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Report and Statements
on International
Conference
for the Support
of Victims
of Colonialism
and Apartheid;
Organised by the UN
in Co-operation
with the OAU,
held in Oslo,
Norway.

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CONTENTS

	Page
OSLO CONFERENCE ON . . . COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID	2
SOLIDARITY IN DEEDS AND ACTIONS by O. R. Tambo Acting President-General of the ANC	6
TOWARDS A U.N. STRATEGY Statement by His Excellency Ambassador E. O. OGBU	8
RUPTURE THE IMPERIAL ALLIANCE	13
THE PENETRATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY U.S. IMPERIALISM	17
PERSECUTION ON ROBBEN ISLAND	20
THE MANDELA PARTICLE	21
NEO-COLONIALIST POLICY OF IMPERIALISM	22
BOOK REVIEW	23

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Report on the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa, organised by the United Nations in co-operation with the Organisation of African Unity, held in Oslo, Norway, April 1973.

The Conference was attended by some 90 participants from over 50 Member States, over 30 representatives of 9 African liberation movements, 13 experts invited as individuals, 8 representatives and participants from the OAU, and 11 participants representing U. N. and its family organizations.

The international Conference for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa ended in Oslo on 14 April, after adopting its report.

The Report of the Conference, embodying proposals for action agreed on by two committees, is to be transmitted to United Nations Secretary-General, who will report on the results to the 28th Session of the General Assembly later this year.

General Assessment

In its general assessment the conference stated that it shared the international community's grave concern about the present situation in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, whose peoples were struggling for freedom and independence.

Yet the colonial and apartheid regimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury stubbornly determined to maintain their domination, desperately perpetrated more savage repression and warfare and carried out acts of aggression against independent African states. They were sustained only by collaboration and aid of certain Governments and major economic interests.

The conscience of the world demanded that these regimes be liquidated so as to achieve peace and preserve the dignity of man.

The struggle of peoples of territories was entirely just and legitimate, requiring the world community's support. Liberation movements leading that struggle were authentic representatives of their people, requiring full international recognition.

Thus it was the solemn duty of international organizations, governments and peoples to accelerate isolation of colonial and apartheid regimes and channel massive assistance to liberation movements, which were leading the struggle, regaining and reconstructing their territories, shaping



OSLO CONFERENCE ON... Colonialism and Apartheid

From left to right Messrs. Agha Abdul Hamid – UN advisor on Namibia, Edwin O. Ogbu – chairman of UN Special Committee on Apartheid and Salim A. Salim – chairman UN Special Committee for the realisation of the Declaration on Independence of the colonial countries and people – Photo: ADN-ZB/AP



afresh destinies of their people in dignity and freedom.

Proposals emanating from Conference required most serious and urgent consideration by United Nations, OAU, Governments, organizations and peoples of the world. They formed a programme of action for concerted international efforts to hasten the eradication to the scourge of colonialism and apartheid, thereby promoting international peace and security.

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION:

Portuguese Territories

- Support to be given to liberation movements recognised by OAU to enable them to carry on armed struggle
- Condemnation of steps taken by Portugal to consolidate and perpetuate colonial domination
- Condemnation of any extension of NATO activities to the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean
- Call for an international embargo by United Nations against Portugal on the supply of arms and military material
- Denunciation of alliances and agreements enabling Portugal to continue its colonial wars
- An international campaign for the release of political prisoners
- Captured freedom fighters to be treated as Prisoners of War
- Any negotiations on the future of the territories to be held only with representatives of national liberation movements recognised by the OAU
- Support to be given to economic de-



velopment and national reconstruction in liberated areas and withdrawal of all foreign investment

- Boycott of exports and imports by Portugal on behalf of territories

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION:

Namibia

- SWAPO should be accorded appropriate recognition as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, and all aid for Namibia channelled through it
- United Nations should take steps to implement its decisions enabling the Council for Namibia to act as the legal authority for territory pending its independence, in close association with SWAPO

The Council for Namibia should:

- (a) Represent Namibia within United Nations system and under intergovernmental conventions
- (b) Renounce existing multilateral or bilateral treaties or agreements to which South Africa is party if they have been extended to or affect Namibia
- (c) Negotiate treaties and agreements
- (d) Repeal discriminatory and/or repressive legislation and enact laws conforming to the interests of the people, including laws relating to: land titles, foreign corporations, licenses and concessions, labour conditions, taxation
- (e) Raise and expend revenues

- States should prevent their nationals from investing in or trading with Namibia under South Africa's occupation
- No contacts, dialogues or negotiations should be conducted with South Africa except to arrange for the immediate transfer of power in accordance with provisions of General Assembly Resolution 2145 (Twentyone)

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION:

Zimbabwe

- Mobilization of moral, political and material support to the liberation movement of Zimbabwe
- Liberation movement should be recognised as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe in all national and international forums
- United Nations should call upon all

Member States to apply effectively and extend sanctions

- The United States should repeal the Byrd Amendment and cease purchasing Rhodesian minerals

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION:

South Africa

- The United Nations should adopt programmes of international economic and other mandatory sanctions to counteract South Africa's increasingly aggressive role and should ask States to provide material and moral support to the liberation movement
- Action must be taken by the United Nations and Agencies, by States and by national and international bodies, including NGO's, in support of anti-apartheid and solidarity organizations to end all links with South Africa
- Investments should be withdrawn and no loans or other assistance provided to South Africa
- The flow of immigrants should be stopped
- Military agreements with South Africa should be terminated and arms embargo fully implemented
- Trade Union Movements should prevent production and supply of arms to South Africa
- All economic, scientific, cultural and sports collaboration with South Africa should be terminated

General Action Supporting Liberation Movements;

Action by United Nations and other international organizations to ensure full participation in them of representatives of liberation movements as authentic representatives of their people and countries

- Governments and organizations should deal directly with liberation movements recognized by the OAU on all questions concerning their countries
- United Nations Specialised Agencies should discontinue collaboration with racist regimes
- The right of people of Southern Africa to strive for liberation by all appropriate means, including armed struggle, should be fully recognised
- NGO's should publicise activities of companies involved in Southern Africa

and organise public campaigns for their withdrawal

- Steps should be taken to bring issues to the attention of world public opinion through combined effort by Governments, international and regional organizations, and NGO's

- People in the territories should be kept informed about international support for their struggle

- An international conference should be organized by the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU, liberation movements and NGO's to promote concerted action in support of liberation movement in the light of proposals adopted at Oslo.

Action on Assistance

The conference spelled out reasons why liberation movements should be assisted, what their requirements were and how they should be assisted.

The Conference declared it should be recognized that liberation movements "Have been forced to embark on armed struggles because of 'Intransigence and brutality of colonial and racist regimes'." The need for international assistance had grown greatly in recent years because large areas had been liberated in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) with a population of some three million, and because Portuguese forces had used defoliants and other barbarous methods of warfare necessitating extensive reconstruction. Dire need had also been created as a result of the intensified struggle of liberation movements in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and areas still under Portuguese control.

Listing some of the supplies urgently needed, the conference included military and medical supplies, school material, food, clothing, farm implements, transport and printing facilities.

It was urged that assistance be given to persecuted persons and their families, and that the United Nations activate a world wide campaign for the release of political prisoners in Southern Africa.

Under the heading ways and means it was urged that international assistance should as much as possible be provided directly to liberation movements, or if assistance were administered by other organizations, then the OAU and liberation movements reflected confidence in them and ensured that means were effectively utilized. The United Nations and other inter-

national organizations should contribute a share of their budgets to such aid and governments and organizations from all parts of the world should support and co-operate with OAU liberation fund. Aid should not be regarded as charity but constituted an act of solidarity with peoples engaged in a just struggle.

The Conference laid considerable stress on education, training and placement of refugees and called for larger contributions to relevant United Nations funds. Governments were asked to issue travel documents and visas to representatives of liberation movements recognized by the OAU.

The United Nations system was urged to promote and facilitate dissemination of more information on the need for assistance and about the evil effects of colonialism and apartheid, especially in countries which continued to provide financial and military support to oppressors.

The United Nations system was called on to effectively implement its resolutions by providing maximum assistance to liberation movements, to formally recognize that large areas of land had been liberated, to allot sufficient funds for development purposes, and to deny any assistance to or through Portuguese authorities. Use of defoliants by Portuguese colonial troops should be denounced, and countermeasures taken.

NGO's were asked to establish special funds to support liberation movements, to be utilized as far as possible for united grants to liberation movements for political and information activity.

Conclusion of Conference

At the closing session Ambassador Ole Aalgaard, President of Conference, stated that the Conference had been an unprecedented expression of the world community's concern and support for peoples struggling against colonialism and apartheid, particularly significant was the fact that representatives of liberation movements had taken part in on equal footing with government, United Nations and individual experts.

He believed the Conference had seen strong commitment by all participants to the cause of liberty, equality and justice in Southern Africa, and reaffirmation of solidarity with that cause.

The insight and first-hand experience of liberation movements and their assessment of needs made clear that



future action must be based on close co-operation with them.

A peaceful solution to problems of South Africa would be in the true interest of all concerned, he continued.

