

# A South African policeman, judge, and executioner:

132 people shot dead  
363 wounded  
3,000 Africans  
arrested daily  
16 Blacks died in  
detention

## NO DIALOGUE WITH MURDERERS

# SECHABA

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## SECHABA

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# Fighting Talk

## BANDA BELLY-CRAWLS TO VORSTER

Statement by Duma Nokwe,  
Director of International Affairs  
African National Congress of South Africa

Dr. Banda's so-called "official visit" to Pretoria on August 16th, comes as no surprise. It is the continuation of a series of brazen acts of treachery which Banda has shamelessly committed in complete defiance of the Organisation of African Unity; the interests and aspirations of the people of Malawi, Southern Africa as well as Africa as a whole. Dr. Banda is an African Judas whose price is so despicably low that he must be regarded with derision and scorn by his South African racist and Portuguese masters.

His servile belly-crawling to Pretoria achieved only one thing and that is the further subjugation, exploitation and colonisation of Malawi by the white racist regime of South Africa. He was paraded in South Africa as a perfect model of a puppet.

Dr. Banda's "friendship" with South African racists and Portuguese colonialists and his open hostility to the liberation struggle, has brought no benefits for the people of Malawi. There have been no changes in the living conditions of the people of Malawi. Under Banda, Malawi continues to have as its greatest export cheap labour to the mines in South Africa. Little wonder that Harry Oppenheimer, the mining tycoon, was a guest of honour at a graduation ceremony in Malawi recently. Banda is selling the land and wealth of Malawi to the racist financiers and shackling into bondage his own people and destroying the very foundations of independence which the people of Malawi have fought for. This is indeed a tragedy.

Not only that, he has made Malawi a military base and a springboard for the aggressive and expansionist policies of the South African racists. Dr. Banda has chosen to stake his fate with that of his masters - the racists and colonialists.

The African National Congress of South Africa calls on all loyal patriots and supporters of the African Revolution to condemn this latest act of betrayal by Dr. Banda.

HOW MANY TIMES  
DO I HAVE TO TELL  
YOU BOTH, ADAM  
AND EVE WERE  
WHITE

# "DIALOGUE"

## Viewpoint of the people of South Africa



### Full Text of a Memorandum submitted by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA to the Organisation of African Unity

The protagonists and architects of the most abominable system of racism and white supremacy on the continent today are currently engaged in a frantic campaign to woo independent African States into rationalising apartheid repression in South Africa and in the process endorsing the status quo. Dialogue is the euphemism given to this ill-conceived stratagem.

The intention of the white colonialists and their attitude towards the indigenous Black people are clearly chronicled in three grim centuries of bitter Black-White violent conflict on the Southern tip of Africa.

From the very onset the white settlers embarked on deliberate wars of aggression aimed at the establishment, maintenance and perpetuation of white domination. They waged unprovoked wars; plundered property; looted and rustled stock; and finally dispossessed the indigenous people of their land.

This period is a glorious chapter of the bravery and heroism of our people. Despite poor armaments and the absence of unified and co-ordinated resistance, the enemy was held in check for 250 years. However, having temporarily conquered but not subdued our people, the colonialists proceeded to attempt to consolidate their economic and political domination over the indigenous people. Their two-pronged strategy vis-a-vis the Blacks comprised a policy of completely denying them political rights and of using them as a pool of reliable and cheap labour to produce the

White man's wealth. To achieve this they completely disarmed our people excluding them from the military forces and relegating them to menial positions in the police force and other branches of the civil service.

### Gold and Diamonds

The discovery of gold and diamonds towards the end of the last century ushered in a new era in the socio-economic life of South Africa which laid the foundations of intensified exploitation of the African people and made ever greater demands for their cheap labour. The African people resisted this enslavement but their enemies resorted to economic coercion through the deliberate impoverishment of the people. Characteristically, political legislation came to the service of the economic demands. A series of tax measures such as the hut and poll taxes, all payable in cash, were introduced to compel heads of families and young men to leave the reserves and seek employment in the mines and on the White men's farms. The colonial administration imposed stock limitation. Considering that cattle were virtually the traditional form of currency for the African people, this piece of legislation had the calculated effects of further impoverishing our people and compelling them to be dependent on White employment. Thus the notorious system of cheap labour was entrenched.

The demand for cheap labour became so great that South Africa began to import labour from other territories. The terms of contract and meagre wages paid, reduced the labourers to a state of semislaves. They were denied trade union rights and strikes were outlawed. South Africa became the centre of international capital and the slave-



market for the exploitation of people from the African continent and Asia.

The development of the mining industry resulted in a rapid growth of the manufacturing industries. Towns grew and more and more people abandoned the poverty stricken, over populated countryside to seek employment in the towns. The Whites intensified measures to control the movement of the African peoples. Mine labourers were strictly confined to their compounds and the terms of their contracts debarred them from seeking employment anywhere else. At the termination of their contracts they were compelled to return to the reserves. Contravention of the provisions of these contracts was a criminal offence. In order to enforce this vicious system of control the hated pass laws were intensified.

## Terrorism

For generations therefore, this has been the character of Black-White relationship in South Africa. Various names have been given to this type of Black enslavement by the Whites, the latest of them being "Apartheid". As a matter of fact, the roots of apartheid are as old as white settlement and colonialism itself in South Africa. Boer and Briton alike have made apartheid the cornerstone of their policy towards Africans and other discriminated groups.

Apartheid is thus a socio-economic system manipulated by White racist-capitalists to ensure the maximum profits for themselves and international monopolies at the expense of the black people. It is a system which employs vicious tyrannical laws and police and military terrorism on the Black people in order to promote internal and international imperialist interests. It is the system in defence of which the racists are prepared to pay any price. The elimination or destruction of apartheid will spell the end of white domination and the most ruthless oppression and exploitation of the African people and liquidate a system which enabled international and national monopolies to amass super profits. Why then does the bastion of racism seek a "dialogue" with independent Africa? Why is this "dialogue" so enthusiastically supported by imperialism? Does this in any way represent a compromise or a realisation of the wrongs of Apartheid? We believe even the most naive would not be so simply deceived. The "dialogue" tactic adopted by South African fascists is the result of a variety of factors. White South Africa is in a quandary. Ironically, the main portion of blame for white South Africa's dilemma is attributable to her apartheid policies. As an economic system apartheid increasingly shows signs of self-defeat.

## Malawi

Admittedly apartheid has acted as a spur to South Africa's economic development. Regarded as a backward country only fifty years ago South Africa is today a fully fledged imperialist state. Apartheid has created for South African economy an abundant supply of cheap labour which is important for every industry; it has helped give rise to exceedingly high profits for capital investment; it has had the effect of accelerating the pace of economic development; it has also acted as a stimulus for external expansion. Today South Africa exports capital to Africa and is increasing her investments in this Continent. She has established diplomatic and economic links with Malawi where she is building a new capital, a railway line and an airbase. The eco-

omic co-operation between Malagasy and South Africa is growing. She is the leading financier in the Cabora Bassa Hydroelectric project.

Be that as it may, however, apartheid has also acted as a serious brake to economic development. The very cheapness of labour restricts the domestic market. Because of the starvation wages paid to them the Africans are unable to be an effective market for the goods they produce. This has already become a hindrance to economic growth. Outside Africa, South African goods cannot compete in the well established markets of the other capitalist powers.

## Northward Policy

It is in this context that Africa comes face to face with the economic essence of "DIALOGUE". As an imperialist state South Africa needs less developed regions in which to export not only her goods but also her capital. Capital thus invested reaps super-profits because of the even lower per capita income in the developing states.

It is these problems which push Vorster and company to pursue an outward or Northward policy and to seek "DIALOGUE". They appeal to independent Africa to save apartheid from inevitable doom. Rather than relieve the starvation of the black masses by raising basic wages, opening job facilities and removing racial discrimination in skilled jobs, they turn to free Africa to give apartheid a longer lease of life. Will Africa really go to the assistance of the entrapped racist monster?

It should also be borne in mind that "dialogue" is Vorster's strategy intended firstly, to break the isolation of his fascist regime and to win more "friends" in Africa. Secondly, to disunite Africa, and to isolate the liberation movements from support in Africa, with the view to involving African States in the liquidation of the liberation movements. Thirdly, it is the spearhead in the imperialist plot for the recolonisation of Africa.

These sinister schemes are hatched under the cloak of fighting a bogus threat of Communism. The fascist regime of South Africa has assigned itself the leading role in this "crusade".

From the foregoing it will be clear that beneath racist South Africa's frenzied antics for "dialogue" is the deeply ingrained fear for the survival of white domination in South Africa and the sinister design to extend white domination throughout Africa. The white fascists have taken upon themselves the role of being the gendarme of colonial white Southern Africa. It is the bulwark of reaction against the liberation forces. There are fascist South African troops or military presence in Mozambique and Rhodesia, in Namibia and in Angola. The overall strategy is to forge not only military alliances but also to achieve absolute economic domination in the region. There already exists an oil pipeline between the Reef and Mozambique and a road through Namibia to Luanda in Angola; Rhodesia could never have survived U.D.I. without the backing of South Africa. The South African backed Cabora Bassa project it is hoped will in the future link several countries in the area. All these measures are taken to entrench and perpetuate white rule in Southern Africa and no amount of dialogue can change this objective.

While South Africa talks of "dialogue" with African States, the people's leaders are being harassed and gagged, house arrested, tortured and banished, executed and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Indeed some of the



patriots have paid the supreme sacrifice for opposing the barbaric fascists regime in Pretoria. South Africa is today a perfect military terrorist state. Even in the Bantustans, the force created to deceive world opinion, there is opposition to apartheid.

Can Africa betray the Black masses in South Africa: Can Africa betray the gains of the African revolution? By accepting "dialogue" Africa has nothing to gain but everything to lose. Let whoever enters into any form of relations with the Pretoria murderers do so not under the pretext that they are serving the interests of the daily humiliated and down trodden Black people of South Africa.

### Verdict of History

Our stand in this issue is clear and unequivocal. For scores of years our people braved arrests and all kinds of police brutality in search of a dialogue with the successive white minority regimes. All the time the emphasis was "peace" and "peaceful negotiation". In pursuit of the goal for co-operation and a better understanding between Black and White, the ANC explored all possible methods of peace. The answer from the Whites has been a regular,

firm and contemptuous "NO". The White fascist thugs have answered our people by intensifying violence and terrorism and resorting to brutal armed repression.

Our people have accepted the verdict of history. They have been called upon to give of their best for the liquidation of racism, colonialism and fascism from the motherland. Armed repression can only be destroyed by armed peoples' revolt. The African National Congress of South Africa appeals to all African States to give maximum support to the struggle of the people of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau and to reject the fascist offer of "dialogue" with the contempt that it deserves.

The destiny of Africa is inextricably bound with the destiny of the people in the unliberated parts of Africa. It is a basic and correct principle of the O.A.U. that Africa cannot be free unless the rest of Africa is free and that this can only be achieved through the Unity of Africa and through unqualified political, material and financial support to the Liberation Movements who are in the vanguard of the struggle.

United we shall march to victory, divided Africa faces the danger of re-enslavement.

