

**MEMORANDUM OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS(S.AFRICA)
TO THE U.N. SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON COLONIALISM**

1. Permit me, through you Mr. Chairman, to express the gratitude of the African National Congress for this opportunity to address you.

Like our other colleagues in the liberation movement, we also extend our sincere thanks to the Government and people of Zambia for affording the Freedom Fighters once more this excellent platform which permits their voice to be heard loud and clearly. Zambia has indeed become an island of freedom and hope in a turbulent sea of reaction and racist bigotry.

The courage showed by our Zambian brothers in the face of crude threats from White minority regimes that almost encircle her territory is a source of tremendous inspiration to us.

2. The tons of documents and reports, the thousands of words that have fallen from the lips of eloquent speech-makers since 1946, on the tragic story of the rape of Namibia by the South African racist regime, must surely stand as tall as Mount Kilimanjaro.

Yet we have not dispaired. We have come here again before the United Nations because we remember vividly that it was the pain of oppression which goaded the people of Namibia as far back as 1946, to contribute their last pennies and six-pences, their last coins to enable the Reverend Michael Scott to travel to the United Nations headquarters. After twenty three years, the people, far from getting relief, find that as the African saying goes, the disease has given itself more strength.

Yes, we appear before the Committee of 24 because we know that there are men and women of good will in this world who genuinely in word and deed support our struggle for freedom.

At the same time we perceive the ever increasing machinations of the commercial and financial interests who conspire with our worst enemies to prolong our oppression.

On the other hand we denounce with utter contempt the few voices emanating from certain weak-kneed African States who are calling for a South Africa Munich, who advocate appeasement with the regimes of racism in Southern Africa.

3. In February this year, through the Whites only South African Parliament, was rushed the South West African Bill which gives the South African State President wide powers of arbitrary legislation over Namibia.

The truth of the matter is that the annexation of Namibia by the regime of South Africa, which was long evident, is thus formalised by the South West African Affairs law. And this happens after the United Nations General Assembly has passed a resolution terminating South Africa's mandate over Namibia.

4. The South African.....2/

4. The South African White minority regime under the guise of a new 'outward looking policy' is feverishly preparing to extend its colonial tentacles over other territories beyond its borders. By economic blackmail the regime of Apartheid endeavours to intimidate the neighbouring former British Protectorates of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana and seeks to prevent them from supporting the cause of the total liberation of Africa.

But the most sinister development was the dispatching of thousands of South African troops to Rhodesia to bolster the tottering regime of Ian Smith. South Africa has also sent military units, medical personnel and war equipment to the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

5. We of the African National Congress have always foreseen that an armed struggle, which had become inevitable, against South Africa was bound to madden the regime into issuing threats against the entire Continent of Africa. We have always warned that South Africa's military budget which now stands at £128,000,000 has designs not only to the ruthless suppression of the Liberation Movement in South Africa but also for the support of all reaction in the rest of Southern Africa and for the invasion of the African continent itself. And who can deny that such an eventuality spells the gravest dangers to world peace.

6. To understand the blatantness with which South Africa has annexed Namibia it is necessary to look into the true picture of and character of the regime's system of oppression.

The early Dutch colonialists, seeking a sea-way route to the riches of the East decided to make the Cape a half-way base first for their operations, sea route to India and beyond, and later for the colonial domination of the entire territory of Southern and Central Africa. True the British colonisers took over from the Dutch and temporary quarrells took place between them. But both colonial powers pursued the same strategy and grand design in Southern Africa, the main elements of which could be listed as follows:

*To peddle the big lie that the colonialists landed in virtually unoccupied country and the indigenous African people were confined in what they now call native reserves or Bantu Homelands.

*To effect a policy of divide and rule and playing one tribe against the other.

*To label the indigenous people as backward barbarians who were not entitled to civil rights.

*To proclaim that there could be no equality between White and Black in church or state.

You will probably remark that this was the typical colonial strategy everywhere. But we are putting up this back-drop to underline two significant features of the South Africa situation.