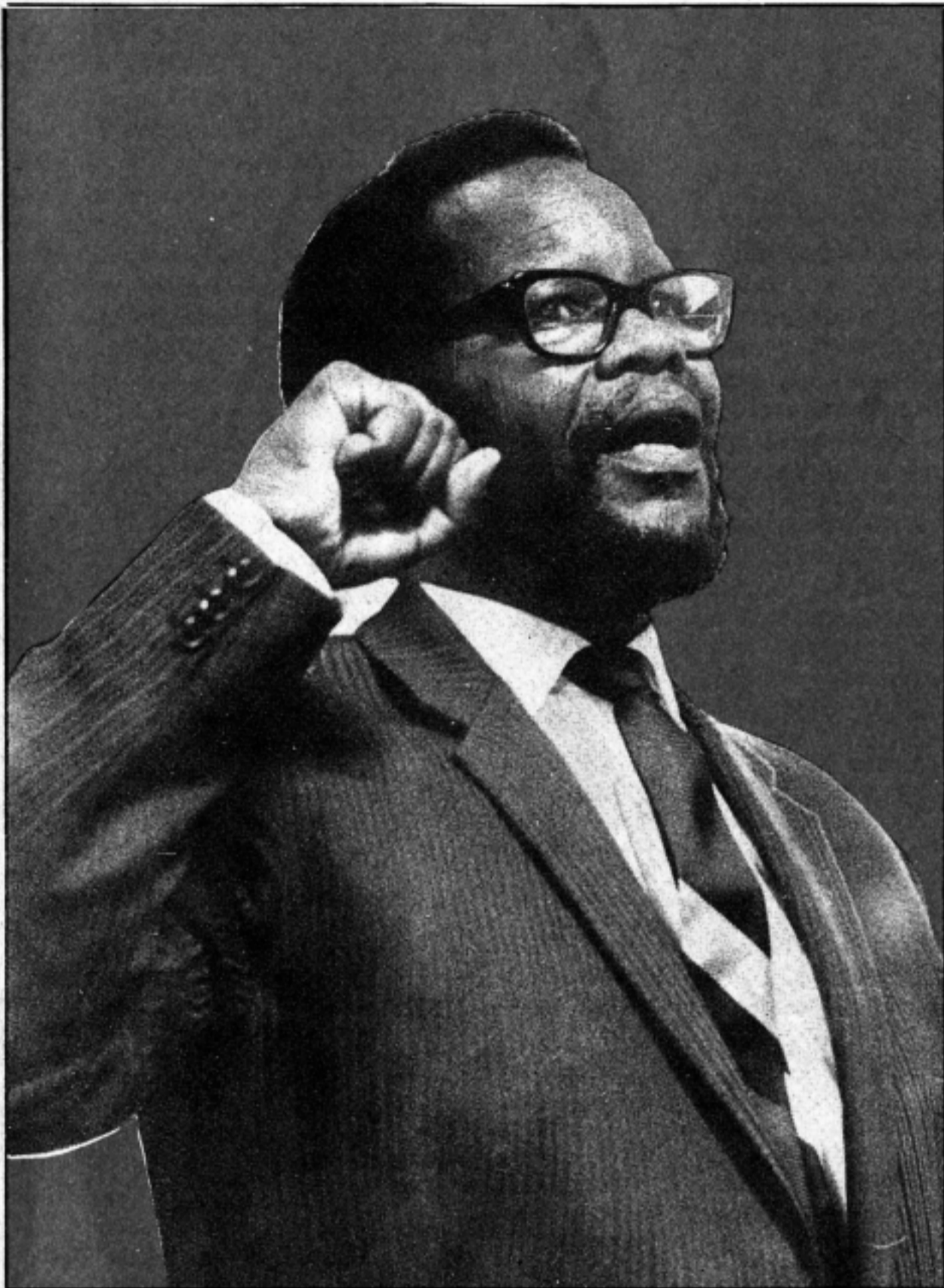
Liberation movements had spoken at the Conference as authentic representatives of their peoples and had requested that they be ensured full representation and participation in all United Nations bodies on questions concerning their territories. The Conference had pointed out that when conditions for exercising full governmental authority were ripe, Member States should be prepared to accord recognition.

In conclusion he directed attention to harmful activities of multinational corporations and to supply of arms and military equipment to Portugal by some of her allies, enabling her to pursue the colonial war.

The representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, I. S. Djerma-koye, Under Secretary-General and Special Adviser on African Affairs, said that the work of Conference had been carried out in a cordial and efficient atmosphere. Holding of the Conference was a positive factor itself, he said, unified approach to issues of Conference had been achieved thanks to the contribution of liberation movements.

The Conference was just one more step but it marked the way for the international community to follow.

The Political Secretary-General of Conference, Mahmoud Sahnoun, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU, said that the proposals Conference had adopted had not been pre-set, but had grown out of statements and discussions of participants. Thus they went beyond rigid framework of United Nations and OAU resolutions. They were practical precise suggestions for political action and moral and material assistance.



O. R. TAMBO, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa addressing the Oslo Conference on behalf of the Liberation Movements of Angola, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, calls for ...

SOLIDARITY IN DEEDS AND ACTIONS

O. R. Tambo – Photo: Pam Jones – London

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished delegates, I feel particularly honoured to have been asked by the liberation movements attending this Conference to address you in the name and on behalf of the peoples of Africa, the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, who form the vanguard in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and apartheid.

We thank the Government and people of Norway for the hospitality and excellent arrangements made to facilitate the work of the Conference. Norway, like the rest of the Nordic countries, has a history of consistent and practical support for the anti-colonial struggles in general and in particular for the struggles of the peoples of Africa against colonialism and apartheid. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the stand taken by the Norwegian Government in the NATO community of nation against Portuguese colonialism.

The convening of this Conference by the UN, working in co-operation with the OAU, is evidence not only of the

growing concern of the world's nations at the persistence of colonialism and white minority regimes in Africa, but also of the maturing alliance between the UN and the OAU in the cause of total African liberation. In this joint action for the fulfilment of the common aim of the UN and the OAU, the greater and deeper alliance between the national liberation movements and the world forces for peace and social progress is fully expressed. That is why we see in this Conference not only an august assembly of experts drawn from all over the world, but also a gathering of the five continents, of nations and governments, international organizations and committed fighters for human justice.

The key word in the declared purpose of this conference is "support". Seldom since the UN's famous declaration on decolonization, or the 1963 OAU declaration on decolonization, has a conference of experts been assembled for the sole purpose of redefining the word "support", in terms that have a real, practical, immediate and decisive meaning for the future of colonialism and apartheid in Africa, and a corresponding impact on imperialist designs against the freedom loving peoples of the world.

CRUCIAL MOMENT

That is why we see this Conference as a development of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid, a product of the nature, scope, and progress of that struggle, a crucial moment in the growing offensive against the reactionary forces of the unholy alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and racist South Africa. This offensive, led by the national liberation movement, by the masses of the people in the territories under white minority rule, has assumed dimensions of overall armed struggle at various stages of progress towards total victory. A startling, if shocking, revelation of the crisis facing Portuguese colonialism was the cowardly assassination of the leading armed crusader against colonialism and apartheid – the late Dr. Amilcar Cabral – in the opening weeks of this year, and significantly only a few days before his coming to Oslo to take part in the preparation for this Conference, as representative of the national liberation movement. Our contempt for this criminal act is second only to our unwavering resolve to do justice to the cause for which he gave his life. His brutal murder, is eloquent evidence of the imperialist panic and the desperation arising not only from the succession of victories by the PAIGC, but also from the fact that those victories are not isolated localized events. They reflect a general pattern in Angola, Mocambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. They are the victories of all oppressed and colonized peoples, of all Africa, of all progressive mankind. What is more they are victories in the armed struggle which is an historic necessity, flowing from the intransigence of Portuguese colonialism and white minority rule in southern Africa. This panic is not without valid cause. In Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, the PAIGC now exercises absolute control over two-thirds of the territory and is steadily closing in on that part of the country still held by the Portuguese colonialist forces.

In Mocambique the patriotic forces led by Frelimo continue to drive deeper into the enemy strongholds, recovering vast stretches of territory and liberating hundreds of thousands of people. This pattern is repeated in Angola, where the armed struggle has reached the more densely populated areas. In both territories, democratic power bases are being built in the liberated areas.

Combining highly organized political struggle, with armed action, the people of Zimbabwe have created a new crisis for the Ian Smith regime and its British sponsors. The armed offensive by the ZANU-ZAPU patriotic forces has driven the regime into wild acts of desperation, in the course of which it attempted a suicidal economic blockade against Zambia, and in the process hurt itself very badly.

WE ARE WINNING

The South African regime, for long subjected to rigorous pressures by the oppressed people and seeing the imminence of a violent explosion in South Africa and Namibia, runs a defence budget in magnitude unequalled in African and unprecedented in the history of white rule in southern Africa. The recent events in both Namibia, under SWAPO's leadership, and South Africa, point to a sustained and growing struggle in which the racist regime is forced to yield ground or call up more troops. There can no longer be any doubt that a common struggle for transfer of power to the people is raging wherever the forces of colonialism and apartheid are found.

If I have given the impression that we are winning, it is because we are winning. But victory is not immediate. Imperialism is defending its positions and is determined to outlast the people's struggles. The need for support, for assistance, for solidarity in deeds and actions is a real need. Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, united under the umbrella of world imperialism, and as its agents, are being strengthened and the sufferings of the victims of colonialism and apartheid are being prolonged.

What are the needs of our situation and what are the tasks of this Conference? The Conference should set out targets for total mobilization of effective world support for the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle:

- Firstly, the working basis or basic principles and realities of the struggle should be clearly defined and then vigorously put across to the international community. We, the liberation movement, have launched the armed liberation struggle, as the inevitable instrument of our liberation, imposed on us by the violent system of colonialism and apartheid, under which we suffer.

The United Nations General Assembly has already acknowledged the legitimacy of our form of struggle. However, acknowledgement of this fact has still to be grounded among the masses of the world in order to offset reactionary and counter-revolutionary propaganda.

- Secondly, the Conference should underscore the fact that all assistance to the victims of colonialism and apartheid – whether humanitarian or otherwise – should serve the one single purpose of promoting the success of the liberation struggle, the defeat of colonialism and apartheid, the liberation of the people from those evil systems.

- The Conference should lay down as the link of success, direct, dynamic contact between governments and supporting non-governmental organizations on the one hand and the liberation movements on the other. This will hasten mutual exchange of information and ideas, heighten confidence and expedite the quality and quantity of assistance, and ensure the speedy attainment of the goals of our struggle.

- To keep the people of the world apace with the advance and necessities of the liberation struggle, governments and supporting non-governmental organizations, should have at their disposal all propaganda media.

- The Conference should analyze carefully those international forces which under the cover of trade, give logistic support to the fascist racists of southern Africa. This should be exposed and be identified as true enemies of the liberation struggle.

- This Conference has served to demonstrate that liberation movements are the only authentic representatives of their people. This fact should be legitimized and universalized in all international activities. Already a significant step has been taken in this direction in the new status accorded to the national liberation movements by the OAU, and the admission to observer status in the United Nations for some of the national liberation movements. This would ensure that all matters affecting the victims of colonialism and racism are dealt with in consultation with the liberation movements.

In conclusion we wish to express our hope that the deliberations and conclusions drawn from this Conference, representing a wide range of experiences in the struggle against colonialism and racism, will be an important landmark in the world-wide mobilization of all freedom loving and humanitarian forces for the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism.



Ambassador E. O. Ogbu

TOWARDS A U.N. STRATEGY

Statement by His Excellency Ambassador E. O. OGBU,
Chairman: U. N. Special Committee on Apartheid,
at the Oslo Conference

One of the urgent tasks before the International Conference of Experts for the support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid is to draw the guidelines for action and the blueprints of a world strategy to cope with the seeds of racial warfare and the threat it poses to international peace and security.

To carry out such a challenging task, outstanding men of action and men of foresight are afforded an exceptional occasion, in Oslo, under the aegis of the United Nations and the OAU, the best world-wide forum and machinery yet devised for consultation and concerted action in the higher interests of freedom, peace, justice and racial equality.

Problems in Southern Africa are inter-related. This is acknowledged and upheld by the history of colonial occupation of the area, the pattern of the liberation struggle today and the rise of the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis. Any worthy strategy therefore would have to avoid the piecemeal approach that can only result in procrastination, inefficiency and despondency which are soon exploited by colonialist and racist propaganda to discredit the United Nations and frustrate international opinion.