# O.A.U. DECLARATION ON DIALOGUE

**Declaration by the 17th Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU which was adopted by the 8th OAU Summit Meeting of Heads of States and Governments**

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its 17th Ordinary Session, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 15 to 19 June 1971, discussed in an atmosphere of utmost cordiality and frankness the question of a proposal for a dialogue with the minority racist regime of South Africa.

The discussion afforded all Members of the Council an opportunity to fully express the views of their respective governments on this important question.

The Council reaffirmed:

1. Their total commitment to the principles and purposes contained in Articles II and III of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, especially in regard to the eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa, and the absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent.

2. That the Manifesto on Southern Africa (Lusaka Manifesto) unanimously adopted by the Organisation of African Unity and endorsed by the United Nations and the Conference of Non-Aligned States, but rejected by the racist regimes of Southern Africa, is the only objective basis for any meaningful solution to the problems of Apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in Africa.

3. The legitimacy of the struggle being waged by the peoples of Africa to obtain their legitimate rights to independence, freedom, human dignity and equality, and that all Member States of the Organisation for African Unity remain totally and unconditionally committed to their struggle.

Moreover, it was agreed that no Member State of the Organisation of African Unity would initiate or engage in any

type of action that would undermine or abrogate the solemn obligations and undertakings to the commitments contained in the Charter.

### Consult Liberation Movements

It was also agreed that any action to be taken by Member States in regard to the solution of the problems of colonialism, racial discrimination and Apartheid in Africa, must be undertaken within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity and in full consultations with the Liberation Movements of the territories concerned.

The Council rejected the idea of any dialogue with the minority racist regime of South Africa which is not designed solely to obtain for the enslaved people of South Africa their legitimate and inherent rights and the elimination of Apartheid in accordance with the Lusaka Manifesto.

The Council of Ministers also considered and agreed that in any case any form of dialogue should appropriately be commenced only between the minority racists regime of South Africa and the people they are oppressing, exploiting and suppressing.

The Council of Ministers also agreed that the proposal for a dialogue between the independent African States and the racist minority regime of South Africa is a manoeuvre by that regime and its allies to divide African States, confuse world public opinion, relieve South Africa from international ostracism and isolation and obtain an acceptance of the status quo in Southern Africa. In view of the above considerations the 17th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity emphatically declares that there exists no basis for a meaningful dialogue with the minority racist regime of South Africa. Under these circumstances, the Council reaffirms its determination to continue to render and increase its assistance to the liberation movements until victory is achieved.



# SOUTH AFRICA'S "OUTWARD" POLICY

If foreign policy is the extension of domestic policy into the sphere of international affairs, then the purpose of South African foreign policy is to safeguard white supremacy in South Africa. This has been the consistent aim of South African foreign policy under both Nationalist and United Party Governments ever since Union was formed in 1910 – and its origins can be traced back even before that. The imperialist Rhodes dreamed of the control of Africa by the British Empire from the Cape to Cairo. Smuts concluded his "A Century of Wrong" (1898) with the words: "Then shall it be from Zambesi to Simons Bay: Africa for the Afrikaners". Smuts eventually came to believe that the interests of white South Africa could best be promoted in association with the Empire. The die-hard Nationalists, from General Hertzog to Vorster, have striven first for Afrikaner ascendancy in South Africa, fearing otherwise that the Afrikaners nation and language would be absorbed by the stronger English culture.

A secondary fear – to become primary as the menace became stronger – was that the English and their Empire could not be relied upon to defend white supremacy to the death. During the Anglo-Boer war, the English had used African levies, the Boers not. During the second world war, Smuts was at one stage prepared to contemplate arming the Blacks against the threat of invasion by the Japanese. He was strongly opposed by the Nationalists. In 1951, after the Nationalists had come to power, a conference to discuss a regional defence treaty for South and East Africa was held at Nairobi, attended by representatives of South Africa, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. It failed to reach agreement partly because South Africa refused to be associated with any scheme involving the arming of Africans.

At the outset, the Nationalist Government had hoped to be able to persuade the imperialist powers to cooperate with South Africa in exercising control over Africa on the basis of white supremacy. Dr. Malan had proposed an African Charter based on four points:

1. Protection of the indigenous peoples of Africa against penetration by the peoples of Asia, especially India, which had repeatedly inter-





- vened in South Africa over the treatment of the Indian minority.
2. European "guidance" of African development, to ensure that Africa remained within the European orbit.
  3. Total suppression of Communist activities (including the propagation of equality).
  4. No arming of Africans anywhere.

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## Position of Domination

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The correspondence between South Africa's internal and external policy was most clearly shown by Malan's statement in 1953, when negotiation over the future of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, that South Africa was opposed to suggestions that they be granted their independence. The Union could not, he said, "permit Negro states, Bantu states, to arise within our borders, States which are free and independent and which can lay down their own policy in every respect."

It was during this same period that Malan repeatedly rejected as a "caricature" of Nationalist policy the notion of separate development which later came to be incorporated in the Bantustan policy.

Strijdom carried on where Malan left off. In 1955, in one of his earliest foreign policy statements, he asserted that South Africa could not, by itself, maintain White supremacy in South Africa. There would have to be the greatest possible co-operation between the various white communities in southern Africa if they wanted to ensure their existence in Africa. "That is what we generally mean when we talk about an African policy", he said. During the same debate, when the opposition pointed out that South Africa's apartheid policies stood in the way of any agreement with the West, Mr. Blaar Coetzee (today Minister of Community Development) replied: "If we are to give up our position of domination in order to gain the friendship of the West, why do we really want their friendship?" This question still stands at the heart of South African foreign policy. Put as a statement, it makes clear that South Africa requires the friendship of such other states as can assist her to maintain "our position of domination". The

thought that the imperialist states in Africa began to fade as the process of decolonisation was set in motion, followed by the disappearance or diminution of many of the communities of white settlers in colonies "threatened" with the grant of independence. In 1950 there were only two independent states in Black Africa — Ethiopia and Liberia. Today there are 41 (in both cases excluding South Africa).

The growth of the independent African community resulted in increasing pressure on South Africa for the relaxation or abolition of apartheid — through the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, and international support for the nation liberation movements of southern Africa. Coinciding with this was the upsurge during the fifties and early sixties of the oppressed peoples of South Africa itself — the Defiance Campaign in 1952, the Congress of the People of 1955, the adoption of the Freedom Charter and its consequences the treason trial of 1956–61, the political strikes, the bus and potato boycotts, the anti-pass campaigns culminating in the Sharpeville and Langa shootings. Ultimately came the inevitable adoption of a revolutionary strategy by the people's organisations as the only answer to the ever-intensified repression of the state. From all these pressures emerged South Africa's new policies of Bantustan or "separate development" at home, coupled with the unfolding of its concomitant, the "outward" policy abroad.

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## Old Wine in New Bottles

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It is quite wrong to associate these new developments with Premier Vorster, as though they were his special brainchild — and least of all as though they embody some special quality of enlightenment for which he is supposed to stand in contrast to his predecessors. In fact, it was Premier Strijdom who in 1957 first declared in Parliament that as the African states developed there would have to be ordinary relations with them "and even diplomatic relations" — a view subsequently endorsed by Foreign Minister Eric Louw, though he postponed its imple-

mentation to the indefinite future. Bantustan and the "outward" policy were the new strategy by the Nationalist Government to ward off foreign intervention and divert and split up the forces of national liberation at home. It was Dr. Verwoerd who adumbrated the new techniques most clearly and provided some sort of ideological foundation for them. In a policy speech on April 10, 1961, in which he indicated that the Bantustans could develop into "separate Black States", he admitted: "This is not what we would have preferred to see. This is a form of fragmentation which we would rather not have had if it was within our control to avoid it". Verwoerd blamed the pressure of forces outside South Africa for the decision of the government to embark on the Bantustan experiment at all. "In the light of the forces to which South Africa is being subjected, there is, however, no doubt as to what must be done in the course of time".

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## The Year of the Guerrilla

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1961 was the year in which the South African military organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe, fighting wing of the African National Congress Alliance, first launched its campaign of sabotage as a prelude to intensive guerrilla warfare. 1961 was the year in which guerrilla warfare was launched in Angola — a savage surprise for the Portuguese colonialists and a warning to South Africa of the shape of things to come. 1961 was the year of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth because, according to Dr. Verwoerd, the Government was not "prepared to pay the price (for membership) of allowing interference in her domestic policies, of sacrificing principles on which her Government has been repeatedly elected since 1948 or of submitting to any reflection on her sovereignty or her national honour". In 1961 the Government took the decision to face the world and its own people from a position of strength. 1962 saw the doubling of the Defence budget and the introduction of the Sabotage Act. 1963 — the year in which the Central African Federation, South



Africa's and imperialism's buffer against Black Africa, collapsed — marked the introduction of detention without trial and warned the world that if the country's Whites were defeated, it would be the end of Western influence in South Africa. Further, the West would not be just poorer, it would lose its access to Africa. "We are the bearers of the values that made the West great. We are Europe in Africa", declared Dr. Diederichs.

Addressing a students' symposium in Stellenbosch on May 7, 1967, Premier Vorster said that "separate development was not only a policy which would ensure a place in the sun for the different nations of different colours living together in South Africa, but it would make it possible for the Republic to take the lead in Africa... As the rest of Africa became disillusioned, as they would to an increasing degree, they would turn their eyes towards South Africa". The Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman, addressing a meeting in Kempton Park in April 1970, said that by establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with neighbouring African states the Government was safeguarding the borders of the Republic against "terrorist" incursions. Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Information, told a meeting in Durban in March 1970 that closer ties with neighbouring Black states could lead to the formation of a solid anti-Communist bloc in Southern Africa which would be in the interests of the Republic. It could include South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Mozambique and Rhodesia. He believed that Zambia was not beyond the pale and might be persuaded, or be forced by economic considerations, to join the bloc. Such a bloc would make it possible for the Whites of Southern Africa to exert strong influences in the future political developments of the Continent of Africa. On the other hand, if South Africa isolated herself, the Whites would be doomed.

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## Christian, Western Idea

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The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, told a meeting at Epping in February 1970 that Communist count-

ries wanted the White man out of Africa "because when the White man is in control there is order. In the technical and diplomatic fields South Africa will try to make friends to the north and so keep the wolf from the door. Our task is not only to protect South Africa but the whole of Africa". At a meeting at Randburg in November 1968, Dr. Mulder said the frank aim of world communism was to appropriate Africa and thus to encircle Europe. Only two states today were still obstacles in the way of the Red plan — Israel and South Africa. South Africa was pre-eminently well-equipped for the task of extending its sphere of influence in Africa. "We are the Western People who are the best equipped on earth to transmit the Christian Western idea to our neighbours".

Dr. Mulder said South Africa was tired of being a scapegoat. "We refuse merely to defend. The eyes of the West must open and they must realise that the Republic is the key to the conquest of Africa — conquest without violence". Not, of course, that South Africa is afraid to threaten violence if she does not get her way, as she has already threatened Zambia and Tanzania if they continue to harbour anti-South African guerrilla movements.

