

SECHABABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

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**Release all
Political
Prisoners,
the Banned,
and the
Banished**

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COMRADE BOY MVEMVE (J.D.) MURDERED

At about a quarter before one on tuesday afternoon on February 12, 1974, a bomb planted in a parcel and addressed to the offices of the African National Congress of South Africa at the Liberation Centre in Lusaka abruptly ended the life of BOY MVEMVE - alias John Dube and endearingly called simply J. D. by his many colleagues and friends.

J. D. was deputy chief representative of the ANC in Zambia and a leading member of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the revolutionary wing of the Congress and the entire liberation movement of South Africa.

The explosion, which occurred as Comrade J. D. opened a book received not long before from the post office, completely destroyed the African National Congress office and also damaged the neighbouring offices. Two members of the ANC who were with Comrade J. D. at the time of the explosion, Comrades Max Sisulu and Roy Campbells, sustained injuries.

Thus the terrorist agencies of the fascist regime in South Africa have struck once again barely two weeks after the murder, in similar fashion, of Abraham Tiro, leader of the militant SASO. The guilt for these darstardly crimes must be shared equally by the other members of the unholy alliance in Southern Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal and also by international imperialism which is doing everything to perpetuate the existence of these criminal regimes.

The untimely death of Comrade J. D. has robbed the entire revolutionary movement in South Africa of a dedicated, disciplined and courageous fighter whose whole life was completely dedicated to the cause of his people, and whose many-sided qualities as a revolutionary patriot were a source of militant inspiration to his numerous colleagues, inside and outside South Africa and to those in the fascist dungeons.

It is also significant that one of his last public functions was in his role as a representative of the African National Congress at a commemoration meeting held to mark the 13th Anniversary of the commencement of the armed revolutionary struggle of the people of Angola under the leadership of the Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

In his address at this gathering Comrade J. D. reminded his audience of the Unholy Alliance of the fascist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia whose designs are to ensure the perpetual political domination and exploitation of millions of people in this region whilst at the same time seeking to consolidate this region as a springboard of neo-colonial penetration of the independent African countries by aggressive imperialism. Comrade J. D. then issued a clarion call for the unity of all the revolutionary forces in all countries of this region as a necessary pre-condition for speedy victory and destruction of the common enemy.

J. D. was thus not just a dedicated patriot, a true son of his people - he was also a convinced internationalist, a revolutionary combatant against imperialist reaction - the common enemy of all oppressed peoples. In both these roles J. D. was a true mirror and embodiment of the revolutionary liberation movement of South Africa, headed by the African National Congress.

Comrade Boy Mvemve, like many dedicated revolutionaries in our country, believed that it was not enough merely to identify and understand the root causes of the present plight of our people (although like many of his colleagues he recognised the importance of such theoretical knowledge), he participated in practical decisions working for the revolutionary change of the situation in our country. He was convinced that armed seizure of political power was the only practical solution to the plight confronting

the oppressed people in South Africa. Thus he was one of the founder members of Umkhonto We Sizwe and during the brief history of the military wing of our movement, he had risen to positions of leadership which he richly deserved.

Many of J. D.'s compatriots will recall his inexhaustible energy during political campaigns behind which he threw the full weight of his resourcefulness as a leading member of the ANC branch in Alexander Township; as a leading functionary of the underground units of the banned African National Congress in which capacity he constantly travelled on dangerous assignments of the movement to other areas within the Johannesburg complex.

Above all he will be remembered as a member of the leading organ of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE which jointly participated with corresponding organs of ZAPU in planning and executing the military campaigns of the ZAPU/ANC alliance against the combined forces of Rhodesia and South Africa in Rhodesia in 1967-1968.

The main feature of political development in South Africa in the post 1960 period has been characterised by mounting violence and savagery of the reactionary white minority state on the revolutionary movement. The main design of this racist onslaught was to completely muzzle and intimidate the revolutionary movement into submission so as to enable domestic reaction and imperialism to relentlessly pursue the programme of ruthless domination and exploitation of the Black people unchallenged.

The arrest and incarceration of the leaders of the peoples captured at the underground headquarters at Rivonia in 1963 and the continued arrest and imprisonment of other militants, including leading members of Umkhonto We Sizwe over this period; the physical liquidation of others under camouflage of legal processes; the banning and proscription of numerous democrats and the consistent policy of massacre of defenceless Black people as the only answer to their justifiable resistance to continued oppression and ruthless exploitation - all these are weapons which the racist enemy has used in this period.

True to its long-standing revolutionary traditions acquired over decades of unrelenting struggle and because it had swelled its ranks with dedicated and fearless revolutionaries of the calibre of Comrade J. D. and numerous other comrades, the African Na-

tional Congress not only successfully weathered the blows of the enemy, but, as recent developments have clearly demonstrated, it increased its capacity to mobilise and inspire the Black people to greater victories in their revolutionary struggle.

The mounting struggles of the super-exploited Black workers whose fury has defied the intransigent savagery of the racist state; the growing militancy of the revolutionary youth who are convinced of the urgency of seizure of political power by the viciously oppressed section of the oppressed population, the Black people and the growing resistance of large sections of the population in the Bantustans have panicked the ranks of the racist white minority and have likewise thrown the friends and supporters of the regime into confusion.

The present situation in our country and the mounting violence of the racist state as evidenced by their murderous acts on the leaders of the revolutionary movement have thrown an urgent challenge on the African National Congress. The urgent task facing

our entire movement is to raise as soon as possible the present offensive of the people to a much higher revolutionary level.

The ANC has already given a clear directive and answer to the plight of the people - armed seizure of political power is the order of the day as the main task of the movement and entire oppressed people. All the energies, all the resourcefulness, all the creative activity of our movement and entire oppressed population must be mobilised for the successful accomplishment of this central task.

We must not just mourn over the death of Comrade J. D. We must rededicate ourselves as never before; never to rest until the final liquidation of the reactionary white state. Unity of all the democratic forces is the key.

The African National Congress conveys heartfelt condolences to the family and all the comrades-at-arms of Comrade BOY MVEMVE.

HAMBA KAHLE J. D.!

Mr. DUBE's coffin is carried by freedom fighters into the church



- **The Poverty Datum Line (PDL) Increases**
- **Many More Strikes by Black Workers**
- **TUCSA in Trouble**

PDL Increase

With the growing strike movement which began early last year, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce announced that the Poverty Datum Line – the barest survival minimum – has increased by 4.6 percent since the middle of last year.

A SOWETO household of five requires a minimum monthly income of R95.37 according to the Chamber.

* * * * *

More Strikes

Strikes by Black workers affecting several industries show that the industrial unrest which began early last year is nowhere near ending.

Production was brought to a standstill for three and a half days at the Motor Assembly Plant, near Durban when the entire African labour force of 2000 men downed tools and demanded an increase in wages.

Fifteen months ago the workers won an increase of over 100 per cent,

from 22 cents to 43 cents an hour. Two weeks before the present strike the management offered the workers a further 2 cents an hour increase. The workers rejected this offer saying that this increase was inadequate because of the rapidly increasing cost of living.

The strike ended when the employers offered a 6-cent increase which represents an increase of R2.70 per week (R1 = approx 50p).

* * * * *

British Company Hit

Workers at Glacier Bearing – a division of the giant British Associated Engineering group, in Pinetown, near Durban, were out on strike for one day because they were not consulted when increases were announced by the Company.

The workers, who are members of the newly-formed, Black African Metal and Allied Workers' Union, were angry because the Company refused to speak to union officials or to allow the union into the factory.



Durban Strikes . . . risks of more trouble ahead

Although there is nothing in the law to prevent employers from discussing workers demands with Black trade unions, the managing director of Glacier Bearings, Mr. D. M. Edwards used the usual cliché that unsympathetic employers reserve for occasions such as this.

He said: "We favour trade unions for all our workers but, we must operate within the system".

Wages at Glacier have been increased from R15.64 to R17.48 a week and an award of R2 a month for every year of service.

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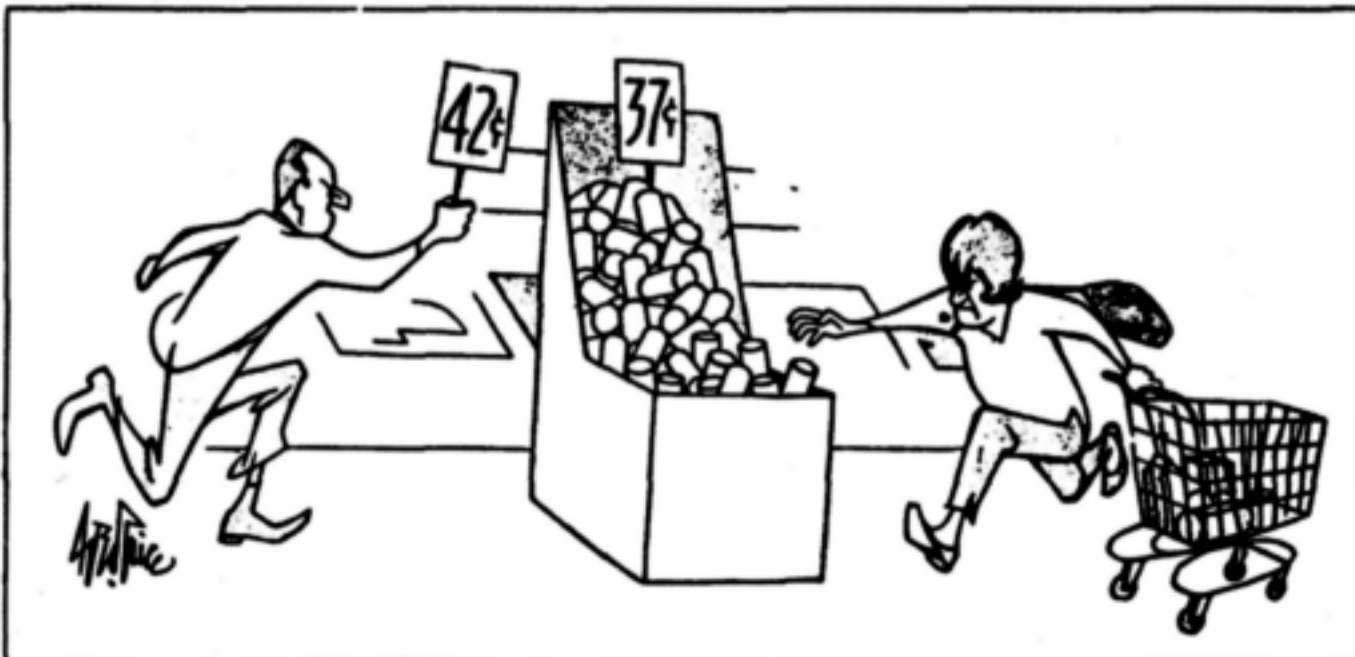
Municipal Workers

After a lightning strike by municipal workers employed by the Durban Corporation the workers went back to work when Council officials promised that their wages would be reviewed every six months for the next two years.