A United Nations strategy for South Africa must develop as a complement to the liberation struggle which is acknowledged by the community of nations as legitimate and worthy of moral and material assistance. Only this struggle will ultimately exert enough pressure on the colonialist and racist regimes to prompt the negotiating process that would lead to the sharing of political, economic and social power on the basis of majority rule and minority rights. United Nations action is based on the premises of self-determination, independence and the elimination of apartheid as contained in the Charter, and Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. To achieve its goal of a non-racial society in South Africa, the country with which the Special Committee on Apartheid has been concerned since its inception ten years ago, a U.N. strategy would have to:

- acknowledge the primary role of the liberation movement;
- assess the contradictory trends within the apartheid system;
- take into account the activities and attitudes of multi-

national corporations and that of South Africa's major trading partners;

- apply full leverage of political, diplomatic and economic pressure, including the resort to non-military enforcement measures under Article 41 of the Charter.

The Primary Role of the Liberation Movement

It must be recognized that the primary role in securing the elimination of apartheid belongs to the people of South Africa and their liberation movement. The responsibility of the United Nations and other international organizations such as the OAU, is essentially to assist them in their struggle by isolating the oppressive regime and promoting the widest international understanding of their legitimate struggle.

Both ANC and PAC, the two movements recognized by the OAU, are engaged at present in underground political work while preparing actively for armed struggle which they consider indispensable because of the intransigence and ruthlessness of the racist regime. Their representatives are consulted by the Special Committee on Apartheid and other United Nations organs. Despite all the repression by the South African regime, there is every evidence that the great majority of the people remain strongly opposed to apartheid and determined to rid themselves of racist oppression. The liberation movements which are developing in many ways in many forms inside and outside South Africa are bound to play a key role in the inevitable transformation of South Africa.

The Contradiction of Apartheid

Apartheid is increasingly caught in its own contradictions. While enforcing geographical segregation (the so-called Bantustans) and "separate development" in the industrialized "white" areas, it calls for further economic integration. The need for skilled and semi-skilled labour force, for expanding both the domestic and external markets account to a large extent for the timid "adjustments" and *ad hoc* exemptions that are being made to the Job Reservation Act, and to influx control. There has been great publicity recently

to moves by South African business circles and foreign investors in South Africa, ostensibly designed to bring about changes within the existing order. **It must be pointed out from the outset that this change, which would consist in the improvement of the social policies of the firms, increment in Black wages and vocational training, affects in no way the tenets of apartheid. It is but a devious attempt at perpetuating white domination and maintaining one of the highest rates of exploitation in the world under the disguise of welfare politics; like all previous attempts, it is doomed to failure.** Moreover, any such improvements within the apartheid system of discrimination and oppression may only delay the emancipation of the oppressed people of South Africa. They will not prevent it. Thus after 25 years of ruthless uninterrupted rule, apartheid is nowhere near a solution, confronted as it is with an increasing pressure, both domestic and international; its only hope is to continue enticing unscrupulous investors and commit Western defence system on its side. If apartheid has built up a powerful arsenal and a brutal repressive system it lacks the political authority to promote just and lasting changes based on majority rule. The Bantustan policy it has embarked upon in the best divide and rule tradition, to enforce a steady flow of cheap labour force; contain the mounting militancy of a fast-growing African population; deny political rights to Africans in the "white areas" and maintain white domination, leads nowhere. No amount of shallow political autonomy and sham tribal independence will be acceptable to Africans. They are no substitutes for their human dignity and political rights.

In twenty-five years of ruthless rule, apartheid has failed to create the conditions of its survival, of its own security. The "white areas" are "blacker" every day and South Africa's economy is increasingly dependent on the African labour force which is ever more militant and restless.

Corporate Strategy

For a long time, foreign business and banking concerns in South Africa were only too happy to abide by apartheid legislation. Several recent studies have shown that a majority of jobs available to Africans provide wages on or below the poverty datum line as established by the South African racist regime. With the increasing focus and pressure by world public opinion and the OAU on their policies and labour practices, international business and finance concerns have begun to devise an alternative and deceptive strategy that cannot be ignored. For better or for worse, foreign corporate investment in South Africa today remains one of the important factors of change in South Africa. Its ability and willingness to act, whether under shareholders' outcry or governmental pressure, to meet international political and moral standards, will greatly influence future developments in South Africa. Corporate strategy is epitomized in what is known as the Polaroid experiment and the Oppenheimer doctrine.

The Polaroid experiment was adopted by the Polaroid Company, as an alternative to the demand by the Polaroid revolutionary workers group that it cease all investment in South Africa. Under pressure, the company decided:

- not to sell to the South African Government any photo equipment it uses for the implementation of its inhuman migratory labour system and its Pass laws;
- to improve the social policy of its subsidiary in South Africa, i. e. raise in labour wages of African workers, improvement of factory conditions, training of African workers;



Jane Ngwenya – delegate of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU)

Moses Garoeb – Delegate of the liberation movement of Namibia (SWAPO)





Dr. Agostino Neto – president of the Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA)



Gil Fernandes – representative of PAIGC, Guinea Bissau

● to channel some of its profits into African education.

After a year this experiment has not been convincing: Polaroid wages for Africans remain still far below the Johannesburg poverty datum line (R58).

The Oppenheimer doctrine: the Chairman of the Anglo-American company contends that trade and growing investment in South Africa will ultimately corrode apartheid, improve the lot of Africans and eventually lead to the creation of an African middle class that will press for a share in the political, economic and social power.

What of these arguments? Both are based on the dubious premise that economic progress and accrued investment will gradually transform and corrode the apartheid system from within. This contention is upheld neither by history nor statistics. Recent statistics show a widening gap between white and black workers rose from 15.2 to 1 in May 1966 to 17.9 to 1 in 1970.¹ It may be noticed that black wages in the mines did not go up once in real terms between 1911 and 1970. While African workers under apartheid are defenceless, cannot vote, bargain, strike or organize into registered trade unions, white trade unions are busy consolidating the colour bar by enforcing the Job Reservation Act. Where shortage of labour has pushed black wages up, the much vaunted policy of equal pay for equal work is immediately flouted, the official rationale being that it would be "unreasonable to pay such inflated wages to blacks."² In the meantime, an arsenal of repressive legislation, the Group Areas Act, the Pass laws and the migrant labour system enforced by a brutal police apparatus, ensure the South

African economy with a cheap labour supply and the highest rate of exploitation in the world.

It must be pointed out that the relative increase in Black wages, improvement in the social policies of foreign corporate firms as may take place will, at best, lead to a slow and relative economic well-being of the oppressed working labour force, but within the abhorred system of apartheid the system of white domination and exploitation. It will not affect apartheid. It will not bring dignity, political rights and freedom to the vast majority of South Africa's population, to Africans, Asians and people of mixed descent. Under the cloak of moral redress and welfare politics, corporate reform as envisaged, will only result in perpetuating the South African racial autocracy and the highest rate of exploitation in the world. This is why economic disengagement, arms embargo and discontinuance of collaboration with South Africa in all fields, as advocated in General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, remain under present circumstances the only correct policy course.

Corporate strategy is part of, and closely interwoven with that of South Africa's major trading partners. These countries will not be persuaded easily to put principle before profit just as they have remained impervious to United Nations efforts to carry out sanctions against South Africa. Between 1960 and 1969 South Africa's trade with Britain has increased by 88%, with the US by 79%, with the Federal Republic of Germany by 171% and with Japan by 379%!! However, changing conditions in the world balance of power will make direct support of South African increasingly more difficult.

Towards a UN Strategy

The overwhelming commitment of the peoples and nations of the world to eradicate apartheid and the threat it constitutes for international peace and security must find a way to bring its full weight to bear on the South African racist regime.

The United Nations is a complex world-wide forum and machinery for the promotion of peace with justice through political adjustment and concerted action. The democratization of relations among nations, the rise of new centres of power, the trend towards generalized detente and the thrust acquired by the forces against colonial and racist domination, give United Nations action today a new dimension and added significance. **A number of obstacles however would have to be overcome: the inevitable time-lag involved in action by any international organization, the lack of coordination, governmental inertia and absenteeism if not obstruction by some Western countries, etc. What is therefore basically required is action on two levels geared to strengthening the various forces at work within South Africa, to dismantle the apartheid system.**

Internal Action

This type of action is based on the widely acknowledged fact that problems in southern Africa are closely inter-related. This inter-relationship should accordingly be reflected within the United Nations system in terms of:

- Greater coordination in the UN and with specialized agencies, OAU and NGOs. This coordination is now possible because of the existing political will and the composition of the three general Assembly organs. Once this coordination is achieved, UN action against colonialism and apartheid would gain in effectiveness and impact by pulling together the thrust and resources of all United Nations organs and specialized agencies.
- Concentration on action-oriented programmes.
- Machinery for long-range policy planning with analysis of trends and priorities by UN and OAU, and periodic assessment of UN action.
- Expansion of resources for action.

External Action

A new emphasis would have to be laid on concerted action with the Organization of African Unity and non-governmental organizations. In the face of governmental inertia particularly as regards the trading partners of South Africa, this move is the only alternative left. Through sustained information campaigns, protests and lobbying, NGO action has proved extremely significant in the past. It can be enhanced by means of concerted action and a general conference on southern Africa. One of the selective areas of cooperation between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations would be to press for **simultaneous economic disengagement** from South Africa as advocated in General Assembly resolutions.

Severance of trade relations and disengagement of foreign banking and business interests are effective measures which, if applied simultaneously by countries and interest groups concerned, would create definite conditions for positive change in South Africa. Concurrently, the dismantlement of apartheid legislation must be pursued in every way, in particular by providing assistance and encouraging the internal forces of change, i. e. organized labour, liberal intellectuals, student and church organizations. Developments as have taken place within South Africa in 1972 point in this direction. Conditions for economic disengagement can be prepared among others by means of direct representations to governments concerned. The insurance facilities



Marcelino dos Santos – representative of the liberation movement of Mozambique (FRELIMO) – Photos by: ADN-ZB

and export guarantee against business and political risks that these governments extend to corporations registered in their territories must be discontinued. There exist forums such as EEC, OECD, GATT and NATO within which consultation and action to this effect can take place. But no action can be expected from these organizations unless pressure is applied from within by some of their enlightened members, associate members or by the actual and prospective partners of the expanded Common Market. Any direct or indirect support of South Africa by means of preferential tariffs must be prevented. UN and OAU member states may wish to consider the denial **in toto** or parts, of business opportunities to corporations involved in South Africa, just as they may use their bargaining power either in bilateral or multilateral negotiations to undermine support to the South African racist regime.

