

30 JUNE 78

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S. 89/173



V1
No. 2

bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

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Since the victory of people's revolutions in Vietnam and former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and especially after the birth of a new Mozambique and Angola, mankind is witnessing an unprecedented imperialist offensive in our continent - in the ideological, diplomatic, economic and military spheres, leading to suddenly sifting qualitative transformations in the revolutions of the continent.

After over thirty years of deft ideological sabotage, machinations and intelligence footwork since Ghana or the dawn of a New Africa, imperialism is beginning to reap its doomed bumper political harvest by winning over to its side the support of former revolutionaries, renegades, middle-roads and corrupted dynasties of our continent. The revolutionary gains of the continent are at stake.

At the invitation of a Black neo-colonial rulers, be it in some former French-speaking State of West Africa, Zaire or elsewhere, the former colonial soldier is back in his former post defending the same pre-independence enemy interests but never with the support of the people themselves in any of such countries.

Despite all these political upheavals and setbacks there is something great and positive that the African revolution is gaining and that is the sharp qualitative identification of our friends and enemies in the struggle - their motives, their interests vis-a-vis ours, unmasked by any tinge of colour or racial prejudice. Political positions have been taken; and in the eyes of the people, scores of African statesmen and leaders, through their own words and action, are now justifiably qualifying as either revolutionaries or reactionaries. No wonder that the most disgusting children's swearing word today in every people's home is rightfully the name of some treacherous African leader.

The situation in Southern Africa is no exception to imperialist rampage. The sub-continent is subjected to imperialist intrigues long before independence is born in order to obviate the inevitable, the possibilities of any more real revolutions, of Angolan or Mozambican semblance in the area.

The West Big Five of big-money-bags and governments of the U.S.A., France, Britain, West Germany and Canada are locked up in a sleepless unholy alliance to stop the revolutionary march of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa under a sinister disguise of preventing further spread of a so-called Soviet and Cuban influence or communism from Angola and Mozambique into the region. The peoples of

South Africa are supposed to be taught by their very arch enemies what is best for them and their future.

Luckily, our Dark Mother Continent is not in such political darkness as it is supposed to be. Luckily, there are still a few courageous Nyereres. The people see the truth and are holding high the banner and torch of Freedom. The key to total liberation of the continent lies flat in the hands of the people themselves and only there.

The people know from bitter experiences in their own lifetime, be it that of Vietnam or Chile, Egypt or Zaire that our first and bitterest enemy is not Cuban or Soviet influence or communism but American, French, British and Germany imperialism.

The people know from the same experiences that no Cuban or Soviet capitalist has ever caused them any single pain, suffering or tear.

The people also know that the predominant motive of this sudden imperialist second scramble for our continent is to retain or regain their immense profits that ooze out of the exploitation of our strategic raw materials and encheaped labour power. They know that all the so-called imperialist aid or capital investments are preconditioned and thrive from our mass impoverishment and misery.

The imperialist motive in Africa is put so abundantly clear by one of the British Army bulletins. It says, "Unfortunately, Angola is too potentially rich to be allowed to decide its own future". Yes, the avarice, arrogance and audacity of imperialism has no limits and respect for independence or sovereignty of any of our states no matter however tragic the consequences of their desires and actions may be. The end justifies any means. And, as to be expected, the more progressive Africa becomes the more vicious becomes our desperate enemy.

The collapse of a people's revolution anywhere in the world, especially in Africa and Southern Africa in particular takes back the triumph of our cause by many years - all to the greatest satisfaction and aim of our enemy. It is therefore imperative that all progressive forces in Africa, in the O.A.U., in government or not and elsewhere, must close their ranks with people even tighter, for the decisive battles ahead.

Unanimously, Progressive Africa must swiftly halt and courageously repulse the offensive of the Western Powers and their Black neo-colonial pay boys from destroying the revolutionary gains of our continent which have been won at such great material and human sacrifice.

Africa! The struggle continues!

Africa! Victory is certain!

Mayibuye iAfrika!

STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH
AFRICA TO THE CONFERENCE ON MIGRATORY LABOUR
PRESENTED BY COMRADE ALFRED NZO - SECRETARY-GENERAL

Your Excellencies
Distinguished Guests
Friends and Comrades

We listened earlier at the commencement of this historic Conference to important statements by the representative of the government of the Republic of Zambia, welcoming all the delegates and assuring them all that Zambia can offer to insure the success of this Conference. We join those who have already made a positive assessment of Zambia's contribution to making our Conference a success. This is no surprise to us as UNIP, the Government and people of Zambia have already proved to be consistent allies of the oppressed peoples struggling for national liberation in Southern Africa.

