workers of South Africa – Coloured and Indians – by the South African racist regime, and pledged themselves to work for the complete destruction of Apartheid in South Africa.

To us, the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid was not a mere vehicle for producing nicely-worded resolutions to be filed and forgotten, but a serious, business-like conference whose decisions call for implementation.

Brother Joseph Morris, Chairman of the Conference, in his opening address pointed out that:

'We are meeting here today for a very special and important purpose: to decide what to do about the system of apartheid practiced by the Government of South Africa.

'I would like to repeat that formula: to decide what to do. There is, I believe, no one here today who

would not condemn absolutely the policy itself and the false theology on which it is based. For that reason, I suggest that we devote our attention today and tomorrow to action against apartheid, not just words against it. We are here today because trade unions have a common aim, the elimination of this special and specially outrageous form of discrimination. It now depends on us to show, not only that we are also prepared to take whatever action may be possible to bring it to an end.'

This indicting statement by the Chairman of the conference met with unanimous approval by the conference delegates when at closing, they adopted, without dissent, a most far-reaching programme of action against apartheid in South Africa.

Campaign Sabotaged

The anti-apartheid campaign, coupled with recent struggles for wage demands by the African workers in the country, the successes scored by the liberation movements in the neighbouring countries, and the worldwide reaction to the shootings at the Western Deep Level Gold Mines, have had tremendous impact on South Africa.

The South African Government, their allies both inside and outside, employers and some trade union organisations, did not take these decisions lying down. They replied to them with a strong counter-campaign aimed at diverting the mounting concern of the world labour movement about apartheid into less dangerous channels. Suggestions that the lot of the African workers can be improved from outside through enlightened employment practices by foreign firms operating in South Africa, that Vorster seems ready to welcome constructive advice, preferably based on his own particular policies etc., begun to emerge.

