

**HOTBED  
OF RACIALISM  
AND  
NEO-COLONIALISM**

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*"We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:*

*"that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;*

*"that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;*

*"that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;*

*"that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;*

*"And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won."*

(From "The Freedom Charter" adopted at the Congress of the People of South Africa on June 25 and 26, 1955.)

Race hatred and racial persecution make up the grimmest pages of history. Wherever impe-

rialism has established its rule millions of people are persecuted for belonging to another race or having a different colour of skin; race hatred is stirred up and race crimes are perpetrated.

The present age will go down in history as the decisive stage in the struggle of mankind for emancipation from colonialism. Upon the emergence of the world socialist system, and under the direct influence of this event of world historical significance, a mighty wave of national revival swept over the vast territories of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The national-liberation movement, assisted by the world socialist community and the international working class, has dealt the imperialist colonial system a fatal blow. The flags of the mother countries have been taken down in the capitals of their former subject territories, thus marking the fall of the colonial empires of oppression created to perpetuate colonial rule. Before the Second World War, the biggest colonial powers together ruled almost one-third of the world's population inhabiting more than one-half of the earth's territory. In the seventies the situation in the world has changed radically. The great majority of the formerly enslaved peoples, despite every effort of the imperialist powers to prevent it, have overthrown the colonial regimes, achieved political independence and taken the highroad of national economic and cultural progress. A large number of sovereign states have appeared on the maps of Asia and Latin America. Marked changes have taken place in Africa where, before the Second World War, Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt were the only independent countries. Today there are 41 independent African states, comprising 92 per cent of

the total population of Africa (over 300 mln people) and some 90 per cent of its territory.

However, nearly 50 million people are still subject to colonial and racial oppression today. The situation is particularly grave in southern Africa where the racialists in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonialists, with the support of the imperialist powers, have succeeded in curbing the people's liberation process. Here the colonialists and racialists are stubbornly entrenched and are tooth and nail to retain the last bulwarks of racism and colonialism. As a result, the continent has become divided into independent Africa and Africa in bondage to foreign and local imperialism.

Having been forced, under the impact of the African national-liberation movement, to retreat to within the borders of the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, the imperialists are now counting on maintaining the colonial and racist regimes in these territories in order to turn South Africa into a jumping-off ground for a counter-offensive against the young sovereign states. The state of affairs in South Africa fully meets the aims and interests of the western powers. Racism, which rules the entire life of all of South Africa and is a key ideological weapon of monopoly capital, is the very policy, for the role allotted to South Africa in their military, strategical and economic plans.

The Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique cover an area of 4.5 million square kilometres. They are countries with different state systems. The Republic of South Africa is officially an independent state and a member of the United Nations. Its neigh-

bours, Angola and Mozambique, are "classical" colonies, even though Portugal refers to them as her "overseas territories." Rhodesia is a self-governing British colony illegally proclaimed by its white population to be independent in 1965. Namibia, which was illegally occupied and turned into a colony by the RSA, under the resolution of the UN General Assembly from October 27, 1966, is a trust territory of the UN.<sup>1</sup>

The largest of the South African countries is the Republic of South Africa with its population of 21.3 million (in 1970). Of this number 3.8 million are of European origin, 14.9 million are Africans, two million are of mixed racial origin, or "coloured," according to western terminology, and 600 thousand are Asians. In Rhodesia, with its 4.5 million population, 250 thousand are of European origin and 4.2 million are Africans. It is the same story in Angola (130 thousand Europeans out of a total population of 5.3 million), Mozambique (fewer than 130 thousand Portuguese out of a total of seven million and 98 per cent of Africans) and Namibia (100 thousand Europeans out of a total of 600 thousand).

Although Europeans make up less than one-ninth of the total population of the countries of southern Africa, these countries are arrogantly described in western political literature as "White Africa." And it is this white minority that, sup-

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<sup>1</sup> Until 1966 Namibia was known as South-West Africa. At the end of the 19th century it became a colony of Germany and after the First World War was a mandated territory of the League of Nations governed by the Republic of South Africa. In 1947 the Republic of South Africa refused to include Namibia into the UN trusteeship system and in fact annexed it.

ported by foreign monopoly capital, has established racism in order to exploit the native population and plunder the wealth of the continent.

Racial discrimination remains one of the most acute problems of our times. Racism is a heinous international crime perpetrated against the peoples. The policy of racism represents a violation of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on Eliminating all Forms of Racial Discrimination. Governments which practise this policy, and also those governments which, far from taking effective action against the racist regimes give them their support, should be exposed and have international sanctions applied against them.

## RACISM AT ITS FULL VALUE

In South Africa, which is under the rule of racialists and colonialists, racism is manifested in different forms. Of these the most barbarous is apartheid, the doctrine of racial purity, which is official state policy in the Republic of South Africa. The Afrikaans word Apartheid means "isolation," "racial segregation". In practice it means the absolute division of people according to their race on the basis of the so-called theory of "white supremacy," a completely anti-humane and anti-scientific theory.

In South Africa apartheid is a legal system which sets out to deprive the non-white population of the rights and conditions of life enjoyed by the whites. "Nowhere, neither before God nor before the law, can a black be equal to a white," was the slogan of the first colonists from Europe

and it is still being implemented in South Africa today. Notices reading "Whites only," or "Non-Whites" are put up in parks and restaurants, on the doors of hotels and public lavatories, in terminals and buses. The slightest violation of these injunctions entails severe punishment. Although in Rhodesia the racial policy is officially announced as "racial partnership," in practice apartheid is gaining a firm foothold in the life of the country. The chief aims of apartheid are to hinder the social development of the native African population and the formation of a single nation, to deprive the local population of land for all time to come, and provide a constant supply of cheap labour. Its implementation makes possible the unrestricted exploitation and the arbitrary rule of the racialist government.

The Republic of South Africa has long been notorious for its racialist "theories." The South African racists openly preach apartheid. For example, on March 13, 1970, Prime Minister Vorster, in an election speech in Durban said, "South African nationhood is for the whites only. That is how I see it, that is how you see it, and that is how we will see it for the future." Minister of Information Dr. C. Mulder, speaking on March 7, 1970 in Queenstown, declared, "Let me say to you unequivocally that in terms of National Party policy, we reserve Parliament for whites—and whites only." According to Mulder, the white man would always rule in White South Africa. On March 16, 1970, Dr. Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said, "In White South Africa only the white man is 'baas' and the Nationalist Party will maintain this position forever with force, if necessary."

When, at the end of 1970 the French journalist, Jean Knecht asked Prime Minister Vorster about the prospects of granting suffrage to the African population, the racist replied that this was out of the question. The last signs of hope that the native population would have its say in the political life of the country disappeared in the sixties. At the beginning of 1971 the four white members of the South African Parliament who represented the native population were deprived of their seats. The present Parliament consists wholly of representatives of the white minority.

The Rhodesian rulers also openly follow a racialist policy. In a TV interview on November 9, 1970, their leader Ian Smith stated that he hoped that universal suffrage would never be introduced in his country. During the "general" parliamentary elections held in Rhodesia in 1969, on the basis of a racial constitution, 87 thousand electors were included in the parliamentary roll out of the 250 thousand white residents, and only eight thousand voters were registered from the 4,200,000 Africans. It was this parliament that proclaimed Rhodesia a "republic" on March 2, 1970.

Of late Bantustans (meaning "Bantu area") have become an established feature of the South African policy aimed at separating racial and tribal groups. Bantustans are pseudostates intended as isolated areas of residence for different African tribes. The alleged autonomy of the Bantustans, (alleged, because in practice the Bantustan parliaments have no rights) is a device used by the South African rulers to create a semblance of independent development. These parliaments

cannot make amendments to the constitution and have no say in all the key government decisions concerning the country's defence, foreign policy, currency, immigration, etc. Africans living outside the Bantustans are declared foreigners and deprived of all rights. Inside the Bantustans the racists bribe the local authorities, turning them into a corrupt upper social group. The tribal structure of the Bantustans hinders the formation of a single African nation for it preserves tribal traditions and consequently tribal alienation.

There are eight Bantustans in South Africa: Transkei (the first Bantustan set up in 1963), Ciskei, Vondaland, North and South Sotho, Tswanaland, Tsonga and Zululand, all of which are located in the remote areas of the country. The areas have been selected so as to leave all the deposits of diamonds, gold and copper in the hands of the whites. In 1969 the Bantustans produced no more than two per cent of the country's gross industrial output.