Mr. Chairman, we also listened to the important statement made by the Minister of Labour of the People's Republic of Angola. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the statement of Comrade Minister from Angola charted a clear way ahead for our work during coming days. This statement was clearly consistent with the undeviating commitment of MPLA Party of Labour, the Government and People of Angola to the struggle for the total elimination of colonialism and racial oppression in our region.

We also pay tribute to the contribution of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa and other speakers before us.

The African National Congress welcomes the convening of this historic conference on migratory labour. - Historic because for the first time governments, liberation movements, and workers organisations in Southern Africa have come together to consider this pernicious system of migratory labour which has so fundamentally affected the political and economic life of the entire region and which has exacted so high a price from the African people.

The system of migratory labour in Southern Africa lies at the very heart of the South African socio-economic system. Successive white racist regimes have wielded the system, to intensify the exploitation and oppression of Africans, not only from South Africa but from the entire Southern African region.

The African National Congress has never been ambiguous in its attitude towards migratory labour. The system of migratory of the people in the area.

Labour from neighbouring countries has been allotted a specific role in the apartheid system - system under which, all aspects of life and relations of the majority of the population of South Africa are so ordered, as to provide for the collective and individual benefit, privilege and comfort of a racially defined minority and for the maximum profit for all those, South Africans and foreigners, who are engaged in exploiting the human and natural resources of Southern Africa.

Pretoria's propaganda projects an image of workers freely choosing and preferring to go and work in South Africa because of the superior conditions and facilities offered there. The reality is quite different. Migratory labour from neighbouring Southern African countries is deliberately recruited and brought to South Africa, because it benefits the South African economy. The need for this labour flow has historically led to policies that have deliberately operated to the detriment of the economic development of South Africa's neighbours.

The exploitation of cheap migratory labour has become the dominant feature of economic relations in South Africa, and is the basis upon which the economic development and wealth of the country has grown. However, this wealth, that has been created by the joint labour of workers from all of Southern Africa has been denied to us in common. The scale of the contribution of the labour from our neighbouring countries can be gauged by the fact that in the 30 year

period up to 1975, our neighbours have invested more than 7 million man years in the gold and coal mines alone, while from the beginning of this century the majority of workers in our mines have come from our neighbouring countries.

Yet today, we are all denied access to this wealth in common, and the benefit of the wealth we have created remains exclusively in the hands of a racist minority. At the trade union level it is therefore, correct that all workers in South Africa, from within the country and without, should combine to fight together for their legitimate rights.

The African National Congress will continue to advocate close solidarity with the people of Southern Africa and will stress their common destiny. We will continue to work to organise everybody living and working in South Africa to join hands in the struggle against our common enemy and for the realisation of a future South Africa - which the peoples of Southern Africa should legitimately expect will engage in a process of reorganising economic relations in Southern Africa for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the region and to eliminate the imbalance in economic development imposed on the area by the system of colonial exploitation and domination.

We are concerned at this Conference with the particular situation of those workers who come to work in the mines, factories and farms of South Africa. However, their situation is inextricably linked with the situation of the Black workers of South Africa and cannot be considered separately. They all suffer from the same disabilities and repression - with their rights, freedoms, movements and conditions so controlled as to facilitate the maximum exploitation of their labour. Their conditions are determined by, and flow from the apartheid system. Consequently, all questions of change, of amelioration of conditions, of improvement of status, are linked with the elimination of the apartheid system, and therefore, in the final analysis must be considered in the context of the liberation struggle of the South African people.

The African National Congress has consistently called for the total isolation of the racist regime in the economic, political, military and cultural fields. Our position however, does not ignore the problems of our neighbours or the reality of the situation in Southern Africa. By the very nature of their contribution to the growth of the South African economy, our neighbours have suffered. Colonialism deliberately tried to create a situation of

economic dependence upon South Africa and tied the national economies of the African states in the region to the apartheid economy.

Cognisant of this reality, the African National Congress has given its full support to the resolution of the Extra-Ordinary Session of the Council of Minister of the OAU in Dar es Salaam in April, 1975, which called for the "phasing out" of migratory labour from South Africa.