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## The History of Dialogue

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South Africa today calls for dialogue with Africa — but it is to be dialogue on her own terms. When in 1962 the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, announced in the Nigerian House of Representatives that not only was he prepared to visit South Africa, if invited, but he was willing to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria, Dr. Verwoerd accused him of a provocation and said he was not prepared to allow into the country people whose only aim was "to help turn the Government away from its policy". A later more significant approach was made by the independent African states in 1969 in the form of the Lusaka Manifesto. This was first adopted at the fifth Summit conference of 13 East and Central African states held at Lusaka in April 1969,

and later endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity in September.

The Manifesto stated: "We wish to make clear, beyond all shadow of doubt, our acceptance of the belief that all men are equal, and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, religion or sex. We believe that all men have the right and the duty to participate, as equal members of society, in their own government. We do not accept that any individual or group has any right to govern any other group of sane adults, without their consent, and we affirm that only the people of a society, acting together as equals, can determine what is, for them, a good society and a good social, economic or political organisation".

The manifesto declared that it was in pursuit of these principles that the African states were forced to adopt a position of hostility towards the white-dominated regimes of southern Africa and to work for their liberation. "If the commitment to these principles existed among the States holding power in Southern Africa, any disagreement we might have about the rate of implementation, or about isolated acts of policy, would be matters affecting only our individual relationships with the States concerned... "We would prefer to negotiate rather than destroy, to talk rather than kill. We do not advocate violence; we advocate an end to the violence against human dignity which is now being perpetrated by the oppressors of Africa. If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances were to make it possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at some compromise on the timing of change. "But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the States of southern Africa, we have no choice but to give to the peoples of those territories all the support of which we are capable in their struggle against their oppressors".

South Africa was openly being invited to make some gesture, however small, of goodwill towards her own non-White people and the peoples of all Africa. In October 1969 Foreign Minister Dr. Hilgard Muller, in a passing reference, said there was "a lot" in the manifesto with which white South Africa agreed, but a great deal of the



document was "based on misconceptions and failure on the part of its authors to inform themselves of the contents and objectives of South Africa's policies."

For the rest there was no official reaction from South Africa at all. But in November 1970, in an interview with the London "Sunday Telegraph", Premier Vorster made it clear that any relationship South Africa entered into with Black African states would be made on the basis that there was no interference with the Republic's domestic policy of apartheid. He was not even prepared to have apartheid on the agenda.

At his famous first public press conference held in Cape Town on May 30, 1971, Vorster made a slight concession. He was prepared to discuss the policy of separate development "for the simple reason that more nonsense has been written and spoken about the policy of separate development than about any other subject I know of. And I will gladly take the opportunity to explain the policy for what it is, and not for what people think it is".

Asked, "when can we expect the first independent Bantustan in South Africa?", Mr. Vorster replied that it was impossible to lay down a timetable. "It depends entirely upon the circumstances of each and every case.. What is important is that it is the policy of the Government to grant full independence to these various nations".

Is this the sort of gesture the African states were thinking of when they adopted the Lusaka Manifesto? It is vital that there should be absolute clarity on this point, because without it, the Lusaka Manifesto could itself prove to be a weapon of disunity in Africa, undermining the entire liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa.

To sum up:

1. The national liberation movement of South Africa rejects Bantustan as a total fraud, designed to divide the peoples of South Africa and perpetuate their exploitation and oppression by the White minority. The 1955 Freedom Charter of the South African Congress Movement declares: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White... only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people,

can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief". Bantustan, whatever it is and whatever it becomes, has not been chosen freely by the South African people but has been imposed on them by force by a White minority Government.

2. The national liberation movement of South Africa, irrevocably committed to armed struggle, totally rejects dialogue between the White minority Government of South Africa and the states of independent Africa. There can be no meaningful dialogue until the South African people are free.
3. Dialogue is a weapon of the White minority Government of South Africa to strengthen apartheid in South Africa, to promote the interests of apartheid South Africa in the rest of Africa, to entrench White domination and neo-colonialism in Africa under the banner of anti-communism.
4. The proposal for dialogue has already split the ranks of African unity and weakened the international front against apartheid. Once a meaningful proportion of African states show that they are prepared to compromise with apartheid South Africa, the way will be prepared for the resumption of the arms traffic and full trade relations between the Western states and South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories.
5. The African states supporting dialogue are precisely those most closely associated with imperialism; by contrast those opposed to dialogue are in the vanguard of the struggle to establish their own independence and the united action of a free African continent.

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## African Munich?

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Let no one forget that the main African protagonist of dialogue, the Ivory Coast's Houphouet-Boigny, in an interview published in the Abidjan daily newspaper *Fraternite-Matin* on May 3, 1971, said: "Apartheid is a relatively minor aspect". Apartheid as such could not divide Africa, he said, be-

cause "though Africans are victims of it in South Africa and other places the issue of apartheid neither divides the world nor threatens world peace. But if, by guilty negligence or blind fanaticism, we let ourselves be drawn into a war with South Africa about apartheid, we would be offering a new opportunity for communism".

Houphouet-Boigny speaks with the voice of Vorster, to whom he wants to surrender, just as he has surrendered to France. The Paris correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail" reported on November 6, 1970:

"Ivory Coast's desire for a new form of relationship with South Africa is understood to have the full support of France's President, Mr. Pompidou. Some circles in Paris even claim that President Houphouet-Boigny's policy has been master-minded by Mr. Pompidou personally... France is known to be anxious to maintain her valuable arms contracts with South Africa while at the same time keeping friendly ties with Black Africa."

The African policy of Britain's Tory Government is more guarded, but in essence the same. The arms embargo against South Africa has been relaxed; negotiations with Rhodesia are under way.

Britain's Foreign Minister is Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the man of Munich, who helped Chamberlain in his bid to strengthen Hitler as a bulwark against Communism in Europe. Is not Britain now, for the same reasons, trying to legitimise the South African regime, using the same bogey of the Communist danger in Africa and the Indian Ocean?

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## ANOTHER DEATH IN DETENTION

FOURTEEN non-Whites held incommunicado in South African prisons since February have laid charges of torture against the Security Police. The men appeared in a Pietermaritzburg Court under the Terrorism Act, on August 2, the same day that the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, also appeared in a Pretoria Court.

Amnesty International gave details recently of some of the torture allegations. Myayeni Cushela from Quobo Location, in the Transkei, complained of severe headaches after receiving "electrical treatment", but he was not given any medical treatment despite repeated requests by a fellow prisoner. Cushela went into a coma in the Umtata gaol, and later died in hospital.

Another detainee, Kadar Hassim, a solicitor, was forced to stand in one position for 15 hours while being interrogated by senior security officers.

Amnesty says that the detainees allege violent assaults to their bodies with fists, whips and sticks. One, Reggie Meong, was handcuffed with his hands around the tree trunk, above his head, where he was whipped and beaten almost continuously for three days and nights while the police officers attempted to get him to make a statement. Several accused were subjected to the "well-known electrical machine", applied

to various parts of the body including the penis.

## 9 TRIALS OF THE MANDELAS

THE SPANISH INQUISITION invented the technique of "ostensible acquittal". This technique meant that people freed by the courts could be re-arrested and re-tried at any time. South Africa has invented a variation of "ostensible acquittal" — people who have been freed by the courts (or have never been brought before the courts) are harassed by the state in ingenious ways.

The Mandela family are an example. Bannings, "endorsement out" prosecutions for technical offences — the Mandelas have experienced the full treatment.

Since Nelson Mandela, former leader of the banned African National Congress, was imprisoned for treason (for life) in 1964, the State has prosecuted his wife, brother-in-law and two sisters-in-law a total of nine times.

Mrs. Winnie Mandela's banning order restricted her to Johannesburg. In 1967 she applied successfully for permission to visit her husband imprisoned on Robben Island.

She was required to travel by train to Cape Town. The train being full, she caught a plane to Cape Town to see her husband before her permit expired.

**Trial 1.** She was charged with breaking the exemption to her banning order. A magistrate, Mr. D. Fygie, agreed "almost in toto" with her defence lawyer that the charges were "petty and technical"

He felt it "rather unfair that the court has been asked to give judgement in this matter".

Mrs. Mandela was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, all but four days of which were suspended.

**Trial 2.** During Mrs. Mandela's trial in Cape Town, her sister Mrs. J. Scott, was arrested inside the courtroom by security policemen and charged with not carrying her pass. She had left it at home.

**Trial 3.** On arrival in Johannesburg, Mrs. Mandela was charged with attempting to resist arrest. She was found not guilty.

**Trial 4.** Mr. T. Madikizela, Mrs. Mandela's brother then visited her in Johannesburg. The Security Police arrested him, interrogated him for a couple of hours, and charged him

with a pass offence — entering Johannesburg without a permit to visit his sister.

The charge was withdrawn but as Mr. Madikizela walked out of the courtroom he was re-arrested and "endorsed out" of Johannesburg back to the Transkei.

**Trial 5.** Mr. Madikizela was again arrested by the Security Police while visiting Mrs. Mandela in 1968 and charged with not producing his pass. He was fined R20 (or two months' imprisonment).

He was also found guilty of being in Johannesburg for longer than 72 hours without permission, because he could not produce evidence of the time of his arrival (this is a guilty-until-proved-innocent pass law).

Mrs. Mandela and several dozen others were detained without trial in 1969. Some co-detainees alleged in sworn affidavits that they were tortured.

**Trial 6.** Mrs. Mandela and 21 others were brought to trial in 1970 for "terrorism". The State withdrew the charges, the judge discharged them, but the Security Police immediately re-detained them.

**Trial 7.** Mrs. Mandela and 19 others were charged a second time. The Supreme Court again acquitted them — after they had spent a total of 17 months in solitary confinement. The Security Police immediately placed Mrs. Mandela and the others under bans and house arrest.

Mrs. Mandela was refused permission to attend her uncle's funeral in the Transkei, and also refused permission to visit her husband, whom she had not seen for two years. She then suffered a heart attack.

**Trial 8.** Princess Nonyaniso Madikizela, Mrs. Mandela's sister, went to





nurse her. The Security Police raided Mrs. Mandela's home and charged Miss Madikizela under the pass laws - entering Johannesburg illegally.

Miss Madikizela, who had lived in Johannesburg for 10 years, was cautioned and discharged by the magistrate, but was "endorsed out" by the Bantu Commissioner.

She had in the meantime married a journalist, Mr. Shadrack Kumalo, and thus was separated from her husband by the pass laws after only two months of marriage.

**Trial 9.** Mrs. Mandela was again charged with having broken her house arrest order by receiving visitors - her brother-in-law, Mr. Xaba, and two infants.

The defence submitted that the safety of the State was not endangered by Mr. Xaba collecting a shopping list - and Mrs. Mandela could not conspire with two infants.

Mrs. Mandela was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, with another six months suspended. On appeal Mr. Justice Marias ordered the whole sentence to be suspended.

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## FAMILY DAY NOT FOR AFRICANS

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Migratory labour laws for the African people separate men from their families for 49 weeks of every year. The policy of influx control separates wives from husbands because they are unable to join them in the urban areas where they work. The policy of "influx enforcement" separates children from parents - because they are unable to join them in the urban areas where they work. The policy of "influx enforcement" separates children from parents - because they are endorsed out of the urban areas when the time comes for them to take out their reference books and they are unable to prove their right to remain where they are. Resettlement in the homelands takes families from their menfolk, and "redundant and superfluous Bantu" from their families.