Although nearly 80 per cent of the South African population is made up of Africans, the Bantustans have been given only 13 per cent of the country's territory, and that is mostly arid wastelands unsuitable for agriculture. Millions of Africans are compelled to make long journeys every day to the towns where they work, and then back at night to their reservations. They constitute the chief labour force at the industrial enterprises. There are not enough whites to fill all the jobs and, besides, the Africans are paid several times less than the white workers.

The RSA rulers are ruthlessly imposing the racial barrier upon the population. Because 87 per cent of the country's territory has been allotted

to the whites, who make up less than 20 per cent of the population, millions of Africans are driven out of the land of their forbears. Various pretexts are used to carry out this policy. In 1970 thousands of Africans were driven from their homes on the grounds that they lacked the necessary professions and skills in demand in the "White" zones. What was done in Limehill, in the northern part of the Natal Province, is an example of the methods employed by the racists. In 1968 the homes of thirteen thousand African farmers were demolished by a team of bulldozers. The homeless families received no compensation and many of them were forced to live in the open before they managed to build a roof over their heads. In their new places of residence the Africans were forbidden to keep farm animals or to set up independent households. The idea was to make them take up jobs on the farms and in the enterprises of the whites.

The racial regime in Rhodesia is following the same line. The Tangwena tribe, numbering four thousand, had for generations occupied some 50 square miles on the Rhodesia-Mozambique frontier. In 1969 the tribe was ordered off the land which was to be included in the "White" zone. The racists, with firearms and police dogs, drove the people from the land of their forbears, recalled the chief of the tribe.

In December 1970 a bill was promulgated in Rhodesia, defending the interests of real estate owners. Under this law, fifteen landlords "belonging to one and the same race" can demand from the government the eviction of people of other racial origin from their community. In the eyes of the progressive public of Africa this is another

step towards the legalization of racial segregation in Rhodesia.

In the RSA all Africans live under the humiliating "pass system." Each African is required to carry a pass stating his or her identity, authorized place of work and residence, and giving information on tax payments. The African is liable to have his pass inspected by the police at any time, anywhere, even if he has slipped out of the house only for a few moments. Failure to produce a pass, or the slightest error in its contents, leads to arrest. Those convicted under the pass law are sent to work on the farms and in the factories of white owners. The pass system allows the racialists to keep millions of Africans in a state of constant tension and to provide plenty of free labour for the whites. According to the press, approximately two thousand Africans are jailed every day for violating the pass law.

This law has become a source of great disaster for the African population. Thousands of innocent people are cast into prison. Families are broken up, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents. For example, an African by the name of Msini is allowed, according to his pass, to live in the town of Paarl, Cape Province. At the end of 1970, his wife, who lacks the required qualification, was exiled to Dordrecht, a town which is "out of bounds" to Msini. Their children were also separated—one went to live with its mother, while the two others remained with their father in Paarl.

Racism underlies all the laws on marriage and the family. The marriage or cohabitation of per-

sons belonging to different racial groups is labeled as a crime and punished by law.

Violence and brutal terror permeate all spheres of life in the RSA where the last vestiges of freedom have been taken from the local African population. The white rulers have banned public organizations such as the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Congress of Democrats. The Communist Party was outlawed as far back as 1950. A ban has been put on trade union activity, and the punishment for its violation is three years' imprisonment.

The RSA police ruthlessly victimize all freedom fighters. The Terrorism Act adopted by Parliament in June 1967 has in practice given them full scope to persecute the opponents of apartheid. The South African prisons are packed with thousands of Africans. In 1969 some 500,000 Africans were arrested or subjected to other repressions. No allowances are made for a person's age, or state of health. Old people, invalids, and expectant mothers are jailed indiscriminately.

A bureau of state security, which is not accountable either to Parliament or the judicial bodies, has been set up under the direct authority of the Prime Minister to deal with the opponents of apartheid.

More extensive repressions are being practised against the patriots. The RSA carries out more death sentences than any other country in the world. Thousands of political prisoners are in torture-chambers and concentration camps.

Deprivation of political rights is only one of the ways in which the policy of racial discrimination is carried out in South Africa. Another manifestation of this is the barbarous exploitation

of the African population, which brings huge profits to the white minority and the foreign monopolies. The per capita average annual income of the white population is 1,190 dollars, while that of the African population is only 110 dollars. In the summer of 1970 the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which grants membership only to white workers, submitted a memorandum to the conference of the International Labour Organization. The memorandum dwelt on the huge gap between the wages of black and white workers performing the same kind of work. In 1968, the average monthly wages of white workers employed in the building industry amounted to 255 rands (one rand=0.5 pounds sterling or 1.4 US dollars), while African workers received only 43 rands. In the mining industry, the average yearly wages for 1968 amounted to 3,768 rands for whites and 189 rands for Africans. The same picture can be seen in agriculture where the average yearly earnings are 62 rands for Africans and 1,205 rands for whites.

Under the apartheid system, Africans are forbidden to perform skilled jobs. In the RSA all unqualified work is done by Africans. The largest monthly payment that an African can hope for is about 16 dollars, and this can be achieved only by having a long service record and holding the highest post available to an African. At the same time the monthly subsistence minimum in the country is approximately 100 dollars.

The work of African miners is particularly strenuous. The miners live in ramshackle barracks (30-35 square metres per 20 men) where they sleep on the ground. Their earnings are only one-fifteenth of those of European miners. Dinner

consists of a thin soup which is handed out only to those who have fulfilled their work quota.

Malnutrition is the scourge of the African population. According to official RSA statistics, nearly 70 per cent of the 600 thousand Africans inhabiting the Johannesburg ghetto live on a starvation diet. It is only to be expected that the death rate is extremely high among Africans and the average life expectancy low. To quote the data of the British Labour Research Bureau and the African National Congress published in 1970 in a brochure entitled *The RSA, Apartheid and Great Britain*, the average life expectancy is 64.6 years for a white male and 40-45 years for an African male; the infant mortality rate (per 1,000 in 1967) was 13 for the white population, and 269 for Africans; the tuberculosis rate per 100,000 of the population in 1965 was 37 for whites and 459 for Africans. In 1967 the Government adopted a law under which anyone ordering a white nurse to give medical assistance to a non-European in any hospital or medical establishment could be punished for a breach of discipline.

## AN OMINOUS ALLIANCE

South Africa provides an example of how neo-colonialism is pooling efforts with classical colonialism, and of how colonial-racialist regimes are collaborating with world imperialism.

The military, political and economic alliance of the "White" states, the bloc of the ruling cliques of the RSA, Rhodesia and Portugal have formed a shock detachment of world reaction in southern Africa. In everyday life this ominous alliance is

functioning actively, although its existence is officially denied by both its participants and supporters. The alliance of racialists and colonialists represents particular danger to the liberation struggle of millions of Africans in South Africa and to the sovereignty of independent African states, for not only do the ruling circles of the member-states of this union have at their disposal vast economic resources and considerable armed forces, but they also enjoy the financial, military, political and diplomatic support of the western powers.

South Africa is a veritable treasure-trove of valuable minerals and a key supplier of many basic raw materials to the world capitalist market. It accounts for more than 75 per cent of the gold mined in the capitalist world, approximately 50 per cent of the chrome ore, more than 29 per cent of the industrial diamonds and an even greater share of the cut diamonds. South Africa is attracting the western powers as a source of uranium ores and a future partner in the production of nuclear weapons. South Africa supplies the leading NATO countries with strategic raw materials (which enables them to increase their military and economic strength) and with the raw materials necessary for nuclear armaments. At the beginning of 1971 the British Conservative Government made a final deal with the Republic of South Africa for the purchase of 7,300,000 tons of uranium ore during the period between 1976-1982.

The RSA has the most highly developed economy in southern Africa. Although its population accounts for only seven per cent of Africa's population and its territory for only four per cent of the continent, the Republic of South Africa

accounts for approximately 25 per cent of Africa's gross output, more than 40 per cent of its industrial output, 75 per cent of its steel production, over 20 per cent of its power output, and 57 per cent of its electricity output (excluding the Aswan hydropower complex), more than half of Africa's railway turnover and nearly 45 per cent of its fleet of motor vehicles.