Non-governmental organizations, on their part, with their large membership and audiences may exert significant pressure on transnational corporations involved in apartheid by:

- identifying and exposing the firms concerned, the extent of their involvement and labour practices;
- inducing stockholders' meetings which may require Boards of Directors to give a detailed report on the corporations' involvement in South Africa, their legal form of ownership, number of African, Asian, Coloured and white employees, wage policy, yearly profits, contractual relations with the South African Government, a statement on the corporations' products and services sold to the racist Government, with special reference to military and police equipment, etc. Resolutions in favour of disengagement may also be pressed;

● securing the full support of national and international trade union organizations whose role is instrumental in any sanction efforts, in discouraging emigration of skilled workers to South Africa and in acting on the encroachments of trade union rights and the persecution of trade unions. The forthcoming international conference of trade unions to be held in Geneva in June 1973 can be a significant move in this connection.

General Assembly resolutions regarding economic disengagement if implemented can be most effective indeed in doing away with apartheid. For all those who doubt their wisdom however, it is only to recall the economic slump and dramatic flight – more than £81 million in 1961 – that followed the Sharpsville shooting and nearly brought down the racist regime in South Africa.

Conclusion

United Nations action in South Africa is tridimensional: it provides political support to the struggle of the oppressed people by throwing its full moral weight behind them. It extends to them non-military assistance through the Trust Fund for South Africa and the Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa. Secondly, it tries to isolate the South African regime through political, diplomatic and economic pressure. It finally contributes to mobilize world public opinion by publicizing the evils of apartheid. In addition, UN action provides an invaluable forum and a permanent machinery whereby, through the consultative and deliberative process, confrontation is mitigated into dialogue.

South Africa is a challenge to the world, to its conscience and ability to deal with the seeds of racial conflict. It is the inescapable test of international cooperation for concerted action against apartheid condemned both as a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. To meet this challenge, action by the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, specialized agencies of the OAU and individuals, is far from insignificant. Indeed, it has forced the racist regime in Pretoria to constantly change its methods and look for new concepts and policies to give itself a breathing space. For, in spite of the apparent contempt of the UN by the South African regime, the humanitarian and political standards set by the world body, the activities it deploys for their attainment do matter and have an impact inside South Africa. The growing restlessness, the feelings of isolation and culpability that are being impressed on larger and larger sections of the white constituency inside South Africa may be directly attributable to activities carried out by the UN, OAU, anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental organizations.

The endorsement and implementation of the UN political and legal platform as regards the crime of apartheid, by more and more NGOs, anti-apartheid movements, church groups, national and international labour movements, is another measure of the UN ability to mobilize forces of freedom and racial equality.

The strength of a UN anti-apartheid strategy derives from the fact that it is based on correct premises.

It conforms to:

- the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- the requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security;
- the political will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples and governments of the world;
- historical trends characterized in the post World War 2 era by the sweeping tide of nationalism, the breakdown of colonial empires and the determined opposition to racist regimes.

Under these circumstances, the liberation of South Africa from racist domination is only a question of time. It may be noted that, although apartheid has resisted so far to internal and external pressure, it has nonetheless been forced to change its strategy and tactics. It has opened the door to the very forces that will precipitate its downfall: e.g. the forces of freedom, racial equality, peace and justice inside and outside South Africa.

The ideological crisis and economic contradictions that are besetting apartheid today, have created turmoil in academic and intellectual circles, amidst church, student and labour ranks – in spite of the all-out indoctrination the “white” public opinion in South Africa is daily subjected to. At the same time, a forceful factor is emerging in South Africa’s political life in the form of a mounting pressure for a united African political expression across tribal affiliation in rural and industrial areas alike.

An new phase of the struggle against apartheid has thus opened which must be fully taken advantage of.

The counter-strategy based on the so-called “forward and homeland policies” which the South African racist regime has devised to cut across international isolation, open up new markets and give itself a breathing space has been deadlocked. The “forward policy” has been defeated thanks to OAU vigilance. The “Bantustan policy” is bound to collapse.

The community of nations cannot however, merely wait for the collapse of the plans of the South African regime. Their duty is to promote and secure change. Their representatives and those of the liberation movements have before them a unique occasion in Oslo to map the blueprints of an international strategy for effective support of victims of colonialism and apartheid as part of the promotion in South Africa of a just and lasting solution. This strategy can become the Charter of future concerted action by United Nations organs, the OAU, specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and individuals alike for the peaceful promotion of a non-racial society in South Africa, a society in which dignity, political rights and equality of opportunities will be recognized to all South African citizens regardless of colour, race, sex or creed.

Notes

1. The figures given take into account wages in kind. Food and housing allowances that African workers receive are balanced by housing allowances white workers receive in the mining sector.
2. This is the stand taken by the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa. (Assocom), as reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 23 September 1972.



RUPTURE THE IMPERIAL ALLIANCE

Paper submitted by the
African National Congress of South Africa
to the Oslo Conference



Johnny Makatini – one of the ANC representatives at the conference

Photo by: ADN-ZB

There is clear evidence of an increasing unity of purpose among the oppressed and struggling masses of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, and the peoples of Africa and the whole world. This conference, an expression of that maturing tendency, may go down in the annals of man's struggle against racism and national oppression as an occasion equivalent in kind to the conference at Teheran thirty years ago when anti-fascist forces chose to bring their whole, massed strength to bear rather than permit outright reaction to pass.

We wish to place on record our appreciation of the resolutions passed by the UN and OAU in support of our just struggle. However, the actions arising have been limited in relation to the immediate and longterm needs of our organization. We wish to condemn those who have deliberately sabotaged the effective implementation of these resolutions particularly the leading western powers forming the NATO alliance.

The effect on our people of the apartheid system, and the repressive actions of the South African government, are a matter of record and a meeting such as this should, in our view, not recapitulate on these matters, but concern itself rather on those mobilizing action in support of the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa.

Seizure of Power

The main features of the situation in South Africa, and indeed Southern Africa, is the conflict between the white minority governments and the majority of the black oppressed peoples of this area of the African sub-continent. The African National Congress, as the mouthpiece of the majority of the oppressed people, reaffirms its commitment to the violent overthrow of the apartheid state and the seizure of power by the majority. The main content of this struggle, at present is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed section of the African people. The overthrow of the apartheid system must therefore result in a transfer of political and economic power from the white minority to the black majority.

The South African regime has in recent years considerably changed its general strategy and tactics while holding fast and tenaciously to its objective in the continued enslavement of the blacks in South Africa and domination of the sub-continent. This is no doubt at the instance of the western coun-

tries, South Africa's major partners. The regime now projects itself as the so-called bastion of the free world and the indispensable bulwark against the "penetration of Communism" in Africa. The so-called outward looking policy culminating in the professed dialogue must be seen against this background.

Simultaneous to this, there is the general campaign by the western countries to arm the regime to the teeth using the pretext that its strategic position has been enhanced since the closure of the Suez Canal.

To the African National Congress the situation was simply the following: the regime has been assigned a new special role by international imperialism whose aim is the perpetuation of the plunder presently going on a big scale in Southern Africa – the treasure-chest of the African continent. This role is that of gendarme of the whole of the region. It has taken the form of continued reign of terror inside South Africa and progressive military intervention on the side of the Portuguese against the liberation movements in Mocambique and Angola. It has meant even greater intervention to prop up the Ian Smith regime while continuing the illegal occupation of Namibia. As an imperialist outpost and potential bridgehead in the part of the continent, it seeks to intimidate neighbouring African countries into a position of client states.

Hence the repeated threats of aggression against Zambia and Tanzania whose sole crime is refusal to help isolate and liquidate the liberation movements the cause of which has been endorsed by the United Nations and is actively backed by the OAU

Thanks not only to her fascist character but also to her scheme in terms of which she sees these northern territories as buffer zones, the Pretoria regime considers the defence of the Portuguese colonies as part of its own defence. South Africa, in fact sees the defence of white minority regimes as indivisible. South Africa, because of military and economic capabilities, stands out as the hegemonian in the white racist alliance. The co-ordinated action in the whole of Southern Africa is the sole answer to ensure an effective dispersal of the forces of reaction and the rupture of the imperialist alliance. Whoever consequently is for the liberation of the so-called Portuguese colonies, Namibia and Zimbabwe must ensure that the fascist forces are engaged and pinned within their borders. Failure to do this frees the hand of the gendarme to roam about snuffing out people's struggle against oppression.

Revolutionary Way Out

Our movement has, despite persecution and harrassment, consistently mobilized the oppressed people of our country. We have continued to send trained cadres into our country to prepare and train political and military units. It is sad that our record in this respect can only be judged when we suffer casualties and our people appear in fascist courts. The current trial of six of our comrades in Pretoria does illustrate our consistent activities in showing an organized, revolutionary way out. Despite the brutalities perpetuated against members of Umkhonto We Wizwe (the armed wing of our organization), the African National Congress and its allies continue systematically to lead the campaign of mobilization and resistance to the regime of terror. The military operations in Zimbabwe jointly carried out by the ZAPU - ANC units in 1967 and 1968; the 1969 Maritzburg trials; the Ramotse and Mzimela cases (reported in previous issues of SECHABA - Ed) are eloquent evidence of a determination to intensify resistance against terrorist dictatorship.

The People Fight Back

The above mentioned activities have been complemented by a well organized purposeful propaganda distribution. The apex of our propaganda efforts is the production and the printing of an internal ANC newsletter called **Sechaba-Isizwe**. This is a clear illustration that the continuing policy of mass terror against the people and the all-out fascist attempts to destroy physically all genuine revolutionary units and patriots has failed to stem the will of the people to organize and fight. Despite the reign of terror and the barrier of repressive legislation which has illegalized our movement, banned strikes and denied the black workers the right to form trade unions, more and more workers are taking matters into their own hands.

The past three years, in particular, have witnessed several strikes taking place in the major industrial areas of our country.

Recently in the Durban industrial complex alone 200,000 black workers participated in strike action. The strikes have been spreading to all parts of South Africa. They are following an organized pattern and have demonstrated very high discipline and leadership. The black working class is challenging the system that condemns them to squalor and poverty; that dumps them into resettlement areas and barren reserves; a system that afflicts them with lethal diseases like T. B. and that causes numerous cases of accidents which kill and maim black workers.

The oppressor groups' white state and employers were thrown into a panic by the strike wave. The politico-economic fabric of the apartheid system was shaken. The various sections of the white establishment reacted in different ways but their aims were the same - to crush the militant actions by force, victimisation and 'hypocritical concessions'. The South African government, in typical reaction amassed a huge army (some airlifted from Pretoria) to protect the interests of the 'South African way of Life' (racism under the guise of maintenance of law and order). In some factories the army has been called upon to maintain production. Strikers have been tear-gassed, baton charged, arrested and persecuted. The employers are making gestures to meet the workers' demands by contemptuous token offers of wage increases.