Hundreds of thousands of African families are broken up, divided, separated in a country where Family Day is honoured. Apart from the quite appalling disabilities which apartheid imposes on African family life there are other factors which help to make a mockery of Family Day in South Africa. One is that there are still far too many employers who do not pay their African staff

enough to sustain a proper kind of family life. So it is heartening to see the moves that are being made towards increasing wages.

Perhaps the soaring cost of living has prodded things along. Surprised, as we are, by today's economic discomforts, we may have begun fairly slowly to realise what a cent increase in the price of bread must mean to a family that is hungry already. At a time when White housewives are planning to confront the Prime Minister about rising prices it is sobering to reflect that the women of Soweto have no one to turn to. Their men are not allowed trade unions to bargain for them. Labour restrictions and influx control and sheer lack of training prevent the creation of a competitive labour market. They are, in a real sense, captives of the economy.

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## PEANUTS BANNED - TOO SEXY

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A LEADING Johannesburg high school for girls has banned peanuts and peanut-butter at the school, according to a report by the State-approved Nutrition Services organisation. The principal, it is stated, has taken this action in the belief that peanuts are sexual stimulants.

A member of the school's parent-teachers' association declined to say whether a peanut ban had been imposed. "I don't see that it is anybody else's business", he said. However, when questioned Mrs. Mona Vincent, one of the two professional workers at the Nutritional Advisory Services on her organisation's report she said that two students, daughters of friends of hers had confirmed that they were told not to eat sandwiches with peanut butter filling or peanuts.

Mr. A. J. Dragt, manager of the Oil-seeds Control Board in Pretoria, said that if this were true the sale of peanuts and peanut butter would soar sky-high.

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## REFUSE TO MOVE

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IN THE FACE of strong action by Bantu Administration officials in Taungs Chief Jeffrey Moseki and his 618 taxpayers won't budge from Majeng the tribal reserve they have lived in for nearly 80 years.

The Government wants them to move some 50 miles away to Vaal-boshoek, an area Chief Moseki described as "almost desert".



Helen Joseph - exposed conditions under banishment in 1959

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## 98 RACE LAWS IN 10 YEARS

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DURING THE first 10 years of the Republic of South Africa it had a record of segregationist and discriminatory laws - 98 laws from 1961 to 1971.

A study on them revealed they were all intended to perpetuate racial differences.

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## NO WHERE TO GO

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TWENTY-TWO Johannesburg Indian families must be out of their Market Street flats in six weeks' time when demolishers move in - but they have nowhere to go.

More than 100 people live in the block, bounded by Commissioner, Diagonal, Market and Kort Streets, which has been bought by the Schlesinger Organisation Real Estate Corporation.

The tenants were offered alternative accommodation by Sorec in privately-owned flats in Lenasia but they said the flats were too cramped and too expensive. In any case when they went to look at the flats, "we were told by the owners that they had been let", a spokesman for the tenants said.



# CHIEF LUTULI REMEMBERED

The Lutuli Memorial Foundation held a modest function in London, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the death, under mysterious circumstances, of Albert John Mvubi Lutuli, the late President-General of the African National Congress.

The function was well-attended and among those present were representatives from the following embassies: Canada, The Peoples Republic of China, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Tanzania, U.A.R., U.S.A., USSR and Zambia.

## MESSAGES

Among the large number of messages received by the Foundation was one from Mrs. Nokukhanya Lutuli, the late Chief's wife, thanking the sponsors and trustees of the Foundation. Written in Zulu, the message states: "It gives me pleasure to say that, although this is called the Lutuli Memorial Foundation, he would not have done anything alone. His fame arises from the following:

1. The members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of whom he always spoke very highly.
  2. The volunteers who "jumped the fires" in the cause of the movement.
  3. Various individuals who constantly advised and discussed with the late Chief. Some of them are languishing in jail, some are separated from their families, others have been deported and many are in exile.
- "All these and others whom I have not mentioned have contributed variously so that today we have the Lutuli Memorial Foundation."

Stating that one day "we shall get our freedom we once

had, Mrs Lutuli said, "Even the Israelites ultimately crossed the Red Sea. Even amongst us there will appear the Miriams, when we are not far from our Canaan.

"Those who are abroad will one day return and take their positions in the land of their birth.

"We will be with you on this day in spirit".

## U. Thant

Mr. U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation in a message said:

"As you know, in 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations bestowed the United Nations Human Rights Award posthumously on the late Chief Lutuli for his outstanding contribution to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"The efforts of the late Chief Lutuli on behalf of human rights for all people of South Africa, for the freedom of Africa and for world peace have been a great inspiration to millions of people.

"Your efforts to perpetuate his memory and help carry on his work deserves the support of all men of good will."

## Emperor Haile Sellassie

A message from His Imperial Majesty, Emperor, Haile Sellassie states:

"The solemn occasion marking the fourth anniversary of the death of the late Chief Albert Lutuli, brings to mind the dedicated efforts of one of Africa's foremost freedom fighters who suffered and died in banishment for the cause of his people and his ideals. His work shall long be remembered by all and remain a driving force to all free-



At the inaugural ceremony in Addis Ababa



dom fighters. We wish to take this opportunity to extend our very best wishes for the success and the endeavours made by the Lutuli Memorial Foundation in carrying out the objectives set forth by the late, Great Son of Africa."

Among those who spoke on the occasion were: Mr. M. B. Yengwa, Director of the Foundation, who attended his first public function after being crippled by a serious illness, Dr. Pascal Ngakane, Chief Lutuli's son-in-law, who arrived in Britain recently after having served a sentence of almost three years on Robben Island and Dr. W. Z. Conco, Chairman of the Foundation. A full text of Dr. Conco's speech follows:

This very modest function is to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the "mysterious death" of Chief Lutuli in Groutville - Stanger, on the 21st July, 1967.

In June 1968, the Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Oliver Tambo, announced the plans of the A.N.C. to honour the memory of Chief Lutuli, which materialized in the launching of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation by the Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, His Excellency Mr. Diallo Telli, in Addis Ababa, on November 25 1970.

### First Function

This then is the first official function of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation since its formation. I think it is very fitting at this juncture, to thank all those who made this function possible.

1. The Swedish Government - in 1968, before I ever dreamt I would be at this function, while I was still in South Africa - behind the Zambezi Curtain, His Excellency, Ambassador Astrom made the following statement, which we welcomed and appreciated and in which he said:

"It is indeed fitting that Albert Lutuli, this great leader in the struggle for democracy and racial equality be remembered as an inspiring example by his own people, as well as the world at large. The Swedish Government will welcome an opportunity to take part in some appropriate form in the realisation of plans now completed for the commemoration of his life and work..." I am glad to announce that I had the pleasure of receiving the first cheque from the Swedish Government last month.

2. The World Council of Churches, who donated a substantial amount, which helped to make the launching of the Foundation possible in November of last year (1970), and we are sure this spirit will continue.

3. The Student Christian Movement, who donated the London office of the Foundation, and have also made it possible for us to have gatherings of this nature in their Library.

4. And lastly, without the assistance and wise guidance of the International Defence and Aid Fund, we could not have reached this stage.

We also thank the many individuals and friends who have been helpful in so many ways.

### Tormented Society

In South Africa, we live in a land going through a period which offers a spectacle of a disturbed and tormented society... struggling against tradition which oppresses



it, and which it strives to shake off. This is the South Africa in which Chief Lutuli lived.

The barrier, which the South African past, opposed to the thrust of the future, held firm, and it is being increased with all the contrivances of modern technology. This barrier is called apartheid or racial discrimination, and appears to be intact, but yet it is being undermined by invisible flaws. When this barrier suddenly gives way, as Chief Lutuli always believed it would, and as we all in fact believe it will give way... when that happens the energies which it contains will pour through the breach like volcanic lava, and give rise to a new historic landscape... a new way of life, a new social and political order.

The Lutuli Memorial Foundation has this optimistic outlook and the inspiration to firstly, do the research to find these invisible flaws, and make them known to those South Africans who are prisoners in Plato's allegoric cave. In other words to seek out the flaws.

The second task is that of capturing the energies constituting the thrust of the future... moulding the stream of hot lava to a new way of living and thinking. This is why the main interest and involvement of the L. M. F. is to capture the energies of African men and women, who shall be leaders of a new South Africa.

I have faith in my people in South Africa and abroad... living in hardship and humiliation of racial discrimination, they have been able to produce such international figures like Chief Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe. I have faith that our young men and women will use the opportunities and changes that the L.M.F. will offer for the emancipation of our dear land... and I can assure you my people will rise to the challenge.



# ABYSS OF DISASTER



## 45 South African Churchmen sign explosive open letter drawing Nazi parallels with present-day policies of the Vorster Regime

FORTY-FIVE Cape clergymen and leading laymen of many denominations say South Africa is closer to Nazi Germany than most people realise. This is the conclusion they reach in a potentially explosive "open letter to South Africans" which was issued as a supplement by Pro Veritate, the South African religious monthly journal.

The writers say the reason for the letter is to call "our people back from the abyss of disaster" and because as Christians, they feel impelled to "speak out".

Among the signatories are Canon F. Findley (Anglican), the Rev. Douglas Bax (Presbyterian), Professor A. M. Hugo, Prof. of Classics at the University of Cape Town, a leading member of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Rev. Theo Kotze, director of the Christian Institute in the Cape, and a number of Coloured ministers.

It is likely to have repercussions beyond the churches, and Government reaction to the startling document can be expected. In October last year Dr. J. S. Gerike, the retiring moderator, opened the General Synod of the NGK in Pretoria with an attack on churchmen and other critics of apartheid society, whom he accused of drawing "an evil and untrue comparison" between South Africa and Nazi Germany. Now these churchmen and prominent laymen have come out with the same allegations in a lengthy signed letter titled:

### "AN OPEN LETTER CONCERNING NATIONALISM, NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY".

"Making comparisons between Nazi Germany and South Africa is painful for those who suffer because they are true. We would not wish to blacken the name of South Africa. Nevertheless, because of the injustices and oppression under which so many are suffering we are bound to speak out."

The letter goes on to list a number of parallels between South Africa and Nazi Germany. These include:

#### Nationalism

Hitler, in his book, Mein Kampf, characterised himself and his philosophy as essential and primarily "nationalist". Moreover, he denied and rejected the kind of patriotism which embraced the many-peopled state of Austria and instead exalted against it the nationalism limited to a single Volk. Whereas the term "nation" ordinarily comprises all those who are citizens of the state concerned, the Nazis made the assertion that "the term must be restricted to those persons who are racially akin to one another. Is the dominant political ideology in South Africa not similarly a neurotic nationalism?", the writers ask. "And does not our Government not similarly insist that the people of South

Africa must not regard themselves as one nation but as many 'nations' which must be separated from one another and can claim not one common loyalty within a common fatherland, but only separate loyalties?"

#### National Messiahism

Hitler called on the Germans to fulfil "the mission appointed for them by the Creator of the Universe" (Mein Kampf). In 1938 he told the diplomatic corps in Berlin: "We believe in the task which Providence has laid upon us". The former South African Prime Minister Dr. Malan said: "Afrikanerdom is not the work of man but the creation of God" — with the implication that it was uniquely so and with a unique purpose.