* * * * *

Metal Workers

At another lightning strike lasting 24 hours African and Indian workers



at the Stirling Metal Products, in New Germany near Durban returned when the management agreed to review wages every six months.

The workers were given an increase of between R1 and R2 two weeks earlier.

* * * * *

Dairy Workers

Three hundred workers at the Hazeldene Dairy, Germiston near Johannesburg and a further 100 workers at Hazeldene's Boksburg depot were out on strike for two days.

They went back to work after the management assured them that their wages will be increased early in April.

The increases offered were:

- three of the thirteen categories of Black workers will receive a 17 per cent increase; and,
- the remaining 10 categories a 35 per cent increase.

* * * * *

Workers Dismissed

Thirty four African workers who went on strike after two separate wage disputes have been dismissed. Twenty one had been employed at the Tedstone Chicken Farm. The remainder worked for Weblers Steel Windows. Both companies are in Krugersdorp in the Transvaal.

The Chicken farm workers refused to work as they had not been paid the bonus which had been promised to them.

They worked a nine-hour day and were paid the princely sum of R12 per month (less than £6).

They were all charged and sentenced to 60 days imprisonment or R60 fine. As they could not afford the fine all are now in prison.

The steel workers were also brought before a magistrate who fined nine of them to R90 or 90 days imprisonment. Four juveniles were sentenced to the medieval penalty of six strokes. As

the nine workers could not afford to pay their fines they are, like the Chicken farm workers, now in jail.

* * * * *

Sackings Anger Drivers

Works Committees, which are the government's answer for African trade unions, are absolutely useless. Ruthless bosses use such committees to hoodwink the workers and the public at large. They are almost always packed with either 'yes men' or their members are intimidated into agreeing with their employers.

Usually, one never hears of what goes on at these works committees. But, recently, two former chairmen and a former vice chairman of a works committee have come out fighting.

Following the letter of the law, Mr. Augustine Zuma and Mr. Michael Sibisi, the former chairmen and Mr. Lucas Mkize, the former vice chairman, have submitted affidavits to the Department of Labour stating that the company at which they worked - Rainbow Chicken Ltd. - had disbanded the works committee of their transport division.

The affidavits also reveal a series of unexplained dismissals last year ending with the total disbanding of the transport division's works committee "As a result of the dismissals," states one of the affidavits, "the drivers are angry and there is no channel through which they can, without fear, communicate their feeling to the management."

For whatever it is worth, the Department of Labour has instituted an enquiry.

* * * * *

Nurses and Doctors

The Johannesburg City Council, up to a few weeks ago, operated several clinics in the African, Indian and Coloured areas. They paid their Black doctors and nurses the same wages as that paid to White doctors and nurses.



In the Council, the ruling Nationalist Party members are in the minority. In the Transvaal Provincial Council, however, they are in the majority. Recently the Transvaal Provincial Administration took over the City Council controlled clinics. The wages of all the Black workers, including doctors, nurses, clerks and cleaners, were immediately slashed.

Most of the Black doctors resigned.

The nurses who were called to a meeting with Administration officials challenged claims by officials that conditions under the Provincial Administration were better. The Provincial Council, incidently, runs the Province's hospital services and wages and conditions in these hospitals are deplorable.

The meeting, described by some of the nurses as 'stormy', ended with many nurses saying that they will look for work in commerce and industry.

The Provincial officers have stated that any nurse who resigns will not

have her pension fund (half of which is contributed by the nurses) transferred.

* * * * *

Super Exploitation

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is the richest in the country and the worst employer of Black labour in South Africa.

School cleaners, for instance, earn R10 per week in the cities and larger towns falling to about R7 in the country areas.

These niggardly rewards from a province that proposes to spend R560-million this financial year is, to say the least, mean, callous and disgraceful.

That is not all. Its callousness is even more pronounced when it was recently revealed, that the Administration refuses to give permission to "committees of conscience", such as school committees, to subsidise cleaners' wages.

How heartless can one be. Admittedly, cleaning schools is an unskilled occupation - but surely wages must be related much more to the workers survival needs than their productivity.

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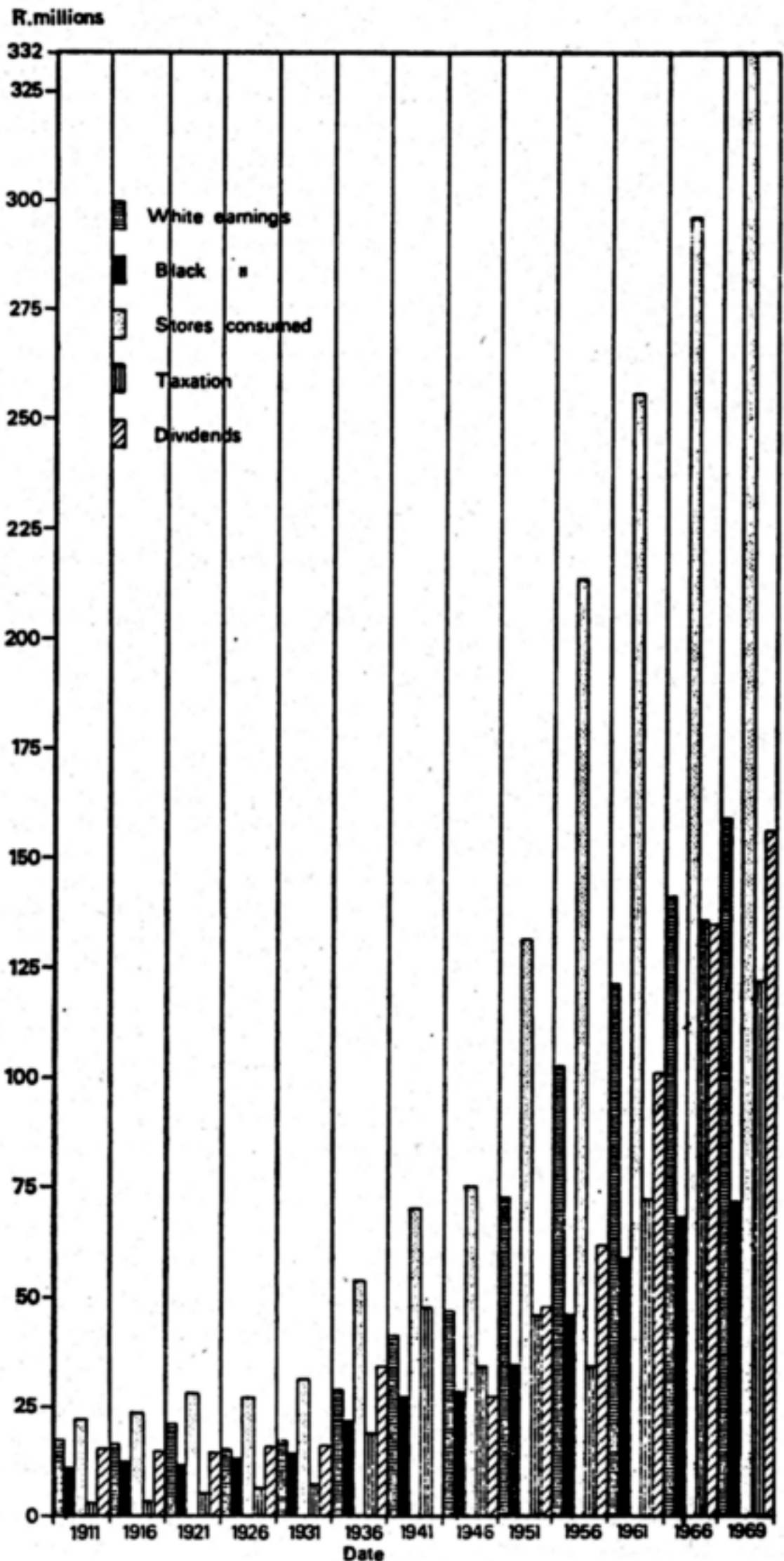
A Rose By Any Other Name . . .

When is a miner not a miner? Answer, according to arch reactionary Arrie Paulus, the leader of the White Mine Workers Union: when he is Black.

In an article in the Mine Workers journal, 'The Mineworker', Paulus takes the press and radio to task for referring to African mine workers as miners.

He maintains they are 'labourers' and has offered R10 to any of his readers who "can find a new name for a Bantu mine labourer or miner." Paulus says reference is made to 'miners' being killed in rockfalls

Gold mining industry: Major components of costs and profits, 1911-69



"when in fact they include African labourers and White miners."

● The Oxford dictionary describes a miner as "one who works in a mine, but in South African mining circles Whites have been called 'miners' and Africans 'mineworkers.'"

* * * * *

TUCSA in Trouble

What we have been saying all along about TUCSA (Trade Union Council of South Africa) is now being said by the Garment Workers' Union of Natal, until recently a fully paid-up member of TUCSA.

The Natal Garment Workers' Union, the largest trade union in the Province is a Black union comprising of Indian, Coloured and African members.

It was a founding member of TUCSA and is led by its secretary Mrs. Harriet Bolton, the wife of the founder and, until his death, the secretary of the union, Jimmy Bolton.

Mrs. Bolton, was one of TUCSA's representatives who attended the ILO conference held in June last year. (reported in Sechaba Vol 7 Nos 10, 11, 12). The refusal of this international conference to give the TUCSA delegation the right to participate because of the strong opposition from the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and several other international and national unions seems to have had a salutary effect on Mrs. Bolton.

On her return to South Africa, where the whole country and in particular Natal, was in the throes of the biggest strike wave since the political strikes organised by the African National Congress and its allies in the fifties and early sixties, Mrs Bolton energetically threw herself into helping to organise Black unions.

Her offices became one of the centres where several Black trade unions were being organised. Her three key organisers were recently banned (See last issue of Sechaba).

A quarrel on the poor showing of TUCSA in implementing its decision to



Harriet Bolton . . . preparing for a personal confrontation

organise African and other Black workers had been brewing between the Garment Workers Union and the TUCSA leadership for some months, but it is the feeble response that TUCSA leadership gave to the harsh bannings imposed on the organisers that forced her and her 22-member executive to take the 25,000-strong union out of TUCSA.

In a statement to the press, Mrs. Bolton said that year after year at its annual congresses TUCSA has taken resolutions to organise Black workers. "The practical results have been minimal," she said. "These resolutions," she added, "are little more than pious lip-service. They are primarily designed to whitewash South Africa in the eyes of the world trade union movement, the ILO, the British TUC and foreign visitors and diplomats."

Charging that the resolutions were designed to keep African workers quiet with the hope that TUCSA was doing something for them, Mrs. Bolton said: "the TUCSA old guard became embarrassed because the zeal of Natal unions in organising African workers was threatening TUCSA's good relations with the government."