The extent of their gestures is evidenced by the following: after the increases, the wages are still very meagre and are a complete pittance. What is more, despite the increases, the average is still below that paid to African workers in Zambia - a country that has been independent for less than 10 years and does not have South Africa's vast natural resources. The mining industry in a blaze of publicity increased African wages in the mining sector to less than one quarter of those paid in Zambia.

Collaborators

The attitude of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) (which is mostly white in composition and totally white in leadership) was absolutely treacherous. Instead of organizing solidarity with the striking black workers, it mounted pious campaigns demanding the extension of trade union rights to the African workers. Of course, the attitude of the Trade Union Council of South Africa with regards to the extension of trade union rights to the black workers is both hypocritical and farcical. TUCSA has consistently championed the interests of the white monopolists and the labour aristocracy by ignoring the interests of the black workers. TUCSA has supported the repressive measures of the regime of terror against the national liberation movement and the African trade unions.

Not a whisper from TUCSA was heard when the white terrorist dictatorship in our country executed the trade union leaders Mini, Mkhabela, Khayingo. TUCSA was very conspicuous by its silence when trade union leaders like Stephen Dlamini, Motsoaledi, David Kitson, Billy Nair, Curnick Ndlovu and many others were given long prison sentences. The record of TUCSA collaboration with the employers and the white state is sordid indeed. So, this pious declaration by TUCSA on the extension of trade union rights is an attempt to control the black workers and emasculate their militancy. TUCSA would like the black workers to come under its tutelage so as to misdirect their orientation in the struggle.

The strikes in South Africa must be seen in their proper perspective as a part of the mass revolt against the regime of terror. This mass revolt is taking many forms and shapes. It embraces legal and illegal forms of struggle; it embraces distribution of clandestine material and the establishment of clandestine groups. The African National Congress and its allies are part of this mass revolt and represent its advanced and properly equipped detachment.

Foreign Investment

In the present period, the investment issue has become one of the battle grounds of two distinct and opposed perspectives which runs to the heart of the support of apartheid by the west or its undermining. On the one hand there is the thesis, advocated with growing insistence by business lobbies facing criticism for their involvement in South Africa, which argues that the presence of foreign investments can be used to mitigate the rigours of apartheid, i. e. to 'civilise apartheid, and allegedly to move South African policy towards peaceful change'. This approach argues that foreign investors should use the leverage of their presence in the country's economy to push African wages up, and that a policy of divestment would mean the surrender of this leverage for reform. By this perspective, the wide-spread and very welcome exposures of starvation wages paid to black workers run the danger of being used to legitimise both investments and the status quo in South Africa. In fact this approach not only legitimises existing investments but encourages even deeper involvement on the grounds that the greater the capital share, the greater the influence of external interest for enlightened management policies.

The reform-through-investment argument is, of course, blatantly contradicted by the stark realities of apartheid. Notably the fact that the period of the most extensive foreign investments is precisely the period of the most intensive application of apartheid and its cheap migrant labour policy; the ever-widening disparity between black-white wages; the creation of a pool of unemployed, and the maintenance of an unorganized black work force, totally excluded from power. Such isolated attempts at reforms through business as have taken place, as in the instance of polaroid experiment, have had most marginal results and have not touched the kernal of the problem. Given the control of labour in the overall context of the labour system of apartheid, the effects of piecemeal reforms could lead to a decrease of

ULTIMATE INDEPENDENCE ROAD

By Bob Connolly
RAND DAILY MAIL



African employment in urban industry and the further acceleration of a capital intensive strategy by industry. Essentially the only road to change in South Africa lies in the direction of structural changes in the economy and the re-distribution of power from minority to majority control. The role of external forces must be judged by their contribution for or against the encouragement and support of these forces of change. Numerous calls and resolutions have been made and adopted by the United Nations to isolate the regime of terror in South Africa. These calls and resolutions have been violated with impunity by some members of the United Nations especially the United Kingdom, U.S.A., France, Japan, Belgium, Italy etc., etc. A time has come for the United Nations to take appropriate measures that would ensure the enforcement of the decisions and the resolutions of the U.N. If sanctions are adopted as a measure to deal with offending countries like the Vorster regime, then they must be enforced and a machinery for punishing those who violate decisions should be set up.

South Africa and the E. E. C.

South Africa is concerned by the British membership of the EEC and its possible effects on the South African economy. Despite the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, Britain continues to extend Commonwealth tariff preferentials to her.

The South African government has estimated that the end of the transitional period of Britain's full integration into the

EEC, South Africa's exports could be faced with the loss of 270 million U.S. dollars, arising mainly in the crucial agricultural sector.

South Africa's concern is evident by the appointment of a special ambassador to the EEC, and the attempt to woo member countries through the exchange of friendly visits by politicians including Prime Minister Vorster. South Africa's aim is to establish 'close trade links between the Community and South Africa to offset damage to South Africa's foreign trade, resulting from Britain's entry.'

The international community must mobilise to prevent the further bolstering of apartheid. It is the high level of exports, 27 per cent of GNP, together with capital inflows that have hitherto sustained the apartheid system. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement has warned that "the dangers of an EEC sell-out are considerable". The OAU should alert African associate member countries to the situation and support organizations in the EEC member countries which are intensifying their campaigns to prevent such an occurrence.

Immigration

Faced with difficulties in their own countries, white immigrants, especially skilled workers mainly from the U.K. and Western Europe, are entering South Africa in large numbers, no doubt to share in the all-white looting of African labour.

They not only take jobs away from our people, by enabling the restrictions on black workers acquiring skills to be main-

tained, but also sustain and give strength to the apartheid system. They render numerical support to the South African government and give physical expression to the solidarity which the home countries of these immigrants have with white domination in South Africa. Experience has shown that on occasions of sharp conflict the western powers have not hesitated to intervene on the side of the oppressors under the guise of protecting their economic interests, and their nationals. Such intervention cannot be ruled out in South Africa as our struggle sharpens.

It is as well for the international community to be alert to this danger, and to intensify efforts to prevent foreign nationals from emigrating to South Africa.

The Arms Embargo

Notwithstanding United Nations resolutions, the western countries are continuing to supply South Africa with such sophisticated weaponry and the technological know-how to help develop South Africa's arms industry to self-sufficiency. This support for the South African military machine is particularly forthcoming from Britain, Italy and France.

France has become the main supplier of military equipment to South Africa since the partial embargo by the British Labour government. French Panhard armoured cars are manufactured under licence in South Africa.

The production of French Mirage fighter planes is to be followed by the production of light transport aircraft. There is a programme to assemble 300 Italian ground attack aircraft (MB 326s powered by Rolls Royce engines). The OAU and UN are already aware of the development of the Cactus/Crotale ground-to-air-missile system obtained from France. A recent quote, of the London-based Institute of Strategic Studies, reveals that since at least 1969, South Africa has been importing more arms than all the other African countries south of the Sahara put together.

In conjunction with the fact that South Africa already has the largest locally based arms industry on the continent this poses a very immediate threat to independent Africa. South African policy is now clearly expansionist. The alternating carrot and stick policy which she is using is an attempt to break out of her isolation in Africa and find the markets and avenues for the export of capital that she so desperately needs.

She has tried to inveigle African countries with offers of aid, dialogue and the promise of prosperity through economic association. So, though the South African policy of dialogue has been exposed and received some setbacks, it is still part of her programme, and will be re-initiated wherever there is a possible opening. At the same time, South Africa has repeatedly threatened countries such as Zambia and Tanzania, who have refused to accept her advances, with military reprisals.

South Africa has not stopped her threats, but has attacked Zambian villages and innocent civilians. In the context of the confrontation in Southern Africa, the Zambian economy has been subjected to various attacks. Zambia's current efforts at reducing her dependence on historic trade patterns deserve to be supported by all those seeking an end to white supremacy in South Africa.

Today South Africa is the most formidable military power on the continent. Her activities have not stopped at threats. In addition to the violation of Zambian territory, South Africa has invaded Zimbabwe in support of the illegal regime and at Cabora Bassa and other parts of the Portuguese colonies her military personnel have been active.

The South African record and policy leave no doubt of her intentions – the more so as the capital of every independent African country is now within range of South African fighter planes.

It is therefore of vital importance for the future peace of Africa for the arms embargo to be made total and mandatory and for the enforcement machinery to be activated.

Sport

The campaign of South African sportsmen and sporting bodies and their exclusion from international sport has met with great success. We commend all those bodies who have responded so magnificently to the initiative of the Black South African sportsmen and non-racial organisations who called for this isolation.

The South African Government and white groups, faced with the success of the campaign, have devised a so-called multi-national sports policy – an euphemism for apartheid in sport. The recent "multi national South African Games" were an expression of this policy and the newly-formed non-racial South African Council of Sport has correctly stated "that the system of multi-national sports events . . . is a negation of the principles of non-discrimination in sport and is designed to maintain racial discrimination".

We commend those governments and sports organisations and anti-apartheid movements who have refused to be taken in by the so-called new policy, and have maintained their support for non-racial sport.

It is gratifying to note developments in Australia and New Zealand and we welcome in particular the stand of the Prime Minister and Labour Government in Australia in categorically disassociating themselves from apartheid sportsmen, and in their general change of policy towards support for the United Nations resolutions and programmes.

We feel that there is a need particularly in western countries for intensified action involving workers, students, intellectuals, international inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as governments. We particularly urge actions by the international trade union movement intended to inspire support for and solidarity with the exploited workers in South Africa. It would be essential for workers in Africa and the western countries to refuse to extend their labour on the production of weapons, ammunition, spare parts etc. in factories which manufacture arms for sale to the regime of terror in South Africa.