#### Racialism and Blood

Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf: "A people that fails to preserve the purity of its racial blood destroys the unity of the soul of the nation in all its manifestations. The most accursed of all crimes", he maintained was "crossbreeding". Therefore "what we have to fight for is ... our race and nation ... and purity of its blood".

The open letter asks: "Is it not a parallel to this when the Nationalist Party states in its official programme and principles that it is its 'basic principle' to prevent all 'blood mixing' between white and non-White, and that for this purpose it will endorse segregation in every possible sphere? "Are our laws against inter-marriage and extra-marital relations between White and non-White in South Africa not parallel to the infamous Nuremberg Law that forbade the same things between Aryan and Jew in Germany?" the writers ask.

#### Herrenvolk

Writing about the German theory of the master race, the writers list some of the disabilities facing Africans in South Africa. "Africans are denied skilled jobs, opportunities and positions on a par with Whites. The Government has repeatedly declared that no White will ever take orders from a Black man. "Moreover, even when, or if, all the Bantustans eventually have separate independence' the small White minority will retain domination of 86 per cent of the land, including nearly all its wealthy areas and its mines, industrial centres and ports. "The brutal fact is that while the Government spends over R228 a year on every White pupil, it still spends only about R15 a year on every Black pupil".

#### Labour Policy

"The Nazis compelled all workers to have 'work books' without which they could not be employed. They outlawed all the normal means by which labourers could protect themselves, such as the right to bargain collectively, to form trade unions of their own, to organise in any way, to exert economic pressure, to strike for better wa-



ges, and to move freely from one job to another". "The Nazis converted the lands around Germany into huge reservoirs of labour units. Vast numbers of people were moved from one area to another. Many were shipped to Germany to work in its mines and factories and forced to leave their families behind.

"Have we not let the reserves become huge labour reservoirs around our White group areas?"

The writers ask whether "legislation has not reduced millions of workers to mere labour units, and is it not the declared intention of the Government to place all the eight million Africans who live and work outside the reserves on the migratory labour system"?

## Absolution

On the ground that it was necessary for the security of the state, Hitler gradually dismantled the rule of law in Germany. The Nazis began to dispense with the law courts and to imprison or ban people without trial. Even people acquitted by the courts were re-arrested or banned. "Which of these things is not happening in South Africa? Do we not also have laws which enable the Government to dispense with the law courts? Do the Terrorism Act and the 180-day law not enable it to hold people incommunicado in this way for indefinite periods? At the end of 1969 there were at least 355 banning orders still in force against people remaining in South Africa."

## Secret Police and Informers

"The system of secret police and the honeycombing of the German people with secret informers was notorious. "Have similar things not been introduced into South Africa? Has the new Bureau for State Security not been made directly responsible to the Prime Minister, as the German secret police apparatus was directly responsible to the Fuhrer only"?

## Anti-Liberalism

"The Nazis regarded the civilisation of Western countries as decadent and a dangerous undermining influence on the German volk. Against it they exalted the purity and superiority of their own German 'kultur'. "Is 'liberalism' not opposed in the name of the volk and the race here too? And in order to smear political liberalism - that is, the attitude which is primarily concerned with the political freedom of the individual - is it not conveniently and deceitfully lumped together by Nationalists, as in Germany, with moral permissiveness?"

## Propaganda

"Hitler took complete control of the German radio and used it as an instrument of one-sided party propaganda. All books and magazines regarded as too critical of National Socialism were banned. In the schools the children were taught a distorted version of German history which supported the Nazi ideology. "In South Africa also

there is a constant stream of subtle propaganda from the radio, of which the programme Current Affairs in only the most blatant example".

## Christianity

"In his speeches Hitler made many pious references to the Almighty and His Providence, and called Christianity 'the basis of our whole morality'. Indeed the official programme of the National Socialist Party laid down as one of its principles that it would tolerate what it called positive Christianity. "What this meant in effect, however, was toleration for only that pietistic form of Christianity which strictly limited its own sphere of concern to so-called 'spiritual' things, and ignored sin, injustice and oppression in the political and economic spheres. "When some Protestant pastors concerned themselves with such broader issues Hitler told them that their proper concern was heavenly and ecclesiastical matters only, and that they must therefore stick to these and leave earthly matters to him and the National Socialist Government.

"Our Prime Minister (has) denounced those who criticise the political status quo - as he put it - 'under the cloak of religion'".

"He has said that 'men must not abuse the pulpit to try to attain political ends in South Africa' and again attacked those who 'demeaned' their pulpits into 'political platforms'".

Statement by the  
African National Congress  
of South Africa on

Armes Françaises



contre le peuple  
d'Afrique du Sud

# PARIS - PRETORIA AXIS

The growing and brazen diplomatic, economic and military alliance between France and South Africa reaffirms the identity of interests between the French monopolies and the fascist white regime of South Africa in Africa.

For many years now France has flagrantly defied the arms embargo imposed in South Africa by the U.N. Security Council, in 1963. France has displaced Britain to become the biggest arms merchant to South Africa.

In addition, France has deliberately embarked on joint military projects with the racist Government. There have been several visits by the Defence Minister Botha and his commanders to French military shows. Only a few weeks ago Botha returned from a similar military show and expressed deep satisfaction with his visit to Paris. The recent announcement that South Africa had been granted a license to build French Mirage Aircraft is a demonstration of the success of Botha. The attempts by high ranking French officials including Pompidou to bring pressure to bear on some of the former French colonies to adopt a more conciliatory attitude

towards the racist white minority government has now become well known.

This French-South African alliance is growing in proportions and audacity against the resolutions of the O.A.U., international law and world opinion.

The alliance has specific purposes. The consolidation of South Africa as the bastion of imperialism; the destruction or frustration of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa and the threat to peace, security, and independence of African states.

This is one of the greatest and most sinister conspiracies against the aspirations of the peoples of Southern Africa and Africa which is being carried out with gangsterish stubbornness.

The African National Congress vehemently condemns this fascist axis between France and South Africa. France with her southward reactionary policy in Africa is deliberately reinforcing the northward policy of the racist regime. This is an open act of hostility to Africa.

We call upon all people and organisations, particularly the people and organisations in France to rally and mobilise to stop and crush this diabolical alliance.



# BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA

## Partners in Imperialism

"Britain and South Africa: Partners in Imperialism" was the title of a Conference organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement to mark South Africa Freedom Day - June 26. The Conference was held at the Round House, London and was attended by over 500 people. Its dual theme was the political and economic collaboration of the West with apartheid South Africa and South African expansionism in Africa. The morning was spent discussing the political situation and the afternoon was spent discussing lines of action, especially against British firms with investments in South Africa. The speakers were Eshmael Mlambo, Abdul Minty, Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Carolyn Hunter of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, Roger Trask, National Field Officer of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and Sobizana Mngqikana of the African National Congress. The platform included Sean Gervasi, Frank Judd MP, Rev. Colin Davidson, John Gaetsewe, London representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and Ken Gill, editor of the journal of the Draughtsmen and Allied Trades Association (DATA). The following papers formed the background documentation to the Conference.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN POWERS

by Sean Gervasi

The great issue in African politics south of the Sahara is and must be the question of apartheid. An independent Africa cannot tolerate the subjugation and degradation of entire nations by white supremacist elites in Rhodesia and South Africa. Apartheid cannot be allowed to endure. The issue, however, is not simply a moral one. It is one of power. And this is what makes the struggle against apartheid so difficult. Apartheid will disappear only when the system of which it is such an important part disappears. The present South African regime will have to be destroyed or made to collapse. The difficulty is not just one of mounting an armed struggle or of waging aggressive diplomacy. The difficulty is that the success of the struggle will have the widest ramifications. The destruction of the white regimes in southern Africa will profoundly alter the face of the continent and change the direction of its history. The world is therefore caught in a dilemma. Many of those who denounce apartheid fear the consequences of doing away with it.

The problem of apartheid is thus inextricably linked with

that of neo-colonialism. The great powers no longer exert a direct political influence in the life of their former colonies. When they do, it is almost invisible. Political power and the African regiments have been replaced by economic power and the multi-national companies. The economic influence of the west in independent Africa is enormous and growing. Foreign investors, foreign banks, aid programmes, production for export, a perverted kind of economic growth, indebtedness, capital, intensive technology and high import costs are moulding a new independent Africa. And it is an Africa whose way to progress is blocked, an Africa which is dependent upon the western economies. These things are on the whole unseen and rarely spoken of. Independent Africa is only beginning to discover the reality of neo-colonialism, that freedom does not come when the new flag is raised.

The growing influence of foreign economic power in Africa is the inevitable consequence of the wealth and continuing expansion of western economies. As these economies grow, the corporations must find and secure greater supplies of



raw materials for high levels of production. The west is now critically dependent upon the third world for such supplies. At the same time, economic expansion gradually lowers the level of profit earned in every industry. Western corporations consequently search for new areas, for new markets to sell products. This is why foreign direct investment in manufacturing facilities is now growing rapidly in many poor areas of the world. Soap that cannot be sold profitably in the US can be sold profitably in Nigeria and India. Western countries are thus also dependent upon the third world. Their economies could not function without the expansion of markets and raw material production there. This economic dependence has important political consequences. The political status quo, which in many countries ensures sympathy for the west, must be preserved if western economic needs are to be met.

Western interests are therefore an obstacle to the elimination of apartheid in Southern Africa. For western investment is growing in almost every African country. The rates of profit earned are high. Exports of raw materials to western countries are increasingly important. Sales of manufactured goods through subsidiaries in African countries are rising rapidly. In terms of economics, Africa is becoming relatively more important for the west. In 1960 Africa produced less than 1 % of all earnings on US direct investment overseas. At the end of the sixties, Africa was the source of 10 % of foreign earnings on such investment. The maintenance of the present political status quo is therefore of crucial importance to western powers. The collapse of apartheid would destroy the status quo and throw Africa into turmoil for some time. But a new and more unified Africa would probably emerge. The west fears that a truly independent Africa would be far less sensitive to foreign interests, even that it might turn against those who now frustrate its progress. So the destruction of apartheid must be postponed. This is the meaning of the ambiguity which Britain and the United States display in the debate over apartheid. The west, and those two countries in particular, have settled upon South Africa as a convenient partner in the neo-colonial system.

## „Advantages to Foreign Traders“

From an economic point of view, South Africa offers "advantages" to the foreign trader and investor which other African countries cannot. The whites in South Africa have engineered a system of forced labour which is almost unique in the world. That system enables the white regime to push most labour costs to a minimum. This has for some time been the real foundation of the South African economy. In the early days, of course, it was South Africa's mineral wealth which made it so valuable a possession. The greatest value today is extracted from the suffering of the non-white population. This is the system from which the west now derives such great economic benefits. And this is the system which it seeks to preserve against a more uncertain future.

South Africa is no longer a minor ex-colony. It is an industrialised country. Its natural resources and its industry ensure it an important place in Africa's future, in one way or another. But the most striking fact about this rich society is the poverty of the vast majority of the people. The per capita income of the average white South African is R1,140 per year. The average income per head among Africans is R49 per year. Most African families in urban areas live below the poverty line. Africans in the reserves, where the great majority live, exist on the border of starvation. This poverty is a social creation. It is engineered in order to render Africans helpless, to force them to be subservient and to offer their labour where it is needed.