To this end the African National Congress would welcome continued attempts by supplier countries to formulate a common policy regarding the flow of labour to South Africa. Thus we endorse the call from the South African Congress of Trade Unions for the formation of a Southern African Labour Committee, comprising representatives of the supplier countries, workers or organisations of supplier countries, and SACTU.

The United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity have called upon member countries to take steps to isolate South Africa. It cannot assist in the liberation of South Africa if the supplier countries are expected to permit the total disintegration of their economic and political structures consequent upon the withdrawal of labour from South Africa. Their ability to withdraw labour must depend upon the development of their economies and the ability to absorb the migrant workers. It is therefore incumbent upon the international community to compensate the supplier countries for any losses they incur as a result of withdrawal of labour and such compensation should be on a scale sufficient to enable the supplier countries to create employment opportunities for the affected workers within their own countries.

We welcome and support the initiatives and programme of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa to set up sub-regional economic communities with the aim of generating economic development and employment growth, improving the living standards of the people and consolidating national independence and mutual co-operation in the Southern African region.

The apartheid system however, is opposed to the economic independence of the countries of Southern Africa. We are aware of the various attempts to sabotage the economies of the region and subvert their legitimate governments. The African National Congress calls upon the international community to support measures to combat the attempts at destabilisation.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the African National Congress, on behalf of the People of South Africa, pay tribute to the people and countries of Southern Africa for their consistent support in our escalating struggle for the total overthrow of the apartheid system, and the establishment of a peoples government.

Only when the apartheid system has been erradicated will the full economic development of the region be possible.

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US MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

by NZAKI

Marshall Twins

The USA is today the industrial giant of the Western world, and so is South Africa in the African continent, with South Africa depending, to a considerable extent, on US State Department's diplomatic support on international platforms and on US Multinational Corporations' (MNCs') economic pillars inside the country.

In return, South Africa remains a vital strategic political and military US bridgehead in Africa. Secondly, South Africa, through the notorious operations of the same US MNCs, is a source of immense imported US affluence which is produced primarily through colonial-like forms of exploitation of mostly Black workers in the country. In practical terms, both countries have identical economic policies of high profit pursuit and acquisition from an economic growth which is based on common policies of rabid racism.

The defeat of Nazism and fascism in Europe led by the glorious Soviet Red Army, followed by the triumphant march of socialism in Eastern Europe, had profound international consequences spilling far over Europe to all corners of the world. It ushered in a new era of US-backed and based onslaught of anti-socialism to counter-democracy, anti-liberation to neo-colonialism - by laws, jackbootings, bannings, exiles, tortures, political murders which paved the way for or were accompanied by mass investments of U.S.A. capital.

That is the dark trail that runs through all US State Department policies and these of the "weaker" imperialist partners of Britain, France, West Germany etc; as from 1945 to date and objectively tomorrow. The ulterior motive, final purpose and inner essence of it all is, at all costs, more and more profit - from State and MNCs capital investments which are themselves a product of exploitation of man by man.

This new strategy of international imperialism is contained in the so-called Marshall Aid plan of the U.S.A.. And, because of her already reactionary internal policies and potential profit from its wealth, South Africa became and

remained the most strategic and reliable base and best favoured US investment recipient on the African continent.

New economic course and investments

As from the 1950's and especially after Sharpeville, manufacturing and other 'self-reliance' economic tendencies began to replace mineral extraction as the major sector in the South African economy. The US MNCs contributed most to this new stage of industrialization and economic growth in the country. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler immediately intensified their operations in South Africa to an extent that today they produce more than half of South Africa's motor vehicles and have invested \$ 300 million in this "critical economic growth pole". Such investments fostered rapid industrial growth, leading to a situation whereby there are now over 200 US MNCs firms in automotive-components manufacture. Furthermore the massive injection of American capital and technical expertise in South Africa is playing a major role in American attempts to penetrate and capture the export markets of Tropical Africa.(1)

The past two decades, especially the last one, have been marked by a rapid inflow of foreign capital investments into South Africa. Paul Giniewski, a French observer says (2) that during the first quarter of 1962, 60% of the capital for the establishment of new enterprises in South Africa came from foreign countries against 40% during the corresponding period in 1961.