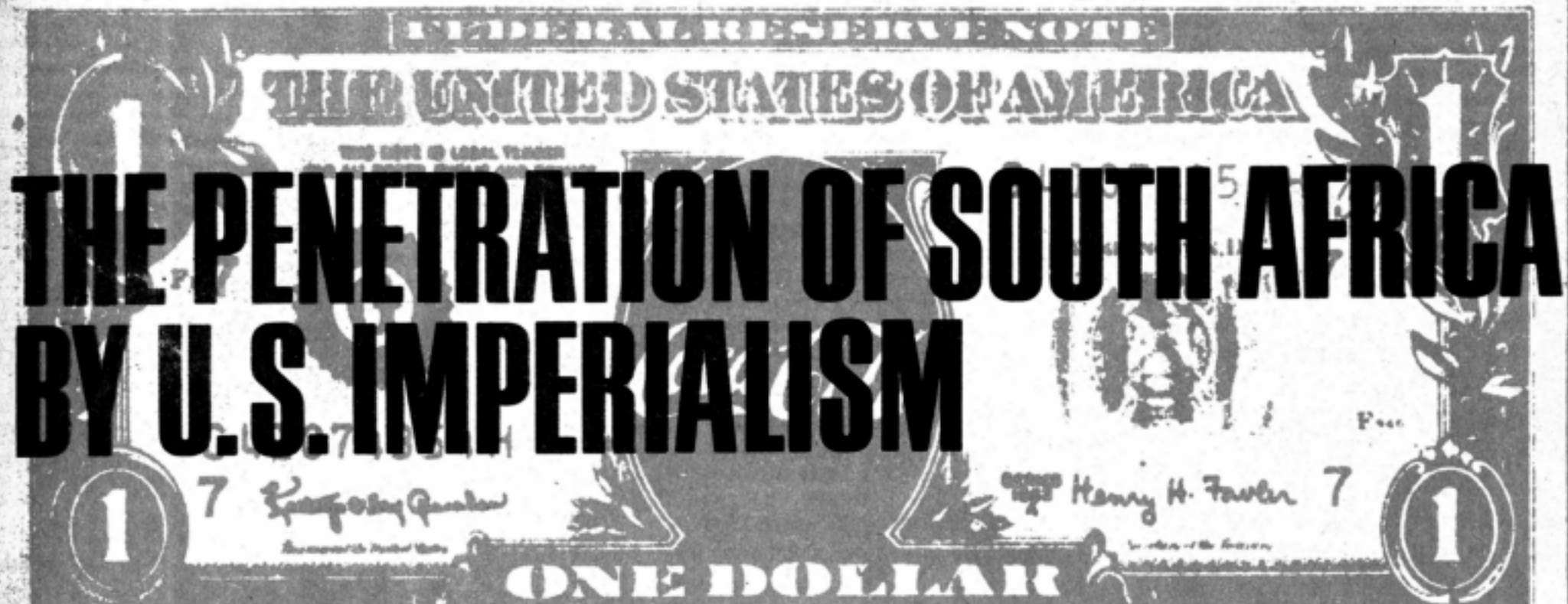
It has become a question of great importance that we should seek to involve the mass of the ordinary people and their organisations in the struggle against apartheid, and this applies particularly to the countries that maintain links with South Africa. The history of the campaign mounted by the British and other anti-apartheid organisations, the Scandinavian countries, in New Zealand and Australia and other parts of the world, shows how much power the people possess.

Material Assistance

We welcome the programme of the United Nations and its specialised agencies to give aid to liberation movements. Hitherto such aid has been basically welfare-orientated-towards relief and educational aid for refugees. In view of many resolutions of the United Nations on South Africa over the years and the virtually unanimous support they have received from member nations, it is now necessary for the aid programmes to be politically orientated towards the liberation movements and their activities.

We, the African National Congress, are appreciative of the weakness of those who fight alone. That is why we have mobilised world opinion behind us and that is why we feel we are, in our struggle, flanked by revolutionaries from all parts of the world. We shall continue to press progressive forces for support but, should this support be not forthcoming, we shall not sit idly in the face of oppression. Historically we cannot avoid confrontation with our oppressors.

**WE SHALL FIGHT UNTIL VICTORY IS OURS!
AMANDLA!**



THE PENETRATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY U.S. IMPERIALISM

In order to examine the significance of the phenomenal increase in US investment into South Africa during the past decade, it is first necessary to examine various aspects of capitalism in the US itself, and in this manner achieve a fuller understanding of the vast imperialist implications attached to the present-day situation in which the United States controls 12% of the total amount of foreign investment in South Africa.

The "Great Depression" which took place during the 1930's in the US, saw the American economy collapse to the extent where it seemed beyond recovery. Nevertheless, this economy and the whole American capitalist system with it were able to reassert themselves once again, but only through the advent of World War 2 and the intervention of government. As late as 1940, when the US was starting to arm, a conservative estimate of the number of unemployed in the American labour force was 13%, but by 1944 they had all been put to work and the total number of employed workers had increased by 35% (figures quoted from Dr. T. C. Cochran's book "The American Business System"). Organised labour had been brought into wartime government through new legislation and the Office of Production Management in the US Government was headed jointly by the

(then) Presidents of General Motors and The Amalgamated Clothing Workers - thereby initiating an unholy alliance between government, business and military. In this fashion, reactionaries in the American Labour Movement realised that war meant jobs and a high standard of living (today, sections of organised labour and corporate management in the US are still the most active supporters of the war in S.E. Asia).

The entrance of many business executives into government service during World War 2 consolidated a still closer relationship between government and business. It was therefore only natural that, upon leaving the armed forces or the Dept., of Defence, military men had little trouble in becoming assimilated into big business, particularly in the form of corporations with interlocking managements (by 1951, 135 American Corporations owned nearly a fourth of the manufacturing volume of the world.) General Dynamics, the US's biggest armaments manufacturer had 200 retired officers (including 27 retired generals and admirals) on its payrolls in 1960 and United Aircraft had 171 retired officers on its payrolls (figures from Prof. J. Henry's book "Culture Against Man"). Similarly, Mr. Robert McNamara was a Lt. Colonel in the USAAF during the war, then became

President of Ford Corporation from 1957 to 1960 and then, Secretary for Defence 1961-70 (an earlier one was Charles Wilson, President of General Motors). Recently, Robert McNamara had the further distinction of being appointed President of the World Bank (the notorious instrument of leverage used in developing countries' internal affairs, particularly in South America).

Conclusive Evidence

The preceding paragraph serves as conclusive evidence in the premise that traditional divisions of American society into business, government and military have become obsolete and their present fusion places that society, by its very nature, in a constant state of mobilisation for war.

U.S. Bails Out S.A.

It came as no surprise therefore, when the US with typical warmongering fervour and capitalisation on strife, bailed South Africa out of its financial crisis following the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and, it is from that year that US financial and moral support for apartheid has grown so dramatically. The US, by pouring gigantic sums of

money into South Africa, helped restore the confidence of overseas investors at a time when confidence had been badly shaken by the imminent threat of countrywide violence provoked by the Sharpeville killings which had the effect of reducing South Africa's foreign reserves to their lowest level in years. In 1960, direct US investment in S.A. amounted to some 286 million dollars – by 1963 this sum had almost doubled and, by the end of 1968 the total was 692 million dollars. The major private institution involved in the post-Sharpeville crisis was the Chase Manhattan Bank which loaned 10 million dollars to the S. A. Government, followed by the First National City Bank with 5 million dollars. Chase Manhattan has since actually joined with a South African bank, the Standard Bank, to form a joint concern to take care of its interests in Africa. But, the total dollar sum loaned to S. Africa in 1961 was not 15 million dollars – it was 150 million dollars, the balance being provided by unidentified US lenders (70 million) and two gigantic loans from public funds – 38 million from the International Monetary Fund and 28 million from the World Bank and its affiliates. Both these international forces are heavily influenced by the US without whose approval the loans could never have gone through – these transactions directly involved government policy and it is the implications of these two loans specifically which we will now examine more closely since they have a direct bearing on the US being directly responsible for furthering the aims of apartheid, strengthening the fascist regime and paving the way for an escalated penetration of Africa by US imperialism.

The US and the World Bank

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank share common policies, rationale and methods – the close alliance between the two is reflected in the fact that they jointly published a review entitled "Finance and Development". The fact that the IMF is located in Washington has meant that the objectives of the major Western economic powers, and of the United States in particular, have been closely reflected in the Fund's activities. The World Bank's administration is similar to that of the Fund – voting powers of the Bank's Executive Direc-

tors is in proportion to the size of member countries' quotas (based in turn on member countries' reserves, national income and dependence on foreign trade) thus, the US in 1968 for example, had 25.92% of the voting power and Britain 10.73% – this system of weighted voting serves as a means of governmental intervention in the Bank's functions. The Bank also has the dubious distinction of having the respect and confidence of business and financial interests, being itself run as a business by bankers in close collaboration with Wall Street and financial interests throughout the capitalist world. The best known example of US Government intervention in the affairs of the Bank is in its decision not to finance the Aswan dam in Egypt when the US and Britain commenced indirect hostilities with Egypt in 1955. According to the Bank's Articles of Agreement (Article One), the Bank's main concern is to promote foreign private investment and to ensure that due regard is paid to business conditions in its members territories. As Teresa Hayter has pointed out in her book "Aid as Imperialism", such considerations "set limits on the range of policies advocated by the Bank, they exclude for example any toleration, let alone advocacy, of revolution". It is also of interest to note that during the years 1965–8 (according to its Annual Reports for those years) the Bank approved loans of undisclosed amounts to Spain, Portugal Greece, South Africa and Israel – all of whom are fascist oriented.

The combined loans from unidentified US lenders, the IMF and the World Bank during the post-Sharpeville crisis effectively set the stage for a massive inflow of investment into S. Africa by the large US Corporations during the past decade. These corporations include Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Union Carbide, US Steel, Charles Engelhard, Firestone, Goodyear, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Mobil, Esso and Dow Chemicals (that manufacturer extraordinary of Napalm). Indeed, profits from Vorster's fascist country are attractive to exploiters – the average return of United States direct investment in South Africa (ranging from 17 to 21 per cent annually) for the period 1960–1968, recorded substantially higher rates than the average rates of total United States overseas direct investment (10 to 11 per cent

annually) for the same period. While the United States total direct investment earnings were on the average 27 per cent more than its net direct investment flows in the 1960's, its investment earnings in South Africa were more than double its net direct investment outflows to that country: (figures from UN Unit on Apartheid Report 1970). The British journal "International Affairs" recently suggested that South Africa, with the aid of powerful imperialist interests is attempting to develop a system which will eventually transform the southern and central African complex into client states of the apartheid regime.

Stop US Penetration

Although Britain still holds the larger per centage of total foreign investment in South Africa, the mounting degree of interest in South Africa by giant US corporations which are centred in key industries, is to be seen not merely from their high profit-motive point of view (based on the exploitation of neo-slave labour), but also in the context of the fact that close inter-relatedness between giant corporations, the military and government of the US signifies an increasing penetration of Africa by the US as part of its strategic cold war manoeuvrings which are but one step removed from actual armed occupation and the creation of a climate favourable to the probability of full-scale mobilised warfare in which the US would stop at nothing, not even the loss of countless innocent lives, in order to further its selfish aims as it has done in the past through direct participation in Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and indirectly in the middle-East and the Congo.

The revolutionary and progressive elements within the United States need not be reminded of the important part they play in the world-historic process and are to be congratulated on their increasing success in bringing about the termination of the war in S. E. Asia. It is to those progressive elements that we appeal. Before more blood is spilled on the already blood-soaked soil of Africa, do your utmost to stop this penetration of greed into Africa via fascist South Africa – this is your chance to end the reactionary "Ugly American" image once and for all!