Note: At the time of going to press we learn that Mrs. Bolton has agreed to try and get her executive to withdraw their resignation "but we want to see some action, not just the passing of resolutions and the writing of letters," she said.

We wish her success. Eight years ago she made the same mistake when she influenced her executive to reverse a decision to resign from TUCSA.

Even if she succeeds on this occasion, we have no doubt that the Union's executive which has many militant trade unionists on it are bound sooner than later to take their union out of TUCSA.

* * * * *

New Union Formed

A Transvaal meat processing firm weighs all its women workers before and after work, and searches its 200 male employees, as part of its security measures.

Women who weighed more when they were leaving work than when they started work were taken to mean that meat had been stolen and that the equivalent value was deducted from their wages.

Leonard Sikakane - Organiser of the Sweet, Food & Allied Workers Union



This was revealed at a meeting of over 500 workers who met to form a new trade union – the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union.

Mr. Leonard Sikakane, the Union's organiser said that the Company's excuse for the automatic stopping of pay of women who weigh more at the end of the day than at the beginning is that they do not have any woman worker to search them.

Citing another case, Mr. Sikakane said that in one cold storage plant he visited he found a worker suffering from frostbite in three fingers.

Full support for the new union was received at the meeting in a cable from the general secretary of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations.

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British Leyland

Just before the copy for this issue of *Sechaba* was sent to the press we learnt that over 200 African workers employed by the South African subsidiary of British Leyland were dismissed after they went on strike in support of a demand for the recognition of their Union.

The Union has cabled Lord Stokes head of British Leyland to come to South Africa to settle the dispute.

Meanwhile the British TUC has instituted an urgent inquiry and has stated that it will take up the matter with British Leyland.

* * * * *

BLACK HEROES INSULTED

South African Indian lifesavers played a heroic role in rescuing 22 white day-trip gamblers when their charter plane crashed into the sea at Amanzimtoti near Durban.

The Indians risked their lives to drag exhausted white passengers, returning from a spree at the gambling casino in Maseru, Lesotho, to the safety of the beach.

The passengers, and other whites who worked side-by-side with them were full of praise and admiration for the Indians who undoubtedly helped keep the death toll down to that of a single woman.

But later, several white bystanders abused and insulted the men who had worked so hard to save lives – irrespective of colour.

Off-duty members of the Tiger Rocks Life-Saving Club rushed to the scene of the crash in cars after a patron of the club, Mr. Daddy Moodliar, had called them into action.

The men – modest about their achievements – were Lenny Pillay, 19, Mariemuthoo Muthan, 19, Derrick Naidoo, 18, Colin Roberts, 18, Marshall Pillay, 17, Yunus Osman, 22, Roy Alwar, 18, and professional life-saver Mr. V "Crabbie" Moonsamy.

It was Colin who suffered most from the insults and he was pushed and struck by one bystander.

Colin said "I only hope it is never this man's lot where only a Black can save him. Perhaps he is so proud that he would rather die than be saved by a Black".

Lenny's comment was: "We did what we could in the face of tragedy and regardless of colour. But we felt terribly hurt when a few white bystanders swore at and insulted us.

One of them said: 'I have seen enough of your black bottoms. I'm fed up – move off'".

Mrs. Lindsay du Plessis public relations officer for the Holiday Inns group which chartered the plane, deplored the near-incidents, and stressed that some Indians had been invited to fly on the plane, but they were not available.

"I saw the Indian life-savers coming to our rescue, and they played a magnificent part in the operations. If it hadn't been for them, the casualty list could have been much higher. I cannot praise them highly enough."

Businessman Mr. Tony Roake, the last passenger to leave the plane was shocked that a few bad elements had insulted the Indian life-savers. "They did a truly magnificent job", he said.

Mrs. Reina Ephron, another to be saved said: "The Indians saving people from the beach were fantastic.

If it was not for them there would have been more deaths. They came with ropes and pulled people to safety.

"I have never been so glad to see a Black face in my life".

● Only one passenger lost his life.

* * * * *

Racial Lifesaving

The white-controlled Surf Lifesaving Association of South Africa (SLASA) held another multi-racial dinner at a Durban hotel last month to hood-wink the world that there is no racial discrimination in South African Lifesaving.

The function was held in honour of participants from Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, United States, Great Britain and Hong Kong who attended the World Lifesaving Championships held in South Africa. However, the South African team was selected entirely from the white population. Although there were several black prospective candidates for the South African team they were not considered for selection.

The very same SLASA held separate functions for whites and blacks only two months previously to present awards to its lifesavers.

According to the Durban weekly, GRAPHIC, Mr. M. Moodley, President of Durban Lifesaving Club said that he was disillusioned with the white-controlled body because of the double standard it sets.

"It seems that multi-racial functions are only held to impress the outside world and are only held when there are international participants present," he said.

SLASA held a seminar recently only for white lifesavers despite the fact that they have black clubs in their fold. Black clubs were actually barred from attending this seminar which was addressed by experts from overseas. They have been holding "nippers" clinics for white children in Durban. The list of clubs shown in the announcement advertising this clinic, does not name one single black club – although there are several in Natal.

FOLLOW-UP ACTION

Communique issued from the meeting of the Steering Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces reported in the February 1974 issue of *Sechaba* (Vol. 8 No. 2)

Representatives of 20 international organisations and of national movements from 34 countries participated in a meeting of members of the Steering Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces, held in Moscow on February 9 and 10, 1974.

This meeting was convened in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Congress on "Follow-Up Action", which requested members of the Steering Committee to meet after three or four months to examine the results of consultations among organisations, which had participated in the Congress, "on ways and means for the continuation of the contacts and cooperation begun at the Congress".

Exchange of information on the activities of international, regional and national organisations during the period since the Congress, emphasised the fact that the Congress decisions and recommendations had been widely disseminated and had found a welcoming echo among wide circles of public opinion all over the world. Delegations representing the Congress delegates had been received at the highest levels at the United Nations and at UNESCO, and had been assured of the cooperation of these and other inter-governmental organisations in the carrying forward of the work of the Congress. Leaders and representatives of several governments had expressed their support and positive interest in the results of the Congress.

Exchange of information confirmed clearly that the impact of the World Congress of Peace Forces had been totally unprecedented in the history of actions for the mobilisation of public opinion. The resolutions of the Congress had rightly described it as "the broadest and largest meeting of public organisations of all shades of political and other opinions held so far", and as "the broadest forum in the history of public movements".

During the three months since the end of the Congress, its message and decisions had been carried to still wider and broader circles. Common action had developed as never before on international and national levels on several of the key issues and problems affecting mankind today.

The Steering Committee noted with the greatest satisfaction that the spirit of the Congress – the spirit of ever-widening cooperation, of openness, of continuing dialogue and cooperation – had been carried forward and had grown stronger than ever.

Broad Principles

In several countries, in accordance with the resolution on "Follow-Up Action", national delegations had already taken steps, in conformity with their own conditions and following their own methods for continued cooperation among national organisations. In other countries, consultations were proceeding with the same purpose.

The Steering Committee noted that during the preparations for the Congress, at the Congress itself and in the work done after the Congress – certain broad principles of cooperation between organisations holding different viewpoints had begun to emerge.

These principles emphasise mutual respect for the independence and autonomy of each organisation, and mutual recognition of the particular forms and methods of work, traditions and special fields of each organisation.



The principles of cooperation are based on the understanding that each organisation decides for itself in which particular field or fields of action it can participate, and to what extent and through which forms and methods.

The Steering Committee was of the view that it is necessary to take adequate measures for an ever-widening and broadening, open cooperation and common action among international and national organisations for peace, national independence, international security, disarmament, human rights and social progress. This necessity had grown with the developments in the international situation since the World Congress.

Proposals

The Steering Committee agreed that the Congress organisational framework is suitable for this purpose, and therefore proposed that:

- The members of the International Committee of the Congress – namely representatives of all participating international and regional organisations and of national continuing bodies in each country – be requested to constitute the Continuation Liaison Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces – subject to the consent of each organisation concerned;

- The members of the Steering Committee of the Congress be requested to constitute itself a Steering Committee of the Congress Continuation Liaison Committee – again subject to the consent of each organisation concerned;

- The Steering Committee establishes a Working Commissioner whose tasks are:

– to ensure flow of information on actions for the continuation of the work of the World Congress of Peace Forces so that all organs are equally informed and can inspire themselves by each other's experience

- to serve as a platform in between meetings of the Steering Committee and for preparing these meetings thoroughly

- to follow the work of the working parties which might be set up by the Steering Committee and to bring the result of their proceedings to the attention of the Congress Continuation Liaison Committee

The Working Group be composed in such a way as to reflect the various types of organisations which were present at the World Congress of Peace Forces. Within this basic principle the Working Group may co-opt interested organisations.

● All meetings of the Steering Committee and the Working Commission will be open to participation by other organisations which are members of the Congress Continuation Liaison Committee.

The Committees will function in accordance with the spirit

of the Congress, the principles of cooperation and the methods of functioning outlined in the Rules of Procedure which guided the Congress.

The Steering Committee has authorised the Chairman, in consultation with the other office bearers, to write to all organisations which participated in the Congress informing them of the proposals for the establishment of a Continuation Liaison Committee, and requesting them to agree to participate in its work.

The Steering Committee also examined the recommendations for common action and for the carrying forward of the dialogue, which had been made by the Commissions of the Congress. A number of important proposals have been agreed upon, which are being communicated to all organisations.

The next meeting of the Steering Committee will be convened, after consultations with the office bearers, in the autumn of 1974.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, NATIONAL LIBERATION AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Extracts from a contribution by the African National Congress representative to a recent meeting of the World Peace Council held in Sofia

... The theme of my contribution to the discussion on peaceful coexistence and detente will be "Peaceful Coexistence, National Liberation and National Independence."

Many people, unfortunately not a few of them in the ranks of the progressive forces, find it difficult to equate peaceful coexistence with national liberation and national independence. They find it difficult to understand how revolutionary national liberation movements such as those in the Portuguese African colonies and in Southern Africa and elsewhere could support the theory of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, whilst at the same time they are fighting a life and death struggle for freedom and independence.

We must emphasise that the struggle to achieve the goal of total acceptance among all countries of the policy of peaceful coexistence and the struggle for national liberation and national independence is one and the same struggle.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems creates favourable conditions for the liberation struggle and assists the fight for genuine national independence. These struggles could be successfully combined with the struggle to ensure world peace.

Neutralise

The success of the policy of peaceful coexistence will neutralise the most aggressive and reactionary forces and open up broad possibilities for successful national liberation struggles.

Imperialist countries which accept this policy will find it extremely difficult to become directly involved with their armed forces in countries where national liberation struggles make headway as the United States did in Vietnam.