So far as Africans are concerned, South Africa is a forced labour camp. The organisation of this forced labour system is called apartheid. Apartheid excludes Africans and other non-whites from participation in the benefits which normally accompany industrialisation. Most Africans continue

to live in a pre-industrial world. They are forced to live in reserves which are poor in resources and which have little or no industry, where it is almost impossible for the population assigned to them to sustain life. In white areas Africans have no rights. They are treated as migrant workers. Pass laws, labour bureaux, labour contracts, work colonies and prison farms constitute a system in which they cannot exist as human beings. Africans exist only as labour, as energy for the farms, mines and factories of the white population. In 1953, the United Nations-International Labour Organisation Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour analysed the working of the whole range of apartheid legislation. It came to the following general conclusions:

"With regard to the economic aspect of its terms of reference, the Committee is convinced of the existence in the Union of South Africa of a legislative system applied only to the indigenous population and designed to maintain an insuperable barrier between these people and the inhabitants of European origin. The indirect effect of this legislation is to channel the bulk of the indigenous inhabitants into agricultural and manual work and thus to create a permanent, abundant and cheap labour force.

"Industry and agriculture in the Union depend to a large extent on the existence of this indigenous labour force whose members are obliged to live under the strict supervision and control of the State authorities.

"The ultimate consequence of the system is to compel the native population to contribute, by their labour, to the implementation of the economic policies of the country, but the compulsory and involuntary nature of this contribution results from the peculiar status and situation created by special legislation applicable to the indigenous inhabitants alone, rather than from direct coercive measures designed to compel them to work, although such measures, which are the inevitable consequence of this status, were also found to exist.

"It is in this indirect sense therefore that, in the Committee's view, a system of forced labour of significance to the national economy appears to exist in the Union of South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

## Forced Labour Extended

Since the end of World War II, the whole system of forced labour has been extended and made more efficient. It should be understood that this was inevitable. Once the nationalists had taken power, no other path of social development was really possible. Industrialisation does tend to disrupt old ways of life. But in South Africa industrialisation has been managed by upholders of white supremacy. Social and economic changes have taken place within the old institutions. As the economy became efficient, so did apartheid. This was inevitable simply because the Nationalists have always been obsessed with preserving the "South African way of life". That is always a synonym for the privileges of power and for control. The essence of that way of life has always been the exploitation and domination of the nonwhite races. In a South Africa clinging to its "Old ways", industrialisation, which is an explosion of energy rather than of intelligence, was bound to be used in the old ways, to benefit the few.

Apartheid has been an important stimulus to the kind of economic development which has taken place in South Africa. The abundant supply of cheap labour is important for every industry and gives rise to exceedingly high returns on capital. If African workers, who furnish 70 % of the labour in the economy, were paid what whites are paid for similar jobs, the cost of production in every commercial enterprise would rise significantly. High rates of return are no doubt due in part to monopolistic position which certain

<sup>1</sup> International Labour Office, Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour (1953) paras 372-375.



South African industries enjoy in the world market. This only allows them, however, to charge high prices. Costs would still be increased, and profit margins reduced, if Africans were paid adequate wages. Furthermore, the systematic exploitation of African workers has undoubtedly helped to accelerate the pace of economic growth. High profits have facilitated more rapid expansion. Lower profits would have held back growth. In an important sense, therefore, the whole South African boom has been built on the exploitation of forced labour.

Western economic interests have played an important role in the development and industrialisation of the South African economy. British interests were originally attracted by the country's enormous mineral wealth. Penetration of the domestic market and supplies of cheap food later provided additional reasons for the expansion of economic ties. In the period between the wars, South Africa was already an important, indeed key, part of the Commonwealth economy. The process of industrialisation in South Africa became self-sustaining two decades later. Britain lost its dominant position in the world economy. The United States became the first economic power as a new and more closely integrated world system developed linking the wealthy capitalist countries to the "third world" of former colonies. South Africa has assumed an important, if still subordinate, position in this new system. Its economic ties with Britain remain important. But it has developed important links with the United States, the EEC countries and Japan. All these countries have a stake in South Africa. The continual outward expansion of their economies carried them into the Republic, and it will increase its importance to them as time passes. Foreign investment and trade have helped to make the South African economy what it is today. The increasing importance of these ties, and the crucial position of South Africa in Africa, will make western countries sceptical and fearful of change.

## **R5,500 Million Foreign Investment**

South Africa has always been an important outlet for foreign investment. The fact that it is now an independent republic pursuing its own course, in the face of considerable international opposition has not changed this. Foreign capital still flows to the south in abundance. In 1965 South Africa's foreign liabilities were valued at R2,790 million. By 1968 the total of foreign investments had increased to R4,583 million, an increase of approximately 65% in the twelve year period. During the 1960s, in other words, foreign investment in South Africa was increasing at a rate of roughly 5% per year. This was higher than the rate of increase of domestic investment in many countries which were sending funds to the Republic. The total of foreign investment in South Africa is today probably in the region of R5,500 million. The bulk of this investment is direct. It represents shares and reserves of enterprises in whose activities foreigners are participating directly.

There are several reasons for the growing importance of foreign direct investment in South Africa in the last decade. The wealthy countries, first of all, need profitable outlets for funds. Rates of return in South Africa are high. So funds are attracted from abroad. Secondly, many British and American multi-national corporations are already established in South Africa. It is easy, especially in times of such "prosperity", for them to reinvest retained earnings rather than to remit them to the home country. This obviously applies to other countries as well. Most of the large increase in investment by European countries in recent years has been indirect. But indirect investors are influenced by more or less the same factors as those who have direct controlling interests in foreign enterprise. The third reason for the remarkable recent increase in foreign investment is that South Africa is generally regarded as more stable than many other non-western countries. In a sense foreign investment is underwritten by the repressive apparatus necessary to enforce apartheid.

The South African government has now stopped publishing figures on the ownership of foreign investments. But figures were available until 1966. These indicate that Britain owned approximately three fifths of all foreign investments in South Africa. The United States owns roughly thirteen per cent of those investments. France, Switzerland and West Germany also held important assets in South Africa. There are indications that Britain has now become a relatively less important shareholder in apartheid "prosperity", although British investors still hold the major part of all foreign investments. The United States now undoubtedly holds a larger share, perhaps fifteen per cent or more of the total. West Germany's share also seems to have risen. The share of EEC countries has, in fact, risen dramatically. In 1966 total European investments were probably worth about R550 million. By 1968 South Africa was reporting R864 million in foreign holdings by West European countries outside the sterling area. So it is the wealthiest countries in the world who are the principal foreign participants in the South African economy.

## **25-30% Returns**

In general, earnings on foreign investment in South Africa are quite remarkable. Rates of return on British investments there have been consistently higher than in almost any other country. Between 1960 and 1965, average returns on direct investments in South Africa were between 10 and 15 per cent. The only country to provide consistently higher African holdings were almost 50% higher than those on the average British direct investment overseas. Returns on mining investments in the 1960s appear to have been of the order to 25 to 30%. The same high returns have been enjoyed by US investors. During most of the last decade returns on US direct investments averaged roughly 19% per year. The average return on United States direct investment in the world as a whole was no more than 11%. The continued flow of foreign investment is of crucial importance to South Africa's economy. South Africa is making a desperate effort to continue the modernisation of its economy. The pace of growth is being forced by the government. This means that the country has persistent balance of payments troubles. The goods which it imports, and which it needs to import in order to modernise and to become as independent as possible, grow in volume and rise in price. There is a perpetual trade gap. In the last few years, the trade gap has been enormous. In 1970 South Africa had the largest current account deficit in its history, and the largest trade gap. The balance of payments deficit is being partly financed by the inflow of foreign capital. In 1968 the net inflow of capital was R446 million. In 1970 it was more than R500 million, and the current deficit was R788 million. Inflows of capital therefore help to cover deficits and to permit South Africa to maintain large imports of crucial manufactured goods which it would otherwise have to forego. These capital inflows, furthermore, finance a significant percentage of gross domestic investment. In 1970 nearly 15% of all domestic investment in South Africa was paid for out of foreign funds. The importation of capital is of more than purely quantitative significance. In many instances capital imports are in fact the finance for purchasing sophisticated goods, especially machinery, which cannot be made in South Africa. A number of countries are now lending South Africa money to purchase such goods from their own export industries. What this means is that foreign "capital" cannot be replaced simply by finding new sources of finance in South Africa. For the goods imported are not only important for industrial progress but irreplaceable in the domestic market. The figure for net capital imports is to some extent a measure of the volume of irreplaceable commodities necessary for sustaining economic growth. Large flows of foreign investment are therefore directly helping the South African regime to consolidate an economic position which will be used to resist any challenge to the system of apartheid.





# SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

Trade is exceedingly important to the South African economy, as important as the flows of investment from western countries. Fifty years ago, of course, the economy was essentially a colonial one, and dependence on Great Britain was a burden which weighted heavily upon many South African businessmen. One of the main aims of the policy of forced industrialisation has been to reduce the country's economic dependence. That aim has in large measure been achieved. South Africa's dependence upon imports is not as great as it once was. As a result of rapid industrialisation and a deliberate policy of import-substitution, the proportion of imports in the gross domestic product has fallen from 30 to 20 per cent in the past two decades or more. Export markets have also been of great importance traditionally. Fifteen years ago nearly 30 per cent of production was going overseas. This dependency has now been somewhat diminished. So South Africa has, in the course of rapid industrialisation, been moving towards greater self-sufficiency. Its economy is no longer a typically colonial one in that respect. The country, however, is far from being economically independent.

For South Africa's dependence on trade is greater than the figures alone would indicate. There are many countries with a volume of trade as important as that of South Africa. Many of them, however, could produce substitutes for the goods which they import. And many could redirect their exports to domestic markets. South Africa is not in such a fortunate position. Its economy is not fully industrialised. Its principal exports remain the traditionally colonial ones — raw materials and food. These cannot be sold easily in new markets without the risk of losses. At the same time, many of its imports consist of fairly sophisticated goods, especially capital goods. South Africa does not have a sufficiently developed technological base to be able to produce these on its own in adequate quantities or at reasonable prices. What all this means is that while South Africa is now much more independent economically than it was, it is qualitatively still very dependent upon countries which export sophisticated manufactures and which can provide markets for raw materials and food. It is, in other words, highly dependent upon trade with wealthy western countries.

A further aim of the country's general economic policy appears to have been to reduce dependence upon Great Britain. Britain is still South Africa's main trading partner, but trade with other countries has now reached very high levels and is of considerably greater importance. Britain purchases roughly one third of South Africa's exports and supplies just under 25 per cent of its imports. The United States is the second most important trading partner. It supplies approximately 20 per cent of the Republic's imports. Trade with the Common Market countries has been increasing with remarkable speed. By 1968 Common Market exports to South Africa exceeded those of Great Britain. Japan, whose imports of South African minerals are rising rapidly, now ranks as the fourth major trading partner. South Africa has thus succeeded in diversifying its trade. Overseas markets and suppliers are more widely distributed. But on the whole trade is concentrated among the few, and particularly among those countries — Britain, the United States and France — who have an interest in maintaining the political status quo in Southern Africa.