The growing influx of foreign capital and the unbridled exploitation of the African population over many years have ensured high rates of industrial development in the Republic. In the last 20 years her gross national product has increased 2.5-fold and the output of the manufacturing industries eightfold. In the capitalist world the Republic of South Africa holds first place for the production of gold, diamonds, platinum, manganese, chrome and antimony; second place for the output of vanadium and asbestos and third for uranium. More than 60 different minerals are mined in the country.

Other southern African countries are also rich in mineral resources. Namibia, which is among the leading diamond producers in the capitalist world, after the RSA, (almost one million carats are mined annually) and occupies third place, after the RSA, for the mining of vanadium, also has vast deposits of germanium, lead, zinc, gold, manganese, silver, beryllium, tantalum and graphite; uranium deposits have also been discovered. Angola produces diamonds (fourth place among the capitalist countries), manganese, copper ore and oil; Mozambique—oil, iron, gold, wolfram, manganese, bauxites, diamonds, asbestos, uranium, coal, iron ore and rare metals, including beryllium (Africa's leading producer), lithium, tantalum and niobium.

Rhodesia holds third place in the world for the output of chromites and asbestos and fifth place in the world for the output of gold.

All these immense natural riches which have fallen into the hands of local and foreign imperialist monopolies serve as a solid economic base for the ominous alliance.

The economic collaboration of this alliance is extremely varied. The Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are bound by a number of economic agreements and are working out joint industrial and other projects. Among these the most important is the building of the Cabora-Bassa hydroelectric dam on the Zambesi in Mozambique, some 120 kilometres away from the Zambian frontier. Its envisaged capacities are two million kilowatts which may be increased to 3.4 million kilowatts. The estimated cost is 365 million dollars. This project when completed will provide almost all of southern Africa, and especially the RSA, with cheap electricity.

In building the Cabora-Bassa Dam, the Portuguese colonialists and South-African racists pursue both economic and political aims, notably, to attract foreign monopoly capital to the project, which will make the western powers more anxious than ever to preserve the existing regimes in southern Africa. Another reason is to set the stage for the arrival of approximately one million white settlers, chiefly from Portugal, in Mozambique. The new-comers will be given land in the vicinity of the Cabora-Bassa Dam and will become fervent adherents of the colonial order. Finally, the project is designed to play an important role in suppressing the national-liberation movement. The geographical situation of the Cabora-Bassa area

will enable the racists, with support from the white settlers, to cut off the centres of guerrilla warfare in the northern regions of Mozambique from those in northern Rhodesia. The RSA is playing the leading financial role in this scheme and has invested approximately 200 million rands in the project. Portugal and the RSA have also secured the financial support of West German and French monopolies.

In Mozambique the RSA is building a network of strategic roadways and airfields. It is also supplying materials for the building of the Melawi-Nicola railway line. The South-African company, James Brown & Hamer Ltd, is sponsoring the building of a sugar refinery in Dondo (Mozambique) at an estimated cost of 282 million escudos. Another South-African company is carrying out a series of prospecting operations in Manica (Mozambique) which is noted for its huge deposits of copper and gold.

Under an agreement between the Republic of South Africa and Portugal, more than 100 thousand miners from Mozambique are contracted to work in the mines of the Republic. A sum of two pounds sterling is paid out to Portugal by the RSA for each worker.

Economic collaboration between the countries of the "White" bloc is of particular importance to Rhodesia. The failure of economic sanctions undertaken by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in 1965 against the Rhodesian regime was due to the fact that Rhodesia continued to receive all the essential goods and materials, foodstuffs and plant either via the RSA and the Portuguese colonies or directly from the RSA. It is clear that, as long as Rhodesia is sup-

plied with vital imports through the Republic of South Africa, economic sanctions against the illegitimate regime of the white minority will remain ineffective.

The military strength of the ominous alliance is increasing every year. The RSA, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies are continuing to build up their armed forces whose numerical strength is already far greater than that of all the independent countries of Tropical Africa put together.

The South-African racists and colonialists go to all lengths to procure sufficient armaments to suppress the national-liberation movement. In 1971 the RSA Minister of Defence, P. W. Botha, speaking at a congress of the ruling Nationalist Party, said that the Republic of South Africa had enough armaments to wage war with regular or nuclear weapons. As far back as 1964, an armaments council was set up in the Republic to purchase all types of arms that could be of use to the country's armed forces. In 1968 a law was passed on the founding of a Corporation with a nominal capital of 100 million rands for the manufacture of armaments. The six branches of the Corporation are responsible for the output of the bulk of the country's strategical arms. A large number of big companies are working for the war industry of the RSA.

The military tendencies of the country are expressed in her military budget which allocated £ 140 million in 1969/70 and £ 154 million in 1970/71 for military purposes. The allocation for 1971/72 is to be £ 184 million. In the following five years the RSA will spend just on £ 1,000 million for the purchase of military equipment, including aircraft, battleships, armoured cars and tanks,

anti-aircraft guns and guided missiles, ammunition, transport means, radar, navigation and other types of equipment.

The armaments build-up is continuing to increase despite the fact that the RSA already has approximately 200 thousand men under arms, all equipped with the most up-to-date weapons. This is the largest armed force in Africa. Its army of 28,000 is equipped with "Centurion" and "AMX-13" tanks, armoured carriers, trench mortars, and guns. Besides the regular army, the RSA has at her disposal 70 thousand troops signed up in the civil defence corps, 45 thousand policemen, 55 thousand civilians in "comando" groups and 60-70 thousand in reserve groups. Up to 60 thousand men are called up for service in the Army every year.

The RSA air force has five thousand men. Outdated aircraft are replaced by modern machines. The Atlas Aircraft Corporation of South Africa Ltd. in Johannesburg has begun to manufacture "Impala" training aircraft and spare parts for military aircraft. The air force is steadily being equipped with "Canberra" and "Buccaneer" bombers, "Mirage III" and "Sabre" fighters, "Lockheed-C130H (Hercules)" troop-carriers, more than a thousand helicopters, and 18 "BM-326" training jet planes equipped with two machine-guns.

The scope of the military preparations in the Republic of South Africa exposes the aggressive character of her schemes. The stock of its regular armaments is already far above the demands of the country's defence requirements, especially if one bears in mind that there is no external threat to her security. The RSA borders either on independent African states whose economies and

military capability are much inferior to her own, or on territories ruled by her allies, the Portuguese colonialists. At the same time the Republic is mobilizing special "invasion forces" intended for anti-guerrilla warfare. Their detachments are equipped with up-to-date armaments and can be quickly transferred to any part of the country as well as beyond her borders.

The development of rocket and nuclear armaments in the RSA is a grave threat to the independent African states. The western press has already reported the testing of a tactical rocket in the Republic. The air-defence "Cactus" system of arms has been developed. This is effective against high-speed low-flying missiles in all weather. A guided missile of the "air-air" type has been created. Uranium ore is being mined at an ever-increasing rate. Its output reached four thousand tons in 1969, with an export value of more than £ 1,000 million. The first atomic reactor in the Republic was put into operation in August 1965.

In June 1970, Prime Minister Vorster informed the press that a new technology of dressing uranium had been developed in the Republic and that methods for its further processing had been developed by the South-African Atomic Energy Board. An experimental uranium dressing plant employing the new technology was already under construction. As reported by the US Associated Press, France Presse and other western press agencies on June 21 and 22, 1970, the RSA has all the facilities for creating its own atom bomb.

By developing a large-scale industrial centre for the output of enriched uranium, the RSA racists are seeking on the one hand, to find allies among the NATO countries by providing them

with cheap enriched uranium ore, and on the other, to make a step forward towards the production of weapons of mass annihilation.

The RSA, Portugal and Rhodesia are continuing to co-ordinate their military schemes for suppressing the national-liberation movement. More than two thousand RSA soldiers are engaged in warfare against the guerrilla movement in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Together with the Portuguese punitive troops they are carrying on military operations against the patriotic fighters of Angola and Mozambique, and together with the Rhodesian troops are provoking military incidents on the Zambian border. In addition, the RSA and Rhodesia have placed their airfields at the disposal of the Portuguese air force which regularly carries out raids on the regions that have been liberated by the patriots.

