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## SECHABA

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# Southern Africa ... VIGILANCE IS KEYNOTE

As a result of the dramatic events in Portugal in April last year the situation in Southern Africa has changed so rapidly that the sub-continent will not be the same again. The independence of Guinea-Bissau has been formally acknowledged; Frelimo has been brought into the administration of Mozambique which has been promised independence in June. In the case of Angola there is some confusion, but here too changes are imminent. In the case of Rhodesia the Smith regime has never been under such great pressure. It has been forced to release political prisoners.

SWAPO in Namibia is presenting new problems for the apartheid regime not only in the field of armed struggle but also in uniting the population against the Bantustan schemes. It has already resulted in the South African regime suggesting various devices for a settlement in order to win time to consolidate its powers over the international territory. Within South Africa itself the military machine has been further strengthened with the current defence budget reaching an alltime high of a minimum of 500 million Rand; a series of reforms are promised to mislead domestic and international opinion.

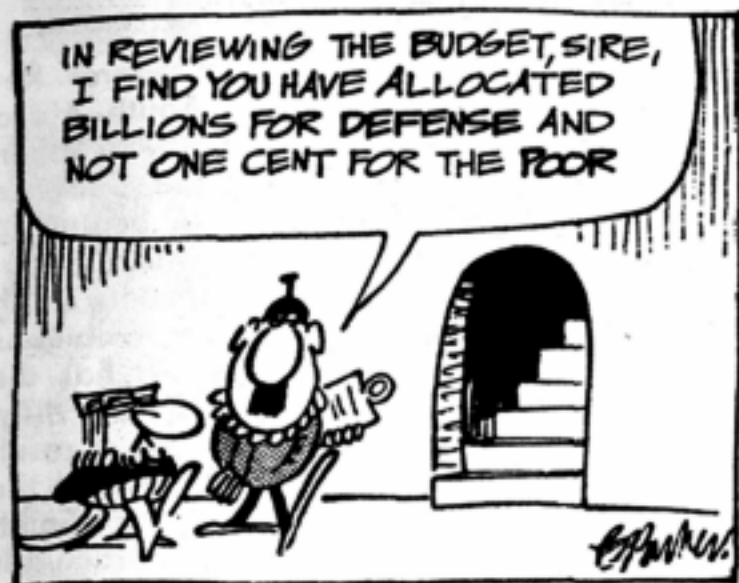
In welcoming some of these developments it is too early to celebrate the total defeat of colonialism in the area, for the forces of the old order still exercise considerable influence. Indeed the new situation requires the highest degree of vigilance so that the international campaign against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa is not relaxed but intensified. Already we have heard of promises by the South African regime to end racial discrimination and Premier Vorster asks the world to give him up to one year to bring about these so-called major changes. The intention is quite clearly to relax the pressure on South Africa so that it may use the time to consolidate and regroup the Unholy

Alliance which is now in some considerable disarray.

In the case of Portugal there remain the final transfer of power to the PAIGC in the Cape Verde Islands, of finally arranging the transfer of power to Frelimo in Mozambique and of bringing about genuine independence for the people of Angola. We are already witnessing the high level operations of the international interests which want to preserve Angola and especially Cabinda for future control and exploitation.

South Africa as the dominant power of the system of white dominance operating in Southern Africa feels the most threatened by the new developments and is therefore keen to promote a settlement between the Smith regime and Britain in order to help stabilise the political situation in Southern Africa. South Africa has never had any objections to having black ruled neighbouring states as long as they do not pose a threat to the Pretoria regime.

In the new developing situation in Southern Africa where South Africa is facing its greatest threat from the African people we are also witnessing a united show of solidarity by the western powers with South Africa. It has always been our view that the extent and nature of western involvement in South Africa makes it inevitable that when that regime is under threat from the oppressed people the external powers will act in closer unity with the apartheid regime and help to defend it from world opinion. At the United Nations the three western powers which enjoy vetos decided to demonstrate the nature of their commitment to South Africa by using them together in an unprecedented manner: Premier Vorster thanked them for saving South Africa from expulsion but the western leaders claimed at the time that they were primarily concerned with preserving the universality



of the United Nations. No one was fooled and now the General Assembly has set another precedent by barring South Africa from all its proceedings during the current session at the United Nations.

### Military Collaboration

Whilst it is easy to detect the political expressions of solidarity because they are usually well publicised, an area of perhaps even greater significance because it is not as well known is the growing military and security collaboration which is taking place between South Africa and various NATO members. In the past it was the responsibility of Britain to cooperate with South Africa in this area on behalf of the West but in recent years the United States and France have taken a new interest in the strategic significance of South Africa. In October a secret document approved by the US President in February 1970 was published by a well known journalist, TAD SZULC, and it revealed clearly the plans of the USA to act in alliance with South Africa. It so happens that at about the same time the Conservative Party in Britain also discussed similar plans and had a conclusive meeting about it in April 1970. A few months later the Conservatives were elected to power and began to promote new links with South Africa, not only in the context of the 1955 Simonstown Agreements but for a wider defence role for South Africa in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The USA is in agreement with this and following the Portuguese changes in April 1974 the head of the South African Armed Forces, Admiral Biermann visited the USA on a 'private visit' which involved high level talks with the Pentagon. Since then, a senior South African naval officer, has been invited to Washington for additional talks.

This happened at the same time as a major controversy in Britain about ending the Simonstown Agreement with South Africa, was in progress.

When these developments are seen together with the NATO admission in May 1974 that it had drafted contingency plans for operations around Southern Africa it becomes clear that the western powers have rapidly moved into a position of considering South Africa not only as a valuable ally but a major one. Britain has had two sets of major naval exercises with South African naval vessels during August and October last year and several French ships have also called at South African ports. During April 1974 the West German training ship Deutschland visited Cape Town and Captain Kurt Siewert examined the Simonstown base from the bridge of his ship. This is the first German naval vessel to have visited Cape Town for nearly 40 years and indicates that defence cooperation between West Germany and South Africa is also likely to increase to new levels.

Thus we are in a period when the military collaboration between several western powers and South Africa is increasing in a way which not only strengthens the South African regime and gives it new confidence but also enables the Pretoria regime to expand its power and influence in the Oceans around Africa with western support. All this is aimed to help counteract an alleged Soviet threat when it is in fact only serving the purpose of satisfying South Africa's wider ambitions. These developments clearly present a serious and grave danger to the peace and security of Africa and the world.

### West German Role

In this overall context the West German role is highly significant because of its extensive economic, cultural,

sporting, academic and political links with South Africa. In almost every area there has been a dramatic increase in links with South Africa at the very time when increasing demands with larger and larger majorities are being made by the United Nations to end these collaborative links. The position with regard to trade and investment is well known. Various cultural and educational visits are arranged either under the cultural agreement with SA or independent of it; with sports boycotts having isolated South Africa from countries like Britain, Australia and New Zealand new links are being developed with West Germany to compensate for the success of Anti-Apartheid movements in other countries.

During October 1974 the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industries announced that special attention was to be given to "developing export facilities in West Germany and the Common Market". It went on to say that they hoped "to promote the continuous flow of German investments to South Africa" and it was pointed out that special attention would be paid to investments for the infrastructure of South Africa as a whole and particularly the development of the Black homeland economies. From South Africa's point of view its trading relations are favourable to West Germany so it wishes to increase South Africa's exports to FRG. One way to do this is for FRG plants to be set up in South Africa and the products then exported to FRG and the Common Market. At the same time the Pretoria regime needs to secure international capital for the Bantustan programme and it appears that FRG investors are ready to cooperate with South Africa in implementing its apartheid policy more effectively and at the same time draw super profits from the system which ensures a ready and cheap pool of African labour.

It is interesting to note that the South African subsidiary of Hoechst of West Germany announced during October 1973 that it was planning a further investment of 6 million Rand to raise the South African investment to 41 million Rand.

Mr. Arno Baltzer, deputy managing Director of Hoechst South Africa also said that they were studying a further 40 million Rand investment but he gave no details.

The 6 million Rand investment is to go to expanding the artificial fabrics plant in Cape Town, to expand the polyester resin and polypropylene plants and the opening of a pharmacology research unit. Mr. Baltzer explained that the extension in South Africa in line with the decision by Hoechst to limit its investment in West Germany "because of the combined pressures of stricter ecological legislation and the rapidly increasing costs of labour and international transportation". He went on to say that South African made products accounted for 60% of his units sales in SA but that with the new expansion the total of imported products would be reduced from 40% to 20%.

Hoechst is clearly keen to support the strategy of the Pretoria regime by contracting its plant in FRG and expanding it in South Africa, thus reducing South Africa's import burden, developing the South African manufacturing sector, and making larger profits by investing in the apartheid system which guarantees super profits for overseas investors.

The same Mr. Baltzer also now happens to be the Chairman of the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industries mentioned above!

But these investment patterns which are becoming increasingly clear are also aimed at enabling South African manufactured products to penetrate the Common Market area.

Mr. Baltzer says that his Chamber has a membership of 500 Firms having direct trade interests with West Germany including most multi-national FRG entrepreneurs operating in South Africa.

## **EDESA**

Another development reported last year was that a new organisation called the Economic Development of Equatorial and Southern Africa (EDESA) was established with Professor Karl Schiller as its first President. In an interview with *Welt am Sonntag*, Schiller revealed at the time that the

idea of investing in Central and Southern Africa and offering a new and modern type of development aid came from Anton Rupert the South African tobacco baron.

The companies participating in EDESA are Daimler-Benz, Bosch, and the Deutsche and Dresdner Banks from the Federal Republic; Ford, General Motors, IBM and Universal Leaf from the United States; the Bank of Montreal; Barclays Bank from Britain; Luxembourg Credit Bank; the Swiss Banking Company; and from South Africa, apart from Rupert's own holding, the Anglo-American Corporation. The International headquarters of EDESA is in Zurich but it is registered in Luxembourg and its African headquarters are in Swaziland instead of in South Africa. The elaborate and complicated methods used by EDESA reveal the techniques the South Africans are prepared to use to overcome the African boycott and expand South African influence in Africa. It is significant that persons such as the former Economics Minister of West Germany are prepared to collaborate in schemes intended to bolster the apartheid system.

These two examples help to illustrate the changing pattern of economic relationships between western capital investment and trade in connection with South Africa. It is perhaps more accurate today to suggest that the western economic system is deeply integrated with the apartheid system so that South Africa is beginning to be used much more as a base for operations in Africa and other Southern hemispheric regions as well as becoming a major exporter of manufactured goods to the northern hemisphere.

## **Nuclear Collaboration**

When these factors are considered together with the recent developments regarding South Africa's uranium industry we notice the level of involvement on the part of the Federal Republic on the side of the apartheid system.

The Steag Electrical Company and the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of SA are conducting feasibility studies in order to build a massive uranium enrichment plant in South Africa. The South Africans claim to have perfected a new process of uranium enrichment which will also be among the cheapest but it is clear that the new approach to uranium isotopic separation also has very strong connections with processes developed in West Germany. For many years there has been wides-

pread speculation about nuclear collaboration between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa and these reports have always been denied in Bonn - now the evidence of earlier collaboration is beginning to reveal itself in a form which is perhaps more difficult to conceal. South Africa has special nuclear ambitions and experts calculate that it has the capacity to manufacture a 'dirty' atomic bomb. In addition, as a result of the so-called energy crisis and the new importance of atomic power South Africa is placed in a particularly strong position since it is now the second largest producer of uranium and with assistance from the Federal Republic it is planning to establish its huge enrichment plant.

Both the United States and the Common Market Commission in Brussels are watching the progress in South Africa of the enrichment of uranium with very great interest.

Of around 400 West German companies operating in South Africa most of them are in the chemical and engineering sector which is also the sector with a special military capability - it is easy to list them and reveal the widespread nature of FRG involvement in South Africa. These companies should be subjected to intensive pressure and confrontation so that their role in helping to maintain and defend the apartheid system is widely publicised. The campaign on investment is the primary area in terms of external support for the Pretoria regime and this includes military support. But initially considerable attention has been paid to the investments of churches and other bodies in these companies with a view to promoting a withdrawal of investments. Allied with this is the campaign to end migration and tourism to South Africa as well as a boycott in the academic, sports and cultural fields. The aim should be to end all links with South Africa but it is not possible to attack them all at the same time. The strategy and tactics have to be worked out by those engaged in the action which should be seen as being direct support of the Liberation Movements rather than separated from them.

As a result of the fantastic increase in links between South Africa and the FRG it is vital to have a strong, united and broad AAM in West Germany. In the final analysis the oppressed people themselves will win their own freedom but it is the duty of all progressive forces, the world over to give them every assistance by organising effective solidarity action in countries which constitute the major collaborators with apartheid.

# VUKANI! AWAKE!

A new underground newsheet made its appearance inside South Africa in December, last year. This is its first issue and we have been informed not its last. Future issues will be published in SECHABA as we receive them.

**Vukani! Awake!** we say! Open your eyes people of South Africa and see what lies before you! We know what lies around us. We have lived with this cancerous apartheid for too long. It has robbed us of our land, insulted our people and their cultures. In its name and for its preservation, our greatest patriots have been killed or thrown into fascist dungeons.

## But must we despair?

Is that all? Are we, the descendants of Makana, Shaka, Dingane, Moshoeshe, Sekukhuni, Bambatha, the contemporaries of Saloojee, Timol, Tiro and the still living heroes, Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu, Kathrada, Fischer, in gaol and Tambo, Kotane, Dadoo and others in exile, **are we going to sit back and let these things continue forever?**

**WE SAY NO!** And the heroic fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe have demonstrated on the battlefield that we mean business! Since 1967 they have been engaged in armed struggle and sometimes send the enemy troops running for shelter. But this is only one side of our struggle. **A revolution is what we fight for and a revolution is not always only a military struggle.** People revolt against some order and for some new order.

They employ the methods (and there are many that are used, often simultaneously), most useful to achieving their aims. We do not want to be treated like dogs in our own land! We want a society where we can live in peace, security and with human dignity, a society where equality and love between our people is possible.