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Executive Vice President
Director-4 Years

Holds 18,293 shares of GM common stock



EDWARD N. COLE
President;
chief operating officer
Director-10 Years

HOLDS 22,451 shares of GM common stock



RICHARD C. GERSTENBERG
—Chairman of the
Board of Directors;
chief executive officer
Director-4 Years

HOLDS 12,171 shares of GM common stock



THOMAS A. MURPHY
Vice Chairman
of the Board of Directors
Joined Board in 1972



OSCAR A. LUNDIN
Executive Vice President
Director-2 Years

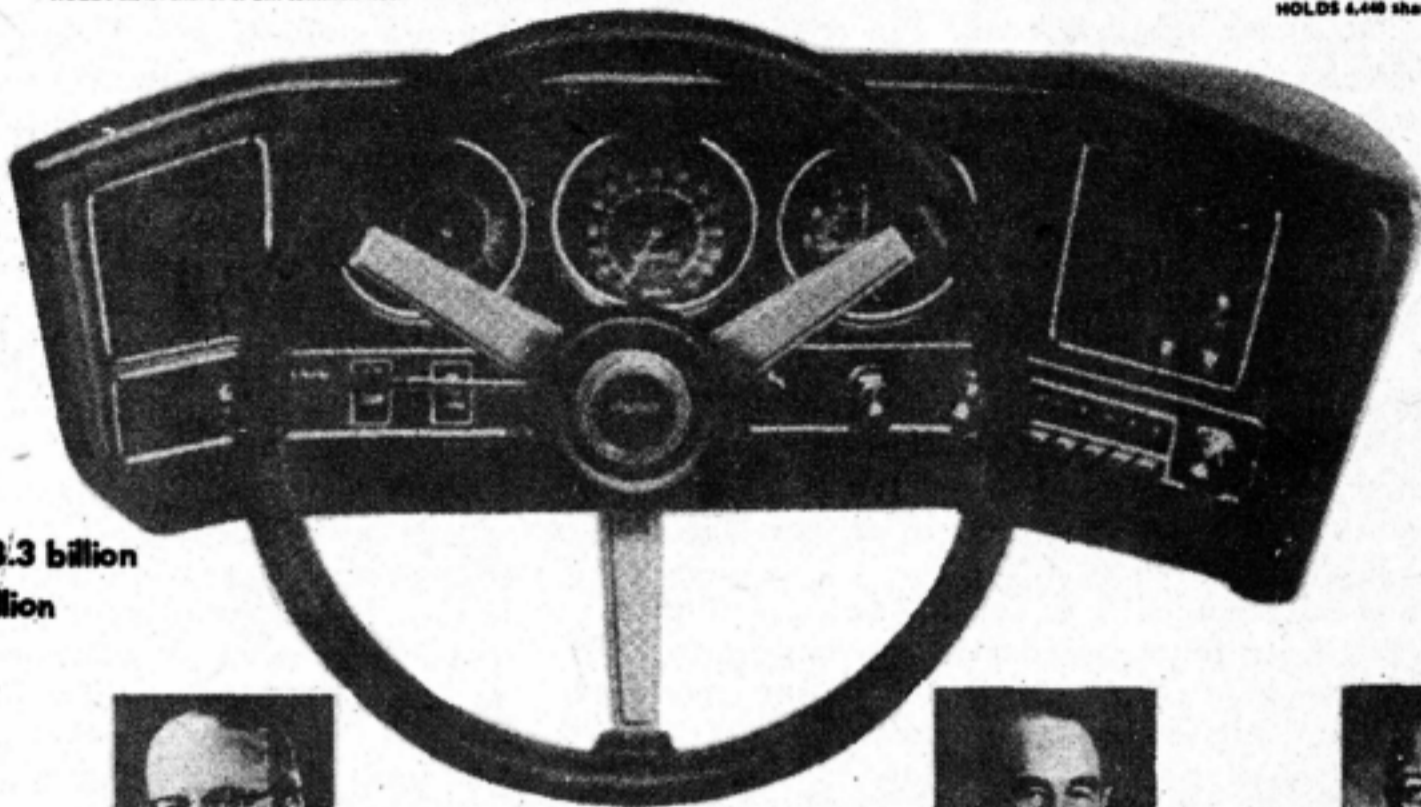
HOLDS 6,448 shares of GM common stock



1971

Worldwide Sales - \$28.3 billion

Profit Margin - \$1.9 billion



BOARD OF DIRECTORS

What's good for GM
is good for...



STEPHEN D. BECHTEL, JR.
Director-2 Years

DIRECTOR of Crocker-Citizens National Bank
Southern Pacific Co.
Crocker National Corp.
Hanna Mining Co.



EUGENE N. BEESLEY
Director-7 Years

DIRECTOR of Eli Lilly
Procter & Gamble Co.
American Fletcher Corp.



LLOYD D. BRACE
Director-12 Years

DIRECTOR of First National Bank of Boston
AT&T
Gillette Co.
John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.
MITRE Corp.
USM Corp.



ALBERT BRADLEY
Director-38 Years

DIRECTOR of the Chemical Bank of New York
National Bank of Detroit
Holds 79,482 shares of GM common stock



HARLEE BRANCH, JR.
Director-7 Years

DIRECTOR of Southern Co.
General Reinsurance Corp.
U.S. Steel Corp.



JOHN T. CONNOR
Director-6 Years

DIRECTOR of Allied Chemical Corp.
General Foods
Chase Manhattan Corp.
U.S. Secretary of Commerce 1965-67



FREDERIC G. DONNER
Director-30 Years

DIRECTOR of Communications Satellite Corp.
Holds 50,000 shares of GM common stock



JOHN F. GORDON
Director-21 Years

DIRECTOR of Consumers Power Co.
National Bank of Detroit
Holds 18,545 shares of GM common stock



JAMES R. KILLIAN, JR.
Director-12 Years

DIRECTOR of Polaroid
AT&T
Cabot Corp.



JOHN A. MAYER
Director-3 Years

DIRECTOR of Mellon National Bank
H.J. Heinz
Armco Steel Corp.
BOLSA International Bank Intl.
Alcoa



J. WESLEY McAFEE
Director-9 Years

DIRECTOR of Union Electric
Anheuser Busch Inc.
General American Life Insurance Co.
St. Joseph Minerals Corp.
First Union



W. EARLE McLAUGHLIN
Director-5 Years

DIRECTOR of Royal Bank of Canada
Genstar Ltd.
ADELA Investment Co., S.A.
Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd.
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.
Power Corporation of Canada Ltd.
Ralston-Purina
Standard Brands
Niagara Insurance (Bermuda) Ltd.
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.



HOWARD J. MORGENS
Director-9 Years

DIRECTOR of Procter & Gamble
Owens-Corning Fiberglass
Morgan Guaranty Trust
J.P. Morgan & Co.



CHARLES S. MOTT
Director-54 Years (1)

DIRECTOR of U.S. Sugar Corp.
St. Louis County Water Co.
Missouri Water Co.
Northern Illinois Water Corp.
Illinois Water Service Co.
Long Island Water Corp.
Holds 187,783 shares of GM common stock



THOMAS I. PERKINS
Director-7 Years

DIRECTOR of American Cyanamid Co.
Discount Corp.
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.



JAMES M. ROCHE
Director-9 Years

HOLDS 17,877 shares of GM common stock



GEORGE RUSSELL
Director-16 Years

DIRECTOR of Kennecott Copper Corp.
International Association for the Promotion and Protection of Private Foreign Investments (IAPPI)
ADELA Investment Co., S.A.



GERALD A. SIVAGI
Director-2 Years

DIRECTOR of Marshall Field & Co.
First National Bank of Chicago
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.



LEON H. SULLIVAN
Director-1 Year

PERSECUTION ON ROBBER ISLAND

49 Brave Men Protest to Commandant

Recently, a South African judge ruled that prisoners on Robben Island could not be held indefinitely in solitary confinement. Nor could the Authorities continue to refuse to allow them to see the Prison Regulations.

However, the judge declared himself unable to rule on many other matters raised by the prisoners making the application: Kader Hassim and Surinaryan Vankatrathnam, political prisoners currently serving long sentences in the notorious island jail. He could not order that they should be permitted to pursue university studies by correspondence or be allowed to smoke and to enjoy other normal "privileges". These matters, he said, lay within the jurisdiction of the Commanding Officer.

Kader Hassim had been held in solitary confinement, without any kind of trial or legal proceedings being followed, for nearly five months. In a letter addressed by him, and forty-eight other political prisoners, to the Commandant, a horrifying story of persecution and deprivation is told.

Prison Regulations

The Authorities persistently told the prisoners that they were not entitled to have access to the Prison Regulations; thus successfully preventing them having any knowledge of their legal rights.

The Authorities did their utmost to deprive prisoners of access to the Library – and are constantly censoring what books the library contains, removing, for instance, WAR AND PEACE, the works of Balzac, and the South African classic, STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM by Olive Schreiner.

There are lengthy delays in both the delivery and the sending of prisoners' letters. Prisoners wait anxiously to receive

a letter from their families, in order to be able to reply to it within the allotted time. They then write – only to receive the awaited letter – written a month before – the day after they have handed theirs in.

No Communication

When prisoners get their rare visits from relatives, it is impossible for them to communicate properly. Prisoners are not allowed to say anything about their daily lives . . . if they do, they will be shouted down by the watchful warden in attendance.

The prisoners' diet is appalling; not only composed almost entirely of starch (maize porridge) but insufficient in quantity. None of the prisoners ever receives any fruit, and they receive minimal quantities of meat or fish or fresh vegetables.

Brutal Warders

All these deprivations and difficulties are bad enough. But the most horrifying part of the prisoners' story is their description of the incessant persecution to which they are subjected by the degraded and ignorant brutes – the scum of the South African population – from whom South Africa's prison warders are selected.

Assaults, threats, deprivation of meals, deprivation of exercise, refusal of permission to see the Doctor – these are daily occurrences in the lives of Robben Island prisoners. These, the heroic leaders of the people, are constantly tormented, goaded, subjected to the whims of moronic bullies. One particular warden, Head Warden Karstens, seems to make it his life's work to try to make political prisoners' miserable lot even more miserable.