The rulers of the RSA, Portugal and Rhodesia have set up a standing committee with headquarters in the Republic. The members of this bloc co-ordinate their military and police action. Their top-rank military officers meet at least once a month for consultation and an exchange of information concerning actions against the African patriots.

In February 1971 the heads of the security organizations of the RSA, Rhodesia and Portugal (as well as Angola and Mozambique) met for a regular conference in Salisbury. The Algerian daily, *Al-Moudjahid*, in commenting on this meeting, wrote: "Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria are taking stock of the means for consolidating and promoting their efforts to suppress the national-liberation movement in Africa."

Contacts between the bosses of the racist re-

gimes are being constantly expanded as part of their campaign to step up the offensive against the independent African states which are supporting their fighting compatriots.

### **THE BRIDGE-BUILDING POLICY THE RACIALIST WAY**

The South-African racists and the Portuguese colonialists are the most hated enemies of the African peoples. Most of the independent African states are stepping up their efforts to force the RSA rulers to put an end to apartheid which is a crime against humanity. For many years the South-African and Rhodesian racialists and the Portuguese colonialists have been regularly condemned at all sessions of the UN General Assembly and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU member-states. The result so far achieved is the ever-growing isolation of the racialists and colonialists on a world scale. The number of states who refuse to have any relations with the RSA until it changes its policy towards Africans is constantly growing. Many international political, economic and sports organizations have boycotted the Republic until it abandons its apartheid policy. The isolation of the Republic is also being intensified by the concerted action of the majority of African states against apartheid and by the fact that the OAU has proclaimed the elimination of racism as one of its main objectives.

In 1966-1967, the RSA Government, in an attempt to break through the rising wall of isolation and to influence world public opinion, pro-

claimed a "new" policy known as "bridge-building." This is not a new policy. It was the policy of the US Government at the time of the Johnson Administration, which aimed to destroy the unity of the socialist states of Europe. This was to be achieved by sowing dissidence among these countries in order to pull one or another of them back into the capitalist camp.

The RSA rulers, in their turn, are out to win over the heads of some independent African states by tempting them with prospects of advantageous economic arrangements and various kinds of "aid." They hope that their economic and financial proposals will split the ranks of the united African front fighting against racial discrimination, and weaken the opposition to apartheid.

Exploiting the economic difficulties being experienced by the young African states, Pretoria has launched a political and economic offensive, seeking to establish closer contacts with several independent African states. The political aim of this "new course" is quite simple—to surround the Republic of South Africa with a chain of amenable countries. Speaking in 1970 at the congress of the Nationalist Party of Cape Province, the Minister of Defence, P. W. Botha, made no secret of the fact that the Republic prefers to have "black neighbours who will not oppose apartheid," rather than to have to maintain a heavy military and police guard along its frontiers. As regards the economic aspect of the "bridge-building" policy, it lays emphasis on the neo-colonialist seizure of markets for the growing manufacturing industry of the Republic. The South-African rulers are scheming to set up a South-African "com-

mon market" comprising Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. The ultimate aim of this course is to create a vast neo-colonial empire with the centre in Pretoria.

On March 27, 1968, the RSA Government declared that it was establishing a fund of five million rands to assist those independent African states which were "well disposed" towards the Republic. According to Dr. Diederichs, the RSA Minister of Finance, this fund will be made up of the contributions that would otherwise have gone to various international organizations in which the country no longer participates. Evidently these are the organizations that have banished the Republic because of its racial policy.

This "bridge-building" policy of the South African government constitutes a grave threat to the independent African states. The threat is particularly acute because of the economic dependence of several of these states on the Republic and the readiness of the conservative governments in Africa to develop relations with South Africa. Regrettably, several independent states have reconciled themselves to South Africa's racist regime, which shows that they are not yet fully aware of the consequences ensuing from the existence of this regime. Between 1964-1968, the export of South African goods to African countries almost doubled, and in 1968 it amounted to a value of 250.4 million rands. This is more than 16 per cent of all South African exports.

Not all the leaders of the independent African states have been able to withstand the overtures of the South-African Government. Some of them,

in disregard of common African interests, have been attracted by the economic and financial proposals. One of the first to take this road was the President of Malawi, Dr. Banda. Betraying the interests of African unity, Malawi established diplomatic relations with South Africa. President Banda continues to claim that his position is the best way to mitigate the consequences of South African apartheid, but his message of greeting to the notorious racist, J. Fouché, when he was elected to the position of President of the Republic of South Africa, has earned him universal contempt.

When, in May 1970, Prime Minister Vorster travelled beyond the borders of the Republic for the first time, his first visit was to Malawi where he boasted of his country's ability to render economic "aid" to the independent African states. This was calculated to split the African states and show the world that the Republic could "find a common language" with Africa. The seeds of this policy were sown in August 1968 when the RSA Minister for Foreign Affairs, H. Muller, conducted negotiations with President Banda on the further development of economic ties. The Republic's exports to Malawi include products of heavy industry and the chemical industry, medicines and food concentrates.

Pretoria is expanding its economic penetration of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland which are now almost fully dependent economically on the Republic. Prime Minister Jonathan of Lesotho has agreed to the South-African proposal for the joint building of a hydropower complex in the northern highlands of Lesotho, a £ 10 million project which in practice will be of no benefit to the

people of Lesotho, for almost all the power will go to South Africa.

The Malagasy Republic and Mauritius also have a partiality for economic co-operation with South Africa. In Pretoria the "RSA-Madagascar" Trading Company handles commercial operations between the two countries. In 1970 agreements were signed between the Malagasy Republic and the RSA on the participation of South-African companies in several building projects in Madagascar. This was preceded by an agreement between Madagascar and South African airline companies. The Republic of South Africa does not try to hide its intentions of using the Malagasy Republic as a means of establishing ties with the General Afro-Malagasy Organization and penetrating into the former French colonies in Africa. Pretoria has already taken the first steps in this direction: its trade relations with Gabon and the Ivory Coast are being increased.

In its policy of "bridge-building" South Africa takes advantage of the economic and military weakness of several African countries—the fact that Lesotho is surrounded by South African territory, that Swaziland is hemmed in between South Africa and Mozambique, and Botswana's only outlet into independent Africa is its tiny frontier with Zambia.

This policy is promoted by the fact that South-African monopolies have huge investments (£ 500,000,000) in 10 African countries, which are interested in having this capital invested in their economies. Every year hundreds of thousands of workers suffering from unemployment in the countries neighbouring on South Africa flock to the Republic in search of seasonal jobs, and this

largely accounts for the interest of the governments of these countries in RSA capital.

The relations that several African states have established with the Republic of South Africa and the development of those relations are highly detrimental to African unity. They weaken the OAU and the struggle being waged by the national-liberation movements in southern Africa and undermine the implementation of UN and OAU decisions on economic, political and other sanctions against South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.

It is common knowledge that the policy of "bridge-building" in regard to the socialist states of Europe was a failure. The countries that were to be split and weakened and torn away from the socialist community, drew even closer together in face of the impending danger, and consequently became stronger. It is to be hoped that the independent African countries, their peoples and leaders, will also display political maturity, be able to discern the true aims of this policy, and foresee the grave consequences that could follow from this treacherous course of condoning racialism. At the Tenth Conference of the Council of Ministers, held in February 1968, the Organization of African Unity adopted a special resolution condemning all those who collaborate with the South-African racialists and refuse to implement the decisions of the OAU on the all-round boycott of South Africa.

Yet it is the position adopted by certain OAU members that has made it impossible to achieve complete unity of action in regard to the racialist regimes. The proposal made at the end of 1970 by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast, to launch a "peaceful dialogue"

with the racist regimes in southern Africa has been received with indignation by most Africans. The proposal came in for special condemnation because Pretoria has repeatedly rejected the attempts of independent African states to make her renounce her apartheid policy. For example, South Africa turned down the well-known Lusaka Manifesto, adopted by the OAU in 1970, which contained similar demands.

The true aims of the "bridge-building" policy are exposed by Pretoria's attitude towards those independent African states that have refused to be led by the racists and who are firmly opposing apartheid. An aggressive attitude is always taken by the racists towards these states, and towards Zambia in particular, an independent state which renders assistance and support to the national-liberation movement in southern Africa. The South-African racists do everything within their power to intimidate the people and government of Zambia in order to prevent them from giving fraternal aid to peoples still fighting for their national independence. Aggressive actions along the frontiers, sabotage, espionage, bribery and slander—the whole arsenal of racist methods is being employed against Zambia.