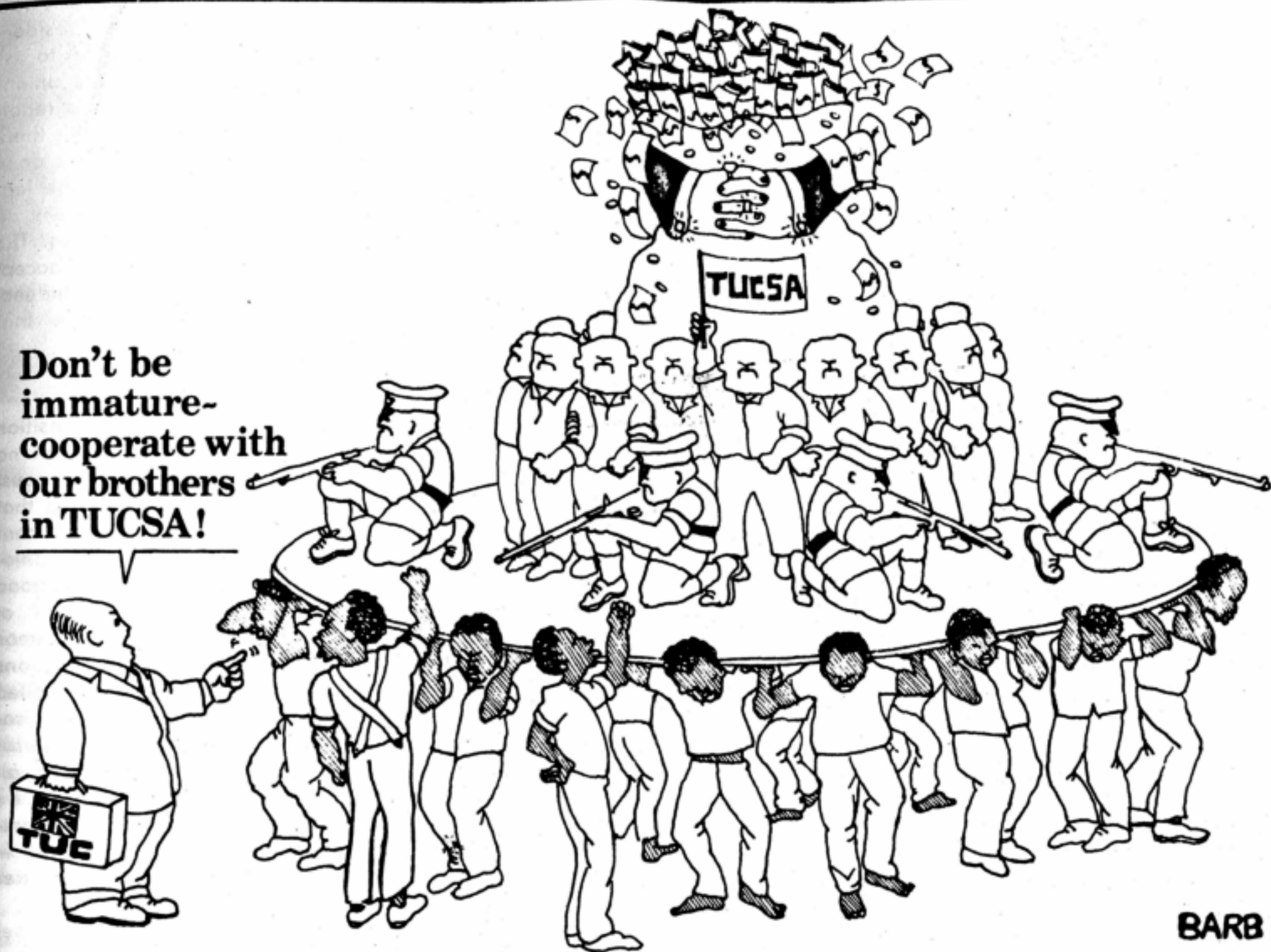
It is a matter of great regret to us that the British Trade Union Congress leadership which committed itself and the British working class to opposing British investments in South Africa and to discouraging the emigration of British workers to the Republic, should give us room for sharp suspicion that the TUC is in fact one of the organisations which seeks to promote this strategy – the strategy of deflecting the real opponents of apartheid from the main target, and thus torpedo the whole anti-apartheid programme, unanimously adopted by the 1973 Geneva Conference.

The official TUC policy against apartheid as we all know it, was laid down at their 1971 Blackpool Conference, and again at their 1972 Brighton Conference.

This policy was further endorsed by their support for similar anti-apartheid decisions internationally, including their adoption of a much wider programme of action at the June 1973 Geneva Conference.

Our apprehension arises not only from statements they made while they were in South Africa on their so-called fact-finding visit where they repeatedly stated that: 'The TUC would consider supporting collective bargaining procedures which are shaped by local circumstances', their urge to want to force African workers to be under the dominating control of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), but also by the fact that as re-

Don't be
immature-
cooperate with
our brothers
in TUCSA!



BARB

cently as June 5, 1974, — the day when the 59th Session of the International Labour Conference opened — the South African morning newspaper, the Rand Daily Mail, carried a despatch from Geneva which read as follows:

'The involvement of the ICFTU may be disquieting news swung practically the entire Western European trade union movement behind its plan to help South Africa's Black workers.

'In effect the plan has been taken over by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which is setting up a special Co-ordinating Committee to implement it.

'The Committee will comprise representatives of the trade union movement from nearly all the major Western Industrialised countries as well as the powerful international trade union secretariats, such as the International Metalworkers Federation.

'The involvement of the ICFTU may be disquieting news to the South African Government since the organisation, which has labour movements from 14 Black African States affiliated to it is far militantly anti-apartheid than the British TUC.

'There is also a fundamental difference between the ICFTU and the TUC over their attitudes towards the multiracial TUCSA. The British TUC leaders are sym-

pathetic towards TUCSA and believe in co-operating with it, but the stocky, crop-headed General Secretary of the ICFTU Mr. Otto Kersten, wants no contact with TUCSA . . .