**To achieve such a society is not just a military struggle!** The armed cadres of Umkhonto are not a professional army. They are dedicated sons and daughters of all the sections of the South African people who have sacrificed the ordinary comforts of life to contribute to our liberation. **Umkhonto fulfils the strategy and tactics determined by the African National Congress (A.N.C.), the main peoples' organisation, representing the aspirations of the oppressed for more than sixty years.**

The ANC has, as its allies in the liberation movement: The Coloured Peoples' Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions and the tried and tested South African Communist Party. Together, these organisations employ political, industrial, military, propagandistic and other methods towards achieving the peoples' programme - The Freedom Charter.

## What is the Freedom Charter?

At a historic gathering almost twenty years ago, the most representative meeting of the peoples of South Africa adopted as their programme, the basis of the society to be, this charter. Its ideas have surely stood the test of time? Let us look at some of the headings of this document:

**South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White!  
The People Shall Govern!**

**All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!**

**The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!**

**The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It!**

**All Shall be Equal Before The Law!**

**All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!**

**There Shall Be Work And Security!**

**The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall Be Opened!**

**There Shall Be Houses, Security and Comfort!**

**There Shall Be Peace and Friendship!**

The Charter concludes

"Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: **'THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.'**"

That these should be revolutionary and subversive statements testifies to the decadence of present-day South Africa!

**VUKANI!** will be a weapon to serve in the struggle to regain these rights and build the new society. We appear (as we shall appear **after** liberation) at a time of crisis for the Vorster regime of gangsters and thieves.

## Portugal and the Freedom of Africa

Earlier this year, forty eight years of terroristic dictatorship in Portugal was ended by a coup d'etat which has been enthusiastically backed by the people of Portugal and has developed into a democratic upheaval which continues to gather fresh momentum - first towards a peoples' democracy and also to the freedom of Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, previously under Portuguese colonialism for decades and more than a century respectively with a Portuguese "presence" for hundreds of years.

For more than ten years the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Mozambique like the heroes of the MPLA in Angola, have fought against Portuguese imperialism. Despite the heavy Portuguese military onslaught, aided by the capital from the U.S.A., Britain and other imperialist countries, despite the aid from NATO, and the continued reports of Portuguese "victories", the people of Mozambique and Guinea Bissau were able to free themselves!

Long before the Portuguese democratic revolution of April 25, Portuguese soldiers were deserting, joining the freedom fighters and Guinea Bissau had reached a stage in the liberation of her territory where she could declare herself independent and be recognized by most of the countries of the world.

It can truly be said that the people of the former Portuguese African territories and those still engaged in battle in Angola have aided in the liberation of Portugal, for the Portuguese people have not wanted to fight a fascist war of aggression! The Portuguese people, as is testified by the tremendous support for their Communist Party, which had operated underground throughout 48 years of dictatorship, have wanted a free society.

## Portugal, Mozambique and our struggle

The liberation of the former Portuguese colonies makes a substantial difference to the arena within which our struggle is being waged.

On the **International** level we have the support of yet another anti-imperialist force. International support for our liberation struggle has always been fundamental, as it has been for the heroic peoples fighting imperialism in South East Asia, the Middle East and other areas of imperialist aggression.

We have always been able to count on the consistent, principled and constructive support of the socialist countries, especially, the great first socialist land of the world, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and since 1945, an increased number of socialist countries. We have also, always, been able to rely on the democratic and progressive forces of the capitalist countries, in the Churches, trade unions, amongst the students and the Communist parties. It is valuable to now be able to count Portugal, as a nation, amongst these friends and allies of our cause.

Just as we count on their support, we wish them well in the building of their new, great democracy!

### **On our borders**

But the impact of the Portuguese events is even more profound, for us, on a local, southern African level. Right on our borders and the borders of Namibia (South West Africa) we have a truly free, liberated African state - Mozambique.

No wonder the Vorster thugs are shivering! No wonder that Vorster wants to dump Smith! No wonder that there are constant talks of new types of concessions!

**WE WARN THAT THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT BE DUPED BY ANY PHONEY "CONCESSIONS"!**

The struggle for southern Africa, for a truly free South Africa now operates in infinitely more favourable circumstances. This does not mean that revolution in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or Namibia or South Africa will be next year. It may be soon. But we must not underestimate the deviousness of the enemy, his armoury of lies and the array of stalling tactics, window dressing, use of stooges, "innocent assistants" of his policies, all to retain power. We must also not under-estimate the imperialist stake in apartheid. America, Britain, West Germany, France, Japan and other capitalist countries have heavy investments in South Africa. They are all averse to change that would reduce the huge profits that they derive from Black slave-labour.

These factors mean that we must be on our guard. While victory is closer, it is not round the corner. While we operate in better conditions, we cannot take it easy. We in South Africa must continue to operate with maximum security. Workers, students and other democratic sections of the population must meet secretly and only with those they can trust.

We must prepare to assist our cadres from Umkhonto and do political work ourselves. We must be sufficiently organised and disciplined ourselves that the liberation movement can advance so much easier.

**WE DON'T WANT THIS APARTHEID!**

**WE WANT A FREE SOUTH AFRICA AND WE WANT IT SOON!**

To achieve this we need to understand more about the programme, strategy and tactics of our movement.

**VUKANI!** will assist by informing you of many of these things. We do this, because **our revolution is not a revolution of a few men at the top.** We are for a peoples' revolution, a revolution such as is envisaged by the Freedom Charter.

**FORWARD TO FREEDOM!**

**MAYIBUYE AFRIKALAFRIKA! AFRIKA!**

**AMANDLA NGAWEHU! MAATLA KE A RONAI**

## **THE FRAUDULENT INDIAN COUNCIL**

The South African government's stooge institution for South Africans of Indian origin has come in for a sharp and hard-hitting indictment by no less a personality than its former appointed Chairman, Mr. H.E. Joosub. All that the African National Congress had been saying over the years about Bantustans and Indian and Coloured Councils have been confirmed by this so-called moderate.

Whilst we do not, for a moment, consider Mr. Joosub a friend of the South African revolution and while his motives in making his attack on the government-sponsored Council may not be wholly due to political considerations, his statement is illuminating.

Mr. Joosub, who held the position of Chairman from the inception of the Indian Council, made his statement on the eve of the "election" of 15 of the 30-member Council. (The 'elections' were held through so-called electoral colleges rather than on a free vote and up to this 'election' all members of the Council were nominated by the government.) Mr. Joosub said that he had refused to avail himself for the 'election' nor did he intend accepting a nominated position simply because the promises of Dr. Verwoerd in 1963 had never been fulfilled and the SAIC was nothing more than a advisory body and was not even representative of the Indian community.

"The Indian Council, under the present policy will remain the ineffective body it has proved to be in the past. It will be a chamber where members can let off steam without being able to reach the 'grass roots' level of the issues", said Mr. Joosub.

"After more than 10 years", he went on "the Council remains a half nominated body and a half purportedly elected national body which cannot be representative of the Indian community in terms of universal democratic norms." Mr. Joosub's rejection of the SAIC which he so strongly supported since 1964 when he was nominated first chairman appears to have come as a result of the forced removal of traders from the Prinsloo Street area in Pretoria where Mr. Joosub lives and conducts his business.

Referring to the several representations made by the SAIC for an extension of time for the traders, Mr. Joosub said that in spite of representations based on factual grounds, that the new Asiatic Bazaar was incomplete and access roads were not yet ready, the Department of Community Development "was resolute in its demands for ejection."

### **Voiceless**

Mr. Joosab cited this as an example of how the SAIC was voiceless. "It cannot help or bring temporary relief to members it purports to represent and it cannot satisfy the aspirations of the community, neither can it create the illusion of any political dispensation or delude the Indian community into thinking in terms of such dispensation" he said. He added unless the Government gave a visible demonstration of its policy for the evolution of meaningful political rights, it would be impossible for the SAIC to be wholly accepted by the Indian community as its mouthpiece. "The policy of the Government to maintain a liason with the Indian community will collapse", he said. "If the Government is genuinely interested in the continued existence of the SAIC there will have to be a radical change," he added.

### **Note**

The farcical nature of the 'elections' was clearly demonstrated when the highest vote cast for a 'candidate' was 71. Those 'elected' are all businessmen except one who is a medical doctor. They are: M.E. Sultan, J.N. Reddy, Y.S. Chinsamy, A. Rajbunsee, I. Kathrada, B. Dookie, C. Kajee, R.P. Moodley, Dr. I. Kajee and L.M. Seedat all from Natal. The others are: G.N. Naidoo (Cape) and from the Transvaal: J. A. Carreem, I.F.H. Mayet, S. Abram and I.C. Dasso.



law firm's registration form, the purpose of its employment by the Information Department is to lobby for a reassessment of American policy towards South Africa, particularly on energy, mutual security and investment in South Africa."

The Star reports that the two Americans "have been contributing funds to key congressmen, lobbying personally." (One focal person is House Foreign Affairs committee chairman Thomas E. Morgan). "The existence of the arrangement emerged accidentally recently after Mr. DeKieffer had protested to the State Department against its refusal of a visa for Admiral Biermann."

Admiral Hugo H. Biermann, commander in chief of the South African Defense Forces, visited the USA in the first week of May. His trip, like Mulder's, was a continuation of this "backdoor diplomacy" and was manoeuvred outside regular channels. Biermann was at first refused a visa by the State Department, the story goes. Then DeKieffer intervened - an act "totally unprecedented" said a State Department official - and so did Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. The State Department told The Washington Post the visa was granted after Biermann assured the US embassy in Pretoria that "he would make no official contacts" in Washington and after officials "at the highest level" ordered it - the matter went to Henry Kissinger's office.

No sooner in the USA, Admiral Biermann called upon Acting Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf, on an "informal and personal visit" to talk about a mutual friend, a Pentagon spokesman said. Biermann was invited here by the US Strategic Institute, a conservative group headed by former Admiral John McCain. The South African admiral was feted at a dinner hosted by Rep. Robert E. Bauman and reportedly attended by 17 US admirals. The Pretoria defense chief topped off his journey by meeting with his American counterpart, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, retiring chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

## South Africa on the Spot

South Africa's cultivation of the USA is further underscored by visits of other top officials, including Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller and Finance Minister Nicholas Diederichs. Stories persist in Washington of a South African tour by House of Representative staff members.

Well might South Africa court the USA. Pretoria's real shock came on 25 April with the military coup in Portugal, abruptly changing the balance of forces in Southern Africa. The situation for the white racist regimes has been deteriorating as liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia have not only

held fast but made important gains and as inside dissension by the black majorities has risen.

The Caetano regime in Lisbon fell because of internal unrest and the endless pursuit of empire, at a cost of half Portugal's budget, the further bankruptcy of Europe's poorest nation, the flight of 100,000 young men to avoid military conscription. The South Africans are on the spot. Pretoria suddenly faces the prospect of its eastern border with Mozambique and the frontier between illegally occupied Namibia and Angola exposed, with an only friend the weak Smith regime hanging on in Zimbabwe.

Boundlessly thriving as South Africa is, the hard hand-writing must be clear to Pretoria's ruthless men. They know they will shortly need help. Therefore they are reaching out for what they have always considered their ace in the hole, the United States of America, trying to draw this country into its war, to fill the Portuguese gap, a calculated replay of Indo-China when the French departed.

A development affecting South Africa is an issue now before Congress - a Pentagon request for over \$32 million to expand air and naval facilities on the British-controlled island of Diego Garcia. Possibly related is a mysterious \$2.2 billion item labeled "Support for Other Nations" which appears in the Pentagon's fiscal 1975 budget.

The more the USA draws closer to the Southern African region with military and economic alignments, the more the South African regime is encouraged along its brutal course; the more the USA becomes affixed to supporting that futile course, the more the USA loses contact with the reality of the future - which belongs to the African people.

At the same time the Vorster regime is courting the USA, it is tightening the noose around independent organizations - those most acceptable to liberal-minded Americans - which challenge the police state and its apartheid dogma. The Affected Organisations Act, hastened through Parliament and signed into law on March 1, threatens the Christian Institute, the National Union of South African Students, any group receiving funds from overseas. That South African officials should be entertained by their American counterparts is another indication of callous blindness which pervades sectors of the USA. What will American reaction be when Dutch Reformed churchman Beyers Naude's prophecy comes to pass: "There should be no doubt whatsoever in the minds of church leaders that no church will ultimately escape"?

## Easum Fired

Meanwhile, it has been announced that America's chief adviser on African affairs, Mr. Donald Easum, is to be

replaced. He is reported to have fallen out with Dr. Henry Kissinger, who is trying to find a less 'creative' assistant on southern Africa policy.

The first rumours that Mr. Easum was to be fired were heard shortly after he told a Press conference in Dar-es-Salaam on 2 November that 'we are using our influence to foster change in South Africa, not to preserve the status quo'.

The following day in Lusaka, Mr. Easum went slightly further, suggesting that the next time the question of South Africa's membership is before the Security Council, the United States vote might not be cast in her favour. "The question of expulsion will arise at some time again in the future and I would imagine that the degree to which South Africa has made meaningful changes will determine the stances that various countries will take on the expulsion issue at that time," he said.

Dr. Kissinger's present plan is to replace Mr. Easum with Mr. Nathaniel Davis, the career diplomat who was the US Ambassador in Chile at the time of Allende's overthrow. Unlike Mr. Easum, Mr. Davis has had no experience of African questions. Dr. Kissinger plans to 'reward' Mr. Easum by assigning him as the new US Ambassador to Nigeria.

Mr. Easum's departure, coupled with the decision of the US House of Representatives not to take a vote on Rhodesian sanctions before its Christmas adjournment, may bring the deterioration of American-African relations to crisis stage. Both black African and South American sources in the US feel that the two developments are further signals of US support for South Africa and Rhodesia. It is believed that General Gowon of Nigeria, has decided not to respond to an invitation to pay a State visit to Washington until the sanctions loophole - which has been worth more than \$60 million (about £26 million) in foreign exchange to Rhodesia in the past three years - is closed. The Senate voted a year ago to repeal the law, known as the 'Byrd Amendment', but the adjournment of Congress means that the repeal effort will have to begin again from scratch.