However, it must be noted that forces hostile to peaceful coexistence are attempting to undermine the positive trends in the international situation and areas of tension continue to exist: in Indochina, in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Fascism, Racism, apartheid, neo-colonialism and colonialism are most certainly incompatible with peaceful coexistence. Therefore, the risk of conflict continues to persist and not only peace forces everywhere, but also the national liberation movements and the international solidarity movements must be vigilant at all times. They must go further: they must redouble their efforts to get across the policy of peaceful co-existence and detente to the broad masses of the people in their respective countries.

Mr. Chairman, I want to now make some positive suggestions for the consideration of the Peace Council.

- Urgent consideration should be given for the holding of a Seminar on development soon, preferably somewhere in Africa. The object of such a Seminar should be to study in depth the problems confronting developing countries and to make suggestions for the establishment of true national independence in these countries.



- Every possible support must be given to the international conference being organised by the World Peace Council in co-operation with the non-governmental organisations and national liberation movements to consider the problems of colonialism, racism and apartheid in September this year. This conference is of utmost importance as the attention of the world will be focussed on it and many non-governmental organisations are not wholly and or actively committed to the struggle. This conference will therefore go a long way to remedy this weakness.
- All of you are no doubt aware that the United Nations has drawn up a Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. The World Peace Council should use every means possible to get governments which have not already ratified this Convention to do so. National committees in such countries should mount massive campaigns urging their respective governments to ratify the Convention. Side by side with such a campaign they should seek the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and all other international forums.

These are some concrete recommendations over and above those made during the World Congress of Peace Forces and I sincerely hope the World Peace Council will give its careful consideration to them.

Following the breaking of diplomatic relations by Lebanon with South Africa and Portugal and a similar step by Pakistan, as a result of a decision of the meeting of Arab heads of State held in Algiers recently, the Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Alfred Nzo, addressed the following appeal to the Organisation of African Unity on the . . .

OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA



At their recent Algiers conference the Arab countries decided to impose a "strict oil embargo" against the racist and colonial regimes of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia

This is a decision of great international significance and in full accord with the wishes of the oppressed people of South Africa and our national liberation movement headed by the African National Congress.

Further, it corresponds to the openly expressed will of the vast majority of mankind to isolate the pernicious apartheid regime of our country.

Fifteen years ago, the ANC called on the international community to isolate apartheid South Africa. That call was based on our assessment that apartheid constitutes a crime against humanity and that racist South Africa is a source of international tension endangering world peace. We pointed out that all contact between South Africa and the rest of the world only served to enhance the oppressive and aggressive potential of the racists.

These positions have since been adopted by the international community of nations as being a true reflection of the position of racist South Africa in the contemporary world.

Around the struggle for the isolation of racist South Africa has grown a world campaign unprecedented in

its scale and persistence. The campaign has encompassed the UNO, the OAU and other international organisations of workers, youth and students, women and churches. It has also drawn in millions of people across the globe, who have voluntarily banded together to help in the fight for the isolation of apartheid South Africa.

The imperialist countries of Western Europe, North America and Japan have however consistently defied the freely-expressed will of the majority of mankind. As the main partners of racist South Africa, they continue to expand their economic, military and political links with that country and have thus succeeded in sabotaging the efforts of the peoples of the world.

The governments of the Arab world have now decided to cut down further South Africa's external links by denying her access to the strategic natural resource of the Arab people: oil.

By this bold and principled decision, the fraternal Arab peoples have dealt a telling blow in support of the cause of international peace and the freedom and equality of nations.

Bring To Heel

The African National Congress is concerned that the South African racists should not be allowed to conti-

nue in the belief that the world community lacks the will to bring them to heel.

The international community is therefore now faced with the task of ensuring that the forces of imperialism, including the international oil companies, are not allowed to sabotage the decision taken by the Arab countries. Progressive mankind has the power to carry out this task.

The African National Congress is further concerned that the independent countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland should not unduly suffer because of the oil sanctions against South Africa. We recognise that these countries of free Africa fall within the "war zone" of Southern Africa and therefore cannot be quarantined from the upheavels that must accompany the struggle of our people for liberation.

The ANC however urges that all steps be taken by the international community to help meet the oil needs of these countries, without prejudice to the effectiveness of the boycott of racist South Africa. Again we are convinced that this task can be fulfilled. A favourable situation which permits the world's antiracist and peace-loving forces to deal a stinging blow at the racists, has emerged. We urgently call on all these forces to ensure that no oil goes to South Africa.

JOSEPH MOROLONG

Chained by Law to his own Loneliness

For more than 10 years Joseph Morolong has lived in a small area in a reserve of semi-desert between Vryburg and Kuruman. He is confined to the area because he is banned. He is cut off from his neighbours, and the rest of the country.

His world is five km wide and he leads a monotonous life. When his ban expires in 1978 he will have completed 15 years confined to the area.

Mrs. Kgomotso Morolong says her son is chained like a dog. "He just sits around all day in this lonely, barren place watching the sun rise and set".

Other than that, one cannot think of much else that Mrs. Morolong's son can do.

For more than 10 years his world has been an area five kilometres wide in a dry, desolate and sparsely populated stretch of land in a reserve of semi-desert conditions midway between the northern Cape towns of Vryburg and Kuruman.

Not that Joseph Duncan Kesimolotse Morolong has chosen to live like a hermit. He is banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and Detshipping Reserve, about 100 km west of Vryburg, is where he is confined.

Comrade Morolong, a 46-year old father of five, was banned for five years in 1963. When his ban expired in 1968 it was renewed for another five years.

In March last year he completed 11 years under banning. Again his ban was renewed and, until March 31 1978, 15 years from the time he was first banned, Comrade Morolong will remain a banned person confined to that 5 km wide area in Detshipping Reserve.

By the decree of Petrus Cornelius Pelsler, (former) South Africa's Minister of Justice, the world of Joseph Morolong

will extend no further than 2½ km from the two small mud houses he shares with his aged mother and father and two of his five children.

How big is Comrade Morolong's world? Well, recently a Potchefstroom University student, Andries Krogman, gave an indication. He ran 3000 metres – a distance 500 metres more than 2½ km – in the excellent time of 7 min 53.4 sec. Which means that to run right across Comrade Morolong's world would take Mr. Krogman certainly not longer than 15 minutes.

And at night – between 6 pm and six in the morning – Comrade Morolong's world shrinks and becomes smaller. He is restricted to an area within a radius of 50 metres from his home. In real terms this means that he can walk no further than 50,60 or perhaps 70 paces from his home.

Nothing To Do

Talking about her son Mrs. Morolong, the small woman with the many furrows in her face, says: "He is of no use to me. There is nothing he can do here."

"Here" is, of course, Tlhaping, the small village in the reserve where the Morolongs live.

She goes on: "What can a man like him do here?" Your eye follows her thin hand as it points in all directions of the empty desolate surroundings.

Your eyes wander around the empty void that is Tlhaping. In one direction you see an endless expanse of dry, bushy flat land, and when it merges with the horizon you turn your eyes in another direction.

Several hundred metres away you see a hut – Comrade Morolong's nearest neighbours. There are others dotted

Joseph Morolong, leaving Johannesburg to his lonely "home" in March 1963 (and right) the two houses of the Morolongs stand alone in the loneliness of the Reserve

In this house, in this stretch of



ground at varying distances from the Morolong home. But Morolong cannot go anywhere near one of his neighbours at night because none of them lives within 50 metres of his home.

Nor can the neighbours visit him at any time of the day or night. Certainly none would wish to risk putting himself or Morolong into unnecessary trouble, since as a banned person he is prohibited from "receiving any visitor other than a medical practitioner for medical attendance for you or members of your household".

In the day matters are not much improved by the larger 2½ km area in which he is allowed to travel.

Two and a half kilometres in Tlhaping means 2½ km of a dry, empty stretch of land punctuated here and there by a hut to break the oppressive monotony.

Farther down, a safe distance away from the Morolong household, stands what looks like the centre of Tlhaping. Here the huts cluster together for company and there are more people.

Here is also situated the only village shop, a post office and a police station. There is also a school.

Mrs. Morolong says: "Even there, too, my son is not supposed to go."

Trapped

From what Mrs. Morolong says it becomes clear that her son's 2½ km allowance during the day cannot take him where there is the only semblance of normal life in Tlhaping.

In short, Morolong is trapped in the middle of nowhere. He is a recluse in an area of near-desert conditions, neighbours who would wish to visit him are forbidden to do so and finding a job in Tlhaping borders on the impossible.

Even if the small village school was within his 2½ km area and Morolong found a job as a teacher, he could not teach. His banning order prohibits him from "giving any educational instruction in any manner or form to any person other than a person of whom you are a parent."

Other details of his banning orders are similar to those served on other banned people.

Morolong's order – believed to be among the most strin-

gent to be served on a person – **also prohibits him from communicating with other banned people and attending any political and social gatherings.**

Mrs. Morolong says she does not know what her son has done to deserve such treatment.

She says: "God has been very unkind to me. I don't know what we have done. My husband is sickly and old and lives with my other son near to where he is receiving medical treatment at a hospital."

Her son lives with his two young children who attend the local primary school. Two others live with relatives somewhere else and the eldest, a girl, left with their mother "who left my son because she could no longer tolerate this hard life", says Mrs. Morolong.

She does not know why her son was banned but says it had something to do with politics.

Charged with Treason

But we know why. Comrade Morolong was a long-standing and extremely active member of the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions when they were still legal organisations.

In 1956 he was arrested with 155 other leaders of the liberation movements and charged with high treason. After the trial lasting two years all but 91 were discharged and fresh indictments were preferred against these. Morolong was one of them.

After a further two years on trial Morolong and his 90 co-accused were found not guilty and discharged.

He was again arrested in 1960 when the government declared a State of Emergency following the Sharpeville massacre in May. After spending five months in prison without trial he was released together with several thousand members of the liberation movements who were detained like him.

By this time the African National Congress was banned and Morolong became a full-time trade union organiser. In March 1963, he received the first of three five year orders banishing him to Detshaping Rerseve.

There are many others like Morolong – forgotten men, rotting away in barren velds like Detshaping.

rt, Joseph Morolong has spent over ten years a virtual prisoner



The African National Congress urges all its many supporters and the international solidarity movement to link their demand for the release of all South African political prisoners with a demand for the release of those in exile, house-arrested and banned.

BLACK PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA



Extracts from a report submitted to the 2nd Student Press Seminar organised by the International Union of Students in Dublin

In order to speak about Student Press in the context of a Free Press one must understand the circumstances in which the press in general, and the laws which govern the press, operates in our country. In our country the white minority racist regime has at its disposal the most draconian laws to subjugate the people.