'Whether the ICFTU, which is clearly persuaded by considerations of its African membership, can continue to pursue its hostile campaign against South Africa and still expect to be allowed to render assistance to Blacks in the Republic, remains to be seen . . .

'So, while the South African Government may not like the Brussel's based ICFTU, the Brussel's connection might be a small price to pay to stave off calls for concerted international trade union action against the Republic which could have more serious consequences than any other international action ever taken or contemplated.'

Fantastic Profits

In these conditions, we are forced to conclude that the TUC leadership is giving first priority to the British investments in South Africa which reaps fantastic profits from the cheap African labour than to principles, and we call on the world-labour movement to reject in toto this unprincipled position of the TUC leadership.

I have said that the TUC wants for force African workers

to accept the leadership of TUCSA. This is in spite of the fact that African trade unionists whom the TUC delegation have met in South Africa told them that they do not want any aid with strings attached to it, in spite of the fact that Barney Dladla, after his return from meeting the TUC officials in March this year, publicly declared that in his opinion the TUC want to force African workers to accept aid in their legitimate struggle only through TUCSA – an organisation which in our experience, is out to defend the status quo.

As far as the African workers are concerned, we see in TUCSA, indeed in many White unions, a parallel to the structures of the employers and Government. To us Africans, it is no secret that TUCSA can do only what the Government wants them to do. TUCSA, or any White union, is part of the State, whose aim is to control the activities of the workers and not to represent their interests.

To illustrate this point, I would like to quote Mr. Ben Schoeman, who in his capacity as Minister of Labour told Parliament in 1953. He said:

'In the past, the trade union was merely an organisation of individuals working in a certain industry, in order to negotiate with their employers and, as far as the State was concerned, to discuss legislation. Gradually, however, every registered trade union in South Africa has become a recognised part of the State machinery for carrying out our industrial conciliation machinery. Consequently, in view of the fact that the State, to a large extent gives recognition to trade unions as part of such machinery, it is obvious that the State has to watch very carefully in composing that machinery, that it can function in a manner which will enable it to achieve the aim for which it was created.'

(Hansard, 5, 14 August, 1953)

TUCSA Not Interested

In the whole of its 20 years of existence, TUCSA has not convinced the African worker that it is not part of the South African State machine. TUCSA is not interested in African workers, and it never has been. To quote Dladla, it has done absolutely nothing in its 20 years of

existence to improve conditions for African labour. This fact is even admitted by Mr. Steve Scheepers, President of TUCSA. Commenting on the decision of TUCSA to ask its affiliates to reconsider admitting African trade unions back into TUCSA early this year, Mr. Scheepers is reported to have said that: 'Some will want to join, but there are others who may take the view that TUCSA has done nothing for them'. In spite of all this evidence, the leadership of the British TUC wants to impose their will on the African trade union movement in South Africa. The African trade unionist is told that he must accept TUCSA or get no financial aid from the TUC. Indeed, there is a lot of meaning in the English adage that blood is thicker than water.

SACTU's View

In conclusion, I would like to state SACTU's position quite clearly. As far as we are concerned, we want no body to dictate to us what African trade unions must fight for and what they must not. We are convinced that the overthrow of apartheid is the only essential pre-condition for trade unionism in South Africa, if trade unionism is to bear any relationship to what it is understood to mean in Britain and elsewhere. The demolition of South Africa's migratory Labour system, the Group Areas Act, Job Reservation, Pass Laws and other legislations designed to turn the African majority into a controlled pool of cheap labour, can not be achieved by the so-called industrial democracy. The yoke of fascist terror which is holding down our people so far obliterates all distinctions between political organisations and African trade unions; both are prohibited. The principal manifestation and weapon of workers' economic struggle – strike – are regarded as a criminal offence, no matter what other people may say.

Therefore, the conditions in South Africa strongly impel African workers and their trade unions engaged in economic struggle to concern themselves also with political questions. Only a sell-out, posing to be an African trade union leader can tell his members that African trade unions must fight only for economic rights, and he or she, does that or will be doing that knowing full well that his or her people are kept in slavery, humiliation and insult.