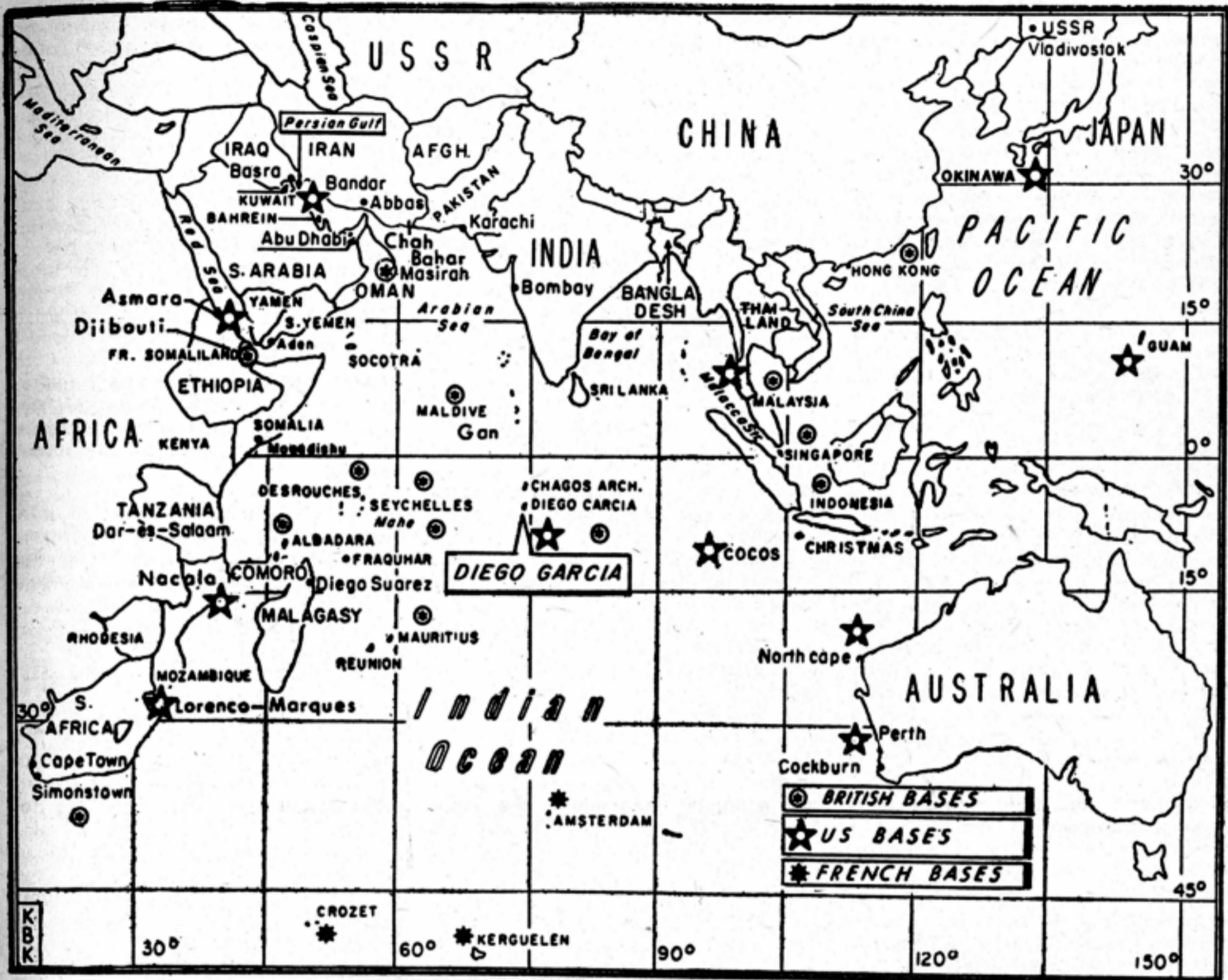
African diplomats questioned in the US feel that Dr. Kissinger's statements in favour of repeal of the 'Byrd Amendment' - which originally passed with clandestine White House support - have been nothing more than lip service.

State Department sources say that during a conversation in the autumn of 1973 with Dr. Hilgard Muller, the South African Foreign Minister, Dr. Kissinger promised to curb the 'missionary zeal' of US career diplomats towards questions involving South Africa.

(Edited and up-dated version of a report by the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, New York)



# Imperialist Military Bases in the Indian Ocean



## SOUTH AFRICA: A THREAT TO PEACE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

by Moosa Moola,  
 Chief Representative, Asian Mission,  
 African National Congress  
 of South Africa

The continued existence of South Africa as a racist and fascist state has been universally recognised as constituting a grave threat to the peace and stability of the African continent. It has become quite clear that she serves the same purpose as a bastion of reaction and subversion in Africa, as her counterpart and ally in West Asia, Israel. However, an aspect which has been recognised but not given due importance is the fact that South Africa very definitely poses a general

threat to the peace of the world and in particular to the peaceful development and reconstruction of those countries whose shores are washed by the Indian Ocean.

It is our contention that South Africa is being deliberately groomed, aided and abetted by international imperialism to serve its vested interests to convert it into a gigantic aircraft carrier, as it were, in the Indian Ocean.

A glance at the map of the world showing South Africa's strategic location between the east and the west should reveal why military strategists of the NATO are looking more and more towards the southern tip of the African continent becoming its southernmost flank. Besides, in the struggle between the so-called free world and the socialist world, fascist South Africa's virulent anti-communism makes her a natural ally of the forces of reaction.

## Cape Sea Route

Addressing the all-White South African Parliament on April 26 1972, Defence Minister Botha stated: "There are signs, encouraging signs, in the free world that position of South Africa and Southern Africa is better understood today than before. Secondly, it is being realised more and more that the Cape sea route and a stable Southern Africa are of the utmost value to those countries which depend on one million tons of oil carried around the Cape of Good Hope every day. If there are countries which are not prepared to supply us with armaments for the defence of the important Cape sea route, they should ask themselves to what extent their attitude is really in the interests of the survival of Western civilisation."

And, on the same occasion, after moot-ing the idea of forming a bloc of Southern African states against communism, the Minister declared: "I have also said we adopted the point of view that through mutual co-operation these anti-communist southern African states should forge closer links with one another in order to establish a bloc against communism in Africa. We do not want to limit this to Southern Africa only, but want to cooperate with other African states as well and to extend our cooperation to those who want to join us in establishing a anti-communist bloc"

## Bogey of Communism

This harping on the so-called communist threat by South Africa and her Western apologists is aimed directly at gaining respectability in an increasingly hostile world and ensuring that active military intervention is not lacking in times of crisis.

Racist South Africa's strategy is quite simple. Realising that White supremacy and domination must yield to African claims and aspirations for a just and equal share in the South African society and fully aware that brutal might and repressive measures are not enough to sustain the evil and obnoxious system of apartheid, the White-minority regime hopes to postpone its downfall indefinitely.

And it hopes to do this not only by building herself up into a powerful military power on the subcontinent but also through massive foreign investments and by offering herself as an imperialist base. She is, in fact, telling the West that only as long as the present system obtains their interest will be secure; White South Africa's downfall should be regarded as their own imminent collapse and disintegration of the "free world".

That their propaganda has gained credence in major Western capitals can be gauged from the fact that more and more voices are being

openly heard in the military-industrial complex and large finance houses that trade, economic and military relations with South Africa must be strengthened and expanded, in spite of UN resolutions giving a clear call to the contrary. After all South Africa has proved to be a "stable" society and remained a source of super-profits for the multi-national corporations for decades now.

To all intents and purposes, South Africa is an accepted member of the Western defence system; that she is not a formal member of the NATO or other Western military groupings should not hoodwink anybody. For years now she has been receiving the most sophisticated military hardware, especially from France and Italy. And according to a recent newspaper report the United States is following suit. Britain continues to stage joint naval exercises with the South African navy and has an accord on the use of the Simonstown naval base in times of conflict. South African defence personnel have been known to have had discussions with their counterparts in certain Western countries and the recent visit of South Africa's Chief of the Defence Forces Admiral Biermann, to the United States was certainly not a sightseeing trip.

## An Alibi

A few months ago considerable publicity was given to an admission by the NATO command that its Supreme Commander for the Atlantic, Admiral Ralph Cousins, had been given a secret directive to study possible operations in the Southern African region. That NATO should have considered it important to make a study of possible operations in Southern Africa is not altogether surprising in the light of growing support within the NATO powers of the need to ally themselves more closely with South Africa in order to "defend the Cape route." The alleged Soviet naval threat in the area has been projected as the chief reason for increased defence collaboration. In recent years, South Africa has also been increasingly used as a listening post and for monitoring the movements of ships of countries said to be hostile to Western interests in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.

Western collaboration with apartheid and the building up of the fascist war machine has reached alarming proportions. According to the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, South Africa has a defence force of 185,000 men, including 75,000 commando reserves. In The Military Balance (1973), its annual arms review, the Institute states that the only country with a large defence force in the sub-Saharan region is Nigeria with a population of 59.4 million as opposed to South Africa's population of about

24 million. Nigeria has a total force of 259,000 but her defence budget for 1971-72 was only Rand 194 million as against South Africa's budget of Rand 481 million.

## Simonstown Base

The most important naval base is at Simonstown. It was transferred to South Africa by Britain in the 1950s and has been greatly expanded in recent years. A new operational headquarters for the Maritime Command has been built nearby at Westlake, Cape Town, and two sub-headquarters would be set up at Walvis Bay and Durban.

Since the purchase of three submarines from France, a submarine base has been built at Simonstown which includes a synchrolift dock to handle submarines and smaller surface ships.

A second naval base at Salisbury Island, Durban, has been reactivated and expanded. There is also a smaller naval base at Walvis Bay on the coast of Namibia.

It is quite clear that South Africa's military build-up during the past 13 years is not intended for the suppression of the freedom movement only or to defend herself against so-called external threats. No African state has threatened to invade the country or is planning to do so—they are too busy with building and reconstructing their own ravaged economies (a legacy of their colonial past) nor has the South African freedom movement called upon African countries for such assistance or military intervention on its behalf. The real object of the massive build-up is not only threatening and subverting the independence of African countries but of serving the global designs of imperialism which in turn serves the immediate and long-term interests of South Africa. The reported linking-up of South Africa with Brazil and Argentina under a proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organisation must be viewed as another sinister move to make the Indian and Atlantic Ocean zones of conflict and tension.

Like NATO, its proposed counterpart, SATO, must be exposed as a military grouping of states designed to serve the interests of powers inimical to world peace and the process of détente in international relations. The world peace movement, and all progressive forces are called upon, now as never before to strengthen and consolidate their gains of recent years. The task of the international progressive movement of intensifying the fight against the forces of reaction and ensuring the total liquidation of all forms of exploitation, colonialism, racism and fascism wherever they exist, has become most urgent.

# FROM HOME TO NOWHERE

**Vorster's biggest population removal scheme to bring heartache and sorrow and is as objectional as all previous forced removals**

A hundred and fifty years ago the white man first settled in the area around the Fish River, an area occupied by a vast African community. On July 12, last year a monument to the 1820 Settlers was unveiled to commemorate the survival and the superiority of the arms of the white settlers. 154 years later the white government chose to demonstrate once again whose claim to land has prevailed.

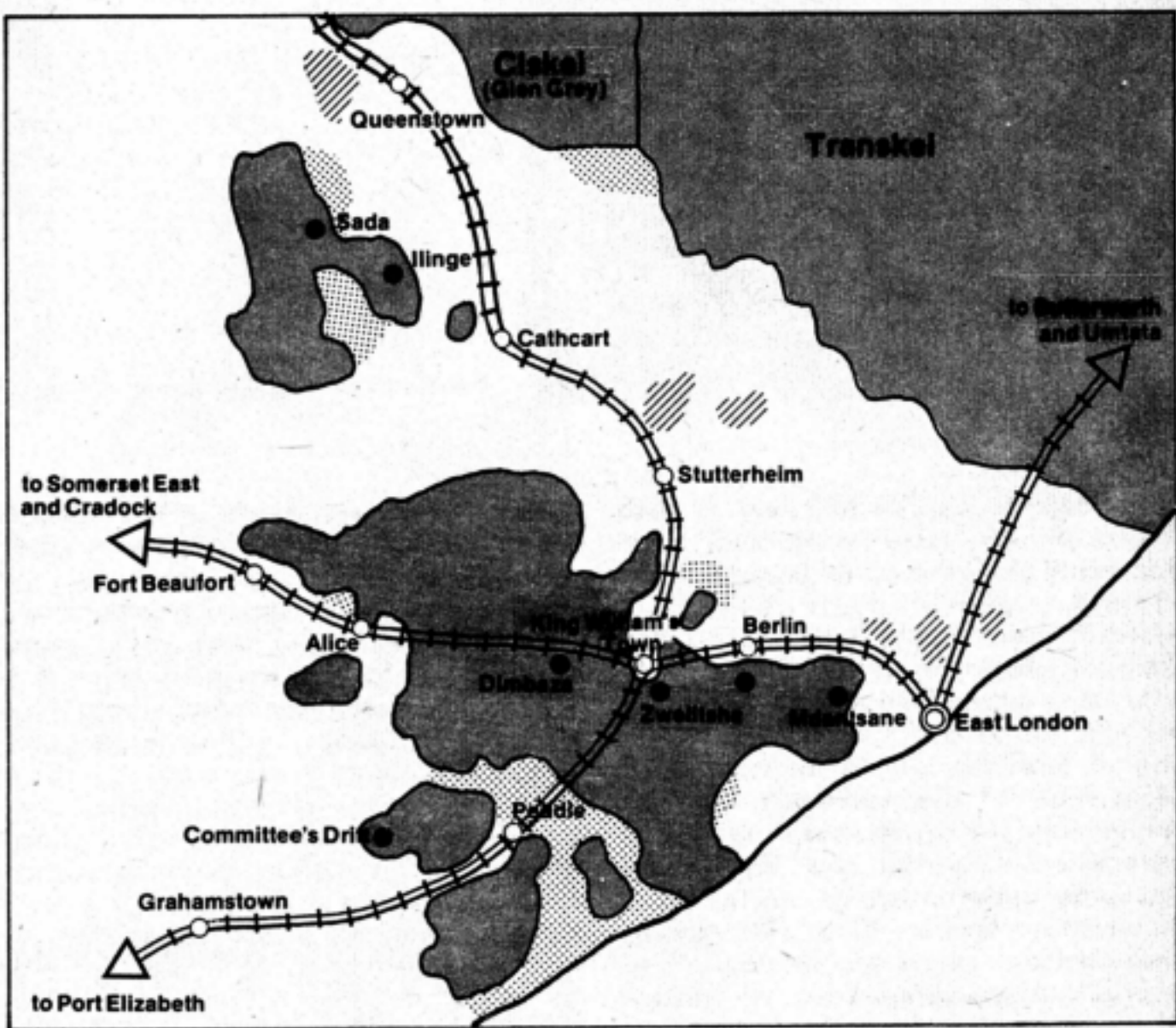
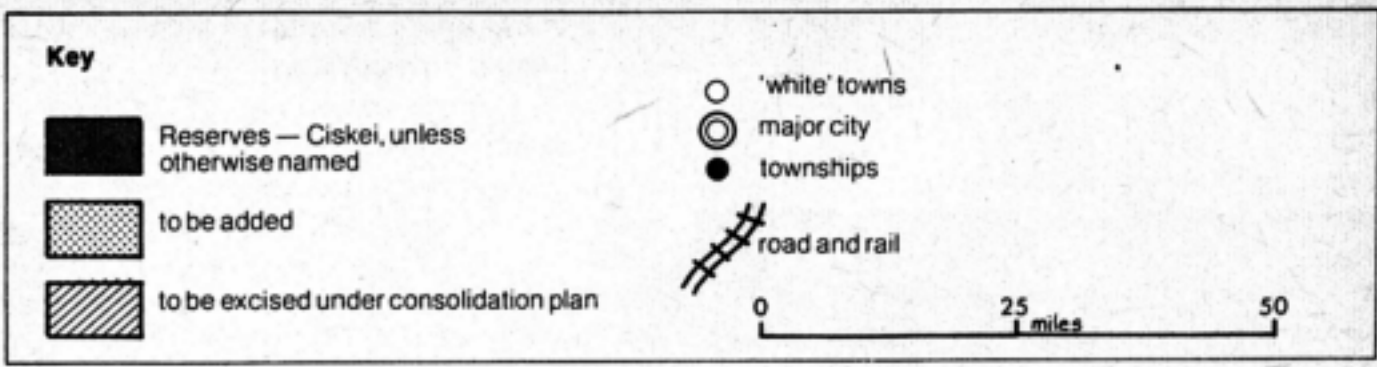
For while the celebrations in Grahamstown were getting under way, so did plans for the uprooting of Grahamstown's entire African community, including Fingo Village, one of the last Black communities still holding freehold land in "White" South Africa.