The South African press today is almost exclusively white-owned, white-controlled and reflects the opinion of the white attitudes. Such newspapers as were owned by blacks or those which spoke up for black aspirations have been forced out of existence by the repressive measures of the government. The ownership and control of the press reflects the power structure in South Africa where all power is wielded by a tiny minority furthering their own interest. Since the minority carefully controls all access to power, it follows that the black majority could not be permitted so effective a weapon as the press. Thus the majority of the press supports the existing system in South Africa whether or not it chooses to call it apartheid. It can see no oppression, misery or injustice in our society, for by its own logic and values, it considers itself a "Free Press" operating in a democratic society.

Laws Governing the Press

There are 25 or more laws which govern the behaviour pattern of the press, and yet it is incredible to read that the majority of the white press editors consider that they enjoy so much press freedom.

The laws which govern the press are as follows:

- The Riotous Assemblies Act first passed in 1914 but amended several times gives the State President the power to prohibit the publication of a newspaper or document which is calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the European inhabitants of the Republic on the one hand and any other section on the other hand
- The Native Administration Act of 1927, as amended – provides that „any person who utters any words or does

any act or thing whatever with intent to promote hostility between Natives and Europeans shall be guilty of an offence".

- The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, as amended gives the State President the power to ban any periodical or other publication which promotes the spread of Communism or „serves inter alia as a means of expressing views or conveying information the publication of which is calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism."

- The Public Safety Act of 1953 – provides for the declaration of a state of emergency and empowers the State President to prohibit the publication of any newspaper or other printed matter.

- The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 makes it an offence to use language or perform any act calculated to cause anyone to contravene any law by way of protest against any law.

- The Prisons Act of 1959 makes it an offence to publish any sketch or photograph of a prison or prisoner, or to publish false information about a prisoner or prisoner or the administration of any prison, with the onus placed on the publisher to prove that he had taken reasonable steps to ascertain the veracity of this story. The effect of this Act has been to discourage the press from exposing jail atrocities.

- The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 – established segregated universities for Blacks. In terms of regulations framed under the Act, students at these colleges are forbidden to give statements to the press.

- The Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960 prohibits the publication of statements by banned organisations like the African National Congress, or information which might be held to further the aims of any such banned organisation.

- The General Law Amendment Act of 1963 prohibits the press from identifying in reports photographs of any place or area declared by the Minister to be „protected" in the interests of the public or the safety of the State.

- The Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 prohibits the press from identifying in report or photographs of any place or art exhibition deemed by the Pu-

Publications Control Board to be „undesirable“. A publication or object, declares the Act, shall be deemed undesirable if it or any part of it (a) is indecent or obscene (b) blasphemous (c) brings any section of the people into ridicule or contempt (d) harms race relations (e) prejudices the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order.

● **The General Law Amendment Act of 1969**, the so-called BOSS law – prohibits the publication or communication of any information relating to the Bureau of State Security or anybody connected with, it, and places the Bureau beyond the purview of either Parliament or the courts. With a total of 22 political prisoners known to have died as a result of torture by the Security Police between 1963 and 1970, the menace to free inquiry represented by this Act needs no emphasising.

In addition to these general limitations on the right of publication, there are also other laws, applicable to the population in general which bear particularly hard on the press.

● **The Criminal Procedure Act of 1955**, provides that anyone believed to have information required by the police for their investigations can be brought before a magistrate and questioned. Refusal to answer can result in imprisonment up to a year. Several journalists have been jailed under this Act for refusing to disclose the names of informants. Fear of questioning or prosecution under the Act has resulted in many an atrocity being suppressed instead of being brought to the notice of the public.

● **The Terrorism Act of 1967**, providing for the indefinite detention without trial of persons alleged to be in possession of information about 'terroristic' activities, and the **Criminal Procedure Act of 1965**, provides for the detention without trial for repeated periods of 180 days of any person likely to give material evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings, are also fearsome weapons against the freedom of pressmen. Three journalists were among the 22 Africans who were arrested under the Terrorism Act in May 1969, brought to trial under the Suppression of Communism Act in October 1969, and redetained under the Terrorism Act in February 1970 after charges had been formally dismissed by the presiding judge. The laws controlling the entry of whites into African urban and rural areas severely restrict the freedom of the press.

Black Newspapers

Hence it is more difficult under the circumstances for the African majority to have a newspaper expounding the views and aspirations of our people. In spite of these laws our history is full of attempts where our people started writing and publishing newspapers. The first African newspaper was founded in 1884 by Jo Tengo Jabavu called 'Imvo Zabantsundu'. From its first issue it spoke of the aspiration of our people. John Dube founded 'Ilanga Lase Natal' in 1904. He later became the first president of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) later to become the African National Congress. Rev. Walter Rabusana who was later to become Vice President of SANNC founded 'Izwi la Bantu'. In 1912 'Abantu Batho' was founded as the official organ of the Congress which popularised the slogan "Mayibuye Afrika" – Come Back Africa! This newspaper campaigned against the Pass Laws for African women in the Orange Free State.

Other African newspapers were published in different

parts of the country, usually under the guidance of the Congress.

Leaders like Sol Plaatje was editor of 'Tsala ea Bat ho' in Kimberley; 'Messenger Morumoa' was published in Bloemfontein and the 'Native Advocate' was published in Pretoria. 'Umlomo wa Bantu', 'African Shield' and 'Ikwezi le Afrika' also appeared for brief periods.

The Coloured and Indian political organisations also had their newspapers. In 1903 Mahatma Gandhi formed the 'Indian Opinion' which publicized Indian grievances in South Africa and helped mobilise the people in the passive resistance campaign in Natal and Transvaal. In 1946 the Indian Congress published the 'Resister' in the Transvaal, and 'Flash' in Natal. From 1925–1928 the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union published the 'Workers Herald' edited by C. Kadalie.

The South African Communist Party published the "South African Worker", later "Umsebenzi" and still later "Inkululeko". In spite of these initiatives to publish newspapers expounding the aspiration of our people a survey of South African press today shows that most of the newspapers have ceased publication and that there is no African-controlled newspaper (except those published clandestinely. We shall deal with these publications later in this report).

This development is no accident but an inevitable consequence of the fascist character of the regime which does not want to see democratic development.

As indicated above most of the early newspapers have ceased publication either through government restriction or because of economic conditions. The ones which are still published are in non-African hands and controlled and dominated by whites. After the strikes in 1921 the South Africa Chamber of Mines started a newspaper 'Umteteli wa Bantu' "to guide African opinion on the right lines". writes Edward Roux on the Bantu Press. Not surprising that this paper opposed the 1946 mine strikes. Besides the economic factor of costs of running a newspaper the Government has made use of its legislation to suppress newspapers campaigning for the basic right of all our people, including students, under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The Progressive Forces

This Act was used when the weekly progressive newspaper, the 'Guardian', was banned in 1952, its successor 'Advance' was banned in 1954, and its successor 'New Age' was banned in 1962. The monthly progressive journal 'Fighting Talk' was similarly banned in 1963. At the time these papers were banned they were supporters of the liberation of our people. 'Spark', which was the successor to 'New Age', the Coloured weekly paper 'Torch', and 'Workers Unity', the SACTU paper, were not banned but were forced to cease publication when all the journalists on these newspapers were banned and prohibited from entry to any place of publication. The journalists on these papers had to give up their profession prematurely.

In 1968 when the prohibition of Political Interference Act made multi-racial organisations illegal and a criminal offence the Liberal Party disbanded as did the two newspapers, 'Transkei Liberals' and 'Liberal News'.

It is these restrictions that prompted the editor of the South African Sunday Times to write:

"The Non-white papers cannot deal with those political issues because if they do, they would pretty soon be regarded as agitators and incitors – and perhaps something a good deal worse."

FIGHTING TALK

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
Vol. 16, No. 7. Price 5 cents (Ed.)
SEPTEMBER, 1962

Journey to Rebel Angola

★ Writers of Africa

ZENE MPHANLELE

★ THE SHAKY GRANITE WALL

"No Easy Walk to Freedom"

Nelson Mandela

PROFILE BY MARY BENSON



Student Press

South Africa has no national student press and this is not surprising under the conditions of the educational system in our country. Besides the laws as outlined above, governing the scope of the press in our country, the student is further hindered by the **Extension of the University Education Act**. This Act established the separate colleges for Black students. Regulations framed under this Act provide as follows:

"No magazine, publication or pamphlet for which students are wholly or partly responsible may be circulated without permission of the rector — and no statement may be given to the press by or on behalf of the students without the rector's permission.

Attempts to publish a newspaper at the Durban-based Indian College were frustrated in October 1971. This newspaper was banned immediately after the first issue appeared. It was called 'Mnyama' (Black). At the white universities, newspapers are being allowed on the campuses but under extremely stringent conditions.

At the beginning of 1972 the students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) published a cartoon of the Prime Minister. The editorial committee were reprimanded and the editors fined a modest sum. At the University of the Witwatersrand the student magazine called Wits-Wits the issue currently known as the "Loo" issue faced a similar situation as UCT. The fact of the situation is that white students were fined modest sums but in the tribal colleges students were confronted by expulsion from their universities.

The emergence of SASO, the black student organisation necessitated the publication of the 'SASO Newsletter'. All SASO personnel were expelled and eight leaders were banned from carrying on their studies in South Africa and from participating in any political or social activities.

The Underground Press

In South Africa today five clandestine papers are being published. 'Sechaba-Isizwe' is the ANC's paper, 'Searchlight' is being published mainly for South Africans of Indian origin, 'Struggle' is aimed at the Coloured community, 'Youth Challenge' is being published by the Youth and Students Section of the ANC and 'Inkululeko' is being published by the Communist Party.

Besides these the African National Congress broadcasts a daily one-hour-long programme beamed to South Africa from Radio Freedom, with the kind permission of Radio Zambia in Lusaka. Further, weekly programmes beamed directly to South Africa are broadcast by ANC representatives from Dar Es Salaam, Cairo, Moscow and Berlin.

Without total liberation of our people nobody, white or African, is immune from these draconian laws and it is with these laws in mind that the ANC and its allies are using sophisticated techniques to organise the people.

Newsletters, leaflets, tape recorded messages, from time to time appear in our country, apart from underground newsheets, such as Youth Challenge, Searchlight and Inkululeko. This prompted a South African Sunday Press reporter to write on 2nd September 1973, that the Communist Party and ANC "have started a new campaign to initiate strikes and labour unrest".

Sechaba the journal of the ANC, writing on the South African Journalists Circle (SAJC), the only non-racial organisation of South African journalists wrote recently: "Owing to Government repression, most of the members of the SAJC are either in jail or in exile, and the organisation is unable to function legally in South Africa. Nevertheless, members of the SAJC are closely associated with the South African liberation movement and can claim to speak in the name of the overwhelming majority of the South African people.

Within the law of South Africa it is obviously impossible today to struggle against the law. Outside the law, an army of freedom fighters both inside and outside the country, are engaged in the struggle for the liberation of all our people.