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Firstly, when South Africa ostensibly assumed independence from Great Britain in 1910, it was the White Minority which was granted Independence BUT NOT THE INDIGENOUS AFRICAN POPULATION. Too many times we hear of South Africa being regarded as an independent state. But that is only true as far as the White minority is concerned. The Africans and other non-Whites are not independent. They are under colonial domination. A peculiar kind of colonial domination where the colonising power is not overseas but sharing the same country as the colonised.

As a sideline it is well worth noting the similarity between the betrayal of the Africans by Britain in 1910 and the present day betrayal of Africans in Zimbabwe by the British Government.

Secondly, the present day colonial strategy used by the South African regime in respect to the indigenous population in South Africa and Namibia is basically the same as the original one.

We hear once more of the so-called Bantu Homelands or Bantustans. We see the implementation of the ethnic grouping of Africans in residential areas and in schools to try to re-introduce 'DIVIDE et IMPERA' and play one tribe against the other. We see the introduction of an inferior education system among African pupils in South Africa and Namibia so that the regime could cling once more to the myth that the Africans are backward and should be denied civil rights. We see the stubborn refusal of the regime to abandon racial discrimination.

It is of course very true that the situation in South Africa has not remained static.

Economically South Africa is today perhaps the most advanced country in Africa. It is a country with vast natural resources. But its wealth has been and is produced by the most ruthless exploitation of African labour.

The country has made spectacular advances in the industrial field. The developments in this field have resulted in the modernisation of other spheres as well such as agriculture, commerce, transport and communication.

The national income of South Africa was estimated at about 52,356 million in 1960-61. Today the figure is nearer £4,000 million. Although the mining industry continues to be the main prop of economic expansion by reason of its supreme role as foreign exchange earner, its contribution to the National Income has steadily declined. Manufacturing industry is contributing a bigger and bigger share of the country's National Income.

The implications of this development are not very difficult to discern. South Africa has reached the stage where she needs markets for her manufactured goods and sources of raw materials.

SOUTH AFRICA'S COLONIALIST POLICY.

7. We have already pointed out that the main ruse by which the

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regime of Apartheid seeks to keep away Africans of Namibia and South Africa from political power emanates from the false theory that Africans and the White man arrived in Southern at the same time and each group occupied unoccupied land. Therefore, argue the racists, that there should be separate development of the various racial groups each group developing in its own area.

Our people have rejected this lie with the contempt it deserves. Who does not know that the people of South Africa and Namibia were dispossessed of their land after predatory wars of conquest were forced upon them by the Dutch, English and German colonialists? Who has not heard of the heroic wars of resistance waged by the various African tribal groups in Southern Africa, the Xhosas, the Zulus, the Sothos, the Pedis, the Shonas, the Ndebele and the Hereros, in defence of their motherland?

The Bantustan or homelands policy therefore is a fraud imposed on the Africans by force and deception. These Bantustans which the regime is trying to set up in South Africa and Namibia are devices calculated to divert attention from the central issue in South Africa which is - what groups and classes are to hold power.

To illustrate the utter dishonesty of the Bantustan scheme we should look at the recent so-called general elections in the model Bantustan of the Transkei. It is estimated that over 600,000 votes were cast for elective seats. The pro-Government Transkei National Independence Party led by the stooge Kaiser Matanzima received 200,000 votes but got 28 out of 45 seats. The opposition parties who were divided into a number of groups including the Democratic Party received over 400,000.

It should be noted that the number of potential voters is estimated at approximately one million.

In spite of the notorious proclamation 400 which maintains the state of emergency in the Transkei, the restrictions of political meetings, the weakness of opposition to Kaiser Matanzima, an opposition which is opportunistic and does not constitute a real alternative - over two-thirds of those who participated voted against Matanzima. But today Matanzima forms the so-called Transkei Government. Moreover, the fact that 400,000 people did not bother to vote is very significant.

In South Africa as well as Namibia the Bantustans are being set up along tribal lines to perpetual DIVIDE AND RULE.

The aims of the so-called Bantu Education system which is intended to train the African child in Namibia and in South Africa to serve the interests of Apartheid was well defined by the late Dr. Verwoerd who was at that time Minister of Native Affairs when he declared:

"There shall be no place for him in European society above certain forms of labour."

The consequent damage that has been done to African education progress is incalculable.