The fate which a week earlier struck 12 000 Bapedi, evicted from their farm in the Transvaal, also befell tens of thousands of Africans in the Eastern Cape as well, in one of the biggest population removal schemes the racist government has yet devised. Some 48 000 thousand will be removed from the Albany district (in which Grahamstown is situated) alone.

The Fingo Village has lived in peace since 1885, when the Fingos were granted 320 acres in Grahamstown "in the name of Her Majesty Victoria with full power to possess the same in perpetuity."

But then came separate development. And now this community is threatened with removal, Fingo Village having been proclaimed a Coloured group area in 1970 after a 16 year wrangle with the government. The Africans will be removed to Committees Drift in the Ciskei — a settlement planned for up to 200 000 people.

In enforcing their removal, the government came up against a problem: the Fingos are not merely occupants of their properties, they own them. And some have their forebears' title-deeds



East London and the Ciskei

to prove it. Not to be deterred by such legal niceties, the government hit upon a cunning stratagem.

### Deeds Stolen

According to the villagers, its agents collected what titled deeds they could, ostensibly to investigate whether the present holders are the rightful heirs. They have not seen them since.

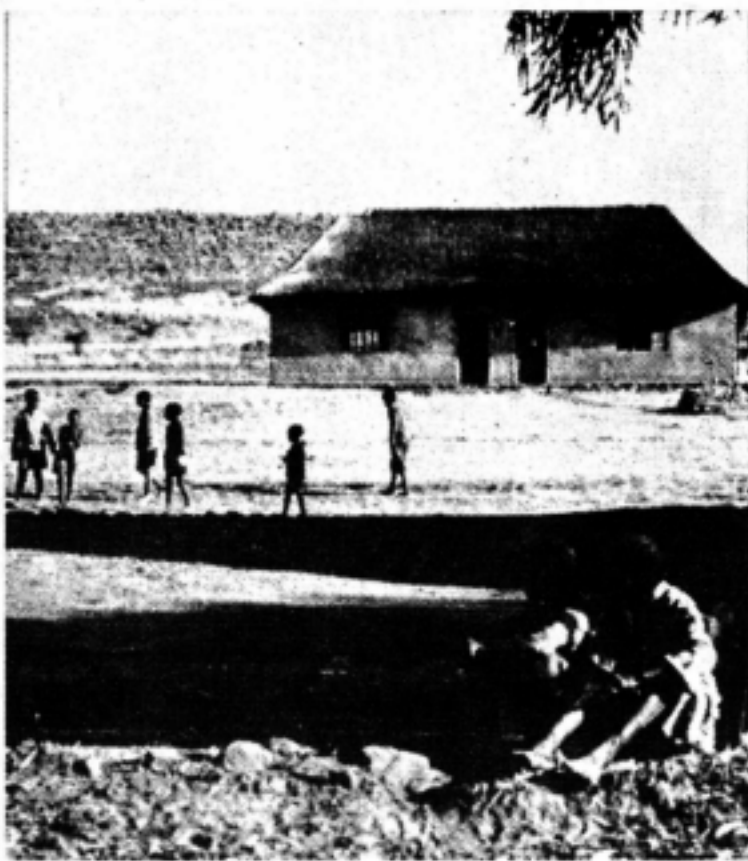
Then, as if the titles never existed, the government informed the owners that it had itself awarded them their land but for only a year and on condition they sold immediately to Coloureds or faced expropriation.

A mass protest meeting of villagers resulted — and the order to sell was suspended early last year. But it is only a matter of time before the 5 000 Fingos, as well as 25 000–30 000 Africans in Grahamstown's two other townships, will have to move. For, apart from the Group Areas Act, Grahamstown has unwittingly cut off its nose to spite its face. A few years ago, at industry's behest, it obtained the Border Area status it coveted, only to be confronted afterwards with the ideological ne-

cessity that its workers would have to move to a Homeland. So once again, families will be rent apart and the migrant labour system extended. Breadwinners will either have to move into compounds (hostels) in the city or commute daily from the Homeland, where their families will be resettled.

### Blatant Lies

The nearest bit of Homeland is Committees Drift, 45 km away from Grahamstown, on the Ciskei side of the Great Fish River — the most grandiose resettlement scheme yet dreamt up. Here, claimed former Deputy Bantu Administration Minister Dr. Piet Koornhof in 1972, the government not only planned an industrial area but would build the finest Black city in Africa "on scientific lines as a modern city", with clinics, an ambulance service, schools, shops, low-cost housing, flush-toilets, subsidised transport to Grahamstown, an irrigation scheme, possibly even a rail-link, and, later, regional hospitals. According to Koornhof, planning had reached "an advanced stage" by the beginning of 1972 and would be "fina-



**Black spot clearance:  
Settled communities . . .**



**Destroyed . . .**

lised towards 1973". So much so that "many Bantu have expressed their appreciation to the government." What a blatant liar.

A socio-economic study by two Rhodes University lecturers of the Fingo's attitude to removal revealed a different story. It found an "overwhelming feeling of bewilderment, uncertainty, and great fear of the unknown, and of employment being jeopardised." Committees Drift was seen as "a barren and undeveloped area in which they had no desire to live."

One African's view was typical: "I've heard it is the nonproductive African who will be sent here. A non-productive cow is slaughtered. Is this their way of doing things?"

Such fears are not without foundation. Koornhof himself has referred to "un-productives, pensioners, etc" being settled in the Homelands.

At present there is only a dirt road, four goats, a barbed-wire fence, and a police station on the White bank of

the river (since evacuated in the floods). Committees Drift, in short, is in the middle of nowhere. And there is no earthly reason to suppose any businessman in his right mind would want to locate a factory there, despite the claim of the Department of Bantu Administration that "industrialists are constantly being encouraged to establish industries in and around the area." Indeed, government has now decided to abandon plans to establish an industrial area there.

But no community of the size envisaged can possibly become viable on the basis of migrant labour alone. So there is no escaping the conclusion that Committees Drift - to use an emotive but apt term - will be just another dumping ground.

There is no doubt that this was in the government's mind all along. In one breath Koornhof talked of the "accelerated pace of Homeland development". In the next he promised free housing, fuel, and food to "resettled

people with large families and no income."

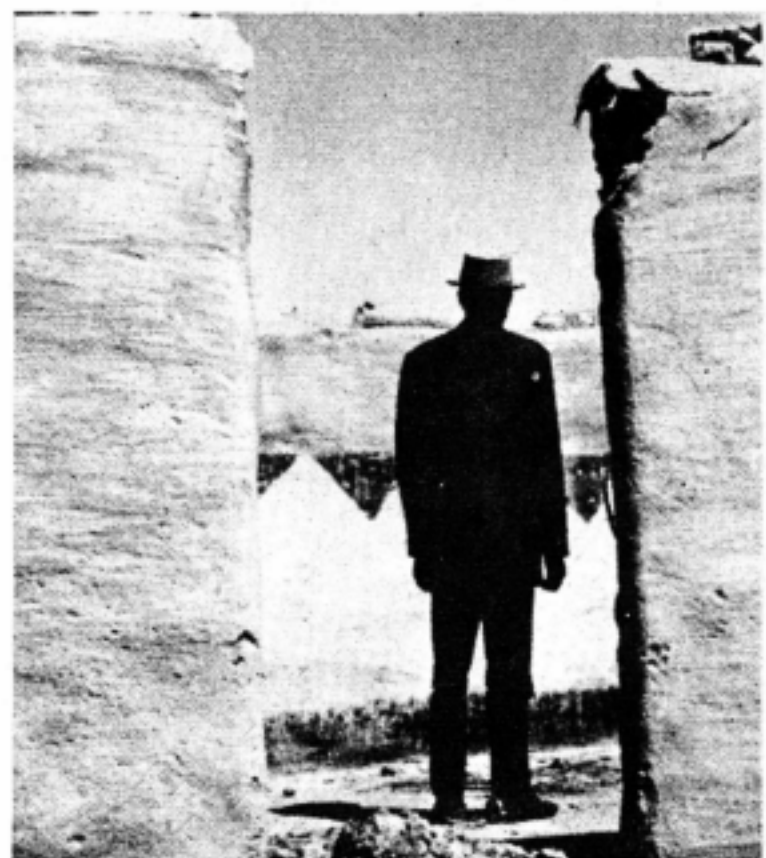
The cost of housing alone will be enormous. Bantu Administration stated that 18 000 houses are envisaged, for 110 000 people. At a building cost of R1 000 each, plus R1 000 for housing infrastructure, that works out at R36m - ten times what the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) has so far spent on workers' housing in the Transkei's Butterworth industrial area. Money so far made available amounts to precisely R490 000.

The first batch of 1 500 to 2 000 houses will not be ready until early in 1977. But Bantu Administration is already under pressure from the Department of Community Development to start clearing Fingo Village. It hopes to get Ministerial approval to re-house some of the evicted Fingos temporarily in another Grahamstown location.

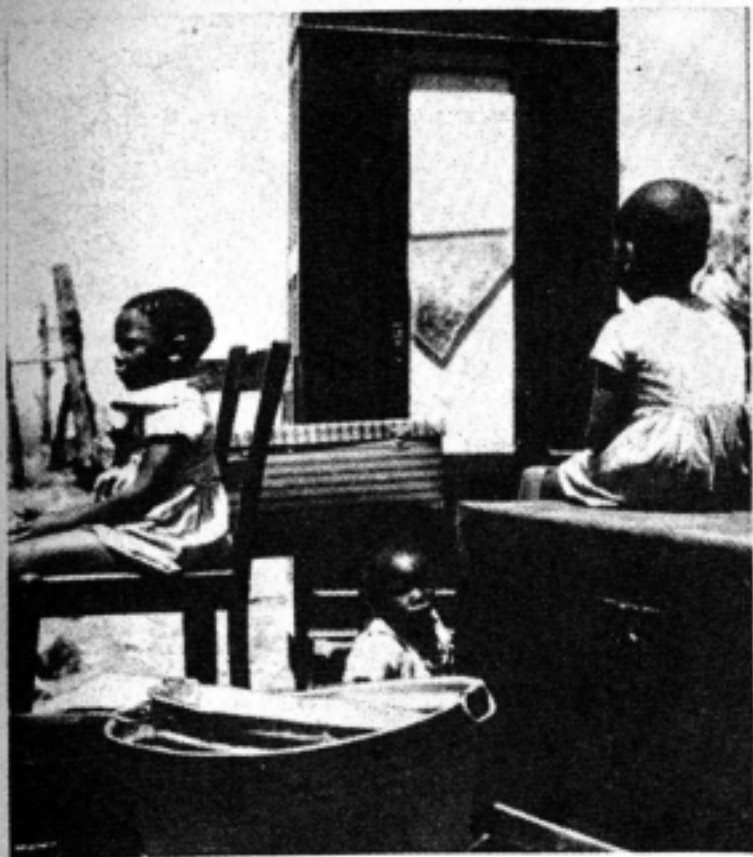
Government has promised that the removals will be voluntary. But in the next breath, referring to the Fingos,



**Rural removals:  
Marked for removal . . .**



**migrant returns . . .**



Removed . . .



Creating migrants

say "they will have to leave when Committees Drift is ready." The use of bulldozers on the Bapedi farm a week earlier is an indication of the methods that will be no doubt used if people don't move voluntarily. The XDC apparently works on the assumption that one African breadwinner feeds four people. On that basis, Committees Drift will ultimately need 50 000 wage-earners. But the chances of anything like that number of jobs becoming available in the near future are remote. XDC's job-creation costs are now in the region of R1 700 per job. Grahamstown currently offers employment to only about 8 000 Africans.

### Deaths: Nothing Unusual

Some of the people will no doubt retain their present jobs. But 90 km of daily commuting will push up cost (to employers and workers alike), and lead

to inefficiency, instability, and hardship for those concerned.

The rest, in the words of decentralisation expert Professor Trevor Bell of Natal University, "will be swallowed up into a vast potential supply of workers" in the Homelands. They will be able to escape unemployment only by being recruited as contract workers, and they will have to compete for jobs in places as far away as the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex (about 160 km).