Foreign undertakings invested R.3,077 million in the mines, secondary industry, insurances etc. Of these countries, Great Britain (the traditional investor), was the largest with a share of 58.5 per cent, the US followed with 13.7 per cent, and France was the third largest with 5.5 per cent.

This confidence in South African investments, Giniewski says, is partly due to the high percentage of profits. "The return of foreign capital invested in South Africa is amongst the highest in the world. The dividends of American capital in industry, invested directly in South Africa, are 12.6 per cent against 6.6 per cent in Western Europe, 2.9 per cent in South America and an average of 5.5 per cent throughout the world. The return of indirect investment compares favourably with that from the best developed countries".(3)

US MNCs in the early sixties invested in South Africa "well over \$ 500 million" (4) and made profit averaging 27 per cent on invested capital.(5) By the middle of 1964 there were already more than 160 American firms with direct investment in South Africa.(6) They included motor companies, drugs and cosmetic firms and also production of industrial equipment.

Car sales give a picture of the size of these firms. January 1963 sales were about 1500 units above that of January 1962. The biggest supplier in January 1963 was General Motors with 2,337 units, followed by Ford with 1,973 units.(7)

Information directly from US sources and especially official ones is "unbiased" and therefore more exact in showing US MNCs involvement in Apartheid. Bernard Blankenkeimer, an American Trade Consul to South Africa is reported to have said in Johannesburg in November 1968 that at the end of 1966 the US had \$ 2 Billion invested in the whole of Africa, of which South Africa accounted for \$ 601 million.(8)

A few years later, information released by the Bureau of African Affairs of the US State Department on US investment in South Africa revealed that at the end of 1971, total US investment in that country was R545 million, an increase of 11.1 per cent over the previous year. During the same period, repatriated earnings on these investments were R33 million.(9)

(U.S. \$1 is equal to about R0.87).

A year later, in July 1972, Fortune magazine devoted an article and editorial to the operations of US MNCs in South Africa and estimated that by 1972 there were 292 American companies in South Africa with direct investments of about R690 million and employing 250,000 workers.(10)

Mr D.F. Mc Henry, formerly of the US State Department, boasted that in 1973 there were already 340 US concerns operating in South Africa, "and that out of 15 top US corporations in general, 12 have holdings in South Africa". (11) And, "of these, GM, Ford, Chrysler, Mobil, Caltex, Firestone, Goodyear, GE, ITT and IBM are the largest".(12)

In a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee early this year, U.S. Senator Dick Clark pointed out that in 1976 U.S. corporate investment in South Africa was \$ 1665 billion or 37.3 per cent of total U.S. investments in Africa.

At the beginning of 1978 there were already 350 US MNCs in South Africa with an aggregate direct investment of nearly R1275 million - about 17% of all total foreign investments there. The monetary value of these MNC assets and the labourers at their mercy are as follows:-

COMPANY	EMPLOYEES	SALES (\$ MLNS)	ASSETS (\$ MLNS)
FORD	4,731	220	170
GENERAL MOTORS	3,800	250	160
COCA-COLA	3,800	N.A.	N.A.
MOBIL	2,869	500	333
GOODYEAR	2,590	44	58
FIRESTONE	2,500	N.A.	N.A.
CALTEX	2,200	400	200
CARNATION	1,587	N.A.	N.A.
GENERAL ELECTRIC	1,587	80	260
OTIS ELEVATOR	1,500	28	60
DEL MONTE	1,492	15	18
IBM	1,478	163	89
		over	over
TOTAL	29,434	1,700	1,004

includes 1,332 seasonal workers

N.A. = not available

Source: Investor Responsibility Research Centre, Inc

Strategic and highly profitable sectors

These MNCs are deeply involved in the production and marketing of highly strategic and profitable products of top level priority and international demand, without which South Africa can hardly survive for a long time in general economic terms and therefore in the military sense as well. They are also directly deeply involved in the apparatus of repression in country.

If Caltex and Mobil and other such corporations withdrew from South Africa, for instance, it is difficult to visualise the South African oil-from-coal corporation (SASOL) alone providing fuel or running the whole industry or economy of the country.

The South African oil industry is dominated by five giant multinational oil companies. The biggest of these are US Caltex and Mobil. In 1977 the shares of the two companies put together, in the whole South African oil industry came up to 38.0%.