It will be one of the duties of the liberation movement to bring to the people of South Africa a personal freedom they have never before enjoyed. Clearly press freedom, too, must be included as one of our top priorities."

Student Press Seminar, organised by the International Union of Students in Dublin call on all their members to . . .

SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

At the invitation of the Union of Students in Ireland and the Secretariat of the International Union of Students, the 2nd International Student Press Seminar on the "Aims and Tasks of Student Press and Information activities" was held in Dublin, Ireland early this year.

Twenty one national student organisations, including the ANC Youth and Students, contributed in the discussions on the aims, tasks and problems of the Student Press.

SEARCHLIGHT

The discussions underlined the important informative and social function of the Student Press. The participants agreed that the student press should be an effective instrument in the struggle of students side by side with the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence, peace, democracy, social progress and democratic institutions of further and higher education serving the needs of society.

Discussing the organisational problems of the student press, the participants felt that greater attention should be paid to the student press particularly in relation to the control of the student press by students and their organisations, the orientation of the student press in accordance with the main socio-political and educational struggle of students, and the importance of ensuring financial stability for the student press.

The discussions centred around the relationship of the student press to its readership and the national press and stressed the necessity of strengthening links between the institutions of further and higher education and society in particular the common interests and problems of students and the working class in the reform and democratization of education, and the struggle for adequate educational facilities.

The participants felt that the priorities of Student Press and information activities are the development of socio-political education, the formation of student progressive consciousness, the defence of student rights and the provision of a progressive leadership in the struggle carried on by students.

Support Liberation

In its function as an organiser, mobiliser and agitator, it was strongly felt that the student press should not be controlled by press trusts and that it should be organised on a non-profit-making basis and should not be subject to reprisals as is the case in some capitalist and fascist countries because of its defence of student rights and the identification of student problems with those of society.

The participants deplored the repressive libel and obscenity laws which are used by the ruling classes to suppress the student press in Australia for example, as well as in many other countries. The participants stressed the role played by the youth and student press in socialist countries, which mobilise the broad student masses for the active participation, together with their people in the construction of a new society.

The participants felt that the foremost task of the student press at the moment is to mobilise the student masses for the intensification of international student solidarity, particularly in relation to the support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreement, the continued development of the Nguyen Van Troi hospital/school projects and the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

They also felt that the wars of national liberation in Asia, Latin America and Africa – more especially those in Mozambique, Republic of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa should be further supported and that maximum publicity should be given to these just struggles.

World Student News

The participants felt it necessary to continue their solidarity activities with the Spanish, Portuguese and Greek peoples and students fighting fascism. Delegates to the seminar unanimously expressed their full support to the patriots and democrats in Chile. It was also felt that the student press, in order to further fulfill and expedite the role and function, should both establish effective bilateral and multilateral contacts which serve the basic purpose of exchanging experiences and information.

The participants recognised the importance and responsibility of the student press in promoting and developing an atmosphere of mutual understanding, friendship, international co-operation and security. The participants in the seminar highly appreciated the informative activity of the IUS magazine "World Student News" and it is their feeling that the NUS's of the respective countries should co-operate with this magazine in a more effective way.

Many of the participants expressed their acknowledgement that the student press played a valuable role in promoting the ideas of the 10th Festival and its result and noted the role played by the student press of the F.D.J. It was felt among the participants of the seminar that the National Student Unions should make use in the student Press also of the conclusions of the World Congress of Peace Forces that was held in October 1973 in Moscow and also of other international events which were dedicated to peace, co-operation and understanding among peoples.

youth



challenge

Declaration on Southern Africa

In a declaration on Southern Africa the Student Press Seminar noted with horror the continued inhuman conditions in Southern Africa and fully pledged the support of the National Students Unions present to the National Liberation struggle conducted by the ANC in South Africa, ZAPU-ZANU in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the PAIGC in the newly proclaimed State of Guinea Bissau. The Seminar called on the Student Press to campaign for:

- The complete isolation of the white racist minority regime in South Africa economically and culturally;
- A complete arms embargo on South Africa;
- Campaign for the immediate release of all political prisoners;
- Treat those freedom fighters captured in battle as prisoners of war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau;
- Campaign for the lifting of all bans on political organisations;
- Give moral material and financial support to the Liberation Movements;
- Campaign against all immigration to these countries;
- Campaign for equal educational opportunities for all students;
- End all sporting links with South Africa;
- Boycott all South African goods.

PRETORIA- PENTAGON TALKS

Report and Comment by the Southern Africa Committee of the United States on the recent visit of Dr. C. P. Mulder, the South African Minister of Information, to the U. S.

The recent visit of the South African Information Minister to the U.S. had a dimension which was carefully kept from public view – a trip to the Pentagon. The Southern Africa Committee has learned that Dr. Cornelius Mulder, who spent two weeks in the United States in January, called on an important Defense Department official responsible for international security affairs.

Dr. Mulder, an influential politician often mentioned as the next likely prime minister, managed to see a number of highly-placed Americans. In Congress, he met Senate Minority leader Hugh Scott, House Majority leader Tip O'Neil, Senate Minority whip Robert Griffin, and was hosted at a reception by Rep. Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He also had contact with Sen. Harry Byrd (author of the "Byrd Amendment which allowed importation of Rhodesian minerals), and two influential conservative Republicans – Senator John Tower of Texas and Governor Ronald Reagan of California. The Mulder visit is a part of South Africa's propaganda campaign against liberation struggles in the African sub-continent.

The growing effort to sell South Africa to the Western world can be traced to the take-over of the government's information department by the young, ambitious Eschel Rhodie, a friend of Information Minister Connie Mulder. In September, 1972, Mulder engineered a Cabinet decision to appoint Rhodie to the post.

In the last sixteen months the dynamic Rhodie has turned the department upside down with such innovations as a data transmission service to connect him instantaneously with all nineteen of the department's foreign offices. He has increased the number of foreign representatives by a third and begun a year-long course for training information officials.

The early part of the Minister's trip was cloaked in secrecy apparently to forestall demonstrations or cancellations but after he met and talked with Vice-President Gerald Ford, South Africa lifted its official blanket of silence. Still, some visits were downplayed publically. An information official travelling with Mulder told the Southern Africa Committee that the Minister had met with black opinion makers, including Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley, but Bradley's office indignantly denied it.

Pentagon Talks

Most significant and most clandestine was Mulder's visit to the Defense Department. The Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ told the Southern Africa Committee of the visit, and SAC was able to learn from a Pentagon official that Mulder met with Vice Admiral Ray Peet on January 24th.

The Mulder/Peet talk may be a signal of U.S. policy trends in two areas: possible growing U.S. -South African co-operation in the Indian Ocean, and secondly the U.S. arms embargo against South Africa may be further eroded.

Peet is Deputy Assistant Secretary in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs (ISA) – sometimes referred to as the "Pentagon's State Department." As the post of Assistant Secretary is currently vacant, Peet is the ISA's senior official. Among the ISA's responsibilities are the development and co-ordination of Defense Department policies in international politico/military and foreign economic affairs. Indian Ocean strategy is planned and developed in the office.

The fact that the ambitious and influential South African Information

Minister gained the ear of the senior ISA official takes on special significance in light of growing U.S. preoccupation with the Indian Ocean area. Historically, the Ocean had figured little in U.S. strategic planning – "near the bottom of the list of American priorities" according to a Defense Department spokesman in 1970.

But in March, 1973 the U.S. opened a communications center on the tiny British-controlled island of Diego Garcia in the middle of the Ocean. Seven months later the U.S. sent an aircraft carrier and five destroyers into the area from their stations in the Western Pacific. And in January of this year, the Pentagon announced plans for constructing a \$20 million air and naval support facility on Diego Garcia. This heightened interest in Indian Ocean affairs will certainly bring South Africa more fully into the thinking of American strategists like Admiral Peet. A 1970 School of Naval Warfare research team – including 5 Navy officers and an Air Force Colonel – reached a conclusion which may soon closely resemble U.S. policy. Proposing a multinational naval presence in the area the group suggested that "the Navy of the Republic of South Africa should be invited to participate even though political differences are to be anticipated, (since) this state possesses the only strong maritime force in Southern Africa."

Co-operation on some levels is already apparent. The South African Navy recently opened a \$21 million communications complex – buried in a mountain near Capetown and designed to withstand nuclear or bacteriological warfare. The facility is reportedly capable of accurately charting ship movements as far away as the Antarctic, Latin America, and the Bay of Bengal. An article in the authoritative *Armed Forces Journal International* says the silvermine facility "can flash these ship plottings to war rooms in the U.S. and U.K. in seconds", and that Western powers have received from the South Africans useful data on the activities of Soviet and Chinese naval vessels in the Indian Ocean.

U. S. Policy Tilt

If the International Security Affairs staff endorse a stronger U.S. policy tilt towards the white regime, ISA will soon be in a strong position to influence policy-making in that direction. According to the *New York Times*'s Pentagon reporter, Leslie Gelb, Defense Secretary Schlesinger plans "to restore the Office of International Security Affairs to the influential role it played in the 60's" – after a five-year period of reduced status.

Gelb reported on February 9th that Schlesinger has decided to fill the vacant post of Assistant Secretary for

Dr. Mulder (left) meets former film actor Ronald Regan, Governor of California, on his recent visit to the United States



International Security Affairs by appointing Paul Nitze, a hawkish Democrat who supports a strong Pentagon role in foreign policy formulation.

ISA is responsible for negotiating and monitoring agreements with foreign countries and international organizations on military facilities, operating rights, and related matters. It also occupies a central position in the national security apparatus, since it screens all formal incoming and outgoing Pentagon communications.

The U.S. approach to the Indian Ocean — which is ISA's concern — has brought sharp protests from several nations in the Indian Ocean region who want to avoid big-power confrontation in that area. It also goes against the expressed will of the United Nations General Assembly, which in 1971, and again in 1972 and 1973, overwhelmingly passed resolutions designating the Ocean a "zone of peace."

Besides co-ordinating defence strategy, Peet has another task. As head of the Defense Secretary Assistance Agency (DSAA) he co-ordinates military aid, including sales of military hardware and excess equipment. DSAA also serves as a liaison between U.S. industry and foreign buyers of military equipment and services.

Since 1963 the United States has declared itself in compliance with United Nations resolutions against arms sales to South Africa. However, several millions of dollars of communications equipment is exported to South Africa each year, and since 1970 the Nixon administration has allowed the aviation industry to sell South Africa aircraft it declared "non-military." Mulder's talk with Peet may result in increased shipments under the guise of non-military equipment.

While South Africans exult over the public relations success of Mulder's U.S. visit, Information Secretary Rhodie is not resting on his laurels. He plans more ad campaigns of the sort that are already stirring attention in Europe and North America with their

unapologetic presentation of South Africa's case. An example of the publicity thrust from industry for which Rhodie pleads came recently from the Trust Bank, which late last year published large advertisements in European and American newspapers.