In Grahamstown itself, industrial development prospects are dismal. It is not even on a major rail link. Border area privileges are designed to attract industry. But how many employers are going to be enticed to an area whose work-force is about to be uprooted?

Committees Drift is adjacent to the notorious Dimbaza, where in the first six months after people were resettled there, there were already 90 graves;

over 70 of those were of children. This was in November 1969, by May 1972 there were over 400 children's graves. Confirming these figures, a government spokesman callously regarded them as nothing unusual. Actions such as these are setting the scene for a racial conflagration in South Africa. Could our people be blamed if they turn against the white population as a whole when the final confrontation takes place?

It is something our so-called South African liberal friends who advise us against violence and call on us to look for non-violent means of winning our freedom should seriously think about. Non-violent struggles by our people have brought us nothing but misery. Every non-violent campaign we organised since 1912 was met with brutal terror by the racists in South Africa. It is for this reason that the ANC believes that South Africa could only be free and independent through organised revolutionary armed struggle.



families moved . . .



to a resettlement camp

# ANC - CPSU TALKS

In response to an invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa visited Moscow for talks early in December. At the end of the meetings the following brief statement was issued by the CPSU . . .

'On December 17, B.N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and R.A. Ulyanovski, Deputy Chief of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU received a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa led by its Secretary General, A. Nzo. The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

During the talks, A. Nzo outlined the activities of the ANC underground inside South Africa. He explained that under the harsh and difficult conditions of racist terror, the ANC continues to mobilise the masses for the struggle against the apartheid regime.

The delegation dealt at length with the manoeuvres of the ruling circles in South Africa to try and confuse the world into believing that there is a change of heart and that indeed democracy and independence is being extended to the African peoples through their Ban-

tustan schemes. In fact, the delegation pointed out, these manoeuvres are intended to perpetuate and strengthen the domination of the country by the racist minority.

The South African comrades expressed their deep gratitude to the CPSU and all the Soviet people for their consistent support to the national liberation movement in South Africa. They noted the great success of the Soviet policy of peace and detente and the vital importance of this policy for the elimination of colonialism and racism in the world.

The ANC representatives were informed about the achievements of the Soviet people in fulfilling the plans of communist construction. They were also informed of the fruitful international activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government to ensure universal peace and international security. They also pledged their solidarity with the courageous struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom and human dignity.

The Soviet people, they were informed, resolutely demands the release of Bram Fischer, that glorious son of South Africa whose life is in serious danger and of all other political prisoners.

The representatives of the CPSU and the ANC hailed the victories of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mocambique and Angola. They emphasised that the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire creates favourable conditions for the liquidation of the last bastions of colonial and racist enslavement on the African continent.

The talks were held in a warm and comradely atmosphere'

This is the first collection of poems by major South African poets to project the revolutionary voice steadily growing in South Africa. **Poets to the People**, edited by Barry Feinberg, brings together ten poets fired by the struggle for freedom; all have endured persecution and official censure, including for some imprisonment and torture, because of their beliefs. Their poems consistently and eloquently echo both the sufferings and hopes of the victims of racist tyranny. As the fight for a humane and egalitarian society has intensified, so have South African poets come increasingly to identify themselves with the majority of the people and the cause of National liberation.

The ten poets are:

Dennis Brutus  
Barry Feinberg  
A.N.C. Kumalo  
Mazisi Kunene  
Hugh Lewin  
Oswald R. Mtshali  
Arthur Nortje  
Cosmo Pieterse  
Mongane Wally Serote  
Scarlet Whitman

## Poets to the People

South African freedom poems



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# ABRAM (Bram) FISCHER

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At the time we went to press it was reported that Bram Fischer was dying of cancer, at the Pretoria Central Prison. Much of the material in the following eulogy to this great South African patriot comes from a statement issued by Christian Action at the time Bram was arrested 9 years ago.

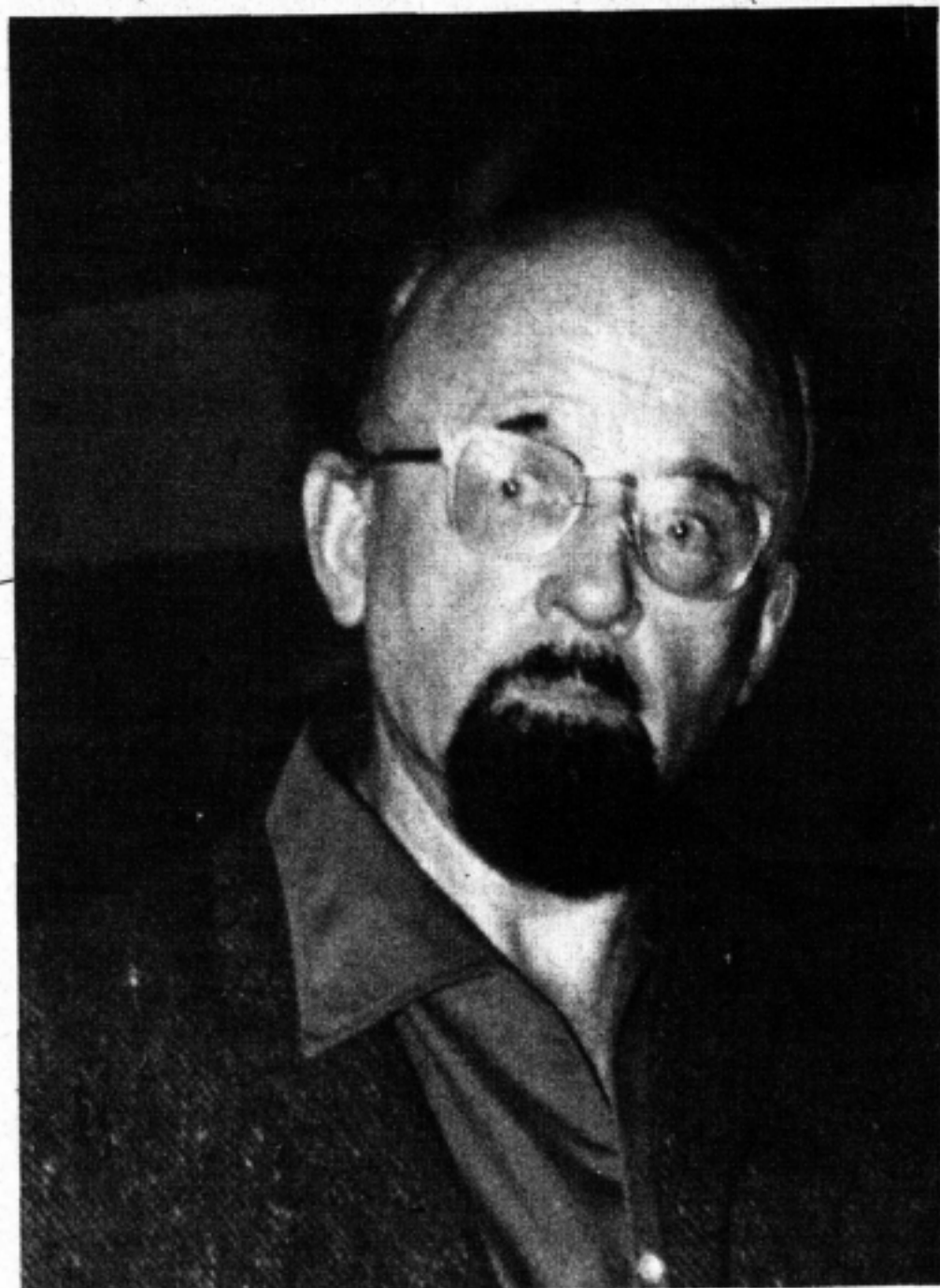
In South Africa there is a daily outrage against Man and Bram Fischer expressed his indignation in passionate identification with the millions of Black South Africans. He refused to accept the tenets of a society which claims that one human being is of lesser value than another. He accepted no half truths nor half measures. In his judgement, Apartheid is totally evil and his life is a total rejection of all that it stands for.

Who is Bram Fischer, caught after ten months underground and guarded by no less than 45 armed policemen for a brief appearance in Court? He is one of South Africa's most outstanding White barristers; an Oxford graduate; by birth the son of a Judge President and the grandson of a Prime Minister, by merit and ability entitled to the highest honours of his country; a man of 67, whose career at the Johannesburg Bar should logically have received the accolade of an appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

This is the man whom the South African Security Police captured on the night of 11th November, 1965, thus ending his ten months as a hunted criminal with a price of £3,000 on his head. During these ten months he led the now battered underground movement.

He lived alone and disguised, voluntarily separated from his daughters and his young son, himself ill with high blood pressure, subjected to the intolerable strain of a nationwide unrelenting police hunt, but indomitably carrying on a life-long struggle against the theory and practice of White supremacy – a system which conducts mass terror against the Black people and subjects them to degradation, poverty and brutality.

Bram received his schooling and University education at Grey College and Grey University College in the Orange Free State. After graduating with the degree of LL.B. he became Registrar for two years to Sir Etienne de Villiers, the then Judge President of the Orange Free State. In 1931 he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship and from 1931–1934 read Jurisprudence and for a Diploma in Economics at New College, Oxford. He played rugby football and lawn tennis for New College and was President of the Raleigh Club, a commonwealth Society which still meets, as it did in his day.



Fischer heavily disguised on his arrest while underground

On his return to South Africa he became a member of the Johannesburg Bar and rapidly established a reputation in cases of company law, mining law, mineral and water rights. He also appeared in many libel actions. From the start of his career he was prepared to accept briefs in cases of Blacks caught in the police net of pass laws and restrictions and in such cases usually acted Pro Deo. Shortly before his arrest he was the longest serving member of the Johannesburg Bar Council, serving also a term as Chairman. He had been a Q.C., later S.C., for many years.

In the 1930's, at the time he was establishing himself as a barrister, he joined the then legal South African Communist Party; a fact unpalatable to many people who admire him both inside and outside South Africa. Yet it is a measure of the intrinsic honesty of his political career that he joined the only political party which opposed white supremacy. At no time did he keep secret his membership of this organisation. In 1946, after a strike of 100,000 African mine workers for a minimum wage of 10/- a day, a strike which was suppressed with intense brutality, at least eight mine workers being shot dead and hundreds injured, Bram and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were charged with having incited the workers to strike and were fined £50. In the 1950's after the Communist Party had been declared illegal, both Bram and his wife Molly, (a niece of Mrs. Smuts, wife of Field-Marshal Smuts) were named under the Suppression of Communism Act and forbidden to attend political meetings or to engage in political activity of any kind.

The many hundreds of Black and White South Africans who

worked with him found that he had the modesty and humility of the truly great. This busy and famous barrister was always accessible. No-one who had a political or personal problem hesitated to consult him. The personal lives of Bram and Molly showed that they did not merely pay lip service to their cardinal political belief of racial equality. They adopted an African girl and brought her up in their home as their own child; an act of complete rejection of the mores of South African society. Today, in terms of race laws introduced by the Nationalist regime, such adoption is illegal. For many years Molly taught, without pay, at the Indian High School in Johannesburg, established in 1954 by the Transvaal Indian Congress. At that time, in order to coerce Indian South Africans to live in racial ghettos miles from city centres, in terms of the Group Areas Act, the Verwoerd Government closed down the Indian schools in the centre of Johannesburg and opened others in Lenasia, 22 miles outside the city. This school was then established as a protest against this Act and remained in existence for ten years, until persecution of the staff (both Black and White) and the students themselves, forced it to close down. It was during the 4½ year Treason Trial that Bram became known beyond the confines of South Africa as a political barrister. In the defence team, lead by Mr. I. Maisels, Q.C., he worked unceasingly to break down the prosecution case. Every one of the 156 accused can testify to his meticulous attention to detail and to the patience with which he discussed and rediscussed the evidence. He could be found at his Chambers at 5 in the morning. The final verdict of Not Guilty was a victory and a milestone for the liberation movement, and Bram's role in achieving this victory was a major one.

Two-and-a-half years later came the Rivonia Trial, where Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other leaders of the African National Congress, together with their white and Indian allies, were charged with sabotage and faced the death sentence. In this case, Bram led the defence team and again gave himself, not only as a barrister, but as a person and fellow worker. It is no exaggeration to claim that the fact that the seven men, finally convicted, were not sentenced to death was due to the inspired defence led by Bram Fischer.

Immediately after the verdict, Molly was tragically killed in a motor car accident. A week later, still shattered and shocked, Bram visited the Rivonia trial prisoners on Robben Island to discuss the question of an appeal in their case. He did not tell them of his wife's death, as he did not wish to distress them. A few days later he was arrested, held in solitary confinement for three days and then released. On 23rd September, 1964, he was again arrested and joined the 12 white men and women facing charges of being members of the now illegal Communist Party of South Africa.

But the barrister, Bram, had been acting continuously since 1955 in a Patents case in Rhodesia and had given this case the same meticulous care as the political cases, during the preceding 9 tumultuous years of South African political life. At the time of his arrest, the dispute had been taken to the Privy Council and he had been briefed to appear. He applied for bail and such was his reputation that it was granted-the figure being set at £5,000. In his appeal to Court in the bail application he stated:

"I am an Afrikaner. My home is in South Africa. I will not leave my country because my political beliefs conflict with those of the Government".

He won his client's case and returned to South Africa. It is ironic that after appearing in the highest Court in the British Commonwealth as a barrister and member of that Court, he returned to his own country to stand in the dock, on trial for his political beliefs.

A few months later, on 25th January, 1965, he disappeared from his home and his Counsel read a letter to the Court in which he stated that he was going underground to continue the struggle against Apartheid.

(He repaid the bail so that his guarantors did not suffer). In his letter he stated:

"If in my fight I can encourage even some people to understand and to abandon policies they now so blindly follow, I shall not regret any punishment I may incur.

Unless this whole intolerable system is changed radically and rapidly, disaster must follow and appalling bloodshed and civil war become inevitable. As there is oppression of the majority such oppression will be fought with increasing hatred. I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years-I can do it only in the way I have now chosen".

**"I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years"** – this is the kernel, the heart of his story. A lesser man might have said that in the context of the South African situation he had done all he could do. As a white intellectual he had used his special skill and training as a barrister to defend not only the leading opponents of Apartheid, but the nameless thousands persecuted for the crime of being Black. He had been persecuted and hounded by the Security Police for 15 years, his home and his office had been constantly watched, he lived under continual surveillance. With justification he could have said that he had done all that it was humanly possible for a man in his position to do.