Caltex Oil (S.A.) (Pty.) Limited, owns and operates a 3.25 million tons per year refinery at Cape Town. The company is a wholly owned subsidiary of Caltex Petroleum Corporation, a US company itself jointly owned by TEXACO and the Standard Oil Company of California.(13)

Mobil Refining Company Southern Africa (Pty.) Limited, owns and operates a refinery at Durban with a capacity of 55.0 million tons per year. The company is a wholly owned subsidiary of Mobil Oil Corporation, a U.S. company. (14)

Secondly, in advanced economies such as South Africa today, the transport or motor industry is as vital as fuel itself, both for production and marketing purposes. In fact, history has it that during war times the whole motor industry can be and has been easily converted to the production of military equipment.

Then there is the notorious ITT which stands implicated and internationally accused for its involvement in the murder of the Chilean President, Dr Allende and the fall of his government. According to the South African press this corporation has contributed tremendously to the war

machinery in that country. STC (Standard Telephones and Cables), an ITT corporation operating in South Africa and whose annual turnover was over R30 million in 1970, sells about 70% of its products to the South African Government departments, to the Post Office and to various wings of the South African Defence Force and is "sole South African distributor radio equipment" of different kinds including military ones.

Its products are used for state surveillance, bugging of political leaders, offices and meetings of the national liberation movement. It supplies equipment for the electric shock machines used by Boss (Bureau of State Security) for the persecution of its political opponents (15).

It is also new known that South Africa's first nuclear reactor was built with U.S. help. The men to man the \$ 11 million plant were trained by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission at Oak Ridge. Involved in the construction of Safari was Ellis Chalmers, a US company. (16)

Without US State and US MNCs support, the South African economic base which in turn reinforces its aggressive military apparatus, would not be what it is today. US senator Dick Clark also admits this charge. In his report he says, "The effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime".

High profit and high dividend rates are the major economic motive that have since the fifties and sixties been attracting more and more US MNCs into the South African economic. A survey of foreign investment in South Africa brags that South Africa in recent years has become one of the few countries where the pressures of international politics have had to take a back seat as far as foreign investment is concerned. (17) "Despite protestests internationally against the Republic's policies, foreign investors have continued to pour capital into new industries in what has become the industrial giant of Africa", (18) it says.

What is it then that practically entices US MNCs to a system which is internationally condemned by all mankind with conscience and even by the UN? And, what is the real source of high South African profit and dividend?

The point of view of South African official survey and opinion as presented by the then Minister for Economic Affairs

Affairs and now State President, Dr N. Diederichs, in Zurich is that these high profits are rooted first and foremost in "low scale taxation - only half that of Britain at present"; (19) guarantee of protection for private initiative and the profit motive; the maintenance of a sound and stable administration; the assurance that basic services such as electricity, water, transport and communications are adequate to the demands made upon them; the promotion of peaceful labour relations; and moderate tariff protection. These investment opportunities available in South Africa, the Minister said, are "amongst the most remunerative to be found anywhere in the world". (20)

Further elucidation on this issue was given by Mr Clarence Randal, former chairman and magnate of the Inland Steel Company of the US in his long feature articles in the South African official press entitled, "Should Americans invest in South Africa?" He says, "Taxes are moderate in the Republic and the return on investment is high...nor are there any laws setting limits on the repatriation of earnings". (21)

Like all repressive state officials, businessmen and magnates whose major objective in life is profit first and above all else including other peoples lives and suffering, our Minister and magnate cannot expose the source of their profits otherwise. That source must remain a commercial secret.

That they are talking about a redivision process of the enormous loot which has been produced mainly through the forced labour, sweat, deprivation and agony of a voiceless people is "beyond their comprehension". That is why they, as also owners of information media, together with their 'objective' scholars who have all access to it, can never even once contrast and divulge how much after the appropriation, division, redivision and expatriation processes is in reality left behind for the real producers of that wealth, the workers, to survive upon.

That, never! They 'forget' that, and as a result the world is thus given a distorted 'reality' of a dazzling land of gold for all, highest profit returns and dividends for all - rozy prosperity. There is nothing said about the other side of the same coin - the reality of stark misery, absolute repression and impoverishment of the producers of that very wealth, the Black workers, the rightful and natural owners of that country and its wealth. And the cause of that mass Black workers' impoverishment is what goes for super-enrichment of S.A. government officials like Diederich and their US MNCs.