## Phenomenal Increase

The growth of South Africa's foreign trade, and particularly of its imports, has been truly phenomenal in the last decade. At the beginning of the 60s, South Africa was importing approximately R1,000 million worth of goods per year. By 1970, it was importing more than R2,000 million in goods. The vast bulk of these imports consisted of machinery and transport equipment and was destined for important investment projects. Most of these goods came from Great Britain, the United States and West Germany. The United States and West Germany in particular have been increasing their shipments of such goods very rapidly. By the late 60s, for instance, they were sending more than 200 million dollars worth of non-electrical machinery per year to the Republic. This was roughly 50 per cent more than Great Britain, the traditional supplier, was exporting. Three or four western countries, in other words, have been playing



a crucial role in providing South Africa with the means it needs for industrialisation, and for achieving greater economic independence. The growth of the South African economy has therefore been crucially dependent on the good will of those countries. This is tantamount to saying that those countries have been underwriting the stability of the South African system.

It should be noted that none of South Africa's principal trading partners needs that country's goods or markets in anything like the same sense. Imports and exports, especially of certain goods, are crucial to the functioning of the South African economy. So South Africa is dependent upon the countries with whom its trade is concentrated. Neither Great Britain nor the United States nor West Germany, however, really depends on the South African trade to the same degree. For each of the countries, and for South Africa's other trading partners, trade with South Africa is a very small fraction of the total. Loss of export markets or of suppliers in South Africa would be of no great consequence. It cannot possibly be said that the South African trade is crucial to economic activity in any of the developed countries. South Africa depends upon the west for economic assistance. The west does not really need South African markets or supplies to anything like the same extent.

## Strategic Importance

Yet it is clear that western countries, particularly in recent years, have been strengthening their economic ties with South Africa. To some extent this can be explained as the outcome of developing normal economic ties. Business as usual leads to increasing trade and investment everywhere. But the west stands in a unique position in respect to South Africa. The Republic has been repeatedly condemned by the community of nations. It is very nearly an outlaw state. Western governments are acutely aware, especially those with large minorities of African origin, of the anger which so many of their citizens display towards South Africa. Influential advisers describe apartheid as "the most blatant and brutal example in the contemporary world of the denial of human and political rights on the basis of race". How, then, is it that western governments encourage the expansion of trade and investment with a nation which, in however muted terms, they condemn? Why do they supply enormous quantities of arms to that country? They know that trade, investment and arms are crucial to the maintenance of the white regime. The rapid development of economic ties with South Africa cannot be simply a logical conclusion of normal business relations. There must be more to it than that. And the indications are that western countries are coming to see South Africa not just as a trading partner or a profitable outlet for investment but as a strategically important part of Africa. Those who make policy in the United States, Great Britain, France and West Germany know full well that South Africa is a key to the future of Africa. Whatever future Africa faces, South Africa will inevitably play a most important part in shaping it. It is the most powerful country south of the Sahara. It will one day be the workshop of Africa, perhaps in nearly the same way that Britain was once the workshop of the world. Its potential economic power is enormous, and it is already far more developed, in the purely technical sense, than the potential of other African nations. South Africa will, in other words, play a dominant role in Africa in the decade to come, for good or evil. Policy makers know as well that South Africa is now engaged in launching a counter-attack on independent African states which it hopes to use to settle the future of apartheid for a long time to come. South Africa is now pursuing an "outward looking" policy of improving economic and diplomatic ties with independent African states. What South Africa appears to be proposing is mutual assistance in development based on the recognition of political independence. The main aim is greater economic interdependence with the

whole of Africa, but especially within the southern region. This policy is now being pushed hard by the South African government. Some African states have already begun to move closer towards South Africa. They, and other African states, apparently believe that they have much to gain by modifying their traditional opposition to ties with South Africa.

## Impressive Promises

There is, however, an obvious *quid pro quo*. The South Africans describe what is happening as the "birth of a strong regionalism". But they note with pleasure that it is a regionalism in which "racial affairs are taking a back seat". This "blurring of old animosities" is the price which African states must pay for the promise of progress. And the promises are impressive. "If allowed to proceed unhindered, developments in this area could lead to the creation of a new multi-national giant, the Europe of Africa, which will one day exercise a profound influence on developments in Africa, if not in the world"<sup>2</sup> If the independent states of Africa, and especially of Southern Africa, come to the conclusion that this kind of cooperation can in fact help them a great deal, then South Africa may well succeed in blunting the thrust of the national liberation movements.

What South Africa is aiming at is not simply an implicit agreement to hold back support for liberation movements, nor even an agreement to mute the anti-apartheid policies of the more principled independent African states. It aims at creating a network of power within which it may force other countries to desist from their opposition to apartheid. We are not witnessing simply the growth of trade, investment and other "purely economic changes" between South Africa and certain independent African states. Trade and aid, in particular, are increasing rapidly enough. What is actually taking place is quite different. South Africa is building an empire. It is expanding trade, aid, investment and diplomatic contacts with independent African countries in order to be in a position to **dominate** them.

South Africa is economically and militarily powerful. Most independent African countries are far weaker. South Africa is seeking a closer association with these nations because it knows that its power will make it possible to exercise a dominant influence over them. The situation is seen in very basic terms. "On its part South Africa dominates the Third Africa to the same, if not a greater, extent than the United States enjoys pre-eminence in the Americas".<sup>3</sup> What is sometimes blandly seen as an African Common Market, or as a "realignment of traditional economic ties", is therefore really a sphere of influence in which South Africa will control flows of investment, trade, the development of technology, the migration of labour and, inevitably, politics. For a country which can dominate another economically begins, within the framework of "free market relations", to exercise political influence without fail. Can it be doubted that the basic purpose of developing this new economic empire is to secure the future of the white regimes in Southern Africa? Is that not the meaning of the analogy with the United States?

The net result of these new developments, then, and the most important result for the future of Africa, will be to reinforce the South African regime. It will become far more difficult to carry on the struggle against apartheid. Millions of people will be locked inside a system of forced labour. What is more, it is very unlikely that those countries who are drawn into the South African net will benefit from their new relationship to that country economically. South Africa

<sup>2</sup> E. Rhodes, *The Third Africa*, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Rhodes, *op cit.*, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> Stadler, Lombard, van der Merwe, *The Concept of Economic Cooperation in Southern Africa*, p. 34.



has formulated fairly clear plans for the "development of the subcontinent". These plans are relevant for analysing the possible future for more distant trading and investment partners as well. South African plans make it clear that the periphery of the sub-continent will remain underdeveloped and that the South African and Rhodesian bastions will grow at the expense of their weaker economic "partners". The real success of South African expansion, in other words, could aggravate the development problems of most independent African states. It could lead to the emergence of a pattern of production in the whole continent south of the Sahara which would block the possibilities of industrialisation and development. That is exactly what has happened as a consequence of relations with the other "giant" to the north of the Latin American countries.

## South African Empire

The successful development of a South African empire will mean different things to different groups of nations. For South Africa it could be the obvious "long run solution" to the impossible situation in which it finds itself. The regime might buy another 20 or 30 years of time in which to relish its racism. For African states anxious to develop, it could easily mean more obstacles to development. It could mean as well a serious undermining of political independence, perhaps even the gradual imposition of some of the institutions of apartheid. It would certainly mean accepting impotence in the struggle to free those already living within the racist system. For the western powers, the success of the imperial drive would also bring undoubted benefits. It would, firstly, eliminate any real danger of the whole of Southern Africa exploding, with "unpredictable" and frightening results. It would also create a political climate in which the economic penetration and subjugation of Africa could be pursued with ease. The western powers, in order to continue to develop markets and sources of

raw materials, need political stability more than anything else. The success of the South Africans would not only ensure political stability, but an "independent" Africa increasing amenable to western pressures. It would, in short be a relatively "happy outcome".

All of these things are now quite obvious. They are as obvious as the fact that western exports and investment have played a crucial role in developing and strengthening the South African economy, in strengthening, in other words, a social system which is based upon the forced labour of millions of people. What is not quite so obvious is the connection between western economic ties to South Africa and the maintenance and development of the neo-colonial system which condemns independent Africa to poverty. That, however, is being increasingly talked about, even by the South Africans: "To a large extent the Republic's economic ability to sustain a programme of political and economic viability for the new nations of this sub-continent depends heavily on the continuation of its trade and financial relations with Europe".<sup>4</sup>

If South Africa were not receiving the economic assistance which it is receiving, it could not contemplate the exportation of capital and simple manufactures to an expanding empire. Its economy would be in severe difficulties. Expansion of trade and capital flows to South Africa are assisting the South Africans in moving outward. That is the one thing which might save apartheid in the long run. Saving apartheid in this very indirect way is easy, and almost inviable. It is not awkward. The results are exceedingly convenient for western countries. For they ensure stability, albeit with apartheid. The real end of western policy is to preserve existing economic relations with Africa. These are profitable. So, as it turns out, is apartheid. Not just because the forced labour of Africans in South Africa is profitable. But because underwriting the system of forced labour there helps to underwrite the whole system of relations with all of Africa, a system of relation which has not yet produced development for Africa and which never will. But a system, nonetheless, which is profitable and necessary for some.





# BARCLAYS BANK

Barclays Bank first came under fire for its involvement in Southern Africa at the end of 1969 with the discovery of its involvement in the Cabora Bassa project. In May 1970 the Zambian government protested to Barclays about the role it plays in encouraging UK/South African trade. Since then the campaign against Barclays has broadened to include its operations in the whole of Southern Africa, and Barclays has lost business ranging from individual accounts to substantial organisational balances, such as that of the Student Christian Movement and many student unions.

Barclays Bank is one of the banking, insurance and finance houses that provided the financial expertise which South Africa needed as it developed first its diamond and gold mines, and then its industrial base. Barclays moved into South Africa in 1925 when it took over the National Bank of South Africa, which had been founded in the Transvaal under charter from President Paul Kruger. The Barclays Group is made up of Barclays Bank, Barclays DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), Martins Bank and several other banking and finance houses. For practical and political purposes they are one supra-national institution. The member of the group that controls its Southern African interests is Barclays DCO, in which the parent Barclays Bank has a 55% share.

## Biggest Bank

Barclays DCO is the biggest bank in South Africa and has large interests in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. In 1969 its South African assets were worth £791 millions and it had 963 South African branches. Its nearest rival was the Standard Bank with assets of £680 millions and 921 branches. Given the amount and diversity of foreign economic involvement in Southern Africa, it is felt in some quarters – particularly on the Barclays board of directors – that it is unjust to select Barclays as a special target for attack. But this is not a random selection. Barclays has shown that it has not merely accepted but embraced and encouraged South African policies.

Its 1969 booklet, *Emigrating to South Africa*, recounts the official South African government view of South African history. It repeats the astonishing assertion that 45% of the most fertile ground is located in the "Bantu Homelands" without mentioning that these comprise only 13% of the total area of South Africa. At Barclays DCO's AGM last January the chairman, Sir Frederic Seebohm, devoted some time in an attempt to show that Barclays DCO is a "progressive and multi-racial bank". It is interesting that the examples which he used to try to prove this all lay outside the white-ruled countries of Southern Africa. He said, for example, that out of 157 offices in West Africa, 112 are wholly staffed by Africans.