However, when the Verwoerd Government began to destroy the law when they introduced the 90 day no trial clause of the General Law Amendment Act, which in Bram's words legalised torture: when sabotage was so widely defined that the painting of a slogan on a wall could be defined as such and could be punishable by death, Bram did not delude himself that he could continue to fight the Verwoerd Government in the Courts of Law. When the Law has been prostituted, it is difficult to serve justice. So he chose the role chosen by thousands of anti-fascist in Europe who opposed the Nazis – he went underground to fight a tyranny as monstrous as that of the Nazis. And by so doing, he kindled the flame of hope in the hearts of South Africa's 8,500 political prisoners and their families; in the hearts of millions of Black second class citizens. To those who today still fight Apartheid he is a symbol of courage and staunchness.

He is at present serving a sentence of life imprisonment at Pretoria Central Jail. He has sacrificed wealth, fame, comfort, high position, a privileged life in an already privileged white society for a prison cell.

But his spirit cannot be immolated behind prison walls. He is one of that small group of white South Africans, of all political and religious beliefs and persuasions, who refuse to become evil by silent acquiescence in a society which is basically evil. Humanity is outraged in them and with them by a system which dehumanises both Blacks and Whites and makes a mockery of every value of a civilised society. The life of Bram Fischer is a distillation of that living spirit of MAN which no tyranny can destroy.



# Chief Lutuli Honoured

In an impressive ceremony attended by hundreds of distinguished representatives of governments, international and national organisations, the Right Honourable Dr. Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho presented a OAU award posthumously to Chief Albert John Mvubi Luthuli, President General up to his death of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Award, which was made in Maseru on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1974, was accepted by Chief Luthuli's wife, Nokukhanya.

The following is an abridged version of Dr. Jonathan's speech on the occasion of the presentation . . .



'We are meeting here to pay tribute to the memory of the late Chief Albert Luthuli, a former President of the African National Congress of South Africa. The medal which has just been presented to Chieftainess Luthuli is the Medal of Freedom awarded posthumously to Chief Albert Luthuli by the Organization of African Unity. Chief Luthuli was one of several distinguished African leaders presented with the medal at the Tenth Anniversary of the O A U. We, as Motlotlehi's Government, and as the people of Lesotho, feel proud to be associated with this award as a Member State of the O A U. But, above all, we feel honoured that this presentation is being made in this land of Moshoeshoe, a neighbour of the valiant King Chaka of the Zulus, and on this day, which is also United Nations Human Rights Day. We congratulate the late Chief Albert Luthuli, his family, and the organization which he led over many years, on this award - which is so well deserved. In his lifetime the towering stature of his person and leadership, and the deep commitment which he had for human dignity and peace, were recognized universally - including by none other than the Nobel Award Committee, which honoured him with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961. It is singularly appropriate that today he should be honoured by the O A U on African soil. For the Government of Lesotho this honour is not a demonstration against anybody. It is a positive recognition of a great leader and an affirmation of the principles for which he lived - and for which, it might even be said, he died.

I should like to take the opportunity of this Ceremony, on behalf of the Government of Lesotho, to clarify the significance of this important award on our annual observance of Human Rights Day. It is unfortunate but probably true that in the final analysis it is the people who have suffered oppression, discrimination, indignity and dispossession who know more truly the meaning of human dignity - if only because they have experienced the agonies of its denial.

There is testimony - if testimony is required - of the tremendous strength of the human spirit in the fact that, in spite of the deep agony caused by denials of human dignity, few men lapse into despair. There is evidence too - if that is required - of the basic generosity of the human heart in the fact that in spite of the searing pain of the denial of human dignity, few men lapse into bitterness. On these two points - namely, the strength of the human spirit and the generosity of the human heart - the African people on this continent have been put to the test, as history shows, even more severely than other peoples.

We as Africans have had our own internal quarrels and feuds amongst ourselves - sometimes with bitter results for human dignity. In addition, we have been victims at various times in our history of the most extensive systems of the slave trade known to man. We have also been subjected to a system of colonial domination which, even at its most benevolent, seldom recognized us as full human beings. We have been victims of economic exploitation which took away from us and our children what we had earned by the sweat of our brow for the benefit of other peoples. We have frequently been arbitrarily and forcibly dispossessed of our land. Today even when most of Africa is free, we cannot forget that some of our brothers and sisters are still being put to the test in those parts of Africa which have not yet attained their liberation. Yet in spite of all these tribulations, Africans at their best have not despaired and have not been driven into bitterness against other peoples. In this respect the spirit of Africa has triumphed. The Organization of African Unity, which has made this award to Chief Luthuli, is in our view the embodiment of the basic humanity of Africa. It represents Africa's quest for the recognition of the dignity of all African peoples. It represents Africa's pride in her past and in her character, which at their best are equal to any other. It also represents

Africa's dynamism in adapting to the inevitable changes of the modern world, while retaining that which is best in her traditions. Finally, it represents Africa's determination to succeed in spite of major obstacles or even temporary setbacks.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I speak about that which is best in the African personality and about the noble aims of the Organization of African Unity primarily because when we remember Chief Albert Luthuli, we must recognize that he was a great African – the embodiment of the very best that Africa stands for as represented, for instance, in the basic aims of the Organization of African Unity.

Chief Luthuli was born into a Chiefly family. If one were to follow the opinions of the many so-called African experts, or of many Western newspaper men, whose main hobby these days seems to be to ridicule and pour scorn on everything that is African, one would have expected that being a Chief would have condemned him to a life of ignorance and reaction. But Luthuli, beginning his life as the son of a traditional Chief, showed that there is nothing to debar even the son of an African Chief from exercising effective leadership in the modern and sophisticated style of today. He demonstrated in his person that the best of African tradition can, with intelligence, cope with the problems of our contemporary world.

Luthuli's strong spirit did not allow of despair. He believed that there should be enough courage in every one of us to meet the dangers which he saw in the gross denial of basic human rights around him. He did not allow bitterness against anyone to dwell in his heart. He was generous enough in spirit, in spite of repeated disappointments, to acknowledge that there was room enough in Southern Africa for the people of all races to live together in harmony and justice. He extended the hand of friendship and reconciliation to all. But, as has become typical because of that curious amalgam of fear, greed and arrogance, the white world of Southern Africa rejected his overtures.

Let us recall, and keep in mind on this day, that when it comes to basic human rights – and, particularly, to the elimination of racial discrimination – Africa has long ago extended its hand to the white world and particularly to the white world of Southern Africa. This has been done repeatedly even though it has consistently met with utter rejection. Not so long ago the offer was embodied in the historic Lusaka Manifesto, which was either rejected or at least ignored by the white world of Southern Africa.

If today we hear reports that there might be change in the attitude of the white world of Southern Africa, we can only say once again that such change will be welcome if it is genuine and realistic. Africa has long been ready for change. Enough time has been given to the white world to make up its mind. Africa has long been patient but it cannot wait forever. Therefore at the present time Africans expect particularly that words should be followed by action. Words alone may impress those who are far away – even in Africa – but only actions will impress those who live in Southern Africa.

Moreover, the present time is such that the African will no longer be content just to sit at the same table with his white counterpart if it is not on the basis of full equality. Similarly, the Africans of Southern Africa are not interested in charity but in the full sharing of political and economic power and its benefits. In the final analysis, solutions to the problems of Southern Africa must be for all the people of Southern Africa and by the people of Southern Africa themselves. This is what we understand Luthuli's message to be – that the very serious human problems of Southern Africa should be solved at home in Southern Africa by the collective will of the people who know them at first hand. His message is as valid today as when he first stated it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we of Lesotho think that if bridges have to be built to solve the problems of Southern Africa, let them be built now within our entire region of Southern Africa. Let there be bridges linking all the peoples of all the races within this region. Let these bridges be bridges of



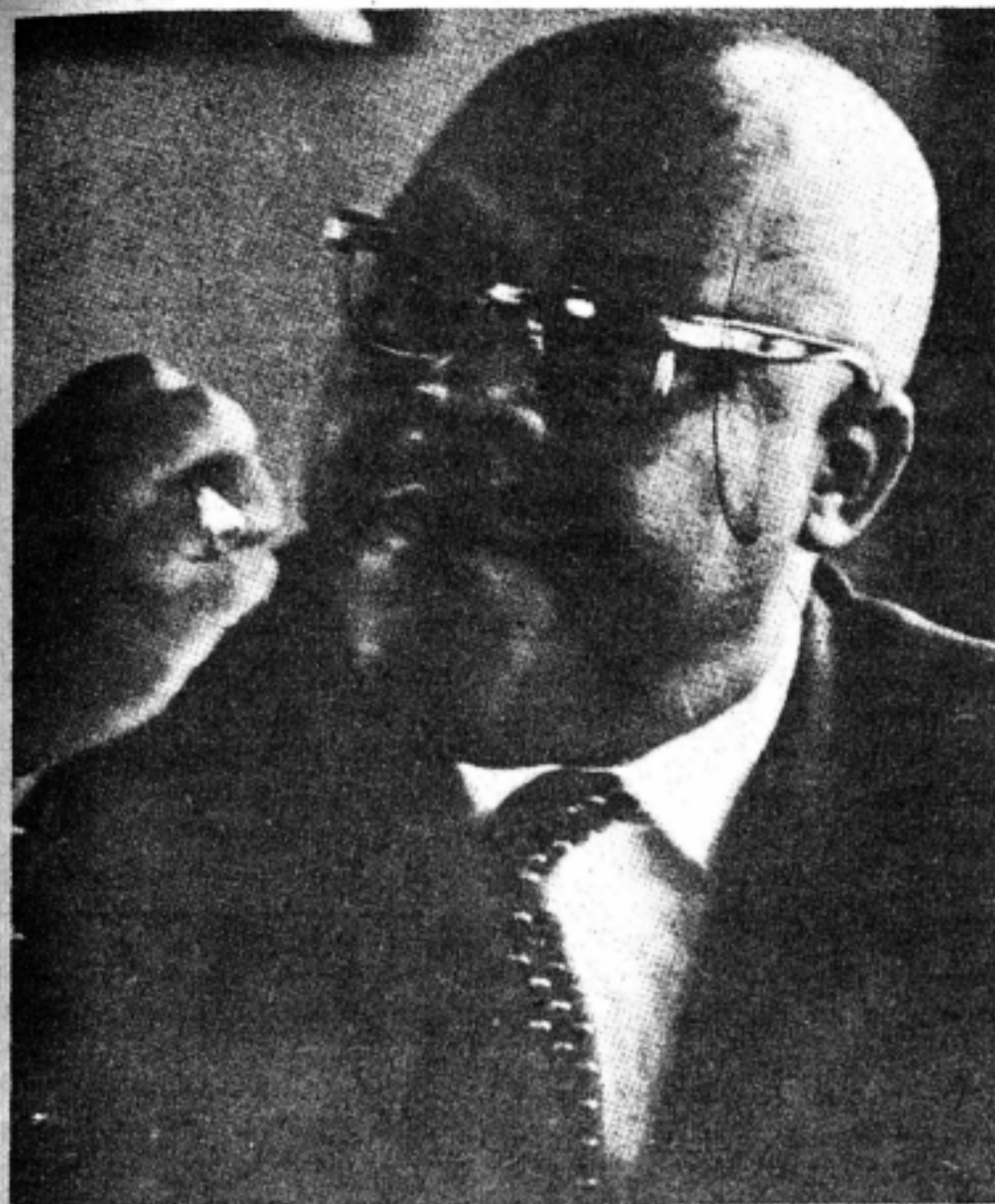
Mrs. Luthuli

social, political and economic justice. **Let there be new and strong bridges between the white world of Southern Africa and the leaders who are on Robben Island.** Let there be bridges between the white world and the independent states of Southern Africa. Let there be bridges between man and man, his neighbour, throughout this region. Unless these bridges are built urgently all other efforts at bridge building with the rest of Africa will be in vain.

The prevailing atmosphere in Southern Africa is fraught with many dangers which should be attended to without delay. The longer that remedial action is delayed, the greater will be the need for drastic and probably painful action to remove the cancer that has been steadily eating away at the basic human dignity of the peoples of this region over a period of more than three centuries. I may even venture to say that the independence of countries such as Lesotho is not immune from the effects of this cancer because everything that we may do – no matter how well-intentioned and well-meaning – cannot be insulated from the perverse influence of those who are obsessed with racial prejudice. For them the black man and his Government can only do wrong and no right.

Therefore we survive daily in an atmosphere in which all our efforts at social and economic betterment of our people are distorted – even to our own people – by the white dominated press of this region. Tragically, even the so-called liberal press seems subject to the pervasive cause of racism. Thus, peaceful relations among the people of this area will continue to be vitiated by the arrogance of a white power structure which believes that it alone knows what is good not only for itself but for the black majority.

We for our part in Lesotho have offered on many occasions in the past – and we repeat that offer today – to play our role in consultation with all in this region to bring about peaceful change. We make this offer not out of charity but principally because we are of this region, and we see our independence and our peace at home threatened daily by the present situation in Southern Africa, which seeks only to prove our failure. There cannot be peace in our modest home so long as we have to sleep next to a troubled elephant.



Rt. Hon. Dr. Jonathan

It is in these circumstances that we listen to Luthuli's voice, which cannot be silenced even by his death. To this day we hear his voice urging ever more insistently from beyond the grave, saying "Let my people go!" His call – and that of the organization he led, the African National Congress, is a call for radical change. It is a call for courageous decisions and actions; it is not a call which can be satisfied by cosmetics aimed at placating the outside world. It is a call which can only be silenced by recognizing the common humanity of all the peoples of this sub-continent. We of Lesotho, though now independent, still pledge our solidarity in support of this call.

In Luthuli's life, and in his abiding faith in the dignity of the human person, we can learn to solve differences amongst ourselves in a spirit of compassion and within the great African tradition of tolerance. Africa has its weaknesses as well as its strength. It is on the strength that we should lay emphasis if all are to survive in this region – for, **as Luthuli said, as dangers rise so also must our courage.** Furthermore, as Africans of this region, we must not forget that the population statistics show beyond any doubt that, even though we do not have strength in the form of arms, we do have strength in the form of numbers, and that we can be assured that the ultimate future is ours. It only remains for us to establish peace amongst ourselves to consolidate unity of purpose among all African leaders and peoples in order to hasten the day when human dignity may be enjoyed by all.