SOUTH AFRICA'S ARMOURY

The South African armed forces consist of altogether 18,000 regulars and 92,000 reservists. Beside these there are Home Guard units (so-called Commandos) estimated at 75,000 and about 3,500 policemen with military training. At a complete mobilization the South African armed forces are estimated to be able to mobilize 300,000 - 350,000.

Army: 10,000 regulars; 80,000 reservists (Citizen Force); 240 tanks; 550 armoured motor vehicles; 200 reconnaissance vehicles.

Navy: 2,500 regulars; 9,000 reservists; 6 submarines; 2 destroyers; 6 frigates; 11 mine-sweepers.

Air Force: 5,000 regulars; 3,000 reservists; 180 aircraft (including at least 20 Mirage 111-EZ).

Self-supporting

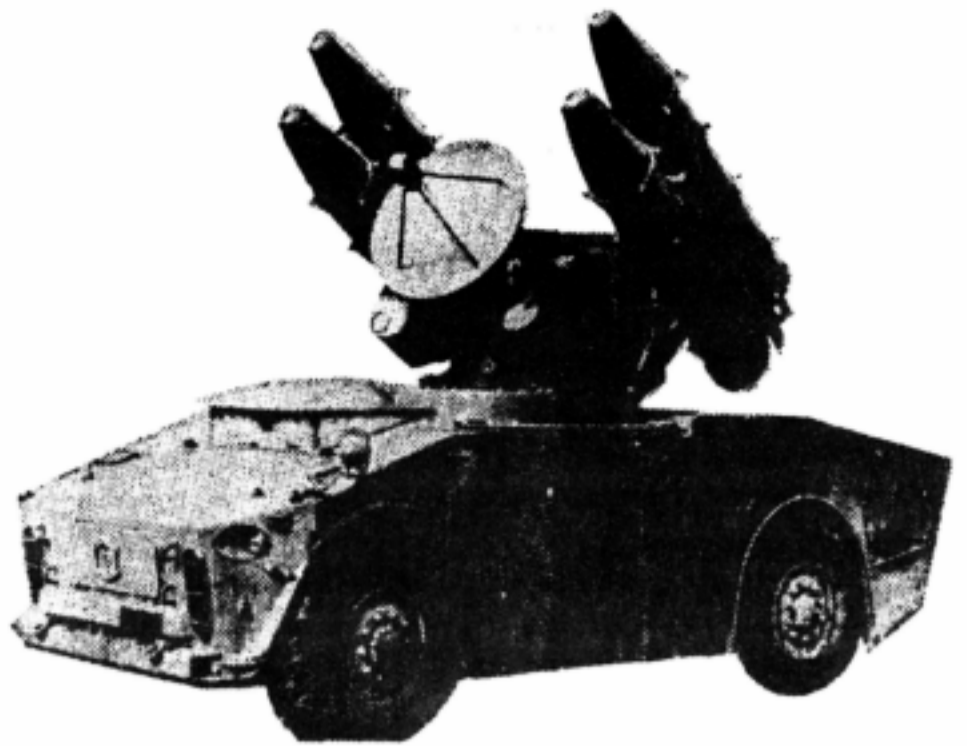
South Africa with the help of certain Western countries has built up a modern munitions industry. In April 1963 Fouché, the Defence Minister at the time, declared that South Africa could produce all the ammunition needed in the country.

Small arms, too, are manufactured in South Africa, mainly under license. One example is the automatic carbine FN-R1 designed in Belgium. Earlier the Israeli machinegun Uzi was manufactured under license as well, but in 1962 the Israelis withdrew the license. This, however, did not prevent the South Africans from continuing the production of the Uzi. More advanced weapons are manufactured in South Africa as well. Since 1963 South Africa has had a missile development scheme situated at an institute outside Pretoria. South Africa now manufactures its own anti-aircraft missiles. Together with France it has developed the anti-aircraft missile Cactus.