Yes, these gentlemen will never say a word about or admit the real source of what they divide among themselves re-invest or expatriate. An objective exposition of the real situation of both antagonistic human forces in the production and market processes in South Africa would, of course, spell doom to the whole S.A. system and therefore lead to the fall of US MNCs paradise in South Africa. And, that is the one great stumbling block of 'our' science. It cannot afford to be objective the whole way and consistently. It has to be subjective, skip and silence some chapters of reality in order to defend its class interests and the system itself.

Nevertheless, even at that, ordinary conscience (where there still is any) and commonsense tell mankind that wherever there are repressive labour laws accompanied by the world's highest profit returns produced in the same system, as obtains in South Africa today, there must be at the same time and place extreme human suffering on the side of the oppressed and exploited. That is the objective situation in South Africa today. And that is why even some few US MNCs are now getting "worried" about their own sins and are appealing to those whom they exploit in South Africa (so early), and to the world at large, to at least "judge us fairly".

We start judgement with Rev. Leon Sullivan, first and only Afro-American Director of General Motors. He said in an interview in Washington, D.C. in February 1971 that his company should move its South African car plant to somewhere else in the African continent "where people are treated like human beings rather than dogs". On March 7th he said on US television that the US government should declare an economic boycott against South Africa. (22)

A few years earlier, in 1968, representatives of the US working class movement were even more emphatic. The United Automobile Workers' Union strongly condemned American investment in South Africa particularly by the automotive industry, in its resolution taken in July. (23)

The resolution said that the continuing investment in South Africa "is adding technological sinew to the brutal grip of apartheid upon the nation's oppressed and grossly exploited majority".

Nothing could be more true. The military might of South Africa today is, in all respects inseparable from its economic foundation and origin. To accept only military sanctions for instance, and reject economic boycott of that regime's base, /

base, would be to oppose its destruction, and therefore also to oppose national liberation in that country. The workers noted further that the "United States investment in the slave state is now rising towards 700 million dollars. Ford, General Motors and Chysler produce over 60% of all cars sold in South Africa". They observed with indignation, "...the eagerness of United States corporations to do business with a mortal enemy of democracy".

Bertha Gaster of UNESCO recently reminded the cynical world that in South Africa "skilled jobs, by and large, are reserved to whites by law. Strikes are forbidden-by law. Black strikes, that is Black wages in 1973 ranged from 54 Rands to 98 Rands a month (the Minimum Poverty Datum Line at bare subsistence level at that **time** was reckoned at 89.44 Rands)". (24)

Yes, the real Tar Baby for both the US State Department and US MNCs is ultimately, super profits oozing out from super exploitation of the Black toiling masses in that country. All those super profits of US MNCs in South Africa are conversely propoirtinnal to the degree of exploitation and suffering of the toiling Black people. Nothing more fundamental, nothing else and nothing otherwise shall better explain that basic truth. (Article to be continued in next issue)

FOOT NOTES

- (1) G. FASULO, The powers behind apartheid, Cambridge, Mass., P.3.
- (2) South African Digest, Pretoria, 26/11/62, Page.4.
- (3) Ibid
- (4) Digest of South African Affairs, Pretoria, 9/7/62, P.2.
- (5) South African Digest, Pretoria, 12/12/63, P.3.
- (6) South African Digest, Pretoria, 1/5/64, P.12.
- (7) South African Digest, Pretoria, 9/5/63, P.15.
- (8) Quoted in Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 3/11/63.
- (9) Quoted in Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 7/5/73
- (10) Quoted in Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 17/9/72
- (11) Cape Times, Cape Town, 3/10/73

- (12) Ibid
- (13) Southern Africa, New York, Jan,-Feb., 1978, P.18
- (14) Ibid
- (15) "A people's Company", a report on an investigation into SIC (SA) Ltd. Spro Cas on behalf of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA; December, 1973
- (16) Daily Nation, Nairobi, 3/10/75
- (17) South African Digest, Pretoria, 12/12/63, P.3
- (18) Ibid
- (19) Ibid
- (20) South African Digest, Pretoria, 22/5/63, P.10
- (21) See South African Digest, Pretoria, 21/2/63 and 28/2/61, P.6 for both.
- (22) Quoted in Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 20/2/71, 8/3/71, 13/5/71, 9/5/71.
- (23) Quoted in Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 30/7/68.
- (24) Daily News, Dar-es-Salaam, 9/6/75.

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