8. The United Nations archives must be bursting at its seams with well documented information gathered over the last two decades, showing the utter denial of civil rights, freedom of speech, movement and collective bargaining of the people of Namibia and South Africa who are Africans, Coloureds and of Asian descent.

9. But as expected the African people have not taken this savage oppression and exploitation lying down. After, the suppression of the earlier resistance wars by the colonialists who had the fortune to possess superior weapons and modern techniques of political organisation, the African people throughout Southern Africa, gradually regrouped and in varying degrees began to wage a stubborn political struggle. When the racist regimes of Southern Africa forbly suppressed peaceful protest, and defied the resolutions of the United Nations calling for the extension of human rights to all, our people decided once more to take up arms.

10. REPRESSION

In order to suppress the rebellion of our people and their demand for freedom, the South African racist regime has placed on the statute book the most heinous fascist laws, such as the Suppression of Communism Act, 180-Day detention law, Sabotage Act, the notorious Terrorism Act etc. etc. In terms of the Sabotage Act even an insignificant protest Act of slogan painting can entail the death sentence.

With its instinct to overkill, the regime of Apartheid has flung into jail thousands of freedom fighters.

In the prison of Robben Island are gathered today some of the best sons of Namibia and South Africa - sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment.

Reports from the jails indicate that these freedom fighters are held under the most intolerable conditions. Some letters smuggled out of Robben Island recently, indicate the political prisoners receive poor medical treatment and some have died through sheer negligence. The food quality is exceedingly poor.

And these comrades of ours, in their letters have appealed to us to urgently draw the attention of world public opinion to their plight.

Then there are the appalling stories of torture of political prisoners and prisoners in general in almost all the South African jails. In the last few months there has hardly been a week when there has not been newspaper reports of the torture of some prisoners in the South African jails.

11. SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW EXPANSIONIST PLAN.

With much fanfare and through a powerful internal and international propaganda media, the South African regime has announced the so-called 'Outward-looking policy'. What is this policy supposed to mean?

The Pretoria regime claims that this is a policy of good neighbourliness

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by which it is willing to fraternise with the Black States and even assist them in the technical and economic spheres.

However, numerous reports give a different picture as to the true intentions of the 'outward-looking policy'. For instance the South African newspaper Daily Dispatch of 20 March 1969 reports Lord Stokes, chairman and managing director of the British Leyland Corporation, which has vast interests in South Africa as saying:

"South Africa would become the workshop of the whole of Africa....."

Clearly under this policy Africa is not expected to develop an industry of its own.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Hilgard Muller is reported in the Daily Dispatch of 10/3/69 as having said inter alia.

"....A country's prestige and position in international affairs were greatly dependent on its economic power - and friendships which grew from this power were dependent on mutual interests such as commercial intercourse, capital investments, exchanges of technical skills and development help....."

The same newspaper reported that Dr. Muller mentioned as an example, the South African farmers who took 200 tractors to Lesotho to plough the land of farmers who had been hit by drought.

Contrasting sharply with that report of the aid programme of 200 tractors for Lesotho is a report which appeared in the Daily Dispatch of 15/11/68, which said inter alia:

"Thousands of Africans are starving in the Ciskei (Ciskei is in South Africa), the Minister of Bantu Administration was told here.....We had an exceptional drought last year and the people are starving...."

It is clear therefore that these financial doles from South Africa are politically motivated.

Dr Kamuzu Banda of Malawi whose country has received some financial assistance from South Africa, is reported by the Daily Dispatch (of 24/4/69) as having said inter alia that conditions in South Africa are already changing as a result of Malawi's policies towards that country.

Meanwhile very recent reports about the conditions in South Africa tell a different story.

The Daily Dispatch of 3/3/69 reports:

"The African worker is stripped of such meagre employment security as he now has by the "dictatorial" provisions of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill now before Parliament.... in the Bantu Act of 1964 is to be inserted a new section which gives the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development the unfettered right to prohibit by notice in the Gazette the employment of any African in any part of, or throughout the whole area of the Republic...."

A head-line in the Daily Dispatch of the 27/2/69 reads:

"Man says he was tortured for fun."

The newspaper Evening Post of the 14/4/69 reports :

"Alex Lebobo, a former hard labour prisoner told Mr Justice Cillie at the Prisons Act trial that he had twice been burnt with an electric machine at Cinderella Prison, Boksburg..."