Against Sanctions

Arguing against economic sanctions, the ads quote a government-appointed "Bantustan" chief, L. M. Mangope saying economic sanctions from abroad make him shudder. "We, the black people," he says, "will be the first to suffer." By coincidence or design, the advertisement ran in Washington, D.C. the same day the U.S. Senate voted on implementing U.N. sanctions against the rebel regime in Rhodesia.

It is not surprising that the Trust Bank should be one of the first South African businesses to take up Rhodie's challenge that private industry should "defend the free enterprise system." With its flashy American-style business techniques, the Bank has shaken up the conservative financial community that is a legacy of British colonialism in South Africa, and has proven that Afrikaaner capitalism has come of age.

But the Trust Bank's ads were only the spearhead of a movement among South African supporters abroad. In the last months a mysterious British-based group called the Club of Ten has been increasingly active in pro-propaganda work. The Club was formed by one of the few members whose identity is known, retired Judge Gerald Sparrow.

After a 1972 visit to South Africa paid for by South African Airways, Sparrow wrote a book called "Not What I Expected," praising the country and its white government. He also intends to bring out a magazine, which he will edit, dealing with South African issues. Financial backers for the venture, says the judge, are "private supporters." The Club of Ten, which now numbers

far more than ten members, is said to be made up primarily of South African and European businessmen. Most dramatic of the Club's activities to date has been the publication in European and U.S. newspapers of full-page ads against "terrorists and communists" operating in Southern Africa. Attempting to gain support at the United Nations, one ad asks how other countries would like their internal problems dealt with internationally. It mentions Algerians in France, American Indians in the U.S., and foreign workers in Holland, Germany, and Britain.

Vorster's Funds

The campaign is clearly well-financed, but Sparrow denies any connection between the group and the white government in South Africa. Two facts, in particular, make the claim seem rather spurious. The first is that Sparrow's book, which will be published in the spring, is being brought out under agreement between the publisher and the South African government, stipulating that the Vorster government will guarantee at least £1,500 of sales.

As interesting is the fact that during his trip to South Africa, Sparrow had a series of chats with Information Secretary Rhodie. Upon Sparrow's return to England, the Club of Ten was formed.

Club members admit that hostility towards South Africa compels them to conceal their identities, but look forward to the day they can proudly claim to be friends of South Africa in public. However, despite the new attack by the South African ruling class in widening its propaganda war against liberation struggles, the secrecy surrounding the Club of Ten is a measure of their distance from the goal.

More difficult to combat than public propaganda are the veiled diplomatic negotiations represented by Mulder's trip. The United States has already shown its disregard for U.N. resolutions proclaiming the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace", as well as for the protests of nations bordering the Ocean, from Tanzania to Bangladesh. It has also demonstrated its willingness to listen to the South African point of view.

Increased American presence and interest in the Indian Ocean will certainly please the South African government. Dr. Mulder, whose political standing must have been quite enhanced by the successes of his recent trip, will by now have shared at the highest level impressions of his talks with Ford, Peet, and others.

Mulder and his Cabinet colleagues will be hoping for greater, if secret, sympathy and support from U.S. policy-makers. Whether "Connie" Mulder was successful will only become evident in time.

Following the widespread success of the Church Project on US Investment in Southern Africa — 1973, reported in *Sechaba* Vol 7, Nos 10, 11, 12. the . . .

U.S. CHURCHES ACT AGAIN

A coalition of ten national religious organisations have filed an unprecedented 22 stockholder resolutions with an equal number of major American corporations investing in white-ruled Africa.

Represented in the Church Project on U. S. Investments in Southern Africa are boards of eight Protestant denominations, a Roman Catholic priests' order and the National Council of Churches. The denominations include the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Churches, the United Church of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Reformed Church in America. Also participating are the Unitarian-Universalist Association and the Roman Catholic Atonement Friars. The ten organisations in the project represent stock portfolios valued at approximately \$700 million. The value of the stock held in the 22 companies by the churches which filed these resolutions is over \$17 million.

Speaking for the coalition at a press conference, Dr. Sterling Cary, the first black president of the National Council of Churches, said that six of the churches, representing approximately \$7.3 million worth of stock in the company, are requesting Exxon to withdraw from exploration activities offshore Guinea-Bissau, on Africa's west coast. Guinea Bissau is Africa's newest independent state, recognised so far by 84 nations around the world (not including the U.S.). Exxon continues to hold a concession for oil exploration there with Portugal. Dr. Cary likened Guinea Bissau's declaration of independence to that of the American nation in 1776.

Flouting Policy

Gulf Oil received a resolution requesting a full disclosure of the facts behind its "new Kuwait in Angola" reported last month. Gulf has been the target of protest and boycott activities because of its massive tax payments to the Portuguese in Angola totalling \$61 million in 1972.

Three, and possibly four, oil companies involved in exploration offshore Namibia are being asked to cease those operations immediately. Namibia is a colony illegally occupied by South Africa and ruled in accordance with the South Africa racist apartheid system. Dr. Cary stated that Getty, Standard Oil of California, Phillips Petroleum and Continental Oil are all "flouting" official U.S. policy for Namibia discouraging investment in the disputed territory.

In 1973, participants in the Church Project filed resolutions with 11 companies asking that they issue comprehensive reports to their shareholders on company operations in South Africa (Reported in *Sechaba* — Vol 7 Nos 10, 11 and 12). Over half of the companies voluntarily agreed to the request and the resolutions were then withdrawn.

This year, two companies which rejected the church disclosures request last year are receiving new resolutions calling for the establishment of a broad-based committee by the board of directors to study the full implications of their South African investments. The two are IBM and General Electric. Nine other companies with investments in South Africa will receive a revised South African "disclosure" resolution for the first time. International Harvester has voluntarily agreed to the resolution. Dr. Cary

noted the church coalition expects that "others will follow suit".

Tip of the Iceberg

Father Michael Daniel, Superior General of the Atonement Friars, noted that the participation of his order in the coalition's activities represented but "the tip of the iceberg" for Roman Catholic involvement in the movement by churches for greater corporate social responsibility.

Dr. Cary noted progress in a campaign begun by the National Council and the Church Project to halt a series of loans by American and European banks to the South African government. The loans, totalling \$210 million, were revealed in secret documents obtained by the Corporate Information Center in July. (Reported in *Sechaba* — Vol 7 Nos 10, 11 and 12) He noted that the City National Bank of Detroit agreed to make no future loans to South Africa while the Merchants National Bank of Indianapolis extricated itself from its loan and pledged not to issue future loans. Central National Bank in Chicago has reported a similar policy. An ecumenical group organised by the Presbyterian Church in Detroit met with the Chairman of City National Bank to halt its South African loans while the Indianapolis bank was approached by the president of the Christian Church (Disciples), a major depositor in the bank.

Resolution

A typical resolution filed with Newmont Mining Corporation by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and the Pension Boards, United Church of Christ holding 65,503 shares (approximate combined value \$1,850,000) states it is:

RESOLVED, That the by-laws of the Corporation be amended to add the following provisions:

● It is the policy of the company to adhere to principles of fair employment, including equal pay for comparable work, equal employee benefit plans, equal treatment in hiring, training and promotion, and equal eligibility for supervisory and management positions, without regard to race, sex or religion. This policy shall be expressly communicated to all employees.

● It is the responsibility of the chief executive officer of the company to assure compliance with policy stated in paragraph 1.

● Where the company is doing busi-

ness (whether directly or through a subsidiary or affiliate) in a country where local laws prevent compliance in full with the policy set forth in the first paragraph, the chief executive officer shall review employment conditions in that country at regular intervals with the chief operating officer of the company, or of its subsidiary or affiliate in that country. Adherence to the policy set forth in paragraph 1 requires the appropriate officials of the company, or of its subsidiary or affiliate, to undertake affirmative action programs to achieve every phase of fair employment possible under existing law, and to seek new laws as may be needed for the full implementation of the policy set forth in the first paragraph.

Equal Opportunities

This resolution is followed by the following statement: "The employment policies and practices of business corporations in the United States are subject to all pertinent provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress. U.S. corporations, employing personnel in other countries, are morally obligated to practise, as fully as possible, the same principles of fair employment abroad as at home. The proposed resolution requires the Corporation to be inventive in finding legal ways to move effectively toward equal opportunity for employee groups oppressed by local racial discrimination, such as Asians, Coloureds and Blacks in Southern Africa.

In the special case of Namibia (South West Africa), where Black employees are hired under a migrant labour system that compels men to leave their families far away for each six month contract of employment in the Newmont-managed Tsumeb mine, whereas White employees are given many incentives to bring their families with them, the Corporation should move expeditiously to provide Black employees with the option of family housing, obtaining for them any governmental authorizations they may need to bring their families with them. It should also systematically close the wage-gap that no laws impose: reported average monthly White compensation \$553.54 but for Blacks in cash-and-kind, \$88.87."

No Investment

In another statement in support of a resolution calling on the Foote Mineral Company and Alcan Aluminium Ltd not to invest in the so-called bor-



der industries the United Church of Christ states:

"Under South Africa's inequitable apartheid laws, Africans who number 80 % of the population, are suppressed to live on reservations or Bantustans comprising 13 % of the land. The white minority government strongly encourages companies to establish "border industries", which are manufacturing plants adjacent to these reservations. Recently Foote Mineral Company and Aluminium Company of Canada have decided jointly to establish such a plant. We believe plants such as these would directly assist apartheid and the oppression of South Africa's majority black population.

"First of all, this plant would encourage the realisation of the unjust concept of the Bantustans and thus assist in the compartmentalization of the society and the creation of areas reserved for whites only. Secondly, since the plant will not be in the Bantustan, but adjacent thereto, it will pay taxes to, and be subject to the rules of, the white government rather than the Bantustan authorities. Finally, the South African government has exempted plants established adjacent to the Bantustans from the minimum wage laws, even though those laws only require wages significantly below the starvation level.

"We therefore believe that establishing this plant will strengthen apartheid and damage the name of our company in Africa and North America. "Such a committee can perform a useful function for our corporation since, even with the utmost goodwill, the apartheid rules of South Africa make it all but impossible for a corporation to be an equal opportunity employer there. Furthermore, the wages paid in South Africa by General Electric to its lowest paid Black workers appear to be a approximately the "poverty datum line" (the bare

minimum for survival) at only approximately two-thirds of the minimum effective level. The minimum effective level allows only for the purchase of a few basic amenities and paying an occasional doctor bill and the United States Department of State has stated that a fair wage in terms of productivity and the capacities of the economy should be higher."

Statement on I. B. M.