For example, in October 1967, South-African troops violated the Zambian border near the town of Katima Mulilo on the northern bank of the Zambesi. Before that there had been attempts of sabotage by South-African agents in the coal warehouses in Livingstone, and other subversive acts. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called the South-African Prime Minister a "political maniac." In January 1968 the Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs once again openly condemned

the numerous provocative violations of Zambia's territory by RSA troops. According to the Minister, these acts were fraught with the danger of a large-scale military attack on Zambia launched by the RSA and Rhodesia in collusion with the Portuguese colonialists.

By perpetrating their acts of aggression against Zambia, the South-African racists demonstrate to the whole world their disdain for the decisions of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity which have not only acknowledged the legitimacy of the struggle being waged in the colonies against the existing regimes, but have called upon all their member-states to give moral and material help to the national-liberation movements in the colonial territories.

Portugal's aggression against the independent Guinean Republic, launched on November 22, 1970 from the territory of Guinea (Bissau), caused world-wide indignation. The aim of this venture was to overthrow the progressive regime in the Guinean Republic in order to block its people's way to progress and bring them once again under foreign oppression. The colonialists also planned to hamstring the national-liberation organizations of South Africa, whose representatives were stationed in Conakry, by seizing the leaders of the liberation movement and putting them out of the way. The people of Guinea dealt successfully with the aggressors, but the threat of new provocations by the Portuguese colonialists persists. The People's Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Senegal and Tanzania, among other African states, have repeatedly suffered from aggression and provocation.

The fact that the South-African racials have turned the territory of their Republic into a military base for the training of mercenary troops to be used against the independent African states seriously threatens the security of those states. It is in the Republic of South Africa that such troops were trained for aggression in the Congo (Kinshasa), now the Republic of Zaire, Nigeria, the Sudan and other independent states. It is also in the Republic that numerous "centres" and "bureaus" have been set up for the recruitment of mercenaries from western countries.

South Africa makes no secret of its intentions to attack the independent African states. The RSA Minister of Defence, P. W. Botha, let slip that his government was "losing patience" with Zambia and Tanzania and would be ready to launch a severe attack against them. The "fault" of these countries is their co-operation with parties and organizations which are waging a struggle against foreign tyranny in the colonies.

The threatened aggression by South Africa compels Zambia, Tanzania and other countries to spend huge sums on defence-funds which are badly needed for economic development. In September 1968, the Zambian Government was forced to make a special decision on the strengthening of its armed forces. Britain refused to give military assistance to Zambia. President Kaunda then wrote to President Johnson stressing the necessity of rallying the efforts of all those who in practice oppose the South-African racials in order to forestall the raiding of Zambia by the RSA air force. The USA followed Britain's lead.

The RSA press and radio regularly question the progressive measures undertaken by Zambia,

Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo and other independent states. The propaganda of the racials is out to split the ranks of the African peoples and to sow seeds of doubt in their minds as to the correctness of the policies of their progressive governments. Its ultimate aim is to split the independent states in the event of aggression by South Africa.

The 1971-1972 budget of the RSA Government includes increased allocations for subversive activity against the independent African states—four million rands more than in the preceding year.

In 1969 Vorster reorganized the South-African intelligence service on the pattern of the US Central Intelligence Agency. The staff of the new State Security Bureau is nearly 40 per cent larger than that of former intelligence organizations. Speaking to a gathering of the heads of this body, Vorster said that its most important task was to make the independent African states, and particularly those that border on South Africa, understand that all attempts to support anti-apartheid movements would be vigorously opposed by Pretoria. According to the South African Prime Minister, the Bureau must control political activity, not only inside the Republic, but also in the neighbouring countries.

The growing subversive activities of the South-African racials against the independent African states, particularly Zambia and Tanzania, are justly condemned throughout the continent. The Organization of African Unity is watching this situation closely. Its members sharply criticize South Africa's acts of provocation along the Zambian border, her armed attacks on populated areas, its espionage, acts of sabotage and aid

to anti-government elements. The OAU has adopted a decision under which the OAU Commission for Defence, whose scope of activity covers general questions of military co-operation between independent African states, will concentrate on measures and co-ordinate efforts for defence against the impending threat from the racist regime of South Africa.

The UN Organization has repeatedly adopted resolutions condemning the aggressive actions of the racists and colonialists against the independent African states. However, unsupported by effective measures, these resolutions alone cannot curb the South-African racists and Portuguese colonialists.

Following the decision of the 24th session of the UN General Assembly, the year 1971 was proclaimed "International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination." The UN programme envisages the implementation of a wide range of measures in support of those fighting on a national and world-wide scale.

People all over the world are demanding that those western powers which, within the NATO framework or through bilateral agreements, are collaborating with the RSA, Rhodesia or Portugal should be held equally responsible for the acts of aggression and provocations perpetrated against the independent African states.

### **THE CHIEF PATRONS AND ALLIES OF THE RACIALISTS AND COLONIALISTS**

The policy of the western powers regarding South Africa cannot be isolated from the strug-

gle being waged by world reaction against the progressive forces. The policy of imperialism concerning the south of Africa is an integral part of its general political line aimed against progress, freedom, democracy and socialism. The specific feature of the situation in southern Africa is that the basic interests of the ruling circles whose countries are party to the "ominous alliance" are identical with those of western imperialism.

The South-African racists and the Portuguese colonialists are ready to play the role of chief bulwark in the struggle against the national-liberation movement in Africa. They are prepared to be the southern outpost of the aggressive NATO bloc and a jumping-off ground for imperialist actions in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic, for this is in their interests. According to the calculations of racialists and colonialists of "White Africa," their services will be generously paid for in armaments and money essential for holding their position against the national-liberation movement which has developed throughout the whole of southern Africa.

Among the factors prompting the imperialists to play the role of sponsor and ally of the racialists, the most important is the hatred of the South-African, Rhodesian and Portuguese rulers for the socialist countries, and especially for the Soviet Union and the international communist and workers' movement. The Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon bosses are fully aware of what is expected of them by the imperialists and use every opportunity to demonstrate their hostility to the world of socialism and to Marxism-Leninism. Speaking at an election rally in July 1969, Prime Minister Vorster said that an increasing number of states

were coming to understand South Africa's position and to give it credit for being the first to break off diplomatic relations with Russia and launch a crusade against communist organizations. Pretoria has boasted for all to hear that Lenin's works top the list of banned books and that those who are discovered to possess such literature are sentenced to a ten-year prison term.

The South-African racialists and Portuguese colonialists, not counting on their military capability in the struggle against their opponents, are out to obtain direct allies from among the big imperialist powers so as to ensure the preservation of their regimes. The participants in the "ominous alliance" claim that they are defending, not only their own interests, but also those of the entire "free world," and that the elimination of the colonial and racist regimes will allegedly bring "trouble" to all whites, both in South Africa and in the West. On these grounds the RSA and Portugal are bringing strong pressure to bear on NATO to expand the "spheres of its activity" and to take South Africa under its wing. As far back as 1954, F. A. Nogueira, Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking at the 14th session of the NATO Council, said: "We demand officially that the zone of NATO protection be extended to the Portuguese provinces of Angola and Guinea (Bissau) so as to throw a reliable defence bridge from the North to the South Atlantic."

To secure the protection of NATO, the RSA and Portugal are tempting the western powers with the advantages the Atlantic bloc would obtain by admitting them. As reported by the *Daily Mail* of July 23, 1970, the RSA leaders proposed to conclude an agreement with NATO that would give

the Republic equal rights with other NATO members. In that event Pretoria would put its armed forces under the NATO command, station NATO forces on its territory and place its military base in Simonstown, together with other ports, at the disposal of NATO naval forces.

At a dinner given in October 1970 in Lisbon, in honour of the visiting NATO generals, H. J. de Sa Viana Rebelo, Portugal's Minister of Defence, declared that the policy being conducted by Portugal in Africa was in full accord with the vital interests of NATO and that the Portuguese Government was ready to open up its naval and air bases in the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) to its NATO partners. According to Sa Viana Rebelo, "Portugal has naval and air bases south of the Tropic of Cancer, from the Cape Verde Islands to Guinea and Angola equipped with all up-to-date armaments which make it possible to control a vast area of the Atlantic basin." At the beginning of 1971, after his visit to Mozambique, Sa Viana Rebelo once again declared that the Portuguese Government would place its ports in Africa at NATO's disposal at the first demand from NATO.