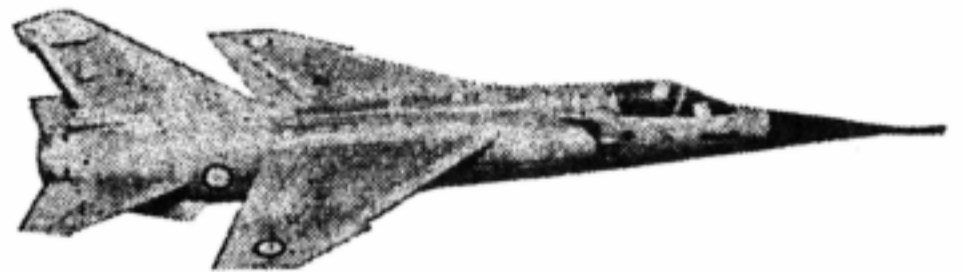
Gasses

Research on chemical and biological warfare is carried out as well. Apart from the nerve gasses Tabun, Soman and Sarin the nerve gas Cyclon B is produced at Sasolburg outside Johannesburg. The "secret weapon" announced by Defence Minister Botha about a year ago, is probably some type of nerve gas bomb.

In the development of nuclear weapons South Africa is believed to have advanced far. A South African method to enrich uranium has aroused great interest abroad. According to reports in the South African press, the West Ger-



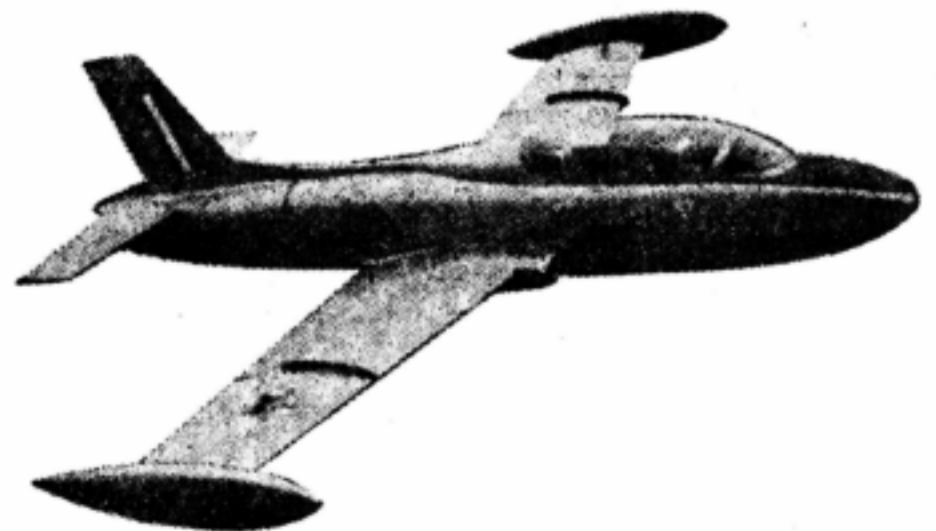
The missile system Cactus is a result of technical co-operation with France.



French Mirage planes of the F1 type will be manufactured under license at the Atlas factory outside Pretoria from 1976 on.



"S Mk 50 Hawker Siddeley Buccaneer." A light British bomber with a radius of action of 3,700 km. The South African Air Force has 16 planes of this type.



The light jet plane "Impala", designed in Italy and manufactured under license at the Atlas factory outside Pretoria.

man company Steag has been negotiating with the South Africans about co-operating to enrich uranium.

The conventional armed forces still form the most important part of the South African Defence. The import of arms especially from France – which never laid an embargo on arms – has been big. There South Africa has bought helicopters, military aircraft, and submarines. Mirage aircraft of the type F1 will be manufactured under license from 1976 at the Atlas factory outside Pretoria. In the first instance it is a matter of 48 planes, but the total need is estimated by South African military officials to 100. Italy has provided South Africa with aircraft of the Impala type. Britain too has delivered considerable amounts of munitions. In the agreement made with the United Kingdom in connection with the handing over of the Simonstown base to South Africa in 1955, there was among

other things an arrangement about arms deliveries. These were stopped during Wilson's first Labour government but were resumed by Heath.