The Daily Dispatch of the 3/4/69 reports:

" Eight men and a woman who were barred from attending a funeral service yesterday had to pay their last respects to the dead man while standing in the rain at the graveside at West Park Cemetary here.

They were barred by a Dutch Reformed Church minister from attending the funeral service of a White man because Africans are not generally admitted to the church...."

The Evening Post of the 20/2/69 reports the case of an Africa who was assaulted by a White man named Nel.

" Mr Machaba told the court that Nel asked him for a lift on his bicycle when he passed Nel and three other Whites in Van Heerden Street...He said he was not going in Nel's direction and told him so. Nel then pulled the bicycle from under him and the books he was delivering were scattered on the ground.....Nel then proceeded to assault Mr Machaba by punching him in the face and hitting him in the stomach with his head...."

12. The truth of the South African situation is that there is not the slightest attempt on the part of the regime to soften down on Apartheid and bandon racism.

The true nature of the expansionist designs of the Pretoria regime and its plan to export Apartheid beyond its borders is revealed by the fantastic arms build up by the regime.

Defence estimates have jumped from 44 million Rand (1960-61) to 255 million Rand (1960-1967). Police expenditure over the same period has advanced from R36 million to R86 million.

13. The Security Council embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa has not been effective. Some Imperialist powers like France have blatantly disregarded it.

With the cooperation of Imperialist firms like the British Imperial Chemical Industries, F.N. of Belgium, Panhard of France and others, South Africa has stepped up her own ammunitions factories including factories to manufacture automatic rifles.

West Germany is collaborating with South Africa in the production of advanced weapons, poison gases and nuclear weapons. South Africa is equipped with missiles of all sorts.

14. South Africa together with Portugal and Rhodesia have systematically built and consolidated what is now called the Unholy Alliance.

South Africa is the main pillar of this alliance with its tremendous economic resources. Smith openly declared to the Congress

of his party.....8/

of his party last year that but for the assurances of South African support, he would not have declared UDI.

Behind the Vorster, Caetano, Smith unholy Alliance is the even more dangerous alliance of the imperialists - the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan etc. Southern Africa is regarded by these powers as their treasure house and as a last outpost of imperialism in Africa and a ready spring-board to discipline any independent African state which does not wish to tow the line of the imperialists.

The Minister of defence of the White minority regime in South Africa has stated openly that the role of South Africa in Africa is the same as the role of the United States in the world and that was to fight what he called communism.

13. The South Africa regime therefore has acquired all the aggressive features of an imperialist state. It is only sufficient to mention the brazen annexation of Namibia in flagrant violation of the United Nations; South Africa has made repeated threats of attacks on Zambia and Tanzania; has engineered acts of subversion, sabotage and espionage against independent African States and has openly exported mercenaries.

14. It has been the central propaganda theme of the enemy to paint the regimes of White minority in the South as invincible and unassailable fortresses. We have not been impressed by these scare stories. We shall never give up our birth rights.

15. The Zapu-A.N.C guerillas who engaged the enemy in that unforgettable Winter of 1967 performed truly heroic exploits but above all they exploded for once and for all the myth of the invincibility of the White racist armed forces. Our dear comrades experienced and lived through the joy of witnessing the enemy turn his back and flee. That same enemy who had for years bullied our people and suppressed them savagely when he alone had the monopoly of possessing modern weapons.

16. Some well meaning people were taken away by the enemy propaganda which proclaimed that South Africa sent troops to Rhodesia because of the formation of the Zapu-ANC Alliance. The truth is the opposite.

An alliance between the reactionary regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa has existed since 1960.

In the economic sphere both countries are dominated by the same economic interests such as the giant Anglo-American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, The Standard, Barclays and National and Grindlays Banks. etc etc.

17. The people of Southern Africa will surely prove to be equal to the task of liberating themselves. Our task is made a little difficult by the fact that the White racist regimes have powerful economic and military backing of the Nato powers.

18. However, we are convinced that victory will still be ours if all men of good will the world over rallied to support our struggle in concrete terms.

U.N. member states should give assistance to the freedom fighters directly.

Presented by:

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