The South-African racialists invented an ingenious myth about a "Soviet menace" to naval routes around the Cape of Good Hope. The pretext for this is the presence of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean. One of the aims of this campaign is to induce the NATO states, and particularly the USA and Britain, to assume "collective responsibility" for the situation in South Africa, to secure their support in suppressing the national-liberation movement, and to involve the western powers more actively in this struggle.

The racialists and colonialists of South Africa want to show their readiness to serve NATO, and particularly US imperialism. The Republic of South Africa has willingly offered the USA the use of its territory for military purposes. It has set up observation and communication stations in Babsfontein, Olifansfontein and Harshback, and a mobile missile-tracking station of the "Globe-track" type.

Portugal does not want to lag behind South Africa. The Lisbon rulers have given the USA complete control of a number of the Azores where a large naval base has been set up for refuelling and repairing US ships and aircraft. Strategic mineral resources are shipped from the ports of Mozambique with the approval of Lisbon.

The devotion of the RSA and Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists both to the NATO and to imperialism as a whole is highly valued by the western imperialists. This devotion is repaid by various forms of support rendered to the racialist and colonial regimes. Among these is the delivery of arms and armaments by the NATO countries in violation of numerous UN decisions. The armaments (aircraft, bombs, tanks, mortars, shells, submachine guns, etc.) used by the RSA and Portugal for aggression against the independent African states and the suppression of national-liberation movements in South Africa come from munition factories in the USA, Britain, West Germany and other NATO member-states.

Despite its official denial, the US Government is continuing to deliver arms and armaments to South Africa. UN statistics reveal that between 1962 and 1969 the Republic received US military supplies to the value of \$ 38.6 million. Accord-

ing to the statistics of the International Peace Institute in Stockholm, in 1969 alone the USA shipped to South Africa \$ 3,100 thousand worth of military equipment. At the beginning of 1971 David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said that the US was thinking about permitting the sale of a "limited number" of transport planes to South Africa. In the last ten years (1960-1970) the USA supplied Portugal with various types of arms and military equipment to the value of \$ 400 million.

With the coming to power of the Conservative Government in Britain, the problem of its arms deliveries to South Africa has become particularly acute. Contrary to the Labour Government's official decision in 1964 to put an embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa, in conformity with the resolution of the Security Council, on July 20, 1970, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons that the new, Tory, Government intended to resume arms deliveries to the RSA. This is a gross violation of the international embargo imposed by the UN Security Council on August 7, 1963.<sup>1</sup> Sir Douglas-Home's declaration became even more alarming when, a few

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<sup>1</sup> On August 7, 1963 the Security Council, having discussed the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, sharply condemned this policy as being incompatible with the principles of the UN Charter and solemnly called upon all states "to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa." In conformity with this resolution all governments were obliged to impose an embargo on trade in arms and ammunition with the South-African racialists.

days later, the world learned of the large-scale naval manoeuvres being undertaken jointly by the British and South African fleets. It was no longer a secret that Britain and the Republic of South Africa were bound by close military co-operation.

On July 23, 1970, the Security Council, convened on the demands of the African states, adopted a resolution calling upon all states to comply with the embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. By abstaining from voting, the delegations of the USA, Britain and France once again exposed themselves as accomplices of the racist regimes.

British propaganda went so far as to assert that, by resuming its arms deliveries to South Africa, Britain did not necessarily approve of the apartheid policy and did not intend to improve its relations with Vorster's government. However, the facts do not back up these assertions. There is no denying that since the Tories came to power there has been a definite rapprochement between Britain and South Africa. In June 1970, when H. Muller, the South African Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived in London, he was received by British government leaders, including the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home. And it was soon after this visit that the world learned of the armaments deal between Britain and South Africa.

In January 1971, at a British Commonwealth Conference held in Singapore, British Prime Minister Edward Heath defended Britain's "right" to take such decisions regarding arms sales to South Africa as conform to Britain's national interests, and did his best to persuade the partici-

pants in the Conference to "understand" and support her. Although of the 31 members of the British Commonwealth 28 vigorously opposed the sale of military supplies to South Africa, on February 22, 1971, the British Foreign Secretary informed Parliament that Britain would give export licences for the sale of the "Wasp"-type helicopters to the Republic of South Africa, and would continue to supply certain types of spare parts for military equipment. On the same day, the South African Minister of Defence, P. W. Botha, declared that South Africa would purchase seven "Wasp" helicopters from Britain to a total value of £ 1,000,000. It was reported by the world press a few days later that one of Britain's biggest aircraft companies, the British Aircraft Corporation, was toying with the idea of selling rocket weapons to South Africa. The Western press also gave information on the contract placed by the Republic with British firms for the purchase of "Nimrod" naval bombers to the value of £15,000,000, and 25 "Buccaneer" strike fighters.

Britain's decision to ignore the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa, and her proposed deals caused the independent African states to react sharply. Representatives of 40 African member-states of the UN held an urgent conference which was followed by the proposal of African representatives in UN bodies dealing with the struggle against colonialism, racialism and apartheid, to discuss the issue of arms sales to the RSA and publish declarations condemning Britain. On February 26, 1971, Senegal's delegate to the UN Commission on Human Rights declared that it was necessary to appeal to world public opinion to protest against all attempts to violate the Secu-

rity Council's embargo on arms deliveries to the RSA Government. On the initiative of the African states, declarations condemning the decision of the British Government were voiced by the Special Committee for the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, and the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The United States has been the accomplice of the British Tories in this matter. US Government leaders gave their tacit consent to Britain's policy. Further, as reported by the *Daily Mail* diplomatic observer (January 6, 1971), during the talks held in Washington at the end of 1970, President Nixon assured British Prime Minister Heath of US support regarding Britain's sale of arms to South Africa. The anti-African conspiracy of Britain and the US became particularly evident in their treatment of the OAU mission. In the autumn of 1970, the mission, headed by President Kaunda of Zambia, visited London and Washington to voice a protest on behalf of 41 African states against arms deliveries to the RSA. The British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, received President Kaunda with arrogance and rejected the protest, while President Nixon completely refused to see him.

The British accomplices of the South African racists came up with various arguments to justify the sale of arms to South Africa. To begin with they protested that this step was necessary to ensure the "safety" of the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope. This route, according to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, carries

50 per cent of Britain's foreign trade and 40 per cent of all her oil imports. The Soviet fleet is alleged to have taken control of all the key naval routes, as well as Aden, Somalia, and Mauritius. Hence the only "reasonable" thing that Britain can do "for the sake of defence" is to arm South Africa.

Yet everyone who is acquainted with the actual state of affairs is well aware that nothing threatens the aforementioned sea route. This argument was easily removed by Sardar Swaran Singh, head of the Indian delegation to the Singapore Conference who said that the Soviet Union had no naval bases in the Indian Ocean, whereas Britain and the USA not only had several such bases but had recently agreed to establish a new base on the Diego Garcia Atoll. It is significant that Peter Kirk, First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, openly discounted the notion of a "Soviet menace" in the Indian Ocean.

In a further attempt to justify its decision, London referred to the Simonstown Agreement of 1955 under which Britain was to deliver arms for the South African navy. In return, the Royal Navy was to be given the use of the Simonstown naval base. However, Britain had already met her commitments under this agreement, having delivered, among other armaments, three anti-submarine patrol-vessels. Further, the Labour Government when it was in power, had officially declared that Britain had fulfilled all her obligations under the Simonstown Agreement.

Thus, British propaganda has failed in all its attempts to justify the resumption of Britain's arms sales to South Africa. The British Government's action, aimed against the African freedom

fighters, is condemned by the African peoples and all peace-loving countries as a dangerous step fraught with grave consequences, not only for southern Africa but for the security of all the independent African states. As stated by Diallo Telli, General Secretary of the OAU, at a press conference held on January 10, 1971, Britain's arguments in favour of resuming arms sales to South Africa are merely survivals of the "Golden Age of the British Empire," used to smokescreen the true motives for this deal. It is clear that to deliver arms to the fascist-minded South African rulers amounts to placing them in the hands of the entire colonial and racist bloc whose members co-ordinate all their military operations. There is no doubt that, in the event of need, the British arms will find their way into the hands of the Rhodesian racials or the Portuguese colonialists who will use them against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe or Guinea (Bissau). The African press justly noted that a short while ago, South Africa had connections with NATO only through its closest ally, Portugal. But with the resumption of British arms deliveries, a direct military alliance will be established between NATO and the RSA.