In South Africa Barclays DCO employs over 9,000 electrical workers and they are overwhelmingly white. 50 – an infinitesimal fraction – are Coloured or Indian, and about 70 are Africans. The Coloureds and Indians work in two Indian areas in Durban and in Athlone, a Coloured area in Cape Town. The Africans work in the "homelands" and in Dube and Soweto, African townships near Johannesburg. The only Barclays branches in which black clerical workers work in white areas are one in Pietermaritzburg which employs Africans and one in Cape Town which employs Coloureds.

One of Barclays General Managers in South Africa has said that it would be against the law to employ a "non-

white" to serve whites, but that he is not sure if this is the result of job reservation regulations or of the Group Areas Act. Barclays refuses to disclose its South African wage scales. But according to the bank clerks' union, the South African Society of Bank Officials, it operates a complicated scale which does discriminate on racial grounds.

## Segregated Entrances

Whites, Coloureds and Indian start on the same basic rate of £53.65 a month and for the first three years the three racial groups stay on the same scale. After that the scale for whites climbs more steeply than for the others: for example, after 5 years white women get £76.99 per month but Coloured and Indian women get £72.99 per month. After the sixth increment whites automatically move on to a higher scale; Coloureds and Indians stay on a lower scale unless they are moved up to the higher scale as a reward for outstanding efficiency. Pay at the top of the higher scale is £161.57 per month for white clerical workers and £148.82 per month for Coloured and Indian clerical workers, but as there are no Coloured or Indian workers anywhere near top of the scale, this figure does not mean much.

There is no provision for wage rates for Coloureds and Indian above the rank of clerical worker as, for example, accountants or assistance managers, presumably because they are never expected to rise from this level. These wage rates do not necessarily apply to Barclays African clerical workers. It is difficult to obtain reliable figures on African wages as Africans are not allowed to belong to a registered union.

Entrances and counters at Barclays DCO's South African branches are segregated – under heavy questioning Sir Frederic Seebohm very reluctantly admitted this at Barclays AGM in April. When the Revd. David Head, the General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement visited a Barclays DCO branch at Umtata, capital of the Transkei, last year he found that "the black customers, supposedly at home in their own area, were served apart, two steps down".

In Rhodesia Barclays DCO has continued to operate since UDI. Its Rhodesian Board includes Sir Frederick Crawford whose passport was confiscated by the British government on the grounds that he was one of the Smith regime's "active supporters". Barclays has also fallen under suspicion of helping illegally to transfer money from Rhodesia to Britain via South Africa. In Mozambique Barclays has merged its operations with those of a Portuguese bank, the Banco de Angola in return for an opening into Angola.

On the question of Barclays' involvement in Cabora Bassa, Barclays Chairman John Thompson said at Barclays AGM that Barclays DCO was still involved "via a long line of credit" extended to a customer which was taking part in the project. Earlier Barclays had said that £1.1 millions worth of performance bonds with which it was guaranteeing another customer's Cabora Bassa sub-contract, had lapsed. An advertisement in the Portuguese magazine *Jornal Portugues de Economica e Financas*, 16–31 January 1967, announced "Barclays – Presence Maintained in Cabora Bassa".

The extent of the opposition to Barclays Bank's role in Southern Africa has forced Barclays to spend quite a lot of time defending itself. Its efforts to do so are one of the most telling indictments against it. In a long statement at Barclays DCO's last AGM Sir Frederic Seebohm said: "Our Bank and its forbears have operated there (in South Africa) for nearly 150 years. We have done our best to give good service to all races and have in fact 700,000 non-white customers, some of them very prosperous. Whatever one feels about the present application of apartheid, it has to be accepted that South Africa has a problem which will not be solved any simple stroke of the pen or legal act. There will obviously be violent differences of opinion and the solution can come only after years of patient constructive thought. To urge and assist bloody revolution now would be complete surrender to the forces of evil".



# IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD

ICI is typical of the big British corporations which have a stake in the South African economy. Its investments in South Africa include money invested in the South African armaments industry and money which is financing the supply of equipment for the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique. ICI earned £4,138,000 before tax from its South African operations in 1970: its South African turnover was just over £29 millions. According to the Johannesburg **'SUNDAY TIMES'** this makes ICI one of the most profitable companies in South Africa. Although these figures are small in relation to ICI's total profits (£134.5 million in 1970), they are large in relation to the South African economy. ICI's interests in South Africa are all administered by a wholly-owned subsidiary, ICI South Africa.

The bulk of ICI's South African profits – £2,582,541 in 1970 – come from its effective 42.5% holding in the giant South African company African Explosives and Chemical Industries (AE & CI). ICI is joint largest shareholder in AE & CI together with De Beers, an associate company of the Anglo-American Corporation, which also owns 42.5%. The remaining 15% of AE & CI is owned by private South African shareholders.

It is ICI's holding in AE & CI that places it at the heart of the South African economy. ICI's interest is not just a financial one: the two companies work closely together. AE & CI holds manufacturing rights for many ICI products, and ICI only exports to South Africa goods which it is uneconomic for AE & CI to manufacture. AE & CI holds sole rights to sell ICI products to African countries south of the Equator.

## Second Largest

AE & CI is the second largest South African industrial company. Its taxed profits in 1970 were £8 millions and it employs 17,400 people, two thirds of them black. It manufactures a wide range of plastics, chemicals, fertilisers and blasting explosives.

By an agreement made in the early 1960's, AE & CI operates two munitions factories for the South African government in the Transvaal in return for an annual fee. In February 1970, the government took over full technical control from AE & CI of a third munitions plant at Somerset West in the Cape. AE & CI maintain strict secrecy on the locations of these factories and on what they produce there.

AE & CI is also one of two suppliers of industrial explosives for the Cabora Bassa project. (The other is a Portuguese company.) According to an AE & CI spokesman, the company is the only commercial explosive manufacturer established in Mozambique and it is therefore the "natural supplier for Cabora Bassa. In February this year AE & CI announced that it is to establish a new company in Mozambique in partnership with two Portuguese companies to manufacture explosives there for the first time. The new company will build a factory at Lourenco Marques or Beira at a cost of nearly £3,000,000 and its production will be sold through AE & CI's subsidiary, AE & CI (Portugal) Lda. ICI has nearly 200 subsidiary and associated companies in Britain a list of these is available from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.





# RIO-TINTO ZINC AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Rio-Tinto Zinc Corporation is a multi-national mining-finance group which has its principal interests in the UK, Australia, Canada, USA and South Africa. It was formed in 1962 with the merger of the Rio-Tinto Company, whose principal interests were in copper and uranium, and the Consolidated Zinc Corporation, which mined lead, zinc and aluminium. In 1968 RTZ merged with Borax (Holdings) Ltd. Today the group mines nearly every major mineral; it also manufactures chemicals and explosives and industrial plastics.

RTZ has principal associated companies in each of the areas which it operates, and each of them manages and provides services for a number of operating companies. RTZ's London Headquarters at 6 St. James's Square, London S. W.1. co-ordinates the group's activities and provides finance and services like planning, insurance, shipping and taxation advice. The RTZ Group's principal associated companies are Imperial Smelting Corporation Ltd. and Borax (Holding) Ltd. in the UK; Conzinc Riotinto of Australia Ltd; the Canadian Rio Algom Mines Ltd; the United States Borax and Chemical Corporation; Rio Tinto Mining Company of South Africa Ltd. and Palabora Mining Company in South Africa; and Rio Tinto (Rhodesia) Ltd.

RTZ's major operation in South Africa is the giant Palabora copper mine in the Transvaal. RTZ has a 38.9 per cent interest in the Palabora Mining Company which owns the mine. The rest of the company is owned by the US Newmont Mining Corporation, Selected Trust, Union Corporation, South African institutions and individual share-holders. Palabora is one of the biggest open-cast mines in the world and it is also one of the most profitable. Palabora Mining Company's before tax profit in 1970 was £33.6 million, an increase of £3.5 million on 1969. This represented 42 per cent of the Rio Tinto Zinc Group's world profits of £79.2 million. But though 42 per cent of the Group's profits come from Palabora, only 7.7 per cent of RTS's assets are located in South Africa.

## Low Costs

Palabora is so profitable because its costs are so low. According to a Johannesburg newspaper, the *Star*, the Palabora Mining Company is the lowest cost producer of copper in the world, with an output cost of about £160 per ton. Costs are low partly because of the wages the company pays its African miners. RTZ's Chairman, Sir Val Duncan, refused, at RTZ's AGM on May 19 this year, to

disclose the wage rates paid to African miners employed at Palabora. But the average-cash wage for black South African miners, according to the South African Chamber of Mines, is £2.50 per week.

Palabora Mining Company employs 795 Europeans and 2,194 Africans. Its black employees live in the "Bantu Township of Namakgale."

RTZ is also planning to mine uranium on a huge scale in Namibia. On May 19, 1971 it announced that it had taken a final decision to go ahead and mine the vast low-grade uranium deposits it has discovered at Rossing, 70 miles from Walvis Bay. The uranium at Rossing is all of a very low grade, and this means that its exploitation will only be economic if it is done on a very large scale. The development of the Rossing mine will cost RTZ at least £175 million.

It only became a practical proposition for RTZ to mine at Rossing when it had secured firm contracts for the sale of Rossing's uranium. One of its customers is the UK Atomic Energy Authority, which signed two contracts for the purchase of uranium from Rossing with RTZ's subsidiary Riofinex in 1969. The contract was referred first to the Ministry of Technology, where it was passed by the Minister, Anthony Wedgewood Benn, and then to the Cabinet where it was discussed in March 1970. According to some sources Rossing will eventually supply 40 per cent of Britain's uranium needs. On June 21 this year the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa's administration of Namibia is illegal. The British government did not even wait for the Court to make its ruling before giving its full backing to RTZ.

## Rhodesian Operation

RTZ's original partner in prospecting for uranium in Namibia was a German company Urangesellschaft. Urangesellschaft withdrew from the project in January 1971 after the West German government had refused to give it financial guarantees for the scheme.

In RTZ's 1970 Annual Report there is no mention of Rio Tinto (Rhodesia) Ltd. But RTZ has greatly expanded its operations in Rhodesia since UDI and has played a full part in Rhodesia's mining boom.

At the time of UDI RTZ operated four gold mines in Rhodesia and mined emeralds at its Sandawana mine. Since UDI it has been prospecting for copper, nickel and gold and has developed its huge Empress nickel mine. The Empress mine came into production in 1969 and has a 1970 production target of 6000 tons.

Rio Tinto (Rhodesia's) after tax profit was £860,000 in 1969 three times higher than it was in 1968. In his 1969 annual statement Rio Tinto (Rhodesia's) Chairman, R.S. Walker, said that the continuing application of sanctions prevented the publication of information about the company's activities, and that "with great reluctance it has been deemed advisable to discontinue the publication of group sales figures this year". RTZ is also prospecting for diamonds at Letseng-le Terai in Lesotho. According to RTZ's 1967 survey, mining could begin there in the early 1970's. RTZ is franker about its corporate philosophy than many of the big British corporations that invest in apartheid. According to its Chairman, Sir Val Duncan, speaking at the company's AGM this year, it is not the job of firms such as RTZ to determine the "right answers" to the South African situation. Sir Val said that it was his "fundamental conviction" that "all mankind is the same, but different peoples are at different stages of human development. It is our privilege to better the lot of everyone who works for us."