Tanks for South Africa

South Africa will soon start building its own tanks, according to Defence Minister, Pieter Botha, who addressed a press conference recently.

Botha, questioned about South Africa's defence in the light of Portugal's handing over power to Frelimo in neighbouring Mozambique, said that South Africa had an increasing ability and mobility to defend her borders.

South Africa was already building its own military combat vehicles and would in the foreseeable future, start building her own tanks, he said.

No further details are available.

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BRITISH NAVY EXERCISES

After the outcry in Britain over the combined operations between the British Navy and the South African Navy, Sechaba approached Abdul Minty, Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and an expert on international relations, for his assessment of the situation. Abdul Minty said that he recalled Sir Alec Douglas Home once suggesting that Simonstown was an informal extension of NATO. The Labour Government seemed to accept his too as was evident by the fact that the two largest contingents of British naval ships visited Simonstown while Labour was in power. When it emerged that there had been a formal salute by the British ships of 21 guns and considerable social activity on shore, the British press had taken the matter up and Progressive Labour M. P.'s had protested until Mr. Callaghan, the Foreign Secretary had to intervene publicly.

But Mr. Callaghan did not object to the actual visit, only to the embarrassment caused by it. Particularly when Britain was preparing to defend South Africa's membership at the U.N. Abdul Minty felt that it seemed that Mr. Callaghan would not have raised the matter at all but for the fact of the embarrassment.

Minty recalled that the naval exercise in October was at the request of the South African Government, and it was no accident that it took place at the very time that South Africa was under fire at the U.N. and its expulsion was being demanded. It seemed too that the British Government was then preparing to veto South Africa's expulsion and the naval visit was related to that fact.

At the time, the Labour Government was claiming that its South African policies were under review, but the actions of the Labour government were contrary to the policies of the Labor Party as enunciated in the party programme. The programme stated that Britain would disengage from South Africa, especially on Simonstown. Yet on its assumption of office in October 1974, one of its first actions was to endorse the visit of eleven ships which engaged in extensive exercises including the use of the British helio-

copters sold to South Africa under the Tory Government and against Labour protests.

It seemed that under a Labour Government, the old Tory policies were being implemented without reserve and apartheid emerged the winner.

Minty said that delving deeper into the relationship between the two countries showed that there was this continuity in policy because of the firmly established network of links between them. The Labour Government seemed to be unable to go counter to the policies these links generated and this said something about the political structure in Britain.

It was also not enough to say that Britain was only demonstrating goodwill through these exercises. What was actually happening was that the striking power of South Africa's armed forces were being perfected. RAF planes had also been involved in exercises in 1973, these had involved ground crew at airports throughout the country.

Turning to the situation in Southern Africa as a whole, Minty warned of the dangers of continuing British involvement in the area. South Africa was extremely sensitive to the changing balance of forces and was building up its strike capacity. It was deeply alarmed at the developments in Mozambique and was preparing for a situation where, if necessary, it could strike along the coastline by means of naval craft which could retreat to South African ports nearby. This would be an alternative or addition to military action overland across the borders between the two countries which were very long and presented considerable difficulties. South Africa was also extending its activity to the north, in Caprivi and in Zimbabwe.

All this means that the British Government must be pressured to break all military – type collaboration and there should be no underhand dealings concealed from public scrutiny.

What is required is a public political decision by the Government to break with the past and renounce vigorously all collaboration and support for Vorster's regime.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement was, Minty said, pressing this policy with all possible effort.

In view of widespread pressure from the solidarity and Anti-Apartheid forces, both internationally and in Britain itself, the government is, at the time of going to press, reconsidering its Simonstown policy.