Today, in honouring the late Chief Albert Luthuli, the Organization of African Unity has paid tribute to a great African. If only his sense of justice, his compassion and his generosity could be reciprocated by the white world of Southern Africa, human dignity would be attained once and for all in this area and one major blow for peace will have been struck. Thank you.

**KHOTOSO! PULAI NALA!**

# 1975: International Women's Year

Following a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly declaring 1975, International Women's Year, an international meeting was convened in Tihany, Hungarian People's Republic, towards the end of last year, to launch the International Preparatory Committee to prepare for the World Congress for International Women's Year, to be held in Berlin, GDR, from October 20 to 24, 1975.

Representatives of 34 international organisations, 11 regional organisations and 20 national preparatory committees, from 55 countries were present as guests of the National Council of Hungarian Women. Ms. Helvi Sipilä, assistant UN Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs and Secretary General for International Women's Year, addressed the meeting and wished the proposed World Congress every success.

The participants warmly supported the convening of the World Congress and expressed the view that the following themes should be discussed in depth at the Berlin gathering:

- Equal rights for women
- Women and development
- Women in Society
- Women and Peace
- Co-operation and United Action
- Solidarity and National Independence

A further suggestion that was adopted provided for the setting up of working groups to prepare the basic documents for the commissions "the themes of which could be expanded".

## DAR Meeting

Meanwhile in Dar-es-Salaam representatives of the ANC Women's Section, MPLA, FRELIMO and two officials of the Tanzanian Women's organisation (UWT) met and exchanged views on how best to contribute to Women's Year – 1975. Among the decisions taken at this meeting was one to convene a seminar some time in March this year. This seminar will be accompanied by a photo exhibition depicting the struggle, activities and achievements in Southern Africa.

In a circular to all units of the African National Congress, Florence Mophosho, head of the ANC – Women's Section asking "what should be our contribution to Women's Year?" lists the following suggestions:

- that we rally all South Africa women in exile who accept the policy of our movement and to discuss the significance of Women's Year in relation to our liberation struggle;
- that fund raising campaigns be initiated so as to ensure that the ANC is represented by a strong delegation to the World Congress;
- that our women work for the establishment of working committees with other women's organisations to jointly work for the success of the World Congress.

In the last issue of **Sechaba** we reported on the arrest and detention of several leaders of SASO, BPC and BAWU. At the time of writing, most of the leaders of the organisations mentioned are being held incommunicado and in solitary confinement; now, for a period of over three months. We have just received the following brief pictures of some of the people in detention. They are listed in alphabetical order.

(Abbreviations of organisations and institutions mentioned here are as follows: SASO – South African Students Organisation; BPC – Black Peoples Convention; UNISA – University of South Africa, which caters for external students of all races; TECON – Theatre Council of Natal; BAWU – Black Allied Workers Union; SABTU – South African Black Theatre Union; SB – Special Branch)

## Mr HAROON AZIZ (27)

Articled to David & Company, Stanger. Registered student at UNISA. Liaison officer of TECON. Strong supporter of the Black Consciousness movement. Assisted in educational programmes and building of a school at Groutville. An active member of the Stanger Indian Welfare Society.

## Mr AHMED BAWA (21)

A member of the BPC Fordsburg Branch. Was a student at the Medical School, University of Natal (Black Section). Detained and arrested at the SASO head office in Beatrice Street, Durban at about 8.30PM.

## Mr REVABALAN COOPER (22)

Was ordinary member of BPC since 1972. Was elected PRO of BPC in 1973. Member of TECON. Was arrested for distributing pamphlets during January-February strikes in 1973. Was held for inciting racial hostility, but was found not guilty.

## Mr SATHASIVAN COOPER (22) (Banned)

Expelled from University for Indians, Durban, was PRO of SABTU. Associate Editor of Black Gold Publications. Organiser for Black Arts Studios, and member of TECON, and PRO for BPC at time of banning. Married. Restricted to Durban. Charged under the Racial Hostilities Act. Charged and convicted of assaulting member of S.B. Appeal



Saths  
Cooper

pending. Frequently harassed by S.B. Charged and convicted for using obscene language to member of S.B.

## Mrs VINO COOPER

Wife of Saths Cooper – the banned ex-PRO for BPC. An ex-student of the University College for Indians. An active member of the Black drama group – TECON. A member of BPC. Was reading for a B. Juris degree through UNISA at time of her arrest on Wednesday, 25 September 1974 at the 'Viva Frelimo' gathering.

## Mr LANDIWE DANILE (27)

Unmarried. Lives in Guguletu, Cape Town. An official of National Youth Organisation (NAYO). Organiser of Youth Programmes for SASO in Western Cape. Detained 11. 10. 74 in Cape Town.

## Mr BENJAMIN J LANGA (30)

Banning expires 30. 9. 78

Was SASO Local Chairman at University of Fort Hare. Walked out in protest during Black student crisis in 1972. Was elected Publications Director and Sec. General of SASO in 1972. Held these posts till this year (1974) when he was elected Director of CULCOM – the Cultural Commission of SASO. Detained 11 October 1974, from home at 4AM.

## Mr MOSIOUA LEKOTA (28)

An active member of SASO University of North (Turffloop) Branch. Was elected Permanent Organiser for SASO at the General Students' Council Conference in 1973 – a post he held up till the time of his detention on Wednesday, 25 September 1974 at the SASO head-office in Beatrice Street, Durban at about 8.30PM. Married with one child.

## Mr LINDELWE MABANDLA (29): Banned 13. 11. 73–31. 10. 78

Banned. Former vice-president of SASO, Active BPC member. Was teacher when banned. Married. Wife Bridgette Mabandla. One child. Research Assistant of BAWU. Detained 25. 9. 1974 from SASO offices.

## Mrs BRIDGETT (CEKE) MABANDLA (24)

Ex-student of Turffloop. Married to Lindelwe Mabandla. Also detained and arrested under Section 6 (1) of Terrorism Act. One child – 3 months old. Studying law through UNISA. Youth Programme Organiser for Institute of Race Relations in Durban. Detained 28. 9. 74 from offices of Institute of Race Relations.

## Mr PHUMZILE MAJEKE (25)

Elected SASO Local Chairman for 1972/1973 period at University of Fort Hare. Due to heavy involvement in Black Student crisis situations arising out of the 'Tiro Affair' he was suspended indefinitely (1972), began work as Administrative Assistant to SASO in September 1973. At the SASO General Students Council in 1974 he was elected Natal Regional Secretary. Unmarried. Detained 11 October, 1974 from BPC offices at 11.30AM.

## Rev. MASHABA MAYATULA

Student of the Lutheran Theological College of Maphumulo. A founder member of the Black Peoples' Convention – was elected Chairman of the Convention in 1973. Detained and arrested on Wednesday, 25 September at the SASO head-office in Beatrice Street, Durban at about 8.30PM.

## Mr MENZIWE MBEO (27)

Ex-student of University of Fort Hare. Expelled in 1973. Administrator of

BAWU, Branch Office (Durban) at the time of arrest. Detained on 26 September 1974 from offices of Black Allied Workers Union.

**Mr JEROME LETEANE MODISANE (24):** Banned

Ex-student of Fort Hare. Was President of SASO at time of banning. Restricted to Kimberley.

**Mr MAPETLA MOHAPI (28)**

Married. One child. Home - King William's Town. Ex-student of Turfloop. Regional Secretary of SASO for Eastern Cape Province, based at 15 Leopold Street, King William's Town. Detained 11. 10. 74 at 4AM at Ben Langa's home.

**Mr AUBREY MOKAPE (29):** Banned  
Medical Doctor. University (Black Section). Founder member of both BPC and SASO. Married with one child. Wife expecting child. Charged under Racial Hostilities Act-convicted. Fine of R75 or 75 days. Charged with Harri Singh. Detained 11. 10. 74 from K E Hospital.

**Mr STRINI MOODLEY (28):** Banning expires 28. 2. 78

Studied drama at University College for Indians, Durban. Expelled in 1967 for producing a political satire entitled 'Black on White'. Joined SASO in 1971 and till mid 1972 held joint post of

Strini Moodley



Publications Director and Editor of SASO newsletter. At the time of his banning in February 1973 he was still Editor of the newsletter as well as being Administrative Assistant for SASO. Can be acknowledged as the founder of the Black Theatre Movement which gained impetus in Durban. Was a founder member, director and producer of TECON - a black drama group. He is also a playwright and poet. In July 1972, was elected Director of SABTU, a post which he held up to the time of his banning. In February, 1974 charged on five counts in terms of contraventions against his banning order. Three counts were dropped. Found guilty on two. Sentence: a weeks imprisonment suspended conditionally for a year. At time of detention and arrest in Durban, under Section 6 (1) of the Terrorism Act (11 October 1974) was an employee of an Insurance Company. Married with one child.

**Mr MUNTU MYEZA**

Secretary-General of SASO in Durban. Studied for B.A. degree at University of Zululand.

**Mr YUGEN NAIDOO (24)**

Was an active member of the SASO Durban - Westville Branch in 1971. Helped to institute the Chatsworth BPC Branch in 1972 and was elected its Chairman in 1973, post he held up till the time of his detention. Detained and arrested in the SASO head-offices in Beatrice Street, Durban at about 8.30PM. Not married.

**Mr PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE (25)**

Ex-SRC member of Turfloop. Elected President of SASO in July, 1974. Final year B.Sc student at Turfloop. Unmarried. Lives in Sibasa, Vendlan in Northern Transvaal.

**Mr NKWENKWE NKOMO**

Was member of Daveyton (Benoni) Branch BPC. Was elected National Organiser in 1973. Studying law at time of arrest on 7th October 1974. Married with one child.

**Mr BARNEY NYAMEKO PITIANA (27):** Banned 2. 3. 73

Was expelled from school during stay at Lovedale and then was expelled



Barney Pitiana

from Fort Hare University. A former President of SASO. Was Secretary-General of SASO at time of banning. Is married with one child. Restricted to Port Elizabeth. Convicted for contraventions of banning order. Further convictions were appealed against. Final Year Law Student articles of Clerks.

**Mr HARRI SINGH (28)**

Since 1972 was Chairman of the Overport BPC Branch. Was elected PRO for the BPC in January 1974. In 1973, together with Dr Aubrey Mokoapa, charged with and found guilty of inciting racial hostility. Was initially arrested at home on the night of Wednesday, 25 September - then released. Detained and arrested under Section 6 (1) of Terrorism Act on the 26 September 1974 outside the Durban courts. Married. Wife expecting child.

**Mr MAHLOMOLA SKOSANA**

Regional Secretary for BPC on East Rand. Arrested 7 October 1974. Married with two children.

**Mr PAUL TSOTETSI (38)**

Living in Soweto. Chairman of Johannesburg Central Branch BPC for second time. Involved in PAC in early 60's. Working for Bureau of Literacy as an Accountant. Studying for CIS. Arrested at his work on 11 October 1974. Married with children.

In early September two leading Israelis visited South Africa, Moshe Dayan, former Defence Minister in Mrs. Golda Meir's Government, was the guest of the South Africa Foundation, an organisation of businessmen devoted to improving the image of the apartheid state overseas. At the same time Meir Amit, another former general, who was second in command to Dayan when he was chief of staff in Israel in 1953, went to South Africa for trade and business discussions. Amit is now head of Koor Industries, the industrial wing of the powerful Hisadrut, the Israeli trade union federation.

Koor Industries has close economic ties with South Africa, with joint projects in both countries. The visits of these two prominent Israelis drew attention to the links between apartheid South Africa and Zionist Israel. Similarity in philosophy was underlined in a speech by Dayan to the South African Zionist Federation, in which he said that Israel's military security and economic problems were not as important as her need for increased immigration from the West. He pointed out that sixty per cent of immigrants to Palestine at present were from Oriental countries.

## Israel – South Africa . . .

# THE COLONIALIST ALLIANCE

by: Abdullah Kerim

Israeli-South African links have increased particularly since the June War in 1967 and during the October War in 1973, when it was reported that South Africa had sent Mirage fighter jets to aid the Israeli air force.

In fact the links have existed since the formation of the Israeli state in May 1948, a few days before the National Party won the general election in South Africa, and began to implement the apartheid system. These ties have been the subject of some attention in recent years. What is less known is the role that South Africa played in the formation of the state of Israel, through the friendship of the South African leader, Field Marshal Smuts and Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader.

When Smuts died in 1950, the acting Prime Minister of Israel, Joseph Sprinzak, said: 'General Smuts is written on the map of Israel and in the heart of our nation.' The eulogy was well earned, for during the previous thirty years or more, Smuts, as a major statesman of the British Empire had played a vital role in cherishing and protecting the Zionist enterprise.

Smuts and Weizmann were first introduced in June 1917. At that time Smuts was 'The Special Delegate from South Africa' to the British War Cabinet, and Weizmann was president of the English Zionist Federation, dedicated to convincing the British Cabinet of the soundness of the Zionist aims, and their usefulness to the British imperial plan. The two men struck up a close friendship. Smuts was favourably impressed by Weizmann's insistence that a Jewish state in Palestine would be a useful part of the British empire. Smuts and Weizmann also rationalised, in a similar way, the European and Jewish domination over the indigenous population of the two areas – South Africa and Palestine.

### Second Class

To Smuts the Palestine Arabs, like the Africans, were second class people. The Jews, on the other hand, were people of 'The Book' – their religion was The Old Testament, so important in the fundamentalist Christianity of the Afrikaners.

Finally, the Jewish community in South Africa, though small, was rich and of some political importance. Forming his South African Party after the Boer War, Smuts looked to the Jews to support it and from the Jewish mine-owners and bankers, the party drew a not inconsiderable amount of its funds. The South African Jewish community, moreover, was then, as it is today, almost totally Zionist.

Smuts began his contribution to the achievement of the Zionist enterprise with the Balfour Declaration. His role in the War Cabinet discussions was not as important as that of Milner, Lloyd George or Balfour himself, but in his usual manner he exerted considerable influence whether in or out of office. Smuts was keen to use that influence for his fellow European colonialists, and consequently on behalf of the Zionist movement.