On I.B.M. operations in South Africa, the statement notes: "Our corporation's South African operations deserve the Board's most careful scrutiny. Last year we asked that a detailed factual report of those operations be sent to all shareholders. Stock then worth in excess of \$1,000,000,000 voted for that proposal. This year we are suggesting that the Board appoint a special committee to investigate the corporation's South African operations and to make recommendations for changes, if any are warranted. "Such a committee can perform a useful function for our corporation since in South Africa, which has stacked all the cards in favor of one race, it is difficult to provide equal employment and advancement opportunities for all employees. Chairman Cary has himself stated that being an equal opportunity employer in South Africa is not really possible in the sense in which we think of equal opportunity employers in this country. In addition, specific products sold in South Africa may be used for repressive or military purposes by the white minority. For example, Polaroid Corporation refused in 1970 to sell to the South African government specific identification equipment because the equipment would be used for unacceptable "population control" purposes. Our Board should investigate any possible oppressive use of our own corporation's products."

BOOK REVIEW

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

FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE:

The Diplomacy of Private Enterprise

by Louis Gerber
Published by Purnell

If anyone doubted that the South African Foundation was a front for the State Information Office, the Foundation's Director General, Louis Gerber, disposes of all uncertainty in this book.

According to Gerber, the idea of the Foundation was born out of a conversation on the Blue Train in 1956 between Piet Meiring, Director of the State Information Service and Eric Gallo, described by Gerber as "company chairman, wealthy man-about-town with a feeling for public causes."

Both men felt that apartheid South Africa had an unnecessarily bad image abroad. The war had generated a set of "mythical abstractions" which were regarded as the goal of human endeavour without regard to the harsh realities of life - "concepts, for example, of human rights about which men might argue for ever without conclusion; which, if they exist at all, can be conferred only by God; and of peaceloving nations, that flabby phrase which found a place even in the prose of the great Churchill and in the Atlantic Charter; of all the other emotionally charged expressions like 'without regard to colour, race or creed', 'equality of all men', 'freedom from fear', 'freedom of religion', 'freedom from want', 'freedom of thought'. Eternal verities no doubt, but not things to be pledged by men who had neither the capacity nor the intention of fulfilling their pledges."

This last phrase, incidentally, does not refer to the South African government, although it fits the category exactly as a founder-member of the United Nations and a signatory of its Charter. Those singled out for attack by Gerber are the men and women the world over who have been fighting for the creation of a better world on the lines set out in the Atlantic Charter and the UN Declaration

of Human Rights, allegedly without having to foot the bill or bear responsibility for implementing the reforms they advocated.

"Hence", sneers Gerber, "the enthusiasm with which Labour politicians in Hampstead, faculty deans in Massachusetts, Socialist dons at Balliol, philanthropic heiresses in New York, free-thinking actresses and avant-garde artists in Chelsea and pseudo-intellectuals everywhere, could enjoy the vicarious thrills of ideological African adventure without exposing themselves to its perils.

"Others less detached but equally zealous were also cashing in on the current vogue. They were the columnist, playwrights, political commentators, angry young men, the professional moralist, who for their living, and sometimes for fame, traded very profitably in the currency of anti-South African criticism. Finally there were those who were completely cynical about the whole business, who saw a unique opportunity in the exploitation of the universal wave of good intent. They were the Communists, crypto-communists, fellow travellers, leftwing liberals and the neo-nationalists, together with the subversive guerilla storm-troops already in training for terrorism, sabotage and liberation." Not an honest man amongst them!

Faced with this staggering array of enemies, it is hardly surprising that Meiring, the professional, admitted that the Information Office of which he was the head had been unable to combat "the cold war against the Union (of South Africa-Ed)" It "was, from its nature, suspect as an official propaganda agency."

Meiring and Gallow talked of the need to establish a South African group which could better defend the interests of South Africa abroad. "If the group was to achieve any success it had to function as a voluntary non-political body comprised of English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans of different political persuasions but all imbued with the ideal of presenting South Africa's case at home and overseas honestly and truly.

Gallo spoke of discussions he had held not long before with business and political leaders in London and New York, where he had found support for the idea of a campaign to promote the Union's interests overseas. He was confident that the necessary money could be raised . . . " Three years later the Foundation was born, allegedly independent and non-political, but endowed with ample funds which Gerber admits exceeded the £1,000,000 which Gallo undertook to raise at the outset.

Gerber's book should be read by all those who want to

see just how the South African ruling class and its international allies go about defending their interests. The Foundation soon learnt not to waste time debating matters of principle.

"The Foundation's task," he writes, 'was, therefore, to distinguish between those who were ideologically, emotionally and often irresponsibly preoccupied with South Africa and those whose interests were based on a realistic, practical and responsible concern – particularly if that concern was based on self-interest."

Those who fell into the first category i. e. those who bothered about principles, included politicians, priests and professors. The Foundation ignored them, and set its sights instead on "businessmen, industrialists, investors and military leaders whose judgements were based on verifiable facts rather than moral principles" – the 20 per cent profit-seekers, and those who regard South Africa as the only bulwark against Communism in Africa, "the only country, in the last resort, which can guarantee a Pax Africana and which can lead the countries of the sub-Saharan continent from serfdom, poverty and wretchedness to a meaningful independence founded on Western democratic values, modern technology and free enterprise."

Gerber's political precepts may strike the average reader as plain stupid. He thinks for example, that there is "a good deal of similarity between liberal democratic socialism and South African state enterprise, social services such as housing, education and health and the objective of self-determination for Bantu States"; a comparison all the more stupid because it is aimed, not at the social-democrats of Western Europe, but at "solid centre" of top-level opinion in the United States where he ought to know the very words "social democracy" are taboo.

Nevertheless the Foundation cannot be ignored, and Gerber's book deserves close study in anti-apartheid circles. It goes into detail about just how the Foundation wins friends and influences people, counters the international boycott campaign, promotes trade, gets newspaper articles and books published which are favourable to South Africa, initiates counter-measures against the anti-apartheid movement itself. It describes the work of the Foundation in London, New York, Paris, Bonn and other centres of the Western world, and gives the names of the men and women in those countries who work for or co-operate with the Foundation. It contains a full list of Foundation officers and trustees as an appendix.

The Foundation is by no means a paper tiger. It is a living beast with gold-plated teeth and it can bite. If you want to trap it you must know its habits and the way its mind works. Gerber, an information officer in the South African Air Force during the war, and later an official in the Department of Foreign Affairs, today the Foundation's top paid executive, not quite naked but totally unashamed, tells nearly all.

B. B.



The Worker Who Was Forced To Become A Migrant

Mr. W. M. was one of a very few in Dimbaza who had work with the Building Department earning c. £12.50 per month which made him much better-off than most. On his salary he supported a household of 12 people.

Unable to manage he nevertheless refused to give up his family to become a migrant worker. When he got badly behind in paying his rent of £3.38 per month, he was summoned to court. Not only was he ordered to pay all his arrears, but was also fined. Only the assistance of the Church saved him from jail.

He accepted defeat, left home as a contract labourer to keep his family – but at the cost of being separated from them.

● See last issue of *Sechaba* for full report on DIMBAZA



CORRECTION

In our issue of January 1974 (Vol. 8 No. 1) we inadvertently captioned a photograph on page 18 as being that of "The delegation from Iraq." In fact the photograph is that of:

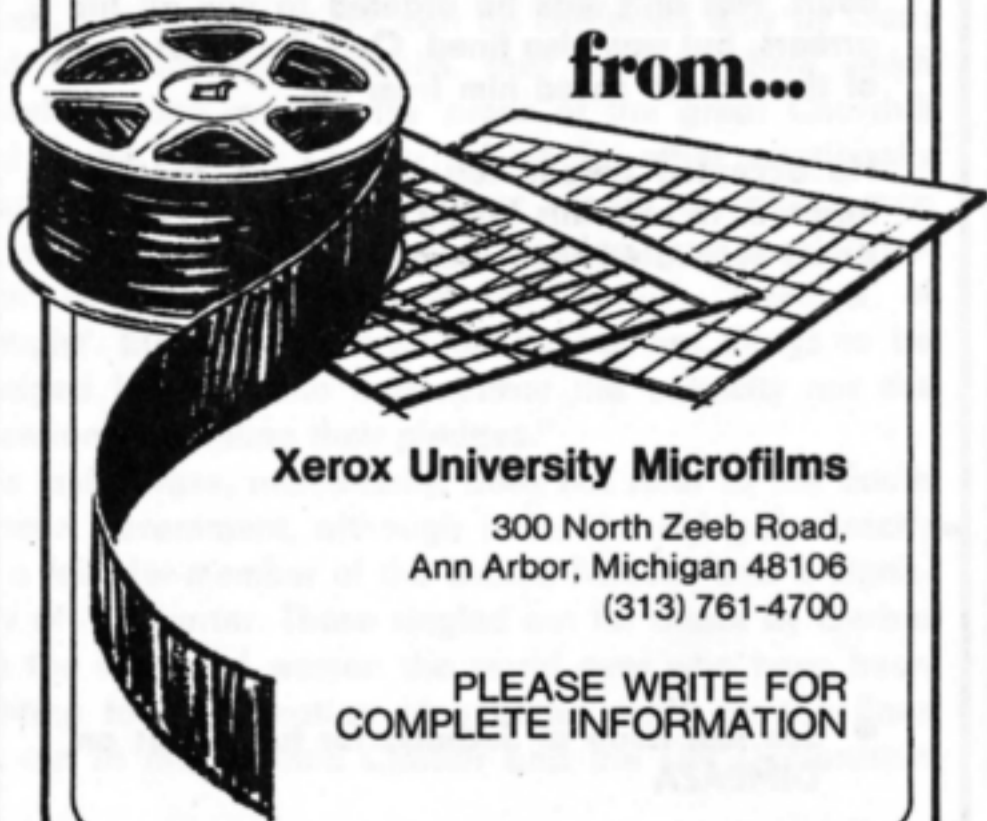
General Mercado Jarrim, Prime Minister of Peru

We are grateful to the Centro Cultural Cubano-Arabe of Cuba, for drawing our attention to this error and extend our apologies to all concerned

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A Family of Twelve In One Room

Mrs R. Nikani is still surprised that she was removed from her home in Rosemead and sent to Dimbaza.

They told me I must vacate my house and come here because Rosemead is for Coloureds. But there are still Africans staying in the same area where I stayed with my 11 children'.

The family of 12 stay in a rent-free one-roomed wooden hut.

The family's sole breadwinner is a daughter, Nomvume, who earns £3 a month as a wall-washer. A son, Mayford, was employed in the village, but was made redundant.

Family Life on One Week's Rations

Mrs L. Thamana is 61. With her husband and five children, she came from Beaufort West to Dimbaza in March 1972. Her husband died soon afterwards. She is the only one in the family receiving rations which last for a week. Nobody in the family works. Her other three sons are in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, but she does not know their addresses.

'I owe people here money which I had to borrow to buy food for my family. Now I need £10 to pay my neighbours.'

An asthma sufferer, Mrs. Thamana says the dampness of her house is worsening her condition.