It may well be asked what underlies Britain's decision to sell arms to South Africa, a decision which is clearly the result of collusion between the British Tory Government and the Vorster regime. The answer is not hard to find.

In an atmosphere when the alignment of forces on the world scene is continuing to change in favour of socialism, and when the national-liberation movement is steadily cutting the ground from under the colonialists, the British ruling

circles, through the Tory Government, are making a new attempt to halt, or at least to slow down, these objective processes. It is not only through their political and military-strategical interests that the "White" African rulers and the imperialist powers are linked. They are linked in countless other ways by their joint exploitation of the native population and their plundering of the natural wealth of southern Africa. The local monopolies give the imperialist monopolies of the USA, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Japan, and other powers a free hand in all their activities. The South African Government gives exclusive privileges to foreign capital. It has fixed a 7.5 per cent tax for foreign investments in the country, whereas the tax rates in the US and the FRG are 39 and 30 per cent respectively.

The investments of foreign capital in South Africa are enormous. Western monopolies, chiefly those of Britain, the US and the FRG, have made investments to a total of more than \$ 5,300 million. Britain is the principal investor, holding 58 per cent of all foreign investments in the RSA economy. Most of the big British monopolies are linked in one way or another with South Africa. All the main British banks have direct ties with the racist countries. Approximately 500 British companies and monopolies have capital investments in the Republic. Of the 100 chief companies 77 have a direct interest in the country. Between 9 and 10 per cent of Britain's direct investments abroad are in South Africa. These bring in 16 per cent of Britain's total income from foreign investments.

The huge profits extracted from South Africa

entice the British monopolies to increase their investments in the economy of the Republic. In 1966 the total value of British investments in the RSA amounted to £ 1,300,000,000. In January, 1971, they were assessed by the British press at £ 1,500,000,000. The political implication of these investments was accurately described at a meeting held in Trafalgar Square in September, 1970, by Labour MP J. Lester who said that those who invest capital in the RSA, invest in apartheid.

British capital investments in the RSA and consequently the profits of the British monopolies are growing. In 1961 these profits amounted to £ 28,500,000, in 1967 to £ 64,700,000, in 1968 to £ 76,000,000, and in 1970 to some £ 100,000,000.

The following monopolies have become firmly established in South Africa: Imperial Chemical Industries and De Beers, affiliated to the gigantic Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, together own the African Explosives and Chemical Industries which dominates the market of chemicals and is the largest South-African manufacturing concern. Associated British Foods is owned by the Premier Milling Company which has control of approximately 100 enterprises in the Republic. Its profits in 1968 were £ 5,900,000. Shell and British Petroleum are joint owners of South Africa's biggest oil refinery and British-American Tobacco owns the country's biggest tobacco company. The Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation owns the Palabora Mining Company Limited, which in 1968 alone made a profit of £ 24,000,000. Of the four banks dominating the commercial banking world of the Republic, two are British—the Barclays Bank DCO has 825 branches, and the Standard Bank has about 800.

For many years trade between the British and South-African trading circles has been steadily increasing. British exports to South Africa in 1969 were valued at £ 293,000,000, and the value of British imports exceeded £ 300,000,000. According to Eccles-Williams, President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, trade between Britain and the RSA increased by 35 per cent between 1965-1969. In September 1970, the acting British Consul-General in South Africa stated that the volume of this trade increased during 1970 by 20 per cent over the 1969 figure, and that the British Government intended to expand its trade relations with the Republic. Britain buys approximately 38 per cent of South Africa's exports of manufactured goods.

In the first quarter of 1970, twenty-one British firms, including the Westminster Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Sussex Industrialists, the Northern Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the British Guild of Men's Clothes Manufacturers, reported the visits of their representatives to South Africa where they conducted trade negotiations.

British monopolies functioning in South Africa have their own men in the Conservative Party and Government. At the time of the formation of the new government, eight out of eighteen members of the Tory Shadow Cabinet were directors of companies that have direct interests in South Africa. These companies contributed more than 50 per cent of the Tory election campaign funds. Among the present British ministers, at least seven have capital investments in the RSA. These include Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Exchequer (British Ropes), Lord Carrington, Sec-

retary of State for Defence (Barclays Bank DCO, Schweppes and Amalgamated Metal Industries), Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State for the Home Department (Dunlop Co.). More than thirty British MP's from the Conservative Party are directors of companies which have branches in the Republic of South Africa.

Summing up these facts, it becomes clear why the British Government refuses to listen to world public demands and cease supporting the Pretoria racialists and supplying them with arms. It is no longer a surprise that several ministers of the present Cabinet are members of "House on Monday", an influential organization with branches throughout England which openly declares that it is necessary to "show the blacks their place," to lay hands once again on Africa and arm the South African and Rhodesian racists.

The policy of hypocrisy conducted by the British Governments (both Labour and Tory) as regards Rhodesia is a vivid example of how faithfully British diplomacy serves the interests of Britain's big monopolies. In the second half of the sixties Rhodesia has become a new hotbed and bulwark of racism in Africa. What accounts for this state of affairs?

Since 1965, the British Government has been deliberately shutting its eyes to the criminal actions of the racists who have seized power in Rhodesia and are setting up an apartheid regime on the South African pattern. The British Government called the Rhodesian racist, Ian Smith, and his supporters "mutineers" and then gradually proceeded to abandon its own declarations. To judge from the numerous negotiations between the British Government and the Rhodesian racial-

ists, Britain was, and still is, being led by racists. The British ruling circles have all along flatly refused to eliminate the illegal Smith regime by force and in this way they have encouraged the Rhodesian racialists to adopt a "severe" attitude towards the demands of the Zimbabwe people, and of the UN and the OAU to change the existing regime.

When, in the summer of 1967, South African armed forces marched into Rhodesia to join Smith's army in suppressing the patriotic movement of the Zimbabwe people, Britain did not take any effective measures to oust the South African troops. At the same time Britain continues to maintain that Rhodesia is a British colony for which it bears responsibility. This shows only too clearly that Britain prefers the present racist regime to a government composed of the Rhodesian national-patriotic forces, the true representatives of the Zimbabwe people. When a vote was taken at the 24th session of the UN General Assembly on the resolution condemning the racist regime in Rhodesia and demanding that the Zimbabwe people be given the right to self-determination, the British representatives, together with the South African racists and the Portuguese colonialists, voted against the resolution and by this act clearly showed their sympathies for the racist Ian Smith. In November 1971 the ruling circles of Great Britain finally revealed their true intentions with regard to Rhodesia. British Foreign Secretary Alec Douglas-Home and the leader of the racist regime in Rhodesia, Ian Smith, reached agreement on the "settlement of the constitutional conflict" between London and Salisbury, the real purpose of which was to bolster the

racialist arbitrary rule in Rhodesia. The "agreement" was generally qualified as a shameful deal between the Tory Government and the Rhodesian racialists.

One cannot fail to see that the line taken by the British Government on the Rhodesian issue is governed by the British monopolists for whom Rhodesia is a highly profitable source of enrichment—British capital investments in Rhodesia amount to £ 200,000,000. Over 180 British industrial and trading companies have more than 290 branches in Rhodesia. Several British banks and insurance companies also have branches there.

Although the US monopolies arrived on the South African scene much later than their British partners, they also managed to seize a number of key positions in the country where the sum total of their investments is second only to Britain's. According to the *US News and World Report*, the investments of 275 US monopolies functioning in South Africa, as of January 1971, totalled \$ 750,000,000, which is double the amount recorded for 1960.

Like the British, the US businessmen are attracted to South Africa by the huge profits that can be taken out of the country because of the cheap labour force composed of the native African population. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported that US capital invested in industrial and financial enterprises in the Republic brings in between 17 and 26 per cent of profit which is much above the profit rates in the United States or in any other country of the world. Investments in South Africa account for approximately 28 per cent of all US capital invested in Africa. US companies pro-

duce 60 per cent of all the motor vehicles manufactured in South Africa.