Following the British Government's White Paper of 1922, for example, Smuts took the opportunity of the Imperial Conference the next year to raise the question of the Jewish 'National Home' with his fellow leaders, and subsequently commented that his pressure led to the British government reaffirming its policy in favour of the Balfour Declaration. In 1930, faced with Palestinian opposition to Jewish-Zionist immigration and settlement, the British Labour Government led by Ramsey MacDonald published the Passfield White Paper, which proposed that immigration should cease. Smuts threw his weight against it, cabling the Prime Minister to say that the Declaration 'represents a pledge which must be honoured . . . I wish to insist that the government issue a declaration that it will carry out to the fullest the provisions of the Balfour Declaration in good faith, and that the Palestine policies of the Government will be altered accordingly'.

MacDonald responded as Smuts had wished, but, to make sure, Smuts arranged for Weizmann to see Lloyd George, leader of the Liberal Party, on whose support the Labour Government depended.

In 1931, Weizmann went to South Africa on a fund-raising expedition for the Zionist movement. While there, as his autobiography witnesses, Weizmann made no criticism of the situation of the African population.

Towards the end of the thirties, with the major Palestine revolt that tied down a large part of the British imperial army, the British government of the day began to promote the idea of partition, with the report of the Peel Commission. The Zionist movement firmly attacked the government's attitude. Smuts had been provided with an advance copy of the Peel proposals – a testimony to Smuts's continuing influence in Whitehall, and British recognition of him as an advocate of the Zionist cause.

### Zionist Terrorism

With the outbreak of the Second World War, and the development of Zionist terrorism against the British in Palestine, Smuts and Weizmann discussed this subject in their correspondence. Although the South African leader criticised the Zionist terror acts against the British administration in Palestine, he subordinated this criticism to his overall support and enthusiasm for the Zionists' aims.

After the War, the question of the future of the British Mandate came to the fore. Smuts, as South African Prime Minister, continued to put pressure on the British Government to grant some form of nationhood to the Zionist settlement in Palestine, and used his country's vote in the newly formed United Nations to good effect. Before the 1947 vote for partition, the South African delegation gave considerable assistance to Weizmann and his colleagues at the UN.

While supporting the Zionist movement, Smuts retained his advocacy of discriminatory immigration policies in South Africa itself, saying in Parliament in April 1947 that overloading the country with Jews would create anti-semitism there – a view which led many anti-Jews to support Zionism as a solution to their prejudice.

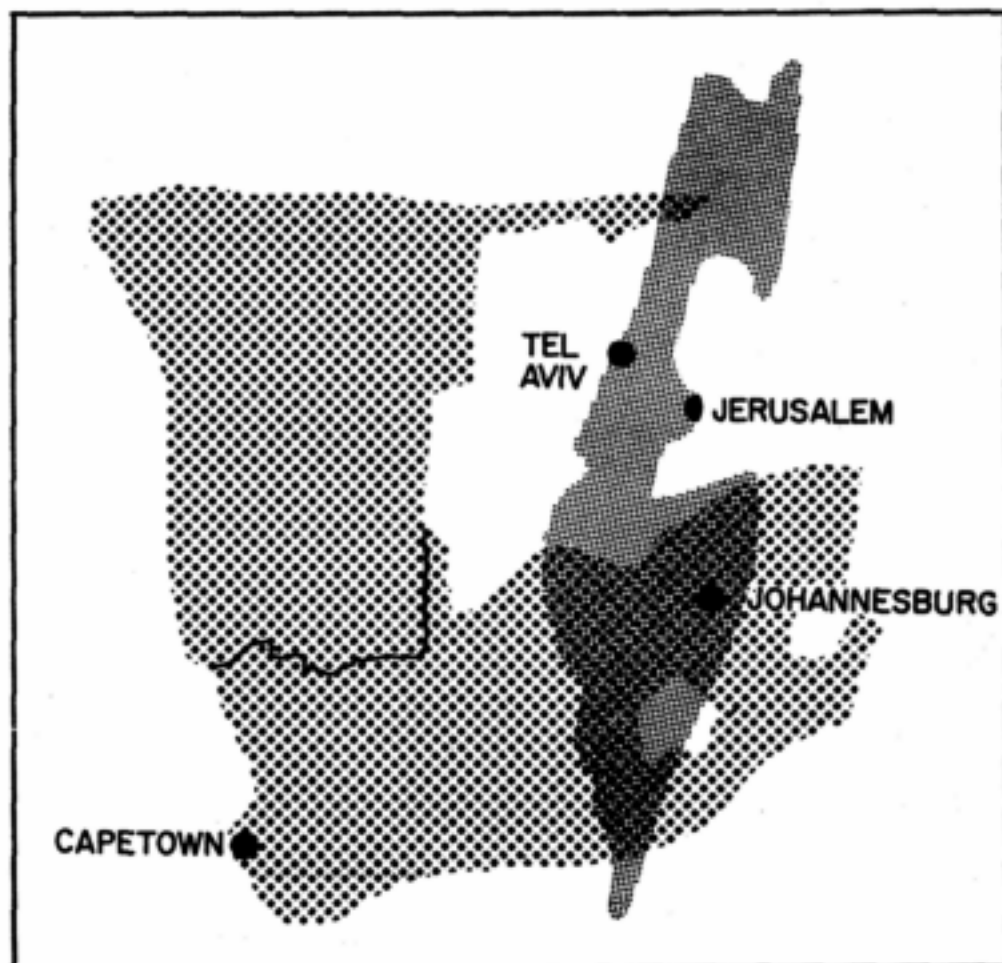
Instead, he felt, South Africa should help to create a 'National Home' for the Jews in Palestine. Support for Zionism, and anti-Jewish immigration policies fitted as well in South Africa as other countries. Smuts's anti-Jewish views later resulted in many South African Jews supporting the National Party, led by professed racials like Eric Louw and Balthazar Vorster, today's South African Prime Minister.

Smuts was one of the first statesmen to be thanked by Weizmann after the passing of the UN's partition resolution at the end of November 1947. In the months afterwards, as Palestinian resistance mounted, some countries appeared to back away from partition. Smuts, following an appeal from Weizmann, used his influence to ensure that the UN's line did not change.

He and Weizmann remained in close contact throughout the period, as the Zionist leader begged him for more and more open support. And, after the formal establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, one of Smuts's final acts as Prime Minister of South Africa, before losing the general election at the end of May, was to extend de facto recognition to the new 'State'.

With Smuts out of office, and Weizmann pushed aside by Ben Gurion, their relationship after May 1947 declined in importance. Instead, the new State and the new Nationalist Government in South Africa began to develop their own relations, aided by the presence of a number of South African Jews in the decision-making structure of the Zionist state – such as Abba Eban, Arthur Lourie, and Major Michael Comay. Smuts died in 1950. His role in the previous thirty years was widely recognised in South African Zionist circles and by the Israeli Government as having been a crucial factor in the successful development of the Balfour Declaration which he had helped to get adopted as British Government policy.

After his death, a "Smuts' Forest" overlooking the "Weizmann Forest" was dedicated in Israel. Their close proximity marked the close friendship and long alliance of the two men.



Today, the two states implanted in Arab and African land are closely allied, in economic, political and military fields. It is an alliance that both Smuts and Weizmann would have welcomed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Footnote . . .

### Israel – South Africa: MILITARY COLLABORATION

Israel is to provide Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles for the South African Navy. Part of an extensive range of military equipment from missiles to jet fighters and marine craft now being manufactured in Israel, they will be South Africa's first sea missiles.

Gabriel's latest version has a range of 20 nautical miles. Reporting the sale, the Daily Telegraph said on 8th September that the Gabriel missile was used against Syrian missile boats during the October War last year. The sale of missiles to the apartheid state is said to have come 'as a bombshell' for Britain and other states which have refused to sell the South Africans the missiles they so desperately need.

South Africa's missile plan is part of a major naval expansion programme which will increase the size of the fleet from 27 to 43 ships within the next five years. The Israeli Uzi gun is also used by the South Africans, who have a long history of collaboration on a military level, particularly in the field of counter-insurgency operations against Palestinian and African liberation movements.

The recent visit by General Dayan, calling for more white immigration to Palestine, has been followed by the arrival of General Haim Hertzog, the former Chief of Israeli Military Intelligence in Johannesburg as the guest of the South African Government's Information Department. The Jewish Chronicle on 25th October reported that General Hertzog 'thanked the Government and entire South African nation for supporting Israel in the Yom Kippur War last year.' A reference to the supply of Mirage fighter jets by apartheid South Africa to her ally.

# South Africa's Working Population

The South African Department of Labour has just published the results of a census taken in April 1971, Manpower Survey No. 9, giving a breakdown of the occupations of all workers in South Africa, excluding domestic servants in private service, and those working in agriculture and farming. The mining industry, and service industries are included in the figures.

The total working population, including employers, came to 4,508,00 made up of Africans (who the census insists on insultingly calling 'Bantu') 2,509,00 or 55.6 per cent; Whites 1,385,00, 30.7 per cent; Coloureds 449,00, 10.0 per cent; and people of Asian origin 165,300, 3.7 per cent.

The table below shows the gross inequality of job opportunity between Whites and Africans in South African society. The two top categories of job make up 9.9 per cent of the South African work force, but 24.1 per cent of all White workers work in those categories and only 3.1 per cent of Africans. The worst discrimination is in skilled manual jobs. Here there are only 1.4 per cent of Africans, as opposed to 18.1 per cent of Whites. The number of skilled African manual workers would be

## BREAKDOWN OF THE CENSUS

Category of Job		White	Coloured	Asiatic	African	Total
A	(000s)	111.7	0.9	2.5	4.9	120.0
	%	8.1	0.2	1.5	0.2	2.7
B	(000s)	221.2	22.1	9.1	73.5	325.9
	%	16.0	4.9	5.5	2.9	7.2
C	(000s)	533.1	35.9	50.4	78.1	697.5
	%	38.5	8.0	30.5	3.1	15.5
D	(000s)	250.4	34.0	6.4	35.9	326.7
	%	18.1	7.6	3.9	1.4	7.2
E	(000s)	182.2	194.4	74.1	1,011.2	1,461.9
	%	13.2	43.4	44.9	40.3	32.4
F	(000s)	29.9	135.1	11.8	1,174.4	1,351.2
	%	2.2	30.1	7.1	47.2	30.0
G	(000s)	31.6	2.9	0.8	35.1	70.4
	%	2.3	0.6	0.5	1.4	1.6
H	(000s)	25.1	24.1	10.2	95.9	155.3
	%	1.8	5.4	6.2	3.8	3.4
Total	(000s)	1,385.2	449.4	165.3	2,509.0	4,508.9
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Category A Professional with degree or equivalent qualification, plus company directors.  
 Category B Workers with lower professional qualifications such as some school teachers, nurses, draughtsmen, etc.  
 Category C Other clerical and non-manual workers such as clerks, shop assistants.  
 Category D Skilled manual workers who have usually had an apprenticeship.  
 Category E Semi-skilled jobs including machinists, mine-workers, truck-drivers.  
 Category F Unskilled.  
 Category G Military, police, traffic wardens, etc.  
 Category H Cooks, waiters, laundry workers, cleaners, etc in domestic work but not in private service.

lower but for a shortage of building workers which forced the South Africa government to allow 6,400 African workers to register as "skilled Bantu building workers" under the Bantu Building Workers Act - but they work at lower rates of pay. For all other industries Africans are excluded from apprenticeships, and so have little chance of obtaining a skill. Africans do not even feature as a column heading when the census enumerates the numbers of

skilled workers and apprentices. In the two lower categories, semi-skilled and unskilled which make up 62.4 per cent of the labour force, there are only 15.4 per cent of the Whites, but 87.5 per cent of the Africans. If agriculture and private domestic service were included the number and proportions of Africans in the semi-and unskilled jobs would be even higher than the table below suggests, and the Whites proportionately less.

## • BOOK REVIEW •

### From Protest to Challenge:

A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964

Vol. 2 by T. Karis and G.M. Carter. Hoover Press 1974

The second volume of this trilogy is of even greater importance than the first, reviewed in *Sechaba* some time ago. Once again, the editors can be congratulated on a feat of vast organisation of the material and close attention to the texts of this invaluable primary source material of the history of our struggle.

While the authors write for the general public, South African political activists and scholars will find texts here to cause them to reflect on the roots of the South African liberation movement more deeply than before. Here is the authentic voice of an unfolding liberation struggle with all its problems, its efforts to develop a policy which will match long term perspectives with realistic current objectives, and the need to combine a sense of national identity and history with the political forces as they are thrown up in a concrete situation.

Among the most important documents in the collection is the Programme of Action of 1949 which has been at the centre of policy debate ever since. The Programme set out the demands for national freedom of the African people which were located in a struggle for democratic rights in all the institutions of government in the country. More important, the Programme proposed a council of action which

later set in motion the Defiance Campaign which was to transform the ANC into a militant mass organisation. The steps towards this campaign are set out in the Report of the Joint Planning Council of the ANC and SAIC which is also a document of great historical interest. The issues that emerge from these documents have been discussed in *Sechaba* on many occasions and the literature analysing them is already vast. This reviewer would urge that it is useful for students of our movement's development to refresh themselves at the fount of original sources. Too often commentators introduce excessive wisdom derived from hindsight, even more, they interpret too strictly the events by the way they were reported. These texts can help to redress imbalances in analysis though allowance must also be made for the fact that formal documents and even some informal letters by leaders do not and cannot reveal the truth in all its complexity.

If anything the volume as a whole is a useful reminder that the ANC has always been a national movement rather than a political party and that its goals were stated broadly enough to enable a wide range of viewpoints to combine in its ranks. At the same time it constantly sought to restate its aims to take account of the changing political situation in the country as a whole. But the how and why of these shifts of policy and in the tendencies which gained ascendancy are not easily explained in a book of this kind.

The book is divided in three sections, each of which has an introduction by Tom Karis. He has had a difficult task in putting together and evaluating all the material of this controversial period when the ANC moved into an alliance with the Indian Congress and overcame objections to the participation of Communists at all levels in the alliance. The introductions are a valuable guide to the sequence of events and help the reader to find his way through the documents but some of the interpretations are bound to raise objections. Perhaps this volume will rouse someone sufficiently to produce a history of our struggle written by a member of the ANC himself.

B.T.