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NAICKER
Mariemuthoo Pragalathan
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Death of M.P. Naicker

Editor of Sechaba
Director of Publicity and Information, ANC

By this work, we shall remember you!

"HAMBA KAHLE — M.P. NAICKER" — to the echoes of this song the remains of the late M.P. Naicker were laid to rest in London on May 8 among a large gathering of friends, comrades and relatives, some of whom travelled from South Africa and many parts of Europe.

M.P. Naicker, Director of Publicity and Information of the African National Congress, died in the plane on his way to deliver publicity material for printing in Berlin on 29 April 1977. He was 56 years old.

"M.P." as he was popularly known, was born into a working class family in Durban and started work in a factory at a very early age and immediately came into contact with the struggle of the black worker. It was this realisation which led him into the ranks of the trade union movement and the Communist Party, and he was elected to high office in both.

An outstanding organiser, M.P. was appointed Secretary of the Passive Resistance Council which fought General Smuts' Ghetto Act of 1946 prohibiting property deals by Asians, and he served a four-month term of imprisonment for defying the law. After the passing of the

Suppression of Communism Act, he was banned from further activity in the trade union and Congress movement.

He was Editor/Manager of the Durban office of the newspaper "Guardian" which survived several bannings and changes of name until finally crushed by the Nationalist Government in 1963. He was a "jailbird", arrested several times for his opposition to apartheid. He was one of the 156 accused in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961 and jailed for several months without trial during the 1960 emergency which followed the Sharpville massacre.

After being twice jailed by the Security Police — this time under the notorious 90 day No-Trial-Law, M.P. was forced to leave the country in 1965. In exile he was appointed the ANC External Mission's Director of Publicity and Information based in London, and represented the organisation at international conferences in many parts of the world. He was a member of the Executive of the International Organisation of Journalists and was awarded the IOJ pin in gold in 1971 and the Julius Fucik Medal in 1976 for outstanding services to journalism.

Tributes to M. P. Naicker

Messages of condolence poured into the offices of the ANC and to his family from organisations and individuals throughout the world, amongst them:

Tony Chaiter — Editor Morning Star

Words inadequate to express our feeling at the loss of such an outstanding comrade in the progressive movement, a comrade who made such magnificent contribution to the fight against the abominable scourge of apartheid.

General Secretariat — International Organisation of Journalists — Prague

With great sorrow learnt of the sudden death of our dear friend, member and collaborator M.P. Naicker ...

Leslie Harriman — New York

Shocked at news of M.P. a dedicated fighter for liberation. Please accept condolences of UN Special Committee Against Apartheid ...

Canon Collins International Defence & Aid Fund — London

I was deeply shocked and saddened to hear of M.P.'s untimely death. My wife and I and all of us at IDAF send our love and deepest sympathies to you, your children, M.P.'s mother, brothers and sister ...

A.H. Randeree — Organising Secretary Natal Indian Congress — Durban

We mourn the sudden passing away of M.P. To black people he was a symbol of liberation ...

John Gaetsewe — General Secretary South African Congress of Trade Unions SACTU expresses deep felt sympathies at the untimely death of Comrade M.P.

Romesh Chandra — World Peace Council — Helsinki

Have learnt with shock and sadness untimely death of M.P. Naicker friend of WPC and patriot with long impressive record of struggle ...

George Singh — veteran sports administrator — Durban

Deepest sympathies on loss of an old friend ...

Anti-Apartheid Movement — Bonn

We shall follow M.P.'s words "Don't mourn — Mobilise!"

Tributes were paid at the crematorium by Comrades Oliver Tambo, Acting President General of the ANC, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Brian Bunting on behalf of the South African Journalist's Circle. A comprehensive report of these will be carried in our next issue.

A statement issued by the ANC says:

"M.P. has passed away at what is probably the beginning of the most challenging time in the history of our struggle. We salute him for his contribution, one which he began as a young man. And it is without question the solid foundation he so ably helped to establish which makes it possible for our movement to meet the demands we face in our revolutionary struggle. The cream of our youth is flooding to the African National Congress today and living up to the finest traditions of struggle. This is the best tribute which can be made to M.P. and comrades like him. On occasions like this we must steel ourselves for participation with renewed vigour."

We dip our flag in salute to this gallant fighter for freedom.

HAMBA KAHLE, MP

Over a decade ago, Vorster boasted that the back of the ANC and its allies had been broken . . .

ANC report to OAU Liberation Committee

The events of the past six months, during which South Africa has been shaken by the greatest mass upsurge in the revolutionary struggle of the black working people since the 1960's, have borne out the correctness and timeliness of our declaration at the 27th Session of this august body, that "the intense mass action in the country testifies to the ever-rising revolutionary upsurge amongst the people in almost every walk of life and that "everything points to the fact that a revolutionary situation exists in the country, which imposes a tremendous burden and obligation on the ANC...."

This warning was no idle politicking. It was based on our very close organic links with the revolutionary masses and a very thorough study of socio-economic, political and military developments in our country.

Since the police massacred student demonstrators in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the popular uprisings had spread to almost every big town and city. In the country areas too, there had been angry stirrings. The participation of the organised black working class in the general uprisings raised the entire struggle to a new and higher stage. On two occasions, in August and again in September 1976, black workers successfully carried out

three-day political general strikes which paralysed industry on the Witwatersrand and in the Cape and seriously shook the confidence of foreign investors in the economic stability of the regime. During the second general political strike in September 1976, called in support of demands for the release of all detainees and an end to massacres of our people more than 500,000 black workers were on strike in Johannesburg and Cape Town alone.

There can be no doubt that the action of the organised working class against all the forces and institutions of the racist state, seriously challenged and shook the control of the racist regime and consolidated further the unity of all social forces — the workers, youth and students, the intellectuals and broad masses in the heroic struggle led by the ANC. Furthermore, Mr Chairman, the intensity of the struggle waged by the masses has raised very high the revolutionary consciousness and preparedness of the oppressed people and urgently poses the need for direct combat actions against the enemy. The ANC pledges once again that the armed struggle will be intensified.

Already the enemy have tasted what is to come in ever-increasing measures. White South Africa was seriously shaken 3



Massive demonstration in Soweto against apartheid

by the grenade attacks on a police van by "four members of the Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing of the ANC", as James Kruger, racist Minister of Justice and Police, readily admitted. In an attempt to be reassuring he said that while the ANC was preparing for isolated guerrilla incursions and storing arms in secret hide-outs in the eastern Transvaal in preparation for "an eventual black revolution the grenade attack did not herald the beginning of the guerrilla warfare" against the fascists. The ANC gives no such assurance to the racists.

Corresponding with the intensification of the mass struggle is the intensification of police repression. The house-to-house searches, the arrests of hundreds of suspected militants, the torture of detainees, infiltration by informers and systematic intimidation of workers and students, the bannings of trade unionists, the random arrests of all suspected to have been members or to have associated with the ANC even in the distant past — all these have been stepped up to the point where it would be correct to say that a state of war exists in South Africa.

ARRESTS, DETENTIONS, MASSACRES

It is impossible to catalogue with precision the numbers of persons killed, arrested, detained and murdered in police cells since the uprisings started on June 16 1976, since fascist laws enable the police to withhold any such information. In August, the Minister of Justice and Police said about 800 people were being held as a result of "black rioting" — 77 under the Internal Security Act (the "SS" Act, as it was previously known) and 744 for "various crimes and for interrogation". In September, The Christian Institute reported that over 5,000 people had been arrested and at least 300 detained without trial since June 16. According to information from inside the country, even this figure is a gross underestimate. Cleaning-up operations in the form of house-to-house searches and mass arrests have been reported regularly throughout December and January. The final onslaught is the operation to be carried out by the mobilised fascist army and other paramilitary forces in the beginning of February. Detentions get no publicity.

Many people have simply disappeared without trace or explanation since June 16. There are insistent reports of mass graves and midnight burials in Doornkop and other cemeteries in Soweto. There are also no accurate details of how many people have been killed by police and white vigilantes in the months since June 16, but from conservative estimates it would be no exaggeration to say that over 1,000 deaths have occurred. In addition to those killed in the streets, many deaths have occurred in detention. Among the more recently reported are Lawrence Ndzanga, veteran leader of the SA Congress of Trade Unions and former General Secretary of the African Railway Workers' Union. An old ANC member, Lawrence Ndzanga had spent several periods in detention. His wife Rita is currently facing charges under the so-called Suppression of Terrorism act; and Elmon Malale, veteran ANC stalwart, who is alleged to have died "on the operating table" after suffering a stroke.

TRIALS OF ANC ACTIVISTS

Dr David Rabkin, a Cape Argus sub editor, his wife Susan, and Jeremy Cronin, a Cape Town University lecturer were charged under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act in connec-

Brutal attack of SA police against Soweto students



tion with the printing and distribution of VUKANI — AWAKE, an underground ANC bulletin, as well as ANC leaflets printed inside South Africa. Dr Rabkin and Mr Cronin were found guilty and have begun serving ten-year prison sentences. On trial for their lives in the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa in Pietermaritzburg are ten men: Themba Harry Gwala, Fano Khanyile, Ndoda Xaba, Zakhele Ndalose, Vusimusi Magubane, Mokholeka Meyiwa, Azaria Ndebele, John Nene, Joseph Nduli, Cleophas Ndlovu.

All are charged under the Terrorism Act with membership and promoting the aims of the ANC.

In the indictment they are accused of sending messages to ANC representatives in Swaziland, and of receiving subversive literature and money from members of the ANC in Swaziland. They were also accused of planning routes "by which persons recruited for training of a political and/or military nature could be transported up to the border and/or sent across the border of the Republic into Swaziland and/or issuing instructions on routes to be followed for this purpose...."

One of the important aspects of this case is the position of Joseph Nduli and Cleophas Ndlovu. They were kidnapped by South African Special Branch police on the Swazi side of the South African border and taken to Pietermaritzburg where they were joined with the other accused. Despite a very strong protest by the Swazi Government and a demand for the return of these two men, it is needless to report that the South African racists have refused to return these two ANC members to Swaziland.

This is yet another instance of Pretoria's violation of the sovereignty of an independent African state and of their contempt for all the tenets of international law. Mr Chairman, the catalogue of factual developments portrayed above is far from being exhaustive. And if it gives a gloomy picture, it is because we have not yet dealt with the revolutionary

situation prevailing in the country — the situation that makes the upsurge raging in the cities and countryside an irresistible force that is progressively assuming an organised form of resistance. The ANC, like never before in its long history of relentless struggle, is confident of victory.

Its policy of striving for the unity all the African people, all the oppressed and struggling black people remains the main *raison d'être*. In spearheading the broad united front comprising the Coloureds and Asians as the African people's comrades-in-arms, the ANC is making steady and unimpeded progress towards the consolidation of its revolutionary base at the mass level. The strength of white democrats — who together with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Coloured Peoples Congress accept the leadership of the ANC on the basis of the Freedom Charter — is growing at a rate alarming to the enemy.

Over a decade ago, Vorster boasted that the back of the ANC and its allies had been broken and that all remained was for the fascist storm-troopers to "mop up the remnants" of the ANC. But these trials have revealed once more that the ANC fights on and will not be put down after all these years of special branch informers, torture and murder of its members. Jimmy Kruger, racist Minister of Justice and Police claims that detainees alleged to have committed suicide in prison were carrying out the ANC directive to die rather than to reveal information. These facts prove that the ANC is very much present inside South Africa and playing its unquestionable role

behind the so-called spontaneous uprising — claims from which the ANC has to date abstained.

Yet further proof, if this is still required, of the leadership role of the ANC in the revolutionary struggle of our people is the extension of the terms of reference of the Cilliers Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the Soweto "disturbances" to include an investigation of the role of the ANC before, during and after the Soweto uprisings.

Other trials, too numerous to catalogue here, are being conducted all over the country. These trials, together with the thousands of prolonged detentions all reflect the high level of political consciousness of the oppressed people of South Africa.

BANTUSTANS

The position of the ANC and the overwhelming masses of our people with regard to the racists' Bantustan policy and the so-called "independence" of the Transkei is well known. We seize this opportunity to salute the highly commendable stand taken by the African countries in not only refusing to be duped into endorsing a programme designed to ensure tribal fragmentation and fratricidal conflict to the benefit of white supremacy, but also torpedoing this diabolic scheme at the United Nations. The African group-sponsored resolution declaration Transkei independence invalid, and calling on all UN member states not to accord it recognition, is an extremely important diplomatic defeat for the Vorster regime. However, we would like to draw the attention of the Committee to the sinister manoeuvres being carried out in a vain attempt to prop up this still-born apartheid creation.

These range from investments to military cooperation. The United States army magazine *Military Review*, for example, states that there are serious moves in the Pentagon to establish an American naval base in the Transkei and that the Transkei could be a loophole through which the





arms embargo against South African is likely to continue.

Furthermore, there are persistent reports that units of the so-called 1st Battalion of the Transkei were used in the massacres throughout South Africa and are presently participating in the war in Namibia under the overall command of Brigadier Laurens Oosthuizen, an armoured corps specialist, who has taken over the "South West Africa Command" from the 1st January 1977. To this armed front should be added the Lesotho border, with the Pretoria regime using the Transkei as its catspaw.

Mr Chairman, in reiterating our appreciation of the firm stand taken by the

African countries in opposing the apartheid regime's Bantustan programme, we appeal for permanent vigilance in this regard. The Vorster regime views that programme as of crucial importance for the perpetuation of the status quo in South Africa. The ANC on the one hand ranks the defeat of this operation as one of the top priorities to ensure a relatively speedy overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the people in the whole of South Africa. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire upset Vorster's strategy which was based on Mozambique and Angola serving the role of protective belts. Aware of the changed balance of forces, favouring the ANC



thanks to its close and traditional alliance with FRELIMO and MPLA, the regime is bent on the establishment of Bantustan puppet states to serve as buffer zones in its defence. This sinister scheme must be exposed, condemned and defeated in every turn. It is for that reason that we salute the stand taken by Lesotho and the African countries in taking the closure of the Lesotho border to the Security Council and condemning South Africa for this act. The urgent international assistance to help Lesotho offset the economic losses incurred, and to help her resist being coerced into recognising the Transkei, cannot be over emphasised. More so because this is a test case and a prelude of similar methods to be used against Botswana and Swaziland in the future. The so-called independence of the Bophuthatswana announced a few days ago as scheduled for December 6 1977, calls for similar measures as were taken in the case of the Transkei. We humbly propose that this committee recommends such measures to the Ministerial Council, thus providing for a mandatory non-

recognition resolution by the Summit, as was the case with regard to the Transkei.

This, we suggest, should be formulated in the manner that would enable the African group at the UN not only to foil the desired recognition but also to campaigning against the activities by certain Western countries who use the Bantustans to pump massive foreign capital investment into South Africa as well as consolidating military collaboration with this regime in defiance of the OAU, the Non-Aligned and the UN resolutions.

South Africa's Military Preparations

South Africa's budget for defence is likely to soar from R1,300m. in 1976 to R2,000m. in 1977, which means that if the Government's total budget remains the same, over 30 per cent will be spent on defence. Director-General of Resources, Major-General Neil Webster says that an "Afro-Communist" onslaught on South Africa was no longer a remote possibility but an unpredictable practicality. Therefore the Permanent Force would have to be more than doubled in strength as soon

as possible. Moreover, the Minister of Water Affairs, Braam Raubenheim, has given a clear indication that the racist Cabinet was thinking along the lines of South Africa going to aid Rhodesia if Russia or Cuban forces join the freedom-fighter war. South Africa regards this threat as being so serious that it will consider mounting a counter-operation in support of the Rhodesians "even bigger than (their) intervention in Angola".

Other military preparations include the "Reaction Force", which has been specially created by the South African Defence Force for the rapid concentration of forces for an airborne assault followed by a rapid withdrawal, is a highly trained strike force of Army paratroopers and Air Force helicopters on a round-clock standby. Ground force paratroopers and helicopter pilots of the Reaction Force live in tents around a helipad where Puma and Alouette helicopters wait in readiness. They can operate in all weathers.

The first South African Women's Air Force squadron has been established. Number 114 Commando Squadron will be based at Lanseria Airport and will consist of 20 pilots and 5 observers. Members will be trained for casualty evacuation and communications flights. Major J.B. du Preez, a Permanent Air Force officer, will command the squadron. Meanwhile, the first two white women to train as fighter controllers received their commissions during the first week of January 1977. Their job is to guide fighter planes to the enemy target and help them to return safely.

A women's corps is to be formed in the South African Army early this year, according to Defence Minister, P.W. Botha. Five hundred women will be trained annually at the Civil Defence College in George, Cape Province, which would be expanded and renamed the Army Women's College.

A report by Counter-Information Services exposes the part played by British firms in the arms build-up in South Africa. Within weeks of the June uprising, Imperial Chemical Industries injected

£26m. sterling into its South African subsidiary AE&CI, which supplied the teargas used by the police. Half of Racal Electronics' production of radio man-packs, monitor and surveillance equipment is going to the armed forces. Plessey is said to be supplying the technical expertise for a South African manufacturer of integrated circuits, invaluable from the point of defence strategy, enabling the regime to produce its own anti-tank guidance systems.