Among US companies thriving under the apartheid regime are the Ford Motor Company, the Chrysler Corporation, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Goodyear Tire and Rubber and the Singer Company. Big banks such as the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National City Bank of New York and the Dillon Reed Banking-House are the key partners of South-African big business. Incidentally, Douglas Dillon held the post of Under-Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury, while ex-Secretary of State, James Byrnes, headed the Newmont Mining Corporation which has considerable investments in South Africa and Namibia, which was annexed by the RSA.

The US monopolies are steadily expanding trade with the South African racialists. According to UN statistics, US exports to the Republic were valued at \$ 400,000,000 in 1966 and \$ 426,000,000 in 1967. The US Mobil Oil and Caltex companies provide 44 per cent of all the oil consumed in the RSA. US exports to South Africa also include plant, motor vehicles, chemicals and textile goods. The RSA in its turn, buys 40 per cent of all US exports to Africa. The US companies, by their collaboration with the South African racists are sabotaging the economic sanctions imposed by the UN.

At the beginning of 1969, UN Secretary General, U Thant, addressed a letter to the US Government to the effect that, by allowing landing and passage facilities to South-African aircraft, the US was openly violating the resolution of the General Assembly calling upon all member-states of the UN to refuse these facilities to the RSA.

In its official reply, the US Government maintained that it did not support the aforementioned resolution and regarded it only as a recommendation to be fulfilled at will. The US allows South-African Airways to provide a passenger service between Johannesburg and New York. This is the attitude of the US Government to all the concrete measures which the UN is trying to enforce against South African apartheid.

West German concerns and companies also are constantly increasing their economic ties with South Africa. They have embarked on a course of large-scale collaboration with the racist regime by investing capital in the economy of the Republic of South Africa. Their total investments amount to approximately 1,500 million marks. Nearly 300 branches and affiliated enterprises of West German concerns and firms are operating in the Republic. The bulk of West German investments in South Africa are in branches of the big German monopolies such as Volkswagen, Siemens, Bayer, Thyssen, Gutehoffnungshütte A.G, Flick, Hoechst, Krupp, BASF, Klöckner, Degussa and Demag.

West German investments are concentrated chiefly in the mining, chemical and engineering industries (automobiles, lathes, cranes), metallurgy, electrical engineering, the atomic industry, the pharmaceutical industry, the light industry and services catering for the public.

West German finance capital is represented in the RSA by the Deutsche Bank A. G. At the end of 1968 the Dresdner Bank opened a branch in Johannesburg and in 1970 the Schröder, Münchmeyer, Hengst Bank of Hamburg followed suit.

Collaboration is growing apace between the

West German magnates and the RSA in the field of prospecting and exploiting uranium ores and developing the atomic industry. The issue of July 28, 1968 of *Industriekurier*, the FRG business periodical, wrote that the West German concerns Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk A.G. (RWE) and Degussa had concluded a long-term contract with the RSA Government for deliveries of uranium ore to the FRG. Many West German research institutions, including the Max Planck Society are carrying on a joint programme with the national research institute of South Africa, Electricity Supply Commission (Escom), in the field of nuclear research. West Germany sent its experts to help the RSA to build plants for the manufacture of military equipment and an atomic reactor, and financed the construction of these projects. The successors of I. G. Farbenindustrie are helping South Africa to develop the production of highly toxic war gases: tabun, soman and zirin, which were employed by the German fascists in their death camps during the Second World War.

Despite the numerous appeals by the UN and the OAU to break off economic relations with the racists, the FRG business circles regularly exchange delegations with the RSA. In 1969, a delegation of the Federation of German Industries headed by its President, Fritz Berg, visited South Africa. In the same year the RSA was visited by a delegation of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Hermann Abs, President of the Deutsche Bank, has also paid numerous visits to South Africa.

The CDU/CSU coalition, representing the interests of West German monopoly capital, has

been particularly intent on promoting relations with the RSA. Official visits to South Africa have been made by prominent leaders of this coalition, including ex-President Heinrich Luebke and ex-ministers Strauss and Lügke.

The role of envoys of the West German monopolies in the RSA has been allotted to the neo-Nazis whose ideological kinship with the South-African racialists has made them the best of friends. Close contacts have been established between the two groups, with many former Nazis from Hitler's Germany taking a direct part in the work of fascist organizations in South Africa.

Adolph von Thadden, leader of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party (NDP), is a frequent guest of the Republic of South Africa. His formal grounds for such visits is that South Africa is his mother's permanent place of residence. In reality the neo-Nazi leader maintains close contacts with fascist organizations in Pretoria and Johannesburg. Following the visit of a neo-Nazi delegation to South Africa in 1967, a new party, the Society of German Organizations in South Africa Loyal to Their Fatherland was founded. This Party is out to spread its influence over the whole of southern Africa.

The activities of western imperialist monopolies particularly those of Britain, the US and the FRG in South Africa, their broad economic collaboration and trade relations with the racialists of Pretoria and Salisbury, and the rendering of all-round assistance to Lisbon, are undertaken in violation of the numerous UN decisions. The UN Special Committee for the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, in its report to the

24th session of the General Assembly, justly noted that economic sanctions against South Africa could not be effective without the co-operation of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan who buy 57 per cent of South Africa's exports and provide 60 per cent of its imports.

It seems that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers have no intention of changing their attitude towards the racialist and colonial regimes in South Africa. US President Nixon, in his foreign policy message to Congress on February 18, 1970, once again confirmed America's adherence to the "renunciation of force" policy in regard to the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. In practical terms this means the refusal of the US to take any part whatsoever in effective sanctions against the racialist regimes.

The imperialist monopolies of South Africa and of the western powers are responsible for the fact that in the age of scientific and technical revolution and space conquest, unprecedented scientific and technical achievements and progress in all fields of endeavour millions of Africans still languish under the yoke of racism and colonialism. The fact that the western powers, particularly Britain and the USA, as a rule, vote against UN resolutions condemning the exploitation of the natural wealth and the native population of South Africa by foreign monopolies, leaves no doubt that these monopolies have a considerable influence on the political life of the western powers.

The leaders of the national-liberation movement in South Africa have time and again declared that, had it not been for the comprehensive support of the imperialist states, the RSA and

Rhodesian racialists would have long ago been ousted from Africa. At the same time it is the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa that enable the USA, Britain, West Germany and other imperialist powers to shamelessly plunder Africa, extort fabulous profits and use its territory for their military-strategical aims.

NATO and those who control this aggressive bloc officially deny their role in helping the racialists of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists to keep millions of Africans in colonial slavery. The US, British and West German political leaders often come out with accusations against the regimes in South Africa, and in some cases vote for UN resolutions condemning the RSA and Rhodesian racialists and the Portuguese colonialists. All this is nothing more than dust in the eyes of the world public and especially in the eyes of their own peoples, a futile attempt to cover up their alliance and collaboration with the suppressors of the peoples' freedom in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The South-African racialists know very well when the western governments mean what they say and when they are just using a smokescreen to shield themselves from the criticism of the African peoples and the rest of the world. In February 1971, the Johannesburg *Star* described the US policy towards apartheid as "double-voiced" policy—one voice for the South-African rulers and the other for the rest of Africa. But it is not possible to hide the truth from the people for long. The elimination of racism and neo-colonialism has become the goal of hundreds of thousands of Africans and millions of people all over the world.

## ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA JOIN FORCES

History has seen quite a few alliances uniting the aggressive forces of different countries. Among these a particular place belongs to the collusion and collaboration of Israel and the Republic of South Africa. The regimes of these states are identical in their essence. Both are hostile to the progressive endeavours of the Asian and African nations, and deny their right to freedom and democracy. Both have adopted an arrogant attitude towards the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

Both the Israeli Zionists and the South-African racialists propagate the idea of "an elect people." The Zionists regard apartheid as a clever solution of the "racial" problem in South Africa and would like to solve the Arab problem in the territory under their control in much the same way. Louis Pincus, Chairman of the Jewish Agency standing at the head of the World Zionist Organization, in an interview given to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* in April 1969, said that Israel and South Africa understand each other's position.

The alliance of these two outposts of world reaction is held together, not only by their ideological kinship, but even more by their practical activities which are based on racial discrimination and racialism. In