Magnificent Tribute

The Forty-nine's letter is a magnificent document; a superbly ordered and convincing description of a life of hell. But it is more than that. From it, these prisoners' human dignity and courage shine forth with a powerful light. However much the Authorities seek to degrade and to break them, they remain determined to fight for their rights. Knowing the retaliation that has probably followed their brave revelations, we can only humbly salute them.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(South Africa)

will hold its

ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR

at the

HALBORN ASSEMBLY HALL

John's Mews – off Nottingham Street

London

on

SATURDAY OCTOBER 13, 1973

commencing at 11 am

- There will be articles for sale from many parts of the world
- Our restaurant is preparing special dishes for the occasion
- There will be home made cakes, indian savouries, pickles and preserves
- There will be fun, games and entertainment for both young and old

Make this the occasion for your Xmas shopping
you will find lots of gifts, including special
Xmas cards you may need for the occasion

As the freedom struggle in South Africa gains momentum the need to raise more money is urgent. Make your contribution in a practical way by supporting this fund raising effort. Help us defeat apartheid by:

- advertising our bazaar among your friends, neighbours and workmates
- send or collect any saleable goods for our stalls
- If you could not attend, send us a contribution.

inserted by:

The London Office of the

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

49 Rathbone Street,

London W1A-4NL (Telephone: 580-5303)

Statue Treatment

Statue treatment politely called:
a chalk circle
not caucasian
of Brecht derivation
but a crude ellipse scrawled
on corridor floors.
Queues form to fill it
none moves slower
more slightly
one by one
week by week

Those who wait
may sit
sleep or urinate
but once in
one embraced by
that small smudged boundry
no clock to match the move of life
only pulse at throat
throbbing thighs
toes splintered by shifting weight

above all the light
full sun power
unblinker
paling ebonies to ivory glint.
Thantoms surround
teeth rasping
jaws jerking

Sagged muscles switch roles
voluntary to
involuntary
arise from elbow ill-defined
knees to gravity bend
bladder by dignity holding
lashed water to face
brings back focus.

No bruising bone
no crude bash
crushing kidney
no disfiguring attack
by strict instructions only
senses assaulted

Sight and sound suffer
smell is plain of sweat
feel is head enlarged
hands diminished
feet disappearing

This for a name
a time
a place who with
a secret rhyme
a riddle learnt.
When even on those long lit nights
this vomits out
the hate is held
and idea with fury kept.

Barry Feinberg



Winnie Mandela



Nelson Mandela

THE MANDELA PARTICLE

Atom Scientists honour Nelson and Winnie Mandela



These three physicists (whose photograph appears below) have discovered a new nuclear particle, and named it the Mandela particle after Nelson Mandela, commander in chief of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island, and his wife Winnie, who is at present out on bail pending an appeal against a sentence of one year for breaking her banning order.

They are from the left: Mr. John Baruch, Dr. Walter Kelerman and Dr. Gordon Brooke of Leeds University.

Nelson his honorary vice-president of the Leeds University Students' Union.



GEGEN IMPERIALISMUS UND NEOKOLONIALISMUS
FÜR NATIONALE UNABHÄNGIGKEIT
UND SOZIALEN FORTSCHRITT



Presidium of the Seminar – from l. to r. mayor Nougatz of Eisenhüttenstadt, Heinz Schmidt – chairman of the GDR Solidarity Committee, Nouri Abdul Rassak Hussain (AAPSO) Prof. Hahn – GDR Edmond Röhner, Secretary General of GDR Soli. Comm., Dr. Moursi Saad el Din, acting General Secretary of AAPSO, Egon Winkelmann, member CC of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), Prof. Gonschorov – Soviet Union

International Scientific Seminar on The New Forms and Methods of the . . .

Neo-Colonialist Policy of Imperialism

Following a decision adopted at its 12th session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee (AAPSO), in Aden, Peoples' Republic of Yemen in February this year, AAPSO, in co-operation with the Solidarity Committee of the GDR, organised its first International Seminar on the new forms and methods of the neo-colonialist policy of Imperialism in the 20-year old industrial city of Eisenhüttenstadt, GDR. Among the representatives who participated were delegates from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Somalia, India, Cyprus, Bangladesh, Ceylon, the South Vietnam Liberation Front, Zaire, Guinea and most of the Socialist countries.

The African liberation movements were

represented by delegates from Guinea Bissau (PAIGC), Zimbabwe (ZAPU) and South Africa (ANC).

The two-day Seminar was most eventful and a wide-range of theoretical and practical problems arising from the new forms that neo-colonialism is adopting during the present epoch was discussed and debated at length. All delegations submitted lengthy documents in support of their particular viewpoints and experiences. These documents, together with a 25-page paper presented by the ANC will be published in a book soon.

Readers interested in obtaining these documents are advised to watch the columns of SECHABA which will announce the appearance of this book as soon as it published.

The Acting Secretary General of AAPSO Dr. Moursi Saad el Din addressing the Seminar



A section of the participants at the Seminar

BOOK REVIEW

Reviewers
do not necessarily
reflect the views
of the
African National
Congress

TURNABOUT

It's Pap and Beans for Whites

Ho hum. Human dignity is lacking again. Oppression, fear, poverty, insecurity, resentment, subversion, the same old grind, is the theme of a new book.

Need we read it? We've heard it all before. What's it this time – "Diary of a Deported Missionary", or "Memoirs of a Migratory Labourer"?

No? It's in Afrikaans? A novel? The Blacks have taken over? The oppressed, the poor, the insecure, the subversive are the Afrikaners?

Now, maybe we will read it after all, and call it "a book for the conscience", and write it up at length in Die Vaderland, and say that it could not be prophetic unless the United Party's federation policy came about.

"Na die Geliefde Land" (To the Beloved Land) by Karel Schoeman, a former Hertzog Prize-winner deserves more serious treatment. It is praiseworthy literature in its own right, a sensitive and insidious glimpse of something seen in a dream – endearingly familiar, yet increasingly and horribly not quite right.

George, a young man who was born in South Africa but who grew up in the hot-house world of diplomacy in Europe, returns briefly to South Africa to inspect the farm left him by his mother.

Like someone caught in an embarrassing, suffocating dream from which he cannot awake, he becomes the unwilling guest of the Hattingh family on a farm near his mother's old home, Rietvlei.

Bored, irritated, the fastidious young man from the closed world of Switzerland puzzles over the difference between the remembered world of South African exiles in Europe and the reality of the desolation, the ruins of his family's farm in the wake of "the trouble".

This "trouble", the revolution and ensuing reversal of the roles of Black and White is not, however, explicitly stated,

and the trauma and violence of the change-over is implied rather than described.

But the lesson is there, to be drawn from the ignominious fate of a people who thought they "owned the whole world and ruled it, the earth and all the stars".

The older people on these farms, like those who escaped to Europe, exist on memories of the temporal and material past: the gracious living, the servants – always servants – the important weddings and ministerial visits; on perpetual listing of friends, positions, possessions, achievements, profits, distinctions.

The snippets of reminiscence belong in the here and now of an Emmarentia pool-side party, a reception in Bryntirion, or a family gathering around a millionaire mealie-farmer.

But that has all gone – "a life so nice that it could not withstand reality – the first gust blew it apart", as one of the younger generation scornfully puts it.

Now there are no servants, no labourers. There is only an isolated White remnant drawing into its laager in a desolate farming area, rising early to do the menial farming chores of the day, living on stiff porridge and beans, cautious and resentful of the stylish, manicured stranger in their midst.

They avoid the implied discrimination of the towns, complain about the delays over documentation. They fear the police, the knock on the door in the early hours – "People disappear, people die, you never hear another thing" George is told. "You get used to it and learn not to ask questions".

They have their action poetry – a sort of Afrikaner version of "Cry Rage" (See issue 3 of SECHABA) – and little hoards of prohibited Afrikaans literature, and they plot subversion and collect weapons, and call on God for strength for their struggle.

"Whoever thought it would happen to us?" sighs one woman. "We had everything. What did we do wrong, what did we do to deserve this?" demands another. They are not used to living like this, they have known better.

A police raid breaks up a farm party – a temporarily happy and uninhibited gathering around a rare feast of roast meat and home-brewed brandy – and three young men are led away. There is no resistance to the police brutality, just terrified acceptance.

During the party George had learnt how his uncle was beaten and kicked during police interrogation until he died.

"If you were a policeman who had to question a prisoner, you would do it too", George replied, drunk and indifferent, conscious of the thin cruel mouth of his informant.

Continued overleaf

Continued from Page 23

Next day he talks to the Hattingh's daughter, Carla, about the detention of the young men. They must be charged and given a hearing, he says. If they have done nothing, they cannot be held prisoner.

She replies: "They can keep them or let them go, they can kill them or let them live, they don't have to answer anything". It's not possible, objects this latter-day version of the outsider who still doesn't understand South Africa's problems.

"We live at their mercy" says Carla, and later on: "We are guilty merely because we exist".

Elsewhere the blond farmer's daughter could be speaking for today's Bantustan leader, or a young blood from SASO, or from the prison letters of the militant Black American George Jackson.

She says: "If you are no longer regarded as a person, if you are no longer treated as a person, then you begin to forget yourself that you are a person. You lose your pride and dignity. All that matters is that you stay alive, you creep and twist and humiliate yourself to order . . . that is the worst thing they have done to us".

Subtly blended with precious Afrikaner things: welcome rains, fertile lands, God on your side, hospitality on a long cool stoep, potted plants and polished floors, Tant Maria's quince salad, the intimacy of family gossip, the place in everyday living for the very old and the very young – is the unspeakable, the impossible twist in the fate of a chosen people.

Yet this is not so much prophecy, an Afrikaner's "1984", as it is an invitation to the Afrikaner to put himself in the place of the Black, to see how he likes it and, most significant of all, to see what he would do about it.

As such Schoeman's book is an invitation to historical perspective on the otherwise purely subjective definition of oppressor and oppressed.

But more than that, the author poses the deeper question of where the Afrikaner people would be left in the face of change. Would they be like the characters in his novel, withdrawn into their laager of memories? Latter-day Bourbons who had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing?"

Hattingh reminds his fellow-survivors: "You may not forget the past for one single moment". He could be talking about the tribulations of the Trekkers, or about the Anglo – Boer war. Must history repeat itself? Is there nothing else?

To Schoeman there is something else, an alternative path for the Afrikaner who faces his moment of truth.

Once again it is Carla, the hard-headed girl born after "the trouble" who is the mouthpiece of the author's real message. She declines to escape overseas, but equally she rejects living on in the crumbling ruin of her parents' memories.

"I don't want to spend my whole life looking back over my shoulder, I want to make my contribution, not sit on one side and agonise in a dream world" she says.

"That old world has disappeared and will never ever come back, even if we give our lives to regain it. We must learn to live in this new world".

– LIN MENGE, Rand Daily Mail

The Rhodesia - Zambia Border Closure

January–February 1973

The first detailed study of the events on the border. Seen against the background of Smith's crash programme of discriminatory legislation at the end of 1972 and the mounting guerrilla challenge, the decision to close the border emerges as a premeditated but bungled tactic.

5 tables map only 10 p.

International Defence and Aid Fund
105 Mewgate Sreet, London EC 1

Notice to Readers

In recent issues of SECHABA readers would have noticed that we carried announcements that due to pressure on space many important articles have had to be held over. So much has been happening inside South Africa and internationally on the question of apartheid that this has been unavoidable.

We once again wish to apologise to our readers for having to keep back several important articles which we hope to be able to publish in our next issue.

Among these are:

- An analysis of the recent strike wave in the country
- The trial and sentences of the Pretoria Six and brief biographies of them
- An important statement made by our President General, Oliver Tambo at the 10th Anniversary of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity
- Several book reviews