Marconi is building the bones of a computer-controlled military communications system. Yet a further development in the growth of the military/industrial complex is the integration of different departments of Government for "defensive" purposes. The Nationalist MPC for Eshowe, W.J. Heine, has called for compulsory civil defence training at school level, leading to compulsory training for school-leaving girls. A coordinated plan, involving the Natal Education Department and the Natal Command of the South African Defence Force making cadet training in schools compulsory, is already well advanced.

Whilst Robert Power, Chairman of SA Security Association, disclosed (Rand Daily Mail—27th November 1976) that the first course in "anti-urban terror tactics" for civilians will be held in 1977: one-day workshop sessions on "sabotage, strikes, riots, fire defence, psychological terrorism and intimidation by violence".

Rear-Admiral Ronald Edwards, who has recently been promoted to the Deputy Chief of Staff Personnel at GHQ, proposed that the Civil Defence Act is to be amended to bring about decentralisation and make civil defence the responsibility of the local authorities. He stressed that the provincial and local authorities should be ensured of manpower and proposed the drafting of "malcontents into some form of service which their own actions are threatening with disruption." This really means that conscientious objectors, the unemployed and others will be subject to forcible enlistment into civil defence organisations in the cities.

NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS

Lt—Gen Bob Rogers, Chief of the Air Force, stated that the SA Air Force strike aircraft would soon be equipped with a new missile, developed exclusively by South African technologists, but he would not comment on whether it was intended for air-to-air or air-to-surface use. However, during the last sitting of Parliament, the Minister of Defence announced that SA scientists were working on an improved air-to-air missile.

The total order for the tropospheric scatter communications equipment to be supplied by Marconi (the British Company) to South Africa will exceed R29m. and provide a sophisticated army and telecommunication system with 20 terminals and 10 links connecting SA with Namibia. Of the tropospheric scatter links, 5 are to be located in SA.

IMPERIALIST ARMS

Israel is re-selling patrol boats and guided missiles acquired from the USA to SA and Chile. The nuclear conspiracy between West Germany and South Africa as well as French nuclear reactors to SA has already been dealt with by the ANC.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR FOR ANC

The ANC is strengthened in the knowledge that the OAU, the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries have continuously demonstrated their resolve to support the legitimacy of all forms of struggle including the armed struggle waged by the ANC. Some of the recent and current manifestations in support of the ANC and its allies are:

1. Resolutions adopted at the 13th OAU Summit, the Conference of the non-aligned states and the United Nations.

2. Emergency international solidarity conference in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa in Addis Ababa, attended by delegates from 87 countries, revolutionary parties and pro-

gressive organisations who paid tribute to the courage of the South African people and pledged support for the struggle under the leadership of the ANC.

3. January 17-22, Week of Action of the World Trade Unions against Apartheid organised by the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, as SACTU, WFTU, WCL, ICFTU and supported by the UN Anti-Apartheid Committee.

4. January 31-February 2 1977 "International Conference on Solidarity with the workers of SA in Luanda", organised jointly by the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), the OATUU and WFTU.

5. WPC/ANC Conference to be held in Lisbon in May.

6. June 1977 — Second Internal Trade Union Conference against Apartheid to be held in Geneva to review the results of the 1st conference held June 1973 and to initiate new actions against the fascist regime.

7. The AACC/WCC (Programme to Combat Racism) consultation with liberation movements in Southern Africa, Kitwe, Zambia.

CONCLUSIONS

1. With the relative and absolute deterioration of the socio-economic condition of the oppressed people, the rapid growth in unemployment, inflation and general economic recession, the growth in the revolutionary mass struggle and the growth in the stature and authority of the ANC, both amongst the masses of the oppressed people and internationally, the frantic war preparations of the enemy supported by international imperialism (the multinational companies), the year 1977 must mark a further and more supported by international imperialism (the multinational companies), the year 1977 must mark a further and more decisive onslaught against the racist regime. France, West Germany, Italy and Japan, and particularly against the multinational corporations, some of which we have mentioned above.

Thank you.

**Why despite the quality of their lives
have our children acted with such maturity?
Why were our "riots" not of a racial character
as those in America and in Britain . . . ?**

HOW MANY OF OUR CHILDREN . . .

Many years ago, when I was taken to the local YMCA Hall, I saw a young lad at the piano. His fingers on the keyboard seemed to drive him to ecstasy — his whole body gave expression to the music he extracted. Many years later, an old man called me to lodge an appeal on his son's behalf. This son was my lad of the keyboard, whom I met now in a claustrophobic cell — adorned by three short iron bars out of arm's reach. How was it that so sensitive a child had grown into this "criminal"?

What does this society do to create a prison population of several thousands daily? Of a population of 18 million Africans, how many can boast of never having been inside a South African cell? This is the stark fact of the environment that has nurtured our children. How many homes children have come back to, to find their fathers arrested, for lack of a "dompass". Their mothers too are now forced to carry a dompass, and suffer the harassment known to their husbands before.

How many fathers are endorsed out of the city, when they have come to seek work and food for their families. How

many of our children today, were on their mother's back and had to spend 14 days in a cell with her for no other reason than that she had left home to seek work in the city to feed her starving children at home because of Influx Control. How many of our Township children have gone to mother's employer's homes to find running water in the kitchen and bathrooms attached to each bedroom, while they have had to fetch water from a public tap, a river or a borehole.

How many children have been awed by the sight of a fridgeful of food at their mum's employer's home, and mum has had to chide their curiosity or surreptitiously give them a slice of bread, butter and jam.

How many of our children have stood at a distance and watched white children swimming in a pool, playing a game of football on a green well-kept ground, while at home, the only water known to their bodies is a weekend bath or a slosh in a little stream shared with animals and a gritty patch of dusty earth for playground.

How many of our children have grown up not knowing their fathers and perhaps 11

seeing someone once a year at Christmas time for two weeks — calling himself their Dad, on leave from work in the city.

How many of our children can boast seeing the inside of a school for any length of time or at all. How many of our children have had even the books required for the education that fits them for a role as hewers of wood. Watch their mother spread out their wage packet to include a school uniform and books.

How many of our children have sat at desks at school, like their white counterparts. Many a child's school career never left the floor of a shack called school.

How many of our children have pocket money to do a show on a Saturday morning or to buy a cool drink if they felt like one.

How many of our babies have had their mother's sweaty backs for two years of their initial life to contend with, while mum kept house for the Madam, lulled to sleep by the washing, and the polishing machine.

How many of our children are chided to sleep on an empty stomach on any night in South Africa. How many of our children who live, have spent years in

hospitals for malnutrition, tuberculosis and the like.

How many of our children are there in the city who, when they reach the fearful age of 16, are divorced from their parent's care and proclaimed to be lodgers: A 16-year-old, to lose his status of a minor child and assume the role of lodger.

Have our children not grown from infancy in the company of "Niq Blankes" (black) and "Blankes" (whites — or blanks) signs up and down the street at bus shelters, parks and gardens, railways, everywhere they look.

Who amongst our children have failed to notice the green, dusty buses, plank-seated, packed to capacity with sweaty, dirty blacks. And the red/blue polished, foam-cushioned seats in a white bus — and watched whites seated in such cool soft air conditioned surroundings — their painted faces not harassed by fatigue or the heat.

Have our children not walked the streets of Soweto, Ilanga, Clermont or any location, and compared the potholes, the dirt roads, dust that is thrown in their faces as they walk along the road, no footpaths, tall unkempt grass that borders

Miserable living conditions in an African township in Namibia



the dust road, with the lovely macadamised roads, clean footpaths, lawns, flowers and trees in the white residential areas.

How many of our children, when marketing for Mum, haggled with stallholders over prices of miserable tomatoes, potatoes, dried vegetables or waited till closing time and picked up week-end fare cheaply in paper bags that split their sides — while white housewives aided by black basket-carrying maids, or wheel driven baskets, pack their baskets with nothing but the best.

How many of our children have watched their fathers walk into a bottle store or shebeen and emerge with bottles and/or an empty pay packet.

How many children have sat a whole day at township clinics awaiting attention, their bodies wracked by coughs and colds and severe fever.

How many of our children have waited around the Bantu Administration offices for pensions, for maintenance grants and for dompasses for a whole day — and are asked to return the next day with their parents and grandparents.

This is the quality of life our children have enjoyed — children, the most precious commodity that life offers us, have borne testimony to this depraved racist existence.

Why is it then that these same children nurtured in the most virulent racist society this earth has been privileged to shelter, lack the essentials of the Bantu Education that prepared them for a subordinate role in this racist society?

Some politicians and all our newspapers argue that these "riots" that have rocked South Africa, were the work of frustrated youths, hoodlums and tsotsis. Who, in this black, school starved society would burn the very institutions that give them a measure of economic freedom "half a loaf is better than no bread" they argue.

Simply our children destroyed the instruments of their indoctrination. Despite pamphlets — purporting to come from blacks — that white children should be killed — our children selected beer-

halls, shops, clinics, police vans, bantu administration buildings, buses, etc, as the tangible instruments of their oppression.

If these indeed were riots, then why the record of a complete rejection of the apartheid system in their rioting, why the lack of indiscriminate destruction?

Our children acted indeed with a maturity so devastating that they met with bullets, riot squads and the army of the white racist government, who fought to maintain their privileged society and their privileged life. Why despite the quality of their lives have our children acted with such maturity? Why were our "riots" not of a racial character as those in America and in Britain where far less entrenched provocation exists?

To my mind the answer is that despite its banning in 1960, our children are formidable supporters of the African National Congress. The only political organisation in the country that during the period of its legal existence and post legal period was marked by its complete rejection of the racist quality of life which has bedevilled South Africa for over 300 years. It has been the only organisation that has demanded a South Africa for all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed. The history of the ANC has been marked by a lack of the usual communist witchhunt and propaganda.

The Freedom Charter, born at Kliptown on 26th June, 1956, has defined the quality of life the Congress Alliance envisaged, and even the Nationalist Party has not dared to ban the freedom charter to date.

The ANC has opposed the fragmenting of the country into ethnic homelands and continues to expose the fraud. The ANC opposed the system of ethnic universities — bantu education — the very institutions that have nurtured the growth of our children, which institutions were the targets of their selective destruction. Every aspect of our racist society was exposed systematically. Our defiance campaigns and passive resistance were

instruments forged to express our total rejection of the racial system.

And lastly — our children — remember 8-year-olds met bullets from the oppressors — have grown up in the knowledge that on an island ten miles from the mainland near Cape Town, called Robben Island, are their leaders, who have suffered torture and imprisonment for their beliefs in a society freed of racial hatred. Nelson Mandela, ANC Leader, is a household name in South Africa. The ANC has given birth to men of the calibre of Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mahlaba, Wilton Mkwayi and many more, some serving life imprisonment and others long sentences.

It also houses Indians and Coloureds — who have together with other sections of the South African People shown the indivisibility of South Africa. Our white members of the Congress Alliance are housed in a jail in Pretoria. These men have opted out of their privileged status quo and given their lives for the terms of the Freedom Charter. Bram Fisher, a brilliant white advocate relinquished his

comfortable existence for a quality of life that will one day give *all* South Africans a security of life that no government to date has done for South Africa. Our children watched him on trial, listened to his courageous plea at his trial, and watched him go to jail for life, watched his cancer-ridden body die and watched the racists refuse to give his family his ashes.

Then too, there is the trial in Pietermaritzburg, where ten ANC men face five years to life imprisonment — or death. They are:

Harry Gwala 58 years-old, William Khanyile 40, Zakele Mdlalose 51, Matthews Meyiwa 51, John Nene 32, Antony Xaba 42, Truman Magubane 32, Azaria Ndebele 40, Cleopas Ndlovu 42, Joseph Nduli 35.

The first six men have spent 8-10 years on Robben Island already, and are now facing charges under the Terrorism Act, and for continuing the aims and objects of the ANC. Their optimism, their courage, their selflessness, their love of their country are humbling experiences.

With parents like these, can our children be otherwise?



A militant Soweto student

TWO POEMS

A selection from the many verses
written by young militants
from the townships,
as they awaited assignments
from the ANC for duty
and further training

PAYMENT IS OVERDUE

Somebody owes me too much
Somebody owes me all that he cheated
my greatest grandfather;
He also owes me his life.

Somebody owes me all the thin herds and
flocks he dispossessed
My greater grandfather
And made him herd-boy for life.

Somebody owes me all the tax and
surplus returns
My barter-salaried kitchen, garden and
all-round ou-boy
Great grandfather
Lost without knowledge for life
Somebody owes me all lucratives of
my great grandfather's
Apprentice,
Grandma kitchen girl, Nannie and
toilet-scrub;
He also owes me her health.

Somebody owes me all that accrued
from the spoils of
world war veterans. I'm waiting the
policy to ripen.
Grandpa later died a miner in strife.

Somebody owes, no doubt
Somebody owes me my Father's sanity,
Somebody owes me my Father's dignity,
Somebody owes me my Father's
integrity;
Somebody owes me just too much

THE CHARWOMAN

She was abducted when seventeen
By custom; de facto married with
thirteen

Children, and a widow —
Her hubby, joined the ancestors
In the dreadful Dube disaster.

Her sole wish is to school the kids
And hurdles hurt her heartbeat.
She says she does washings at Linden
During the week and in Kliptown
Over the week-ends as part-time.

This bulky big-boobed Bantu ma's
Colossal complaint is: 'Haw! iwashini
ya Mabunu!?'
and 'itula-tula ya Makula!'
The big bundles have caused
her lumbago, swollen and sore feet;
hands-cracked
and chapped; arms — chafed!

She's a Township Zionist, very
religious;
God pardon Her, there's no time for
religion.
At knock off, she's just too tired,
And there's Kliptown too
to go through.

After ironings she slumps nearest the
stove in a favourite spot,
As if the fire would warm the cruel
cold spots
of her sore soul.

Two of the big-boys are sub tenants
of the S.B's;
And two of the girls and pregnant,
Shoo!

Her head hidden underneath the big
bundle of white sheet
Hands outstretched beneath the big
bundle of white sheet,
She dares not forget to put 'ipas'
In her 'sshwe-shwe' between her
breasts
I est the breadwinner be arrested:
Her heavy burden is now —
An abnormal load.

THE TORTURE OF STEPHEN DLAMINI

From the sworn statement of the SACTU leader and Robben Island veteran
who was detained once again

I was arrested on Tuesday, March 10, 1976, at home in the Polela district, in Bulwer. Two whites and one black — Zondi — arrested me. They searched the house but found nothing. They took a copy of "Bandwagon". No receipt was given at the time. Later, while I was being tortured the receipt was given to me but it was subsequently lost.

I asked the Special Branch whether they had informed the magistrate of Bulwer that I was being removed. They replied that they did not need to have permission to take me away though they came with no warrants. During the search they found correspondence from Holland. Copies of poems were enclosed with the correspondence. The SBs showed me that last line of one of these poems: "Finally it is death". I was extremely afraid that this was it — that they were going to kill me. I was aware of Mdluli's death at the time of my arrest.

They took me to Loop Street police station, Pietermaritzburg, at about 2 p.m. On arrival I wanted to urinate. The same constable who showed me the last line of the poem told me that this was the last time I would go to the toilet. Thereafter I was taken upstairs to a room. No word about what they wanted from me was said in the car. There was a grim silence.

Why did Mdluli come to see me at Bulwer? Who accompanied Mdluli?

These questions were put to me in this room. I was standing at the table. All three SBs were seated. I replied: "Mdluli came to my house to see me because he had not seen me before, as we were not in the same jail."

I was made to stand against the wall on my toes, run on the spot; ordered to take off my shoes. Zondi brought gravel which was put into my shoes. I was forced to tie up the laces and stand. They beat me from the back of the knee, punched by all three in the back and on my sides, made to stand against the wall on my toes in the gravel-filled shoes. Whenever I fell down they picked me up and knocked my head against the wall. Scars on my left foot still remain from the stones in both my shoes. Throughout this interruption and torture the question they asked was why did Mdluli come to see me. The answer I gave did not satisfy them. "You are a communist," they said, and continued the torture.

Later another group of SBs came in. The stones were removed by the outgoing group. When I fell with the stones in my shoes they kicked me and this broke off bits of the sole of my shoes (exhibited in court). Bloodstains on my shoes still remain. The shoes are available. Different groups of SBs came in and each had their own specialised torture.

One group came in and one SB beat me

on the head with his ring. I don't know their names; even Zondi — I only heard him being called Zondi. I had no sleep but remained in the room in Loop Street. I was given food when it was dark. I had no idea of time. The curtains blotted out the daylight. The first night I had no food. I was allowed to go to the toilet twice in four days and three nights. I drank water once in those four days and three nights, and in that period I did not wash. After the first day food came in intermittently. I did eat even though I was beaten up because I knew that food was my only sustenance. My whole body was swollen, my ears blocked from an SB shouting into my eardrum saying "speak up."

Another group made up of blacks and whites came in. Paulos came in, pulled off my glasses and hit me with the open palm over my eyes. I could not see — I feel I lost 57 per cent of my eyesight. Others kept punching me. Another group took

over. Zondi came in again with the gravel stones. The same group came back and inflicted the same torture. I ran on the spot. They knocked my head against the brick wall. They tried to break my arm. "We are going to throw you out of the window because you are a communist" — throughout they shouted abuse at me. One punched me below the belt. I could hardly pass water. In fact when I passed water it was very painful and all the while "why did Mdluli visit you?"

On Friday, 2nd April at 4 p.m. I was taken downstairs to the cells. I was given four blankets — clean — and two mats. The cell was reasonably clean. I was given a broom to sweep it. There was a tap and a self-flushing toilet, toilet paper and washing soap. Food was given — fairly good food. Eggs and bacon for breakfast, coffee with milk. Rice and meat for lunch; meat, vegetables and rice for supper.





Stephan Dlamini addressing a meeting in Durban before his arrest in 1963

I went with the police in the clothes that I was wearing. I washed in the cell. I had no clean clothes to change into. I washed my clothes and wrapped myself in a blanket while the clothes dried.

The Magistrate visited me fortnightly. I am not sure whether it was a week or two after the 30th March, 1976 before I saw him for the first time. One morning, about midday, a man purporting to be a Magistrate with a list of names which included my name, called with a white interpreter.

I complained to the Magistrate about the police beatings, showed him my shoes with blood on them, shirt and clothes, and how they were torn by the police.

I had seen a doctor in Loop Street police station before I saw the Magistrate. When I saw the doctor with a uniformed African policeman, the doctor asked the African police: "What does this man want?" The policeman said "This man is a 'terrorist'." I told him I had been beaten by the police. The doctor waved me out of his room refusing to examine

me. When I was about to move out of the room he decided to give me a bottle of aspirin and a mixture for diarrhoea without examining me. I took this with me to my cell. The same day an SB called to say I should not keep drugs in my cell and took the medicines away, saying that these would be brought with my meals. Several days after, a white SB called to ask me how I felt. I told him the drugs had been taken away. He left and brought back aspirins, some mixture, and eye-drops. Two or three months later I was not feeling well. I asked the SB to go to the doctor. I was taken to the doctor. He did not examine me, but gave me medicine for my stomach and eyes.

My persistent torture emanated from the fact that the SBs were not satisfied with my statement, though it was true. They would not believe me when I explained the purpose of Mdluli's visit. I was kept in solitary detention in a police cell until I was released on 18th October, 1976. For the 6½ months I did not have a haircut or a shave. Only after several months was I given my shaving equipment.

For company, I had flies, mosquitoes and lice. My days were spent killing flies and mosquitoes. I was given a 1971 Reader's Digest and a Garden and Home magazine. I was not given a single newspaper. I played games with the words in both these magazines. I had read and re-read them until I knew what was on the next page without turning a leaf. I suffered great pain due to the initial tortures on my person. My vision was impaired so that I found reading difficult. I lay waiting to be charged. I was certain that they would not call me as a State



witness, for I had indicated to those who tortured and interrogated me that I would not give evidence for the State. In any event I had no evidence to give that would incriminate anybody, even the late Mdluli. Even the Bible, the usual that is allowed to detainees, was not given to me.

I was not taken outside the cell for exercise for 6½ months. My whole life revolved in that cell. I walked the length and breadth of my cell for exercise.

I was told that I would not be released unless I made a signed statement, so on the 9th April, when a Security Branch Officer called and read my statement out to me, and asked me to take the oath, I did — as the statement was a correct reflection of what had happened and what I told them when interrogated.

Mdluli came to me on an introductory visit. My experience in trade unionism is well known amongst my people, and my advice and assistance was sought by Mdluli, who informed me he was going to play a key role in Durban. He was brought to me by A. Zondi, who was herself a key trade unionist, whose harassment at her places of work is well known.



FRELIMO Reorganises



President Samora Machel on his way to the III FRELIMO Congress accompanied by a member of the Youth Organisation

The following is a brief report on Frelimo's Third Congress at which President Samora Machel called for "iron organisation and discipline".

Frelimo, the guerrilla organisation that led Mozambique's liberation struggle, held its Third Congress and its first since independence was declared on June 25 1975 early this year.

This momentous Congress took several

major decisions, the most important announcing the reorganisation of Frelimo as a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.

In addition to outlining the major tasks facing Mozambique, the five-day Congress also stressed the international responsibilities of this country of almost 10 million. In this regard, President Samora Machel pledged that Mozambique would become a revolutionary base in the fight to overthrow the white racist regimes in Southern Africa.

Although the Liberation Front was transformed into a revolutionary vanguard party of the workers and peasants alliance, it retained the name Frelimo — a name that had become a worldwide symbol of the 10-year armed struggle to overthrow fascist Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique.

Comrade Machel, who was elected Chairman of the Party, in a nine-hour report to the Congress detailing the history of the liberation struggle and outlining the strategy and tactics of the Party in the present situation, said: "There must be iron organisation and discipline in order to carry out the party's principal aims of sweeping aside forever the consequences of colonialism and ending exploitation of man by man."

The new party will "direct, organise, guide and educate the masses towards building socialism," Machel said. "For five days we have gathered here to discuss our new party — workers, peasants, people's armed forces, revolutionary intellectuals, Mozambicans of all colors and races, men, women and young and old — we came to decide our future, to trace the broad lines guiding the life of our people."

Combat Tribalism

Stating that the prime task of the new Party will be to combat internal reaction and tribalism, Comrade Machel said that Frelimo's highest body will be the Party

Congress, responsible for the political line of the party and orientation of the state apparatus. It will also have power to modify or approve the party statutes and fundamental documents and to elect the members of the Central Committee. It will meet every five years, though it can be convened in extraordinary sessions. Between meetings the Central Committee is the supreme organ and meets every six months. Sixty eight comrades were elected to the Central Committee, among them five women.

At the provincial level, the party structures will run from cell level up to local, district and finally provincial secretaries, committees and conferences. Party symbols are the five-color Frelimo flag with the triangular party emblem — the red star symbolising proletarian internationalism, a hammer and a hoe crossed to symbolise the workers and peasants alliance and the Frelimo inscription.

Other points in President Machel's report included the following:

- * In the present phase of imperialist intransigence, the national liberation movement can only succeed in its historic task when practising and developing creatively the scientific ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism — and when it integrates the struggles for liberation with the general struggle against the system of exploitation.

- * The seizure of power by the Mozambican working masses, intensified class struggle on a national level and simultaneously combating increased imperialist aggressiveness against Mozambique. Faced with an enemy whose nature is criminal and aggressive, Mozambique must combat reaction and organise the people to crush the enemy.

- * People's Democracy is the historic phase during which the country will consolidate the ideological base and build the material

base for the transition to socialism. To carry out this task it is necessary to organise and create the vanguard party of the workers and peasants alliance directed by Marxism-Leninism.

* Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the dynamising factor, making heavy industry the decisive factor in the fight to break with misery and imperialist domination, the country shall build the material base for People's Democracy.

* The Mozambican revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. Internationalism is a constant, major and fundamental feature of our revolution.

* As the directing force in society and the state, the party must guide, mobilise and organise the broad masses in the task of the building of People's Democracy. It must construct a state apparatus that will build the power of the workers and peasants alliance and construct the ideological, political, economic, cultural and social base of socialist society.

Throughout the Congress, delegates emphasised that the liberated zones — areas liberated by Frelimo before total independence was won — would serve as the embryo of the new socialist society.

Proletarian Internationalism

Comrade Machel emphasised on several occasions that the Party's foreign policy will be based on non-alignment and that proletarian internationalism will continue to be Frelimo's committed policy. He laid great emphasis on Mozambique's continued support for the African National Congress of South Africa and the national liberation movement of Namibia — SWAPO.

Comrades Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe embraced each other as Frelimo pledged special support to Zimbabwe's armed struggle.

Speaking on behalf of the ANC (South Africa) delegation Comrade Oliver Tambo, its President, said that Mozambique under the leadership and guidance of Frelimo was a dynamising force for political, social and economic change in Southern Africa.

Frelimo's own example will provide a basis for the establishment of a new society in South Africa, he said, amidst prolonged ovation from the assembled delegates and observers.

In a speech punctuated with applause, Comrade Jorge Valdez, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, outlining the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against US imperialism, said: "In the name of the 300 million people struggling and suffering against imperialism in Latin America and as a representative of the Cuban Communist Party, I say to my Mozambican and African brothers: Your struggle is our struggle. We have a common enemy — imperialism; a common aim: full independence and a better future for the people; and a common destiny — victory!"

Soviet-Mozambique Treaty

In less than three months after the Congress — on March 31 — Presidents Machel of Mozambique and Podgorny of the Soviet Union initialled a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between their countries during the official visit of the Soviet leader to Mozambique. The Treaty, expressing the resolve of Mozambique and the USSR to develop all-round cooperation and friendship for twenty years, stressed that the two countries will be building their relations on the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-



"Long live Socialism" states this slogan in a street of Maputo in honour of the III FRELIMO Congress

interference in each other's internal affairs and equality.

Continuing, the Treaty states:

The sides proclaim their intention to develop all-round cooperation in the economic, technical and scientific spheres, in training national cadres and also to widen trade and shipping on the principles of equality, mutual advantage and the most-favoured nation treatment.

In the interests of reinforcing defence potentials, the sides will continue developing cooperation in the military sphere. The USSR expresses respect for the policy of non-alignment conducted by the People's Republic of Mozambique, the policy that is an important factor in maintaining world peace and security. The People's Republic of Mozambique expresses respect for the Soviet Union's policy of peace aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all peoples.

The sides will exert every effort to deepen the process of the relaxation of inter-

national tensions, for achieving general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament under effective international control, for settling disputable international questions by peaceful means, for concluding a world treaty on non-use of force in international relations.

The sides will continue consistent struggle against the forces of imperialism, for the final liquidation of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and apartheid, and will be cooperating with each other and with other peaceful states in supporting the just struggle of peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

If situations arise that threaten peace or break peace, the sides will immediately get into contact with each other to coordinate their positions in the interests of eliminating the arising threat or restoring peace.

Each of the parties declares that it will not, repeat not, enter military or other alliances nor take part in any groupings of states, in actions or measures directed against the other party.

OBITUARY



**JASON
MOJO -
People's
Champion**

The late Comrade Jason Moyo

The tragic and untimely death of Comrade Jason Ziyapapa Moyo, Second Vice-President of the ANC-Zimbabwe (ZAPU) — murdered by racist Smith underlings on January 22 1977 — serves as a painful lesson, not only to the people of Zimbabwe but to progressive forces the world over, not least to the oppressed and fighting peoples of South Africa.

JZ, as he was popularly known, was a typical example of a revolutionary who had been nurtured by the harsh and hard realities of a liberation struggle. He was born in the Kezi District of Zimbabwe in 1927 and was the son of a peasant, Tarruhla Moyo. Jason was brought up during a time the Rhodesian racists were displacing and dispossessing the peasants of

Zimbabwe and violently exploiting them in the mining and farming areas, and in commercial and industrial enterprises in the country's urban areas.

Like all African boys of Zimbabwe at the time, JZ grew up looking after his father's cattle, those the white racist regime had left him following a vicious culling of herds owned by Africans. He went to the ill-equipped and under-staffed local school run by the London Missionary Society. Later, after he attended an Anglican school outside Bulawayo, Comrade Moyo went to Mzingwane Government School where he trained as a builder. The principal of Mzingwane Government School at the time, John Hammond, was so impressed by Moyo's character and leadership qualities

that he and his staff-members appointed him captain of the school. This was in spite of the fact that he was among the youngest students at the institution.

He played a very major role in sports — both football and athletics — at Mzingwane. Academically JZ was one of the brightest students Mzingwane Government School has ever had. He later studied privately and passed Junior Certificate. By then he was working as a builder in Bulawayo where he and others formed an artisans' union of which he later became a national leader. His attachment to the workers' cause became a part of his political thinking till his tragic death.

Moyo's political goals were as clear as was his ideology. He aspired for nothing short of the establishment of a people's government in Zimbabwe. As a peasant's son he understood the painful lot of the masses in the countryside where the Rhodesian regime was, and still is, playing bloody havoc with the people. In the mid-1950s he was banned from visiting his home district for fear that he would organise and mobilise the peasantry against the racist Rhodesian exploiters. Banned together with the late JZ was the ANC-ZAPU President, Comrade Joshua Nkomo, also from the Kezi district.

In the early 1960s JZ stood out as a people's champion when he courageously advocated the nationalisation of the land as the cornerstone of the liberation movement's programme. Opposed by people like the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in the National Democratic Party (NDP), JZ rightly maintained that liberation would not be meaningful to the people if it achieved empty political power without absolute control of the means of production.

JZ knew that a people's liberation war was the only method by which this objective could be achieved. He thus played a

principal part in organising ZAPU's military wing.

During his lifetime he held several posts in successive political parties and was detained and imprisoned several times by the Rhodesian settler regime.

In 1964, Comrade Jason Moyo, as national treasurer and member of the liberation War Council of ZAPU, was one of five members of the National Executive assigned with the mission of conducting the armed struggle from abroad. In 1971, Comrade Moyo became leader of the External Wing of ZAPU and Chairman of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council. He became Second Vice-President of the party in 1976, a post he ably held until his untimely death.

JZ was, throughout his political life, dedicated to the cause of national unity among the people fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe and just prior to his murder played a most prominent part in bringing about such unity. His part in the formation and promotion of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, an alliance of ZAPU and ZANU, was acclaimed by all progressive forces inside Zimbabwe as well as internationally.

It is no accident that it was precisely at this time — when Zimbabweans, except for a few sell-outs, were speaking with one voice — that JZ was so callously murdered.

The African National Congress of South Africa joins the people of Zimbabwe in mourning the loss of this great son of Africa. In doing so, we also join the people of Zimbabwe in saying that the most fitting answer to the murder of our leader must be an intensification of the armed struggle for the eradication of racism in Zimbabwe and for the transfer of POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Hambe Khahle JZ!

Your death shall be avenged!

The War Continues

Interview with Comrade Joshua Nkomo – President ZAPU

This was the very last interview

Conducted by Comrade M. P. Naicker

Comrade President, has the liberation of Angola and Mozambique brought about any changes and shifts in the political and military balance of forces in Southern Africa? If so, how has this affected the struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe?

The victories of the forces of national liberation in both Mozambique and Angola have dramatically altered the balance of forces fighting against imperialism in Southern Africa. We being part of that area have shifted with the shift in the balance of forces to our advantage. The struggle in Angola and Mozambique and indeed in territories further away, in Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, have indeed enhanced the chances for defeating the common enemy – not only in Zimbabwe but also in Namibia and South Africa.

So, here we are in a new era, having removed an enemy who was considered to be very strong – Portugal. Smith and Vorster thought that with Portugal on their side they would be able to rule for ever. But Portugal's colonies have gone and both Vorster and Smith are even more vulnerable than ever before.

Smith's intransigence has scuttled all attempts at a negotiated transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe. How would you formulate the immediate tasks of the liberation movement?

I don't think it is correct to say 'Smith's intransigence'; it is not Smith's intransigence . . . You are seeing a problem that is being shown through Smith not from him. . . he is being used by certain big powers to maintain Southern Africa as a springboard for their interests. This is what is happening and this is why it has been always so difficult to find a solution in Zimbabwe.

If it was just a question of Smith, he would not last a few days against the forces of our liberation movements and against the declaration at the United Nations for mandatory sanctions against his regime. Many governments, while paying lip service to mandatory sanctions against Smith at the UN, have done little or nothing to implement this decision. In fact they continue to support Smith: Smith does not manufacture guns, Smith does not manufacture helicopters, and so on. He gets these from the same people who together with the progressive forces have passed resolutions at the UN. These are the real power behind Smith and they are the people who are manipulating Southern Africa for their own interests. So, it is not just Smith, it is Smith plus, plus . . .

Would you like to comment on the plus . . . Any particular countries you would like to mention in this regard?

Of course . . . why not? Britain herself. Let me tell you that if at any place where we got the real facts about the intentions of Britain, it was in Geneva. That Conference was successful in as far as it exposed

the intentions of Britain. Britain does not want real independence in Zimbabwe. She wants to change horses while still pulling the same coach and carrying the same passengers of oppression and this is what is happening. We could not have settled the problem in Geneva at the present time because Britain still believes she can pull out of us an advantage of appearing to

have removed Smith and yet that which Smith represents remains. This is what Britain wanted in Geneva.

Now that Britain herself has called off the Geneva conference; the conference which was expected to remove the causes of the war, and to formulate machinery for the transfer of power, Britain, with Smith, was in fact trying to formulate a machinery to

M. P. Naicker, extreme left, with back to camera conducting his last interview just prior to his death





"Vorster and Smith are even more vulnerable than ever before"

end the war completely and postpone the question of the transfer of power. Naturally, we rejected this and Britain, without consulting the representatives of the liberation movements, but in consultation with Smith, called off the conference. In doing so, Britain was actually saying the war must continue. We have to answer the challenge . . . the war continues . . . we are fighting for our very existence . . . we are fighting for our just rights: We shall not

only continue the war, we shall intensify the struggle. This is the only thing that will make any talks in the future meaningful, if there are such talks at all, or the whole thing may end in a tent when surrender terms are discussed.

Presently Smith is attempting, with the assistance of some misguided and opportunistic black elements, to create what he terms an internal settlement. What prob-

lems does this create for the liberation movement?

There is nothing like an internal settlement . . . it has been tried before without success . . . Smith, under the instructions of the powers that matter, is not for a settlement; a settlement in Zimbabwe can never be only an internal problem — it has to be both internal and external. Smith is playing a tactical game with his advisers from certain Western countries. It is impracticable . . . it's a non-starter and you can forget it. Meaningful settlement will only come about by the armed defeat of the racist forces in Zimbabwe.

There is persistent talk, fostered especially by the Western media, that there is disunity in the ranks of the liberation movement. You have dealt with this problem on several occasions. Would you once again comment on this.

Can anyone really talk about division after the establishment of the Patriotic Front? Of course, the Western press want to continue to do their masters' job, to create imaginary disunity. For instance the BBC in recent months is constantly promoting Smith. They are calling Smith Mr Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Since when have they accepted this? Only after the Geneva talks. They used to call him the leader of white Rhodesians, now he has somehow become the Prime Minister. Every day the BBC has something on Smith, and all they say are exercises in promotion — the promotion of Smith: to show him as **the** man in Rhodesia.

Is the Patriotic Front an organ of convenience or is it the beginning of a new movement or political party?

It is not a new movement or the beginning of a new political party. It is a reality; an essential reality. It can never be a marriage

of convenience — this is nonsense. The Patriotic Front is the real force to liberate Zimbabwe and the real force to protect independence in Zimbabwe. It is there to stay and to lead the country to total liberation.

Vorster is being portrayed in the Western press as the key figure in the solution of the Zimbabwe problem. How do you see Vorster's role in Zimbabwe?

How could you see the role of a hyena in relation to that of a jackal? Can a hyena in fact act in a different way from a jackal? They both eat the flesh of other animals, and he, the hyena Vorster, and the jackal Smith are two sides of the same coin.

If the hyena says to a goat, "I will save you from the jackal", you cannot believe it. Can any goat believe this? How much more can we, the people, expect Vorster as a force for change when he is himself a very big force for the maintenance of the status quo. When Kissinger was in Libertas discussing with Vorster, Vorster's forces were shooting young children, women and men hardly a mile away in Pretoria, and who in this world can believe that Vorster will change when in South Africa men of Black skins are supposed to be jumping out of windows while in detention. They do not do it when they are free. We are asked to believe that they do this only after they are arrested. They claim arrested men are hanging themselves. Where do prisoners get things to hang themselves with? I've been in jail for what, eleven years, I never got anything with which I could have hung myself. They remove everything that could be used to commit suicide once a person is arrested.

Is this the man who could promote peace and understanding in Zimbabwe? How can

"The first step will be to build a new nation . . ."



it happen? It's impossible. He's the man who helped, and still helps, to save Smith. He is Smith's broker: for Smith's economy and Smith's army. The French helicopters that are used by Smith are from South Africa, manufactured there under licence. The Mercedes and other vehicles come through South Africa to Zimbabwe. They are all used against us. The white Rhodesian forces are not fighting with bows and arrows. They have modern weapons, supplied through South Africa by their imperialist allies. So, how can Vorster or for that matter Smith be a force for change — what do they promise him in return. What are they going to do for Vorster to defend his brutal racist regime against the people of South Africa. How can Vorster promote a peoples' government in a free Zimbabwe across the Limpopo and remain as Vorster in South Africa, without some promise from the USA and Britain?

ZAPU and the ANC of South Africa have always had traditionally close relations. Why was this, and how are these relations today?

Why was this? Surely because we have a common enemy and a common cause with the ANC of South Africa. Our policies may not be the same on all issues but we have a common basis for the liberation of Southern Africa and we have the same enemy — international imperialism. Therefore, we are friends and that friendship has grown with the years and it continues to grow.

One could say with certainty that Zimbabwe stands on the threshold of national liberation. What are the prospects after liberation?

The first step will be to build a new nation . . . and not reviving the imperialist, colonialist, capitalistic state that prevails there today. And we are going to create a People's state where the emphasis will be on man, not on material gain for a few. In a free Zimbabwe, all production and the means of production would be owned by the people; to produce for the people and not to enrich just a few, as it is at present.

BACKGROUND TO APARTHEID TRADE UNIONISM

A booklet with the above title has been published by the British Trade Union—SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) Liaison Group. The aim of the group, which is sponsored by the following British Trade Unions — Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Association of Broadcasting Staff, Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers/ENG, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers/TASS, Confederation of Health Service Employees, Civil and Public Services' Association, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, National and Local Government Officers Association, National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel, National Union of Mineworkers,

National Union of Railwaymen, Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers, Society of Graphical and Allied Trades, Society of Civil and Public Servants, and Tobacco Workers' Union — is "to promote unfettered trade unionism for all workers in South Africa, with special emphasis on British-based companies operating in the Republic".

It is SACTU's plan to establish similar groups in other parts of the world, particularly in those countries which trade with racist South Africa, and it is hoped that local trade unions in such countries will respond to their endeavours in the same way as many British trade unions have done.

The following are brief extracts from the booklet . . .

The past year has seen an historic change in the situation of the black workers in South Africa in their struggle for freedom from oppression and exploitation. The upsurge of militancy especially amongst the youth — the workers of tomorrow — means that they have taken the offensive. The savage measures taken to crush the workers is the regime's predictable response to this new situation.

Given the oft-repeated declaration of the intention of the British trade union movement to give practical help to the workers in South Africa in their struggle, and recognising that the most pressing need is for black workers to have the same trade union rights as the white workers, the British Trade Union — SACTU Liaison Group was formed.

The aim of the group is to campaign for

the promotion of unfettered trade unionism for *all* workers, particularly those employed by British companies operating either directly or through wholly owned subsidiaries in South Africa.

Linked with this aim it will disseminate information on the policy and role of SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions) and on the conditions of the black workers in South Africa.

As its name implies, the group works in close liaison with SACTU. This is in line with the TUC Congress 1975 decision, which was that the workers of South Africa could best be helped by working closely with SACTU. In taking this decision Congress accepted that, with its non-racial structure and because of its aim to play a full part in the struggle for a free democratic South Africa, SACTU was the only body truly representative of the interests of all the workers in South Africa, and therefore the only body with which the British trade union movement can be seen to be identified.

Moreover, it should be noted that the 1975 resolution also reaffirmed Congress support for policies to produce majority rule, and, in the 1976 Brighton emergency resolution on South Africa, Congress reiterated its previous support for the South African Liberation Movement, led by the African National Congress, with which SACTU has a very close relationship.

There are over 500 British companies operating some 6,000 subsidiaries in South Africa which are either wholly owned or in which a controlling interest is held. Indeed, British investors own approximately 60% of all foreign investments in South Africa. In the five years 1970-1974, direct investment by British companies increased by 240% from £53m to £180m, and their earnings from these investments increased by 146% from £88m to £217m.

It is estimated that British companies employ approximately 70% of the entire black industrial work force in the Republic,

all at wage levels which no union in Britain would tolerate for their members employed by the same companies in their UK plants . . .

Black trade unionists

One area in which the British trade union movement can play a decisive part in helping the struggle is that of trade union organisation of the black workers. By this we do not mean that the trade union movement should intervene directly, because the black workers must themselves wage the struggle and must themselves direct it. We have already shown the extent of the economic involvement in South Africa by British companies operating through wholly owned or controlled subsidiaries. The great majority of these companies operate labour-intensive industries here and in the Republic.

Thus the situation is that the black worker in Company X's plant in Johannesburg works for the same boss, for the benefit of the same set of shareholders, as the British worker in Company X's plant in say, Sheffield. But whereas the latter has his trade union organisation to protect his living standards, conditions of work etc, the former is entirely at the mercy of his boss.

Because he has no trade union to protect his living standards and conditions of work, he is a victim of a situation that would never be tolerated by his fellow workers in the UK or anywhere else.

In giving effective help to the African workers' struggle three basic issues should be faced by UK trade unionists:

(a) **The anomalous situation in which trade unions rightly demand and fight for recognition in order to protect civilised living standards and conditions of labour for their members here, but in doing so remain oblivious to the standards and conditions endured by fellow workers in South Africa who are employed by the same companies with whom they negotiate.**



John Gaetsewe, General Secretary of SACTU together with British Trade Unionists

(b) The ironic situation in which trade unions here appear to be unaware of the fact that the massive expansion undertaken by these companies in South Africa is invariably matched with corresponding cut-backs in their UK operations, with resultant closures of plant and redundancies and unemployment.

(c) The most compelling factor in the massive transfer by British companies of capital to South Africa is the existence of an unlimited supply of cheap unskilled labour which can be exploited only because it is unorganised and rigidly controlled by the State. This outflow of capital is reflected in the continuing rise in unemployment and resultant decline in the living standards of the workers affected because, so we are told, there is a 'shortage' of investment capital for UK industries . . .

Major obstacle

One of the major obstacles to the organisation of black workers is the attitude of the white workers and their trade unions.

SACTU was formed in March 1955 by 14 unions, following the decision of the trade union movement in South Africa to exclude Africans from participation in trade unions, in line with the industrial laws, especially the Industrial Conciliation Act, which said that a black worker is not an employee within the meaning of the Act. It was formed to provide a trade union federation to embrace all workers, regardless of race or colour, and to fight against ' . . . all forms of racial discrimination among workers'.

At the first SACTU national conference held in Cape Town in January 1956 the following resolution was passed:

'The struggle for higher wages, better working conditions etc for the mass of the workers in South Africa is inextricably bound up with determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices.'

The Government response to this declaration of SACTU policy was swift and savage. The President, General Secretary and 21 other SACTU officials were promptly banned. There was not a murmur of dissent at this action of the Government from the South African white trade union movement, notwithstanding the fact that, by any standards, this was a calculated attack on *all* the workers.

As we know, this process of harassment was to continue unabated, and with increased intensity and violence, right up to the present day. And now, as 20 years ago, the Apartheid orientated white trade unions in South Africa acquiesce in this repression of their fellow workers. They explain this

by claiming that, as trade unions, they exist only to serve the interests of the workers and in so doing they do not indulge in politics.

What they do not explain is how they hope to serve the interests of the black workers whilst aiding and abetting the operation of such political instruments as the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Pass Laws, Influx Control, Job Reservation Act, Group Areas Act and the notorious Internal Security Act. They know that these political instruments are designed for use only against black workers, and against those white, Coloured and Asian workers who see the struggle of the black workers as their struggle too.

Whatever their real motives for this attitude, the indisputable fact is that the Government and employers have active support from the white workers and their trade unions. Not only do these workers and their trade unions connive at and

A pro SACTU demonstration in London



condone the discriminatory practices against their fellow workers; in many cases they actually instigate it.

The most notable example is the Job Reservation Act, which was the love-child of the white unions conceived, as they claimed, to 'protect the living standards of their members against the "threat" posed by the black workers'. No comment on this kind of workers' attitude is necessary, except to say that it clearly underlines what the African, Coloured and Asian workers are up against in their struggle for justice.

Support needed

The obstacles facing SACTU are formidable. Not only does it see the black worker as a human being, but it sees all workers as equals. What is more, it is in practice as well as theory of a truly non-racial body. All this makes it anathema to the racist rulers of South Africa, because it cuts across the whole concept and philosophy of Apartheid.

To crush the struggle of the workers, the regime stops at nothing to destroy SACTU, because it is recognised as the spearhead of the workers' principled struggle. In the country they use the customary weapons — detention, banning, banishment etc. These weapons are used not only against SACTU activists, but, as recent events proved, against anyone who is seen to be, however remotely, identified with SACTU's ideals.

Realising as they do that the use of terror cannot in itself break the resilience of the workers, they now resort to sending abroad 'moderate' African trade unionists to 'explain' the position of the workers. These Apartheid emissaries are known to be floating around Western Europe. They operate under the guise of 'responsible' representatives of the black workers. Their mission is to undermine the international workers' solidarity with the struggle of the workers in South Africa and in the process

hope to discredit SACTU as the instrument which forges this solidarity. They are easily distinguishable by the fact that they hold South African passports, a commodity which under Apartheid rules is not available to any South African citizen who wishes to travel abroad to promote the interests of the oppressed workers.

The growing intensity of the struggle of the workers at the present time is, as the media tell us daily, 'being matched with ever-increasing violence by the South African regime and its trigger-happy police force. Neither the workers nor their children nor their families will be cowed into docile submission by the tactics of terror.

We have already indicated one area in which the British trade union movement can play a vital role — in bringing pressure to bear on the UK companies to recognise the right of their workers in South Africa to trade union organisation. To organise these workers SACTU recognises and accepts that it has a heavy responsibility, which, with the help of friends in the international trade union movement, it will discharge.

What is more, because families of workers who are either banned, banished, detained or even murdered in their struggle to organise will not have supplementary social security benefits to sustain them, it is here that SACTU has an even greater responsibility.

To enable SACTU to discharge these responsibilities, financial as well as moral support is needed. Donations, however big or small, are desperately needed. Cheques should be made payable to the **South African Congress of Trade Unions** and sent direct to the General Secretary, 49 Rathbone Street, London W1, or to the treasurer of the British Trade Union—SACTU Liaison Group.

* Orders for this publication should include cheques/postal orders at 15p each.

FEAR INSIDE THE WHITE LAAGER

When white farmers in the northern Transvaal start installing walkie talkie sets in their homes, get rid of "foreign" labour and clear bush and scrub round their homesteads, you know they are preparing for battle.

"No cause for panic," says the Nelspruit police chief.

"We are just preparing ourselves — nobody is worried," says the chairman of the Messina Agricultural Union.

Nevertheless, white South Africans are extremely worried about the future. 1976 was a devastating year for apartheid. It began with the defeat and expulsion of South African troops from Angola. Then from June onwards the country was devastated by the most widespread black revolt ever experienced — a revolt suppressed only by the exercise of the most ruthless and bloody repression. In neighbouring Namibia and Zimbabwe intensified guerrilla action plus intensified international pressure points inexorably to a speedy end of white domination. Already farmers in the danger areas of both countries find they cannot sell their properties.

Vorster's detente policy at home and abroad has been smashed to smithereens. The foreign friends of the South African racist regime are becoming more and more

embarrassed by the atrocities perpetrated in the name of the apartheid policy.

For some time the Western powers have been making urgent pleas to the South African racists to change their apartheid policy. Explaining this to a meeting of the Cape Town Press Club last March, the British Ambassador, Sir David Scott, said: "You may well ask what business it is of Britain or myself. I will tell you. It is because we have so many interests in common with you which we want if possible to maintain. Because we have enormous investments in your country that we hope will remain profitable. Because we buy more from you than any other country does, and would like to go on doing so. Even because we would like once again to be able to play international rugby and cricket with you."

During the period of office of the Labour Government, Britain four times used the veto at the United Nations Security Council — each time to defend South Africa from the anger of the majority of UN members. Scott warned: "Unless you can give us more ammunition we may not be able to go on doing so. What form this ammunition can take is not for me to say: but I have to warn you that the stocks are running low."

Even the South African Foundation, organ of big business at home and abroad, at its annual meeting earlier this year, decided that its future propaganda campaigns must be directed more to South Africa itself than abroad. The new Foundation chairman, Anglovaal's chief executive Basil Hersov, complained in a press interview that the South African public was ignorant of the realities of the situation in South Africa itself, and this ignorance was preventing changes which were desperately urgent.

"It's perfectly apparent to me and to most Foundation members that we're now in the position of trying to sell an unsaleable commodity because there is no way the world can accept a country which has on

its statute books discrimination based purely on colour. We have to create a commodity which South Africans can, with a clear conscience, defend and support both internally and overseas."

Clearly, at a time when the West is making an international outcry about the alleged disabilities of dissidents in the socialist countries, it is more than embarrassing to have to defend a country where not only are the black majority totally denied all human rights but thousands are shot dead for demanding them.

What has been the effect of all these combinations of pressures on the white community? From the ruling Nationalist Party the response has been practically nil.



At the height of the Soweto crisis last year, Vorster denied there was a crisis at all, and blamed all the country's troubles on agitators and international communism. A couple of minor concessions were announced. Afrikaans was dropped as a medium of instruction in African schools. The right of a handful of wealthy Africans to buy a lease on a house was extended. Soweto was promised some electrification. But the main demand of the black peoples for equal citizenship, rights and opportunities in the land of their birth was rejected out of hand.

In reply to a United Party motion in March this year calling for a conference of "all constituent elements of our plural society" to discuss a new constitution to satisfy the aspirations of all population groups, Vorster told the House of Assembly that power-sharing between race groups in South Africa was unacceptable. Once again, totally ignoring the Soweto clashes

and killings, he trotted out the tired slogan that separate development was the only road to peace. Judging by the legislation placed before this year's session of Parliament, Bantustans and bullets will remain the central planks of the Nationalist Party platform.

If the Nationalist Government is battering down the hatches in preparation for the coming storm, the United Party has signally failed to offer a credible alternative. At the UP's provincial congress in the Cape in August 1976, the party leader de Villiers Graaff said he had recently met Vorster to discuss the "unrest" in the country and had gained the impression the Prime Minister was not contemplating any fundamental changes in policy. But without rapid and fundamental change, the outlook for racial harmony was bleak, said Graaff. The old order had gone and things would never be the same again. He called for a united opposition to launch a "Save

African miners – digging the riches from the bowels of the earth for a pittance





The most
menial jobs
are
reserved
for
Africans
in SA

South Africa" campaign which would present the electorate with a credible alternative to the Vorster government.

Arising out of Graaff's initiative, discussions took place between the UP, the Progressive Reform Party, the Democratic Party led by former Nationalist Cabinet Minister Theo Gerdener, with a leavening of big businessmen and academics to lend an air of impartiality to the proceedings. Presiding over the discussions was Mr ex-Justice Kowie Marais, a disenchanted Nationalist with aspirations to fulfil the role of Tielman Roos in the 1930s in bringing about a centrist coalition.

The Marais committee produced a statement of 14 principles on which it believed a new all-in opposition party could be

based. Space does not permit of their recapitulation here. Suffice it to say that the whole document was of such unparalleled vagueness that all sections of the opposition were able to declare their adherence to it, while subsequent negotiations over its implementation led to the complete shattering of all prospects of unity.

The outcome of the negotiations has shown up the polarisation which is taking place in white politics, with the majority taking shelter under the Nationalist Party umbrella, and the minority moving towards the Progressive Reform Party, leaving the UP stranded. But the events of the last year have highlighted one more basic feature of the South African scene, and

that is that no section of the parliamentary opposition supports the principle of majority rule. Not even the Progressive Reform Party.

"We reject the simplistic concept of unfettered majority rule," said the leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Colin Eglin, in Parliament last February. Majority rule meant black majority rule. "Let us make it quite clear that we reject the concept of race domination whether this be by a black majority or a white minority," he said. In an article in the **Sunday Times** in March he indicated that the Progressive Reform Party must aim at providing a home for "concerned Nationalists and not merely attractive to the traditional anti-Nationalists".

Not surprisingly, the Progressive Reform Party's tactics have failed to produce the required results. Although returned as the largest party in the Johannesburg municipal elections last March, the PRP was kept out of office by a UP-Nat coalition, and the

same line-up can be expected in Parliament as well should the need ever arise. Meanwhile, young whites are becoming disillusioned with the PRP's opportunism. According to a report in the **Rand Daily Mail**, they feel they are losing "credibility with blacks. They are also sensitive to the question of serving as soldiers in a civil war, where they might have to fight South African or South West African blacks. When Mr Schwarz (PRP deputy-leader) calls for a bigger defence budget and military parades down the main streets, they are bound not to like it." There have been many resignations, protests against "toenadering".

So long as white anti-Nationalists think only in terms of electoral advantage, they will remain prisoners of the ballot box and hostages to apartheid. It is only by total identification with the liberation movement headed by the ANC that they can help smash the apartheid system and build a non-racial democracy in which there will be room also for them.

Poverty and want are the lot of African workers, whether in the cities or on the farms



MAYIBUYE - Cultural Weapon of the ANC

Among the members and supporters of the ANC are artists, writers and musicians who increasingly devote their creative energies to the needs of the liberation movement. Their participation in and identification with the aims of our struggle is a forecast of the role the arts must inevitably come to play in a free South Africa. But at this point in time the arts can help to bring the future and its prospects more forcibly into the consciousness both of our own people and of the international public. By reinforcing commitment and stimulating action our revolutionary art serves to hasten the day of liberation.

The foundation of MAYIBUYE, a special cultural unit of the ANC in London, in January 1975, was a concrete expression of the need to organise artistic activity and integrate it more fully and collectively into the work of the liberation movement. **Anti-Apartheid News** commented at the time:

"Freedom songs and literature have played an important role in nourishing the spirit of struggle in South Africa. This ANC unit seeks to interrelate these cultural elements, both traditional and

modern and give them a collective dynamic expression. The unit hopes to project its ideas to audiences in Britain and elsewhere . . ."

Mayibuye began work with a group of four activists who by combining freedom songs and poetry, knitted together with political narration, produced a dramatisation of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. It should be said that the first successes of the group derived more from the excellence of their message and material than from their skill as performers; but on the other hand it was clear from audience responses that passionate political commitment could often be more effective than the impersonal polish of professional performance. It was certain however that the lack of "professionalism" was no deterrent to demand. Requests for Mayibuye began to pour in. The developing revolutionary situation in Southern Africa motivated much of the interest in Mayibuye but as well the successive performances of the group both in Britain and on the continent convinced organisations interested to mobilise solidarity actions on Southern Africa of the persuasive power of the ANC's new cultural

weapon. These demands required that Mayibuye not only develop and refine its dramatic skills but also increase its personnel.

In a little over 2 years, working on a strictly part-time basis, Mayibuye has given almost 70 performances ranging through 10 European countries. Audiences have totalled some 15,000 people and this does not include those very many thousands who have seen and listened to the group on TV and radio. The key to the Mayibuye success in Europe has been its

ability to cut across the language barrier. Problems of communication have been successfully overcome by one, or a combination, of several translation devices carefully prepared in advance in cooperation with the sponsoring organisation, ie integrating a local actor or literary personality into the group as a reader of selected translated portions of the script; slides projected onto a stage screen providing simultaneous translations of all the poetry; cyclostyled translations of the complete script handed out to the

The Mayibuye Group in Stockholm



audience. These methods have ensured that it is not only students of English who benefit from the performances in Europe but also those with little or no knowledge of the language. It should be added however that the songs, which constitute a large portion of the Mayibuye production and which are sung in either Zulu or Xhosa, have been understood without translation, wherever Mayibuye have travelled, because of the explicitness and intensity of emotion with which they are sung, and also because of their direct relationship to, and expression of, ideas and events dealt with in the script.

The scripts are prepared in response to events in South Africa and in accordance with the political needs of solidarity work. Interwoven into the narrative, the poems and songs are selected and sometimes specially written to illuminate the political message and to add an emotional dimension to the performance. A recent script widely performed in Europe since June 1976 deals with Soweto and the uprising in South Africa. It features songs sung by the youth on demonstrations and poems written at the time of the events. Statements by government ministers and police officials are quoted in ironic juxtaposition with factual material. After an opening detailing the mass execution of defenceless children at Soweto by police gunmen, the script continues:

Kruger, the Minister of Justice and Police, has explained:

"The police fired in self-defence. The police used the absolute minimum of force in the face of extreme provocation."

Asked why the police had not used rubber bullets as is the case with the British army in Northern Ireland, Kruger answered:

- "After investigation it had been found that rubber bullets made people tame to the gun. Rioters must know that when a policeman picks up a rifle the

best thing is to get out of the way immediately."

As people's anger spread to 8 townships around Johannesburg and Pretoria where many more were shot dead, Police Chief Visser declared:

"My patience is at an end; from now on we will use proper methods."

After his arrest, Shadrack Kaunsel, a schoolboy, was kept in a room littered with the victims of the massacre. This is his description:

"There was blood everywhere. I saw bodies of small children with gaping bullet wounds and I even saw old grannies lying dead on the floor. Some of the injured were groaning and covered in blood, but the police who came into the room just laughed and kicked those who were lying on the floor."

Justice Minister Kruger appealed for peace, asking blacks to "accept the good faith of the whites".

And that expert consultant on race relations, Prime Minister Vorster, on the eve of his Rhodesia peace talks with Kissinger, had this to say:

"My Government will not be intimidated. Instructions have been given to maintain law and order at all costs."

The people are not intimidated. From Soweto sparks are spreading throughout the country. A wave of militancy is rising.

The sparks from Soweto ignited fires of militancy far beyond the nervous borders of South Africa. In London, the ANC external mission was engulfed by demands from a wide spectrum of organisations for it to explain its policy and role in relation to the insurrectionary tide sweeping across South Africa. The ANC has been concerned also to point up the collaboration of many Western governments in the maintenance of repression in South Africa. Mayibuye has adjusted its script material



Mayibuye and their Swedish sympathisers join together for the Grand Finale in Stockholm

to highlight this concern. This extract is taken from a script presented to British people:

On the day of slaughter at Soweto the millionth Landrover came off the assembly lines at British Leyland's Birmingham plant.

British Leyland, Technical Services of Jersey, the munitions men of France, Belgium, Italy, America help to keep South Africa supplied with its murder weapons.

A senior shop steward at British Leyland's Rover works was moved to state:

"We have now seen a classic case of Leyland products being used against black South Africans to prevent them taking the elementary rights we take for granted in this country."

South Africa's best friends are British.

With over £2,000 million invested in apartheid British interests are dictated by the law of the market; too bad if this also means the law of the gun.

Keep the wheels of industry turning!

Keep the economy booming!

Maximise profits! Maximise profits!

Maximise profits!

Keep the black man in his place!

The cultural impact on European audiences has been profound — most had known little or nothing about the culture of the oppressed in South Africa. This in itself has been a significant political gain for our liberation movement, but Mayibuye have been mainly concerned to utilise their art as a means towards political awakening and action. They feel their effectiveness can best be judged by the amount of support they can win for the ANC.

Support and solidarity with the ANC from Europe is growing rapidly and there is no doubt that Mayibuye have been one of the most effective instruments in earning it.

After the group had played to a capacity audience of 800 at Trinity College, Dublin, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement wrote:

"An inspiring and moving show . . . a great success both in political and cultural terms... From all the comments heard Mayibuye made a great impact and more than fulfilled our committee's expectations."

The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement who have already sponsored four visits to Amsterdam wrote, following their political prisoners manifestation:

"We received many reactions to your performance showing us that a deep impression was made."

After performing a special script on the role of women in the South African liberation struggle to a women's conference organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement the organisers wrote:

"Your contribution qualitatively improved the whole character of the programme and has been highly spoken of by all those who have been in contact with us since."

The reaction of the Swedish press to a week's tour of Sweden involving 9 performances in 4 cities was equally positive. *Dagens Nyheter*, a leading daily, commented:

"The performance was rich in drama. There were ironical and satirical sections, strong, hopeful and with burning feeling. Sometimes spoken, sometimes sung with all seven voices blended in a rhythmic harmony. . . The work is called 'The Flight of the Spear' and it is clear it will be one of the classics in a future society of liberated Africans — a national epic."

The editor of the official organ of the Central Organisation of Salaried Employees in Sweden, Roland Okstrom, wrote:

"This group is the ANC's cultural weapon. With songs from the South African people's struggle against the White oppressors they want to awaken people outside of South Africa about the situation in South Africa . . . They are all political activists and not professional artists, but one can hardly believe that when one sees and hears their brilliant performance. The Mayibuye Group's performance in Sodra Theatre in Stockholm gave a clear insight into the hard struggle of the African people . . . their songs should be sung the world over to awaken people's consciousness."

While Mayibuye has mainly worked to increase understanding and support for the ANC as the liberation movement of the oppressed masses in South Africa, it has not neglected its own solidarity duties. Special scripts have been performed at events projecting the cause of other peoples engaged in the struggle against imperialism. Turkey, Chile, the Middle East as well as the fight against racism in Britain have commanded Mayibuye's support along with the ANC's brother organisations in Zimbabwe, Namibia and the victorious peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

Gamma (Guine, Angola, Mozambique Medical Action) wrote in appreciation of Mayibuye's contribution to them:

"I know you won't expect thanks but we would like to say how important we felt your presence to have been . . . people were even heard to remark that you have provided them with their first real insight into what South Africa was all about."

AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE ARONA! MAYIBUYE AFRIKA!

**Second and final article
on the oil companies
expanding involvement in the
South African economy
and in the defence of apartheid**

Caltex has been expanding its interests in South Africa since 1970, when it started a major expansion program at its Milnerton refinery to double the capacity, involving an investment of some \$21m. 1970 was also the year that Safor, the newly formed R19m (\$26.6m at 1970 exchange rates) refinery company, involving Mobil and Total as well as Caltex, was formed.

At the same time Caltex diversified its interests into the property boom then under way, and started to build a series of shopping and office centers (for whites) across southern Africa, in collaboration with a Cape Town property company, Leon Pascall. Little has been heard of this venture subsequently; since the property market is now depressed, it is likely that Caltex has lost heavily on the venture.

In 1975 Caltex announced a further \$134m expansion of its Milnerton refinery. Scheduled for completion in July 1978, the new facilities would increase the refinery's capacity to 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day, double the present capacity, and also increase the production of motor and other light fuels from a given volume of crude. The major units involved will be a new crude distillation plant, catalytic cracking facilities for making gasoline, and sulphur removal and recovery facilities.

Although Caltex justified the investment by saying that expansion was needed to meet the growing market for refined products in South Africa, this is challenged by financial press commentaries on the petroleum products market. It has been repeatedly pointed out that domestic conservation measures in South Africa, following the 1973 Arab oil embargo, have drastically cut oil consumption



OIL AND APARTHEID

increase in South Africa, reducing the growth in demand from a previously anticipated 10 per cent to a currently projected 7 per cent, the business is now growing at no more than 5 per cent a year.

In addition, the South African government's decision to build Sasol Two, a large oil-from-coal plant that will produce motor oil and related products in about 1980 and has priority access to retail outlets, has greatly depressed the prospects for expansion of refinery capacity by any of the foreign oil companies.

The decision by Caltex to invest the large sums involved (more than doubling its present stake in South Africa) was therefore a surprise in South Africa, and it is difficult to see how it could be justified in terms of other investment opportunities around the world, where refineries are non-existent in vast areas of the developing world.

Perhaps the best explanation for Caltex's commitment is the importance attached by the South African government to the expansion of refinery capacity regardless of profitability to the company concerned, as a matter of strategic interest for the white minority regime.

Caltex is clearly an important supplier of oil products to the South African government, and the strategic importance of these supplies — to the military presumably — are such that the company invokes South Africa's Official Secrets Act (which refers to privileged "national security" information) as prohibiting the disclosure of information relating to products or services sold to the government. As Caltex explicitly states: "... we have done everything possible to make a maximum contribution to the welfare and progress of the countries in which we have worked. We have prospered under this policy, and we intend to continue living by it."

One such contribution, in which Caltex shows closer identification with government policy than any other comparable company, is in the area of local equity participation. Together with Mobil (and Total of France) it has taken the lead in

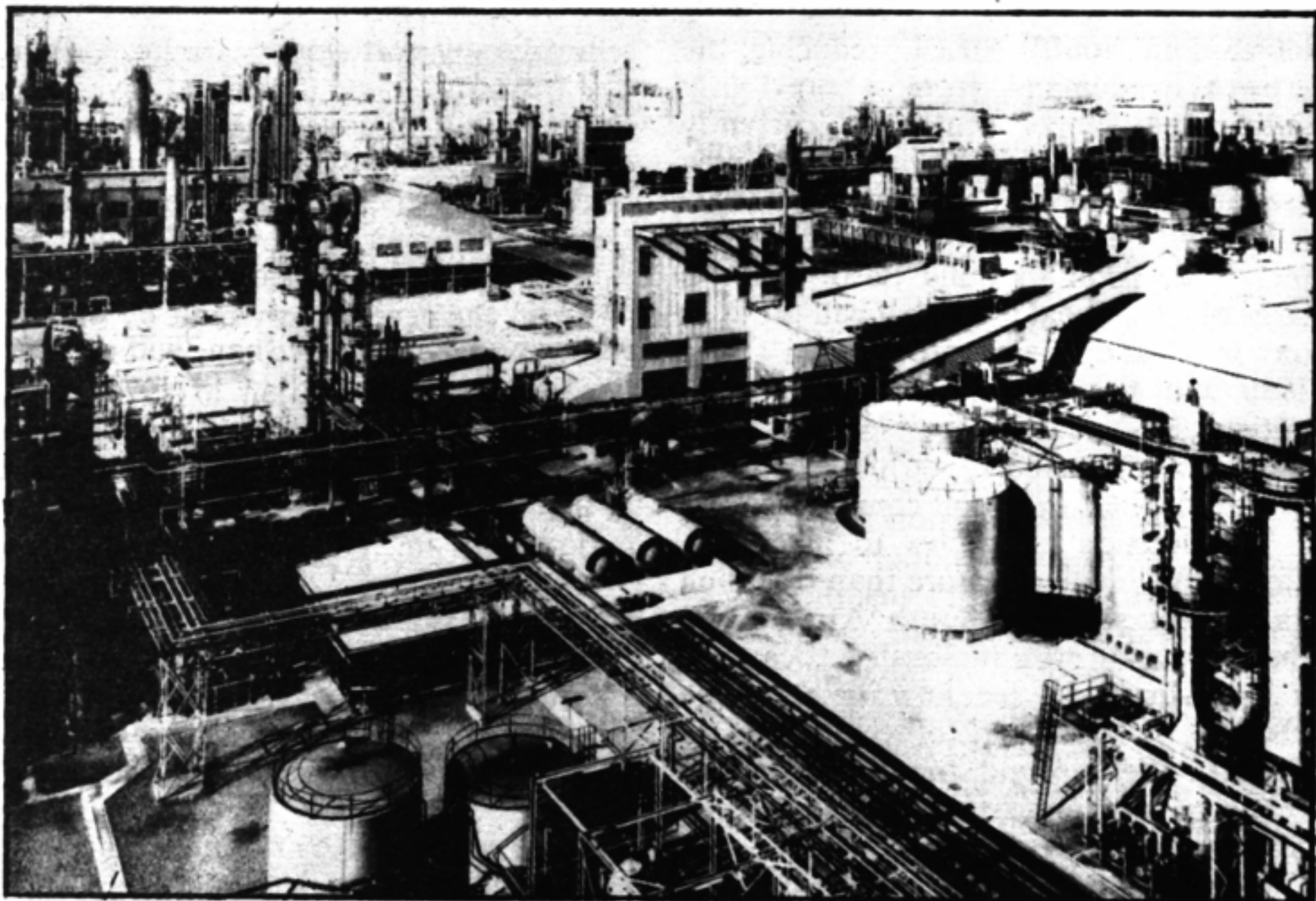
selling equity participation to local white South African institutions and investors, a primary aim of government policy in the oil and petroleum field and also related to its overriding interest in reducing dependence on foreign concerns for its oil supplies, for strategic reasons.

Safor, the new refinery built by Mobil, Caltex and Total at Durban, had offered local equity participation in 1970; as a result, three South African institutions, all closely identified with leading factions in the National Party, have been given a major stake in Safor; these are the Old Mutual, Southern Life, and Nefic. The Rand Daily Mail commented at the news: "The stake given to the South African institutions represents a big step forward in allowing South Africans to participate in the local fast-growing petroleum market."

There were persistent rumors that both Caltex and Mobil were considering giving South Africans a future share in their entire local operations. It is possible that some of the capital for the Milnerton expansion will be raised in this way, a counterpart to a massive inflow of funds from international sources. Such investments will likely come from white South African interests, many of them identified with the government party.

Caltex's proposed investment is a major addition to total US commitments in South Africa, which will rise by over 40 per cent as a result of a few corporations' current expansion plans. Caltex's new input represents more than a 60 per cent increase in US investment in petroleum in South Africa, giving Caltex over two-thirds of the US petroleum at stake there. The commitment of Caltex alone would increase total US investment in South Africa by over 11 per cent.

The increased financial stake in the South African oil industry and its whole economy indicate an increased commitment to supplying South Africa with crude oil in the event of military confrontation and/or a strengthened embargo on crude oil supplies. Caltex has already played a major role, together with other



Part of the gigantic industrial complex of Sasolburg -SA's largest oil refinery

multinational oil companies, in supplying oil to South Africa in defiance of the Middle East suppliers. The mechanism by which this is done by Caltex emerged publicly during the course of a tax case involving the company in South Africa.

It appears that Caltex Oil SA, Caltex UK and the UK-based Caltex Services are all wholly-owned subsidiaries of the US Caltex Petroleum Corporation. Caltex SA obtains supplies of crude oil primarily from Caltex Services. In turn, Caltex SA sells a certain amount of petroleum products, and supplies certain services to Caltex UK and Caltex Services.

Caltex SA informs the British company about a year in advance of its requirements, and Caltex UK then purchases the supplies directly from the producing country and arranges for them to be loaded, usually at ports in the Persian Gulf. Caltex SA then pays Caltex UK in sterling. By this means, the producing country has no means of knowing that the real destination is South Africa.

unease about South Africa's racist policies and the legislative context in which it operates. Senior Caltex officials in South Africa told an interviewer in 1970: "We couldn't live here if we weren't good citizens, therefore we are very law-abiding." A company statement adds: "Caltex Oil is a substantial taxpayer in South Africa, and to the extent that such taxes were used by the Government of South Africa to finance its national health, educational, and other social programs, Caltex Oil indirectly contributes to the support of such programs."

Like most US companies, Caltex Oil SA is managed by both US and South African officials whose personal attitudes can only be described as racist. Caltex officials in the interview already cited accepted the policy of apartheid: "In my opinion, forced integration is worse than enforced segregation.... Twenty-five or thirty years is nothing in social history. In 200 years people will forget that South Africa even had a problem."

That this is more than mere personal

prejudice, but extends to the whole company's approach, is made clear when applying two of the principles of Caltex on international investment to the situation in South Africa: "To comply in letter and spirit with laws and regulations ... To be a good citizen and neighbor observing all local customs and practices ..."

Finally, Caltex makes an annual contribution of \$7,000 to the South Africa Foundation, a body which aims to justify South Africa's racist laws and customs to international public opinion, and to introduce the idea that they are a viable solution to all problems in race relations.

Caltex did not build a refinery until 1966, and it has grown enormously in terms of its financial investment and its share of the petroleum products market in South Africa between then and 1972. Yet between 1962 and 1972, the latest year for which figures are available, its total number of employees fell considerably, from 2,400 to 1,830. The number of Africans employed fell by well over half, from 776 in 1962 to 394 in 1972. They also fell as a proportion of the total labor force, from 32 per cent to 22 per cent, while white employees increased their predominance from 56.5 per cent to 66 per cent. The total number of jobs for blacks in 1972 was only 607, negligible in relation to the \$100m investment, and decreasing at a time of massive new inputs. Caltex frankly admits: "This reduction was caused by increased productivity and by automation..."

There is clearly no protection for black workers faced with dismissal because of the automation plans; Caltex admits: There are no trade unions of work committees among the employees of Caltex Oil in South Africa." Texaco, as a matter of policy, opposes unions everywhere as "not necessary."

THE SHELL GROUP

As of June 26, 1975, Shell in Southern Africa is an independent oil, chemicals, coal, metals and nuclear group within the multinational Royal Dutch Shell Group.

It consists of 12 companies in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Shell's restructured interests in South Africa now integrate the whole oil and gas operation from manufacturing to the consumer, quite apart from its diverse interests in coal, nuclear power, chemicals and mining generally. The reorganization follows four years of complex rearrangements to separate Shell's holdings in Southern Africa from those of BP, with which it had been intimately associated.

Shell's Southern African employees were told in July 1975, following the massive reorganization: "We are on our own: Shell men and women together in oil, chemicals, coal, metals, nuclear energy. We have an integrated organization equally integrated with the economics and corporate lives of the countries of Southern Africa in which we have one or more companies of the Shell Group."

On the reorganization date, June 26, 1975, the Shell Group's assets in Southern Africa stood at some R250m. Chairman K. Geeling outlined ambitious expansion plans which went into effect immediately after the reorganization:

"We aspire to play a continuing and developing role in the economics of these [Southern African] countries and we are at present evaluating new major projects which may well involve capital expenditure of up to R500 million over the next ten years. By the end of that period, therefore, the cost of our asset investment in Southern Africa could be some three-quarter billion Rand" (i.e. three times what it is now, approaching one billion dollars).

"Oil will continue to dominate the energy business for some years. In the years immediately ahead, our oil business will see an emphasis on equipping and improving manufacturing facilities to meet a changed pattern of product demand which followed the steep rise in oil prices.

"Normal capital expenditure of several million Rand a year on tankage, modernization, the protection of the environment

and to improve services to customers in all categories, will be augmented by a two-stage expansion of the group's refining facilities, the biggest in Africa in both capacity and capital investment, at Durban.

"To enable more petrol and gas-oil to be produced from available crude oil, the catalytic cracking plant will be improved and a new complex is being designed to make gas-oil available in place of fuel oil. This will enable the country's needs to be met with less imported crude oil and improve flexibility. In addition, a new feedstock preparation unit is on the drawing board. These facilities will cost the group R25m

"The group is also involved in the development of an ethylene cracker for the production of feedstock for South Africa's plastics industry. Preliminary estimates indicate a total capital investment of R100m of which the group's share again will be R25m. The Plan will make South Africa independent of plastics feedstock importation for some years.

"Investments to produce aviation gasoline and special products for industrial purposes in the Republic are also being studied. In the more distant future heavy investment is envisaged to improve both the quality and yield of marketable products from crude oil."

It is obvious, then, that Shell is

massively expanding to three times the size of its already extensive operations; and that investment is to be poured not only into oil, but also into coal, chemicals and other areas.

The preliminary investments plan of R30m (\$35m) announced at the end of 1974 is dependent on overseas investment, most of it coming from the Royal Dutch/Shell parent group, and Anglo-Dutch multinational. As its managing director said in December 1974, this investment illustrated the multinational group's faith in South Africa's future.

In fact overseas financing is obligatory in terms of South African regulations, under which a foreign company can borrow locally only 25 per cent of its effective capital in the country, while all other investment has to come from outside. In terms of the hundreds of millions of rands which are to be invested from outside over the next ten years, Shell is clearly making a vital contribution to the South African balance of payments.

The separation of Shell's interests from those of BP was in the complicated oil sector. Shell is already the biggest oil company in South Africa. Its major interests are:

- a half-share in the Sapref refinery at Reunion, Durban, which was expanded in the early 1970's to a capacity of 8 million tons of crude oil per year — on completion in 1972, this represented half of South Africa's total refinery capacity;
- a quarter-share in a base-lubricants plant adjoining the Sapref refinery;
- a plant in Durban producing 150,000 tons of Shell lubricants from the products of the base lubricant plant;
- participation in a consortium controlling a single buoy mooring terminal off Reunion, which can handle 14m tons of crude oil imports per year;
- about 1,000 service stations;
- a 17.5 per cent share in Trek Petroleum which is mainly a retailing company particularly active in supplying Rhodesia.



The major current expansion of Shell's oil operations is the investment, together with BP, of R50m (\$58m) to modify the existing catalytic cracking plant and so reduce the current high rate of heavy fuel production by more than half with a corresponding rise in gas oil and petrol production. This should come on stream this year. There could, however, be a problem in marketing the increased production of light fuels, because of the slower-growing market since the 1973 oil-embargo crisis and the impact of the government's Sasol-2 plant.

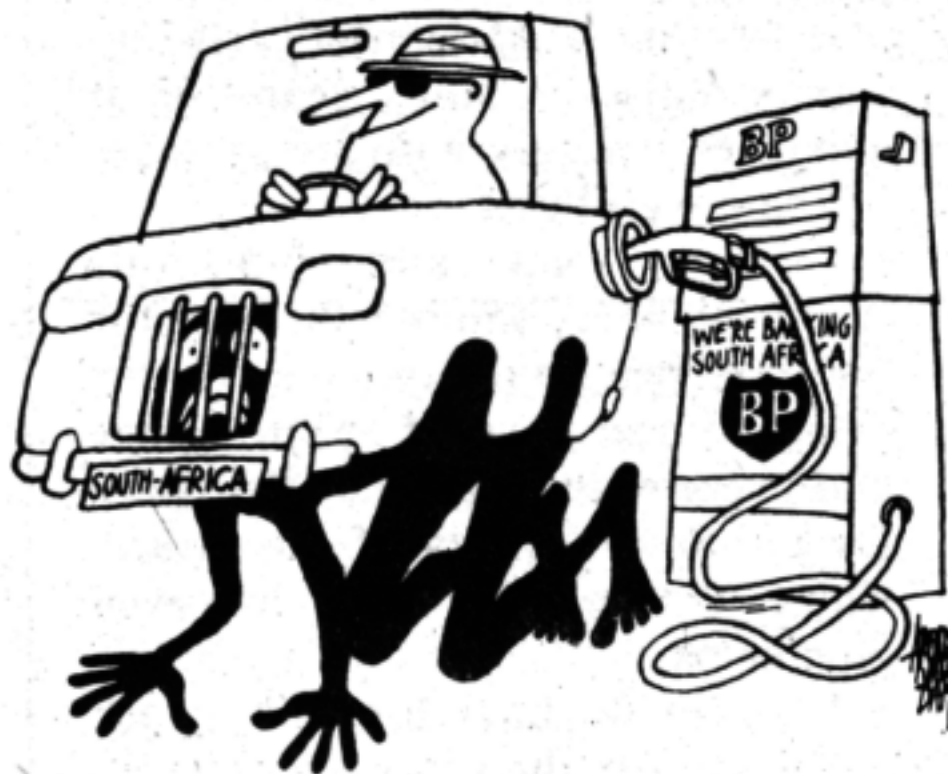
Shell Oil is prospecting for oil not only in South Africa but also in Namibia.

Shell Chemical has been operating in South Africa for 26 years, and now has four main divisions: agricultural chemicals, industrial chemicals, polymers and consumer products. It has large investments in plants at various sites in South Africa, accounting for a significant proportion of the Shell Group's net capital employed there; and is planning major expansion with massive new investment in plant and equipment. A R30m polypro-

pylene plant is being built in Durban, next to the Sapref refinery. Shell Chemical is to use its own alkylate process. Clearly a major input in addition to the capital is the technological expertise and licenses owned by Shell.

Mr Stuart Squires, the Managing Director of Shell Chemical, sees polypropylene as one of the fastest growth areas in plastics. There is room for doubt about his judgment, however, since there is evidence of a severe glut in this material. The predicted entry of black consumers into the market lies well behind the expectations of "runaway" local demand — the prediction being based more on government propaganda, perhaps, than a realistic study of black incomes compared to the rising cost of living for blacks and difficulty in obtaining bare subsistence.

Surpluses of polypropylene can, however, be exported via Shell's international connections — another example of



the value to South Africa of the commitment of this multinational conglomerate. The plant is planned to be on stream by 1978, with a design capacity of 50,000 tons per annum which, added to the current output by Sasol, boosts local capacity by more than double to 90,000 tons a year. A portion of the finance required for the project is to be culled from overseas, also through Shell's multitudinous corporate links. The investment closely follows a R2m involvement by Shell in an epoxy resin plant: "The project is a further step in the company's programme of increased investment in basic chemical manufacture," according to Squires.

Other plans for Shell Chemical include the production of hydrocarbon solvents and studies on manufacturing products for the nutrition, detergent and agrochemical industries. It may be noted that widespread use of agricultural chemicals in South Africa has been a contributing factor in the determination of white farmers, acting in collaboration with the government, to evict Africans living on their farms, sometimes for generations, since large-scale labor is no longer necessary. This is also the case with agricultural machinery, another important market for Shell's oil products operations.

A Shell advertisement outlines the company's contribution to the South African Government's priority coal 51

In its South African advertising, Caltex makes it quite clear that it identifies strongly with the policies of the government:

"Caltex fuels and lubricants speed the pace, smooth the way for South Africa on the move... Caltex brings to bear a world of knowledge and experience to plan and prepare for the South Africa of the future, where power must play an even greater part.

"It will be back-breaking work out there, off the southern most tip of Africa... There is less than one chance in 50 that they will make it. A chance that Caltex considers worth taking at the cost of R25,000 a day. For each exploratory well drilled, the bill could come to a million rand. The risks are big. But well worth taking. In the interests of all of us ...

expansion programme Experience gained over several decades in the search for oil — including expenditure of R2m in the Republic — has enabled Shell to develop significant resources in manpower and exploratory techniques which are being used to search for coal in Southern Africa.

"Collectively our skills in exploration, transportation, and as a world-wide energy marketer, together with our ability to design, co-ordinate and find the money for major projects on an international scale, place us in a unique position to locate, develop and market coal.

"Shell Coal has been active for several years in "grass roots" coal exploration in various parts of the Republic and has located significant reserves. Wherever feasible, coal deposits will be developed by the most modern strip mining methods... An order worth more than R30m for drag-lines has already been placed... The viability studies we are undertaking on coal mining, solids pipe-

lining and coal conversion will, if they come to fruition, involve investment of hundreds of millions of rand."

Thus, Shell's experience in the oil field is being applied to the extraction of South Africa's coal resources — present mines are likely to be used up at present price levels in a relatively short time — with the prospect of massive export orders laying the basis for part of the solution to South Africa's chronic balance of payments problem. Japan and the US, in particular, are involved in long-term purchase contracts for South African coal used in the US to break the power of the Mineworkers' Union and close down further underground coal mines.

A major new coal mine is being opened by Shell Coal and Transvaal Consolidated Lands (a company in the local Barlow Group) in the Witbank district, and this mine has been earmarked to service the export market almost entirely. Shell, which calls itself "acknowledged experts in the technology of transporting solids through slurry pipelines", is studying the feasibility of piping the coal in slurry to Richards Bay. This is of crucial importance to the venture, since the rail network in South Africa is already overloaded and inefficient, and could not handle adequately the transport needs of the new coal mine.

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The South African Government is aiming to exploit Shell's technology by stipulating that the pipeline should be

open to all companies mining coal in the Witbank area; and also that South African Railways would have to take over the pipeline as soon as it was built. Shell is reported to be unhappy about this stipulation, although no decision has yet been taken. Mr Geeling has estimated the possible cost of the pipeline at between R300m and R400m at current prices, if it became a multi-user facility. Shell's share would be only about a third of the total capacity, 7.5 million tons out of a total of 20 million tons capacity.

The pipeline would clearly be of vital importance to the South African Government's policy of maximizing coal exports, but it is quite another matter whether it is in Shell's interest to finance the enormous cost of the pipeline, and providing the important technological background necessary, when the whole installation would immediately be taken over and controlled by the Government.

Shell has also invested large sums in the conversion of coal into hydrocarbon gases and liquids. The research is expected to lead to processes which will be an improvement over the current technology used by the Government's Sasol.

Shell owns 50 per cent of General Atomic of the US, the developer and manufacturer of the high-temperature gas-cooled reactor (HTGR). Shell noted: "This association makes know-how on the most advanced international nuclear technology available to the group. The HTGR is considered to be particularly suitable for South African conditions and preliminary studies now in progress could lead to the introduction of this more advanced reactor in the late 1980's." However, General Atomic subsequently withdrew its HTGR from the market, because of soaring costs and uncertainties in the electric utility industry.

Through Shell's wholly-owned subsidiary, Billiton Exploration South Africa, it is actively prospecting for base metals such as zinc, copper, nickel and lead. It is also hoping at a later stage to expand its activities into other sectors of the metals industry.

In January 1975, Shell and BP together employed 6,050 people in their Southern African operations, of whom 2,744, or about 45 per cent, are black (i.e. African,

CALTEX BASIC DATA

South African operations:

Caltex Oil (S.A.) (Pty) Ltd. Petroleum refining and marketing operations.

Regent Petroleum South Africa Ltd. Holds a half interest in petroleum exploration in an offshore sublease covering about 7 million acres, together with:

Chevron Oil Company of South Africa.

US Principals:

Texaco, Inc. and Standard Oil Company of California. They each hold 50 per cent of Caltex Oil; Texaco owns Regent Petroleum, and Standard Oil of California (Chevron) owns Chevron Oil Co. of South Africa.

TOTAL CALTEX OIL INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: Approximately \$100 million.

PROPOSED NEW INVESTMENT: \$134 million.

CURRENT REFINERY CAPACITY: Sasol, Durban: largest refinery in South Africa, owned jointly with Mobil and Total: capacity 90,000 barrels of crude per day.

Killarney, Cape Province: 30,000 barrels of crude per day.

Milnerton, Cape Town: 50,000 barrels of crude per day.

SHARE OF MARKET: 20-21 per cent.

Indian or Coloured). Blacks held only 16.5 per cent of staff jobs, however, and their average earnings in 1972 were R134 per month, less than a third of average white earnings which were R453 per month. About half of the labour force (all of them presumably black) were receiving the lowest rate, which was R90 per month. Since much of the operation is in Durban, it is likely that the employees are Indian rather than African.

Thus, Shell (with BP) is hiring predominantly whites, and paying their white employees several times the wage that their black employees are getting.

SHELL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The major company is Shell (Petroleum Supply) Ltd, and Shell Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd has been formed to provide financial, corporate planning, personnel and trade relations services to the whole group. The oil company is Shell Oil South Africa (Pty) Ltd. Other companies in the Republic of South Africa are: Shell Chemical South Africa (Pty) Ltd; Shell Coal South Africa (Pty) Ltd; and Billiton Exploration South Africa (Pty) Ltd, for metals. In addition there is Shell Oil South West Africa Ltd, although the other companies, especially Shell Chemical, may operate in Namibia also. Shell Coal will be responsible for the group's nuclear activities — although it is uncertain exactly what these are.

In addition, the Shell Group has a 50 per cent interest in Sapref, the Durban refinery, together with BP; 50 per cent of African Bitumen Emulsions (Pty) Ltd; a 25 per cent interest in South African Lubricants Manufacturing Company (Pty) Ltd, manufacturers of base oils for lubricants; 17.5 per cent of Trek Beleggings Ltd; and 36 per cent of Prices (South Africa) Ltd.

Although no specific information is available, it is obvious that the whites have exclusive access to the skilled, supervisory and upwardly-mobile jobs. In terms of the already very large investment in installations in South Africa, the impact on African employment and that of other blacks is extremely small, this being a highly capital-intensive operation relying on foreign technology rather than local employment.

The Shell Group in South Africa is going into massive new commitments in the field of oil, chemicals, coal-mining and transportation, and possible oil-from-coal production, nuclear power and mineral exploitation. In its 75th year in Southern Africa it declared: "the independent Shell group stands on the threshold of transforming from a petroleum supplier into a great energy producer with expanding interests in chemicals and metals."

The multinational contacts, financial backing and technological power of the Royal Dutch/Shell group are all being poured into the expansion of the South African commitments of Shell. Far from seeing this as a long-standing foreign commitment dating back to the beginning of the century and growing steadily on the basis of its local activities, the trebling in size of Shell's investment over the next ten years makes this a massive new commitment that has to be critically evaluated as a statement of support for the South African Government over the long term.

Shell's new commitments provide vital new investment-capital inflows into South Africa, which is in dire need of external finance because of its threatening balance of payments situation. The nature of the operations further support the balance of payments by being either export-oriented or concentrated on minimizing the need for imports — for example, by maximizing the production of light fuel production from a given volume of crude oil. Any surplus production that cannot be taken up by the extremely limited domestic market can be exported via Shell's numerous international interests.

Similarly, supplies of essential crude oil can be assured because of Shell's connections in the major oil-producing countries, especially in the Persian Gulf; giant tankers can routinely supply South Africa with crude against the wishes of the suppliers, by stopping at the mooring terminal off Durban to offload some of their crude on the way to Europe.

At the same time, Shell's formidable technological and research resources are being applied within South Africa to solve some of the domestic infrastructure and economic problems, including possibly the development of a coal slurry pipeline for the benefit of the government.

Whether such massive and disproportionate investments in South Africa are really in the interest of the Shell Group as a whole is open to serious question, however. Shell has been on a major oil exploration program with the Government of Egypt, and fighting to keep its competitive position in other oil-producing countries, including Nigeria, where Shell's open bias towards the minority regime in South Africa, including collusion in the oil embargo on Southern Africa and the supply of oil to Rhodesia, could prove a serious liability in Shell's relations with some governments strongly opposed to apartheid.

In addition, Shell's expectation that the minority regime will survive unscathed, either politically or economically, for long enough to recover its ten-year, hundreds or millions of dollars' investment there appears to be a commitment that few serious observers would wish to gamble on so heavily. In assuming a stable and prosperous future for South Africa, Shell is also doing its best to subsidize the regime's prosperity. It is still doubtful whether this will be enough to withstand the vagaries of South Africa's international isolation and domestic opposition.

MOBIL OIL

In July 1971 it was announced by W F Beck, chairman of the Mobil company in Southern Africa, that Mobil would start



engineering-design work on a R20m expansion program at its Wentworth refinery in Durban. It was estimated that this would save South Africa about R12m annually in foreign exchange. The expansion plan was to increase the refinery's capacity by about 60 per cent, from 9.2m litres a day to about 14.6 million a day. The new plant, to be built next to the existing installations, was to be highly automated and computerized.

In January 1973 a R26m engineering contract was signed for this expansion project between Mobil Refining Company Southern Africa and the Japanese giant, Chiyoda Chemical Engineering and Construction Company of Yokohama. Mr Beck said that the contract provided for the addition to the existing refinery of crude distillation, platinum reforming and middle distillate desulphurization units. In June 1975 expansion was completed, and refinery capacity was increased from 60,000 barrels to 100,000 barrels per day.

In addition to this major commitment, Mobil, through a company specially formed for the purpose, South African Oil Refining, is involved in partnership with Total Oil of France and Caltex of the US in the establishment of a R20m lubrication-oil refinery which is operational on a site at Wentworth, also in the Durban area.

Mobil has made a contribution to the elimination of Africans, Asians and Coloreds from the workforce through

heavy investment in automated and computerized plant. During a time of heavy investment, between 1962 and 1973, the total number of such employees fell from 1,264 to 1,046, the vast majority of these being unskilled laborers. In 1972 Africans, Asians and Coloreds together constituted only 36.7 per cent of Mobil's work-force in South Africa, almost two-thirds being whites who monopolized the most skilled and supervisory jobs.

An Exxon affiliate, Esso Minerals Africa, began searching for uranium and base metals in South Africa in October 1974. So far the operations are in the northwestern Cape Province. Any future exploitation of uranium in South Africa would be done in concert with government attitudes toward foreign investment — i.e. with local equity participation or partnership with a South African mining interest.

THE LATIN AMERICAN CONNECTION

Part two of a series taken from a special report on South Africa's growing links with fascist and stooges across the South Atlantic

South Africa's government and trade relations with Latin American countries have generally strengthened and increased in recent years. The Vorster regime — and the industrialists and businessmen who profit from its repressive measures at home — have been finding that their strongest links are being forged across the South Atlantic, usually where the regimes are most repressive.

Here is an account of South Africa's growing trade with several individual Latin American countries through the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, and of some of the most significant South African investment projects in that continent.

Brazil

South African exports to Brazil increased from \$3.5m to \$13.2m, and its imports from \$16.9m to \$36.4m between

1969 and 1973. The trend continued in 1974, with exports increasing to \$20.3m and imports to \$46m.

In 1973, trade with Brazil accounted for only 0.6 per cent of South Africa's total foreign trade, but was 41 per cent of South Africa's trade with Latin America. So Brazil figures prominently in South Africa's efforts to establish its presence in the sub-continent.

The balance of trade has so far been heavily in Brazil's favour, but South Africa's exports to Brazil have grown faster than imports. Brazilian exports to South Africa have traditionally been agricultural products, especially coffee, cotton and timber, but in recent years there has been a growing trend towards exports of finished products such as tools and machine parts. South African exports have been mainly steel, machinery, fertilizers and insecticides. In recent years,

South Africa has made a strong bid to participate in Brazil's development programme, especially in mining, construction and agriculture, through the supply of expertise, capital, and equipment. Exports are expected to grow substantially if South African companies succeed in obtaining contracts to contribute to Brazil's expansion of its hydroelectric generating capacity and its power grid system. Brazil is also placing large orders for uranium to feed its first nuclear power station.

South African companies have shown an increasing interest in the exploitation of Brazil's rich natural resources, taking advantage of the concessions granted by the Brazilian Government to foreign investors and entering into partnerships with Brazilian companies (which, by law, must own 51 per cent of any undertaking). For its part, the South African Government has taken active steps to promote such investment in Brazil.

In November 1973, two high placed South African Government mining officials spent two weeks touring Brazil at the invitation of Brazil's *Companhia de Pesquisa de Recursos Minerais (CPRM)*, a company in which the Brazilian Government has a majority holding and which was formed in 1969 to conduct prospecting and geological investigations and to encourage and assist private investment in mining. The purpose of the visit, according to the South African officials, was to survey Brazil's mining policy and to visit some of the country's main projects, with a view to instituting technical and scientific co-operation between South African and Brazil. The president of the Brazilian company had visited South Africa earlier in the year as the guest of the Government.

In November 1973, a senior official of the South African Forestry Department was also in Brazil to advise on the processing and utilization of hardwoods. In the forefront of South African investment in Brazil's mining industry has been the Anglo American Corporation. Foreseeing a rise in the price of gold, this

company was reported to have commissioned a geological study in 1969 to investigate other areas in the world where there might be Witwatersrand-type conglomerates. Brazil was indicated by the study as having at least two such areas.

In 1973, Anglo American established a local subsidiary, *Anglo American do Brasil (Ambras)*, and announced that it had created two companies, in partnership with the Brazilian *Industria e Comercio Mineiros SA* and the United States company Bethlehem Steel, to carry out its search for precious as well as base metals in the country. The Anglo American group holds a 40% stake in the two companies, *Unigeo Geologia e Mineracao SA* and *Jacobina Geologia e Mineracao SA*. Large-scale drilling operations have been carried out at Jacobina, one of the two areas indicated by the geological study, prospecting has also been undertaken to discover the source of Brazil's alluvial diamonds. By early 1975, Ambras was reported to have invested about four million rand in its research activities.

In March 1975, after a visit to Brazil during which he met with the President, General Ernesto Geisel, and leading Government officials, the Chairman of Anglo American, Mr H F Oppenheimer, disclosed that Ambras had acquired a 49 per cent interest in the oldest Brazilian mining company, *Mineracao Jorro Velho SA*. Anglo American intended to greatly expand production at the company's mines in the state of Minas Gerais. South African mining engineers and metallurgists would be sent to Morro Velho, and Brazilian metallurgists would visit South Africa to study local methods. In his chairman's statement for 1975, Mr Oppenheimer declared: "We feel that this investment will provide an important base for the group's activities in Brazil, and that we shall be able to make a significant contribution to the company's operations through our experience and knowledge of deep-level gold mining."

Anti-Apartheid News of June 1975 reported that the deal had excited critical comment in Brazilian circles, and that it

engage mainly in long-term joint ventures with Argentine interests. Accordingly, South Africa has sought to participate in Argentina's industrial development projects, particularly mining, commercial agriculture, construction, fishing, and the chemical industry.

For its part, the Government of Argentina has welcomed South Africa's participation in its industrial development and has sought to promote economic links between the two countries. Speaking at a press conference in Cape Town in February 1970, the Argentine Ambassador to South Africa stated that South African industry would be invited to invest its knowledge of mining and its capital in the exploitation of Argentina's vast untapped deposits of copper, coal, iron ore and oil. He said that Argentina was also interested in South African capital and knowledge to develop its fishing industry, which had at its disposal some of the richest fishing grounds in the world.

At a meeting with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs in July 1973, the Vice-President of Argentina stated that the Argentine Government intended to strengthen its ties with South Africa by keeping its doors open to goods and trying to reach an understanding on topics of common interest. He declared that Argentina was "not interested in how South Africa solves her internal problems, how she achieves her social equilibrium, or how she has planned her political horizon." He added that increasing links with South Africa were in keeping with Argentina's new policy of having trade and diplomatic relations with every country in the world, regardless of ideology.

In June 1975, a delegation of the Special Committee against Apartheid visited Argentina to consult on international action against apartheid. The delegation met with high Government officials, including the President at that time, Maria Perón. While expressing the Government's readiness to act on other issues, the Argentine officials said there



**Jorge Rafael Videla,
President of Argentina**

were limits to Government action to limit business contacts with South Africa.

Efforts to intensify economic relations between Argentina and South Africa date from the beginning of the present decade. The first official Argentine trade mission, consisting of a group of about 20 businessmen led by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, visited South Africa in the fall of 1970. The purpose of the mission was, besides promoting bilateral trade, the encouragement of joint ventures and interchange of technological know-how.

It was reported that one of the results of the mission was an agreement between Argentina and South Africa to exchange information and cooperate on ways of minimizing the impact on both countries of the United Kingdom's entry into the European Economic Community. Earlier in the year, the South African Minister of

was to be investigated by a congressional commission.

Another major South African company, African Explosives and Chemical Industries (AE and CI) announced that it was investing R5m in the manufacture of explosives in Brazil, and intended to expand the initial investment. This was reportedly AE and CI's first move out of Africa. The investment took the form of the acquisition of a 30 per cent share in three Brazilian explosives factories, and another 30 per cent in two subsidiaries of these factories. One purpose of the investment was reportedly to meet the demands of the growing Brazilian mining industry, and to supply Anglo American's needs as the activities of that corporation in Brazil expand. According to a director of AE and CI, the Brazilians "welcome the introduction of technical know-how and are enthusiastic in co-operating."

The South African Breweries Group (SAB) has established a subsidiary in Sao Paulo. This company, which has expertise in engineering and petro chemical industries, aims at cooperating with Brazilian companies to develop processing plants in Brazil. Another aim is to locate Brazilian companies interested in manufacturing SAB products under licence.

Rennies Consolidated, South Africa's largest operator in project transportation and in the coordination and movement of capital goods for the establishment of infrastructural projects, has acquired a 25 per cent share in a new venture in partnership with Brazilian, United States and West German interests. The company, *Interlink Transportes do Brazil*, will be active in the field of transportation, air and sea freight, containerization and distribution.

Mexico

Mexico was South Africa's second trading partner in Latin America in 1973, receiving South African exports worth \$25.4m, and exporting \$1.6m. In 1969, South African exports to Mexico had been \$1.3m, and its imports \$0.6m.

Figures for 1974 show an increase in imports to \$5m, while exports decreased to \$11.4m. An examination of annual statistics for the period since 1960 shows that trade between the two countries decreased substantially in the second half of the 1960s, to increase again from the beginning of the present decade. There is not enough information to account for the fluctuations.

There appears to be some South African investment in Mexico. It was reported in October 1974 that Union Corporation, through its 49 per cent ownership in a Mexican mining house, Minera Lampazos, had a large interest in a new copper venture in northern Mexico. Another report indicated that Anglo American Corporation, through Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, had also an interest in the exploitation of Mexican copper.

Argentina

South African exports to Argentina increased from \$2.7m to \$4.1m and its imports from \$1.4m to \$9.9m between 1969 and 1973. Imports jumped to \$20.6m in 1974, while exports decreased to \$3.7m, thus showing a development somewhat similar to Mexico. An examination of trade statistics from 1960, however, shows that the trend in total trade volume between South Africa and Argentina has been one of a steady increase.

Argentina has exported mainly machine tools, agricultural machinery, chemicals, textiles, leather goods, processed foodstuffs, table sets and cutlery building materials and home appliances. South Africa has exported mainly raw materials, particularly iron, steel, manganese, asbestos.

Of all the Latin American countries, Argentina is perhaps the one that has an economy and agriculture most similar to that of South Africa. A survey carried out by the South African Foreign Trade Organization (Safto), therefore, recommended that South African companies

Economic Affairs and several officials of the State-owned Iron and Steel Corporation (Isco) had visited Argentina. Subsequently, several missions were exchanged to study business, industrial, mining and tourist possibilities.

An Argentina South Africa Chamber of Commerce was established in Buenos Aires in October 1972 by 11 firms engaged in business with South Africa. By early 1973, membership had grown to 150 firms and the Chamber was actively lobbying in favour of stronger economic ties with South Africa. The Chamber invited the South African Minister of Economic Affairs to visit Argentina at the beginning of 1973, and was host to an important meeting between the Vice-President of Argentina and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chief General Manager of Barclays Bank in July 1973. The Chairman of the Chamber visited South Africa in March 1974 to discuss ways of further strengthening trade links with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Economic Affairs and other high-ranking Government officials in March 1974.

The increase in trade resulting from these efforts led to glowing predictions that trade would reach an annual volume of \$50m by 1978. An analysis of shipping manifests for 1972 has shown that there were 122 Argentine importers and 160 exporters actively trading with South Africa, and that more than 60 commodities were being imported, and 120 commodities exported.

It was reported in October 1970 that Union Corporation, the South African mining house, had lost on a bid for concession rights covering copper and molybdenum exploration in Argentina. Nevertheless, the company, together with a London-based subsidiary, had established a permanent office in Mendoza and was planning to bid on other contracts.

In April 1971, South African newspapers ran advertisements by the Government of Argentina seeking applications by South African mining companies to parti-

cipate in the exploration and exploitation of copper and molybdenum deposits in the provinces of Mendoza, San Juan and Neuquén. Two South African mining companies were reported to be interested in acquiring a stake in a bauxite mining and aluminium production venture in the province of Chubut, to come into production in 1974 with a capacity of about 150,000 tons a year.

The project was backed by the Bank of London and South America (in which Barclays Bank of South Africa has an interest). While the names of the companies were not disclosed, it was known that they were already active in other fields in South America.

Two South African companies, Rentmeester Beleggings and Willem Barendz, have entered into a joint undertaking with *Mar Argentino S.A. Pesquera* to exploit the hitherto untapped fishing grounds off the Argentine coast. The new fishing organization, with a capital of R4.4m, would reportedly be one of the ten largest in the world. The controlling share would remain in Argentine hands, while the South African companies would supply most of the fleet of trawlers and a 31,000-ton fishmeal factory ship.

Fifty South African farmers visited Argentina in June 1975 under the sponsorship of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society and the Wool Board. In 1974, a group of twenty Argentine cattle farmers had visited South Africa. There was discussion of possible South African investment in cattle farming in Argentina.

Venezuela

In 1974, South African exports to Venezuela jumped to \$43.4m more than double the value of exports to Brazil, placing Venezuela in second position among South Africa's main trading partners in Latin America. In the preceding five years, South African exports to Venezuela had shown a steady increase from practically nothing to \$13.5m. The unprecedented increase in South African exports to Venezuela alone accounted



President Andres Perez of Venezuela

largely for South Africa's ability to reverse its balance of trade deficit with Latin America in 1974. At the same time, Venezuela's exports to South Africa have been almost negligible, reaching about \$100,000 in 1974. In 1973, Venezuela's share of Latin American trade with South Africa was 11.4 per cent, making it the fourth largest trading partner.

In 1974, it was reported that the Venezuelan Post Office had given a "substantial" export order for lead sleeves for cable jointing to a Cape Town firm. A spokesman for the firm stated that "much spadework had to be done ... in overcoming the reported resistance of Venezuelan government departments to imports from South Africa."

The Venezuelan sugar industry has expressed interest in South Africa's processes and machinery. After the visit of a group of sugar experts to South

Africa in October 1974, it was held likely that South Africa would supply part of the equipment for a battery of new large sugar mills to be built at a total investment of R200. It was also reported that South Africa might provide know-how for Venezuela's crop development programme.

Among South Africa's investments in Venezuela are a venture by National Chemical Products (a subsidiary of Sentrachem, a joint British South African company), in partnership with Venezuelan interests, to produce Rumevite, a food supplement for cattle. NCP was reported to have contributed half of the necessary capital of R500,000 and to be obtaining a 30 per cent return from the company, which began operations in early 1971.

General Mining, the South African mining company, has been involved in prospecting for gold and other minerals in Venezuela.

Chile

A report in the *Financial Mail* of August 8, 1975 indicated that relations between South Africa and Chile had been "getting warmer" since the overthrow of the Allende Government. Total trade with Chile increased from \$1m to \$7.5m between 1969 and 1973, it doubled between 1973 and 1974, reaching \$15.2m.

The same *Financial Mail* report stated that Ovenstone Investment, a South African company whose fishing venture had been nationalized by the Allende Government, was thinking of returning to Chile. Shaft Sinkers, a manufacturer of mining equipment, was reported to have offered feasibility studies into gold mining in the country. Other interests were examining the possibility of launching a fertilizer venture. It was also disclosed that a mission from the South African Industrial Development Corporation and Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation had visited Chile to examine the possibility of extending export credits.

The report also stated that the South African Government was taking a grow-

ing interest in the Chilean mining industry and was considering the transfer of its mining counsellor, presently stationed in Buenos Aires, to Santiago. Prior South African investment in Chile's mining includes a venture by Roberts Construction, in conjunction with Morrison-Knudsen (United States of America) to build tunnels, shafts, housing and an underground copper concentrator and smelter for the *Compania Minera Andina*. The project, involving an overall investment of R58m, was completed in 1970.

Paraguay

Paraguay and South Africa have taken a number of measures aimed at promoting their economic relations, which have been minimal until very recently. According to press reports, South Africa considers Paraguay in many ways as an "open door" to the Latin American subcontinent.

Two agreements between Paraguay and South Africa were signed on the occasion of General Stroessner's visit to South Africa in April 1974. One concerned cultural exchanges and scientific and technological co-operation; the other related to economic cooperation and investment. In terms of the latter agreement, the South African Government would consider specific proposals submitted by the Government of Paraguay for assistance in financing economic development projects there by granting loans to the Government of Paraguay, and encouraging investment by private South African investors in projects in Paraguay which were of mutual interest.

The Minister of Industry and Commerce of Paraguay, Mr Delfin Ugarte Centurion, stated that South Africa was to look for oil, natural gas, bauxite and iron ore in Paraguay, and that the possibility was being considered of collaboration with Paraguayan firms in establishing cellulose, paper and sugar factories. Paraguay would export hardwoods, tobacco, frozen meat, soya beans and vegetable oils to South Africa.



Dictator Stroessner of Paraguay

In January 1975, a South African mission headed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, held talks with General Stroessner and several members of his Government to implement the provisions of the agreement. After the meetings, the Paraguayan Ministry of Commerce and Industry disclosed that South Africa was prepared to grant Paraguay R33m credit for purchases in agriculture, mining, communications and construction. Among the projects that South Africa had agreed to finance was reportedly the construction of buildings to house the Paraguayan Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs.

The mission was also reported to have signed accords to build two sugar-producing plants and to invest in the giant Itaipu hydro-electrical power project, a joint venture by Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina at an estimated cost of

R5000m. It had been reported earlier that South African engineering combines, which had been involved in the planning of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, had been in consultation with South American experts concerning this project.

Paraguay has also expressed interest in South Africa's hardware and equipment for mass-production school units. Observers indicated that there would be "millions" for South African exporters if South Africa obtained a share in the supply of equipment for Paraguay's literacy programme.

When South African Prime Minister Vorster visited Paraguay in August 1975, agreements were signed for South African loans to Paraguay in the amount of R4m to be used for agriculture, housing and co-operative banking projects, and R1m for the purchase of agricultural machinery.

Peru

As the figures indicate, trade between South Africa and Peru is minimal. However, South African capital is reported to have participated in a number of projects in the country, in cooperation with Peruvian, Western European and American interests.

The South African company Shaft Sinkers (Pty), jointly owned by Roberts Construction and Amalgamated Contracting and Construction Company, concluded a contract to sink several shafts at a copper mine owned by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation (United States of America) in the high Andes starting in 1965. The contract, worth over R3m, was reportedly completed in 1969.

In 1970, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation (United States of America) announced that options for the joint exploration of its mining concessions in several areas of Peru had been granted, among others, to the Charter Consolidated-Anglo American groups.

In 1972, it was announced that a South African nutritional food manufacturing company was setting up a factory in Peru

to produce high-protein foods. It was hoped that the food produced could be exported to Bolivia and Ecuador.

In 1974, the South African company Concor Construction, one of South Africa's major construction firms, joined an international consortium which had been awarded the contract for the Majes Irrigation Project by the Government of Peru. It was disclosed that Concor's share of the R120m contract was R20m. The company would be responsible for the construction of eight tunnels with a total length of 11km, 8km of conventional canals, and 11km of precast canals. South African participation in the project was regarded in South Africa as a major step forward in its drive to establish links with Latin America.

The South African Industrial Development Corporation, together with financing institutions from the other countries involved in the Majes project, signed a financial agreement in March 1974 to provide loans to the Republic of Peru and its National Bank to assist in the financing of the Majes project. IDC's share of the total of R85m was R13.5m.

Bolivia

Since the beginning of the decade, South African mining interests have been trying to break into Bolivia's mining industry. In 1970, Shaft Sinkers obtained a R3m contract to sink a shaft at the Coro Coro tin mine, south of La Paz, controlled by the Government of Bolivia through its Corporation *Mineira de Bolivia (Comibol)*. It appears that the project was later abandoned for geological reasons.

In 1973, General Rogelio Miranda, head of Comibol, visited South Africa to discuss contracts involving the supply of mining expertise and machinery.

Another R3m contract was signed by Shaft Sinkers and Comibol to sink a shaft at Coro Coro in 1974. The project, like the preceding one, received South African finance through the Industrial Development Corporation. Work on the project is scheduled to end this year.

Time for an end to the Myth

It would not only be politically misleading and dangerous, but historically quite wrong to think of renaming South Africa, or any part of Southern Africa, as "Azania."

Politically, it is objectionable for a progressive national liberation movement to give any importance at all to name-changing at this stage of the struggle. Recent history, in Africa and elsewhere, has shown what false trails and dead ends people can be led to by unrepresentative small groups or regimes which try to capture popularity by changing names — without a broad consensus — to sound more "authentic", then wave them aloft as a substitute for slogans with real political content and meaning. When embarked upon as a form of self-gratification for misdirected intellectuals, and in the place of a proper analysis of the real issues, this kind of practice can be a useful tool of imperialism, which likes to lay false trails for people to dissipate their militancy.

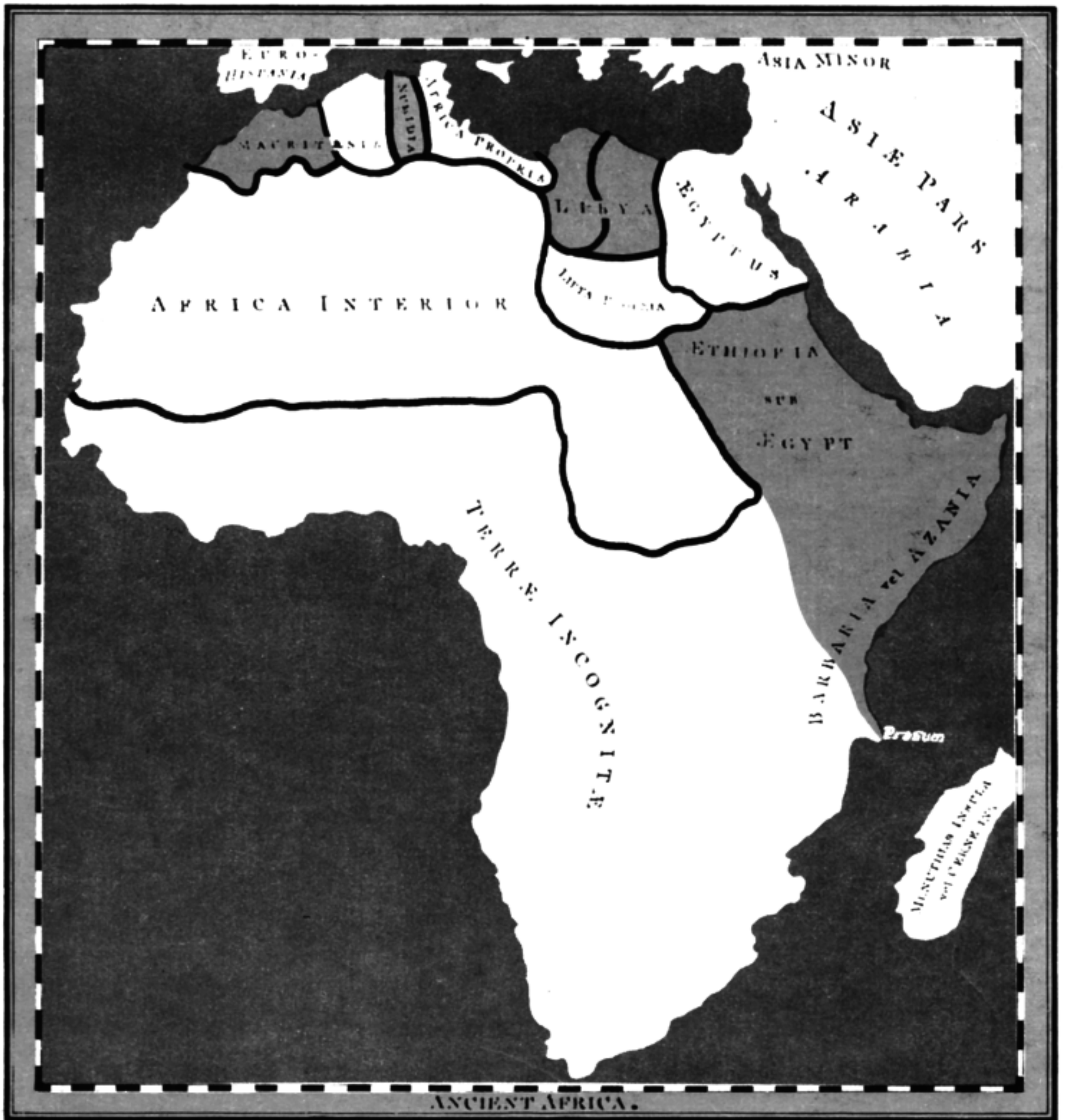
Whatever name is to be chosen for a free South Africa when the time comes, it is for the people themselves to choose, and not for any small group to foist synthetic labels on to the struggle, the cause or the goal. If there is ever to be a new name for our country — or for any part of southern Africa — it should certainly not be Azania, because a) it is riddled with connotations of cultural aggression towards blacks, going back to ancient times, and of imperialism, colonialism and slavery, and b) it was the name used for a different part of Africa altogether. First ancient Greeks, then the Persian colonists of the east coast applied the name to parts of Eastern Africa which

are much further to the north, as the old map on the cover of this issue shows.

During the First Century AD the East African coast as far south as the mouth of the Rufiji River in Tanzania (site of the old city of Kilwa) was widely known as Azania. The Greek meaning of the word Azania is "dried-up country", probably from the long stretches of arid coast-line and semi-desert hinterland in what is now Somalia and north-east Kenya. The Greek writers of Alexandria popularised the name Azania for the same region that was called Zanj (or Zenj) by the Persians.

As shown on the 1798 map of ancient Africa — as depicted on our map — it was the coastal lands of today's Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania which were known as "Barbaria Azania," and the sea off this coast was called "Sinus Barbaricus." The southern limit of Barbaria Azania was "Cape Prasum", known today as Cabo Delgado, in northern Mozambique (Latitude 10 degrees south). All land to the south of that was called "Terra Incognitae" — and South Africa was part of this land, then unknown to outsiders.

After AD 900 some Persians migrated to East Africa and established settlements at such places as Kilwa, Lamu and Zanzibar. They named this part of the coast Zanj (Zinj/Zenj), the Persian root word from which "Azania" is derived. It means "black" — and was used by the Persians to distinguish themselves from those they colonised. When they talked of "Zanji" they meant slaves from Africa. The word, in all its forms, has connoted racial contempt for over a thousand years, and is an unsuitable name for any part of Africa.



Azania — slave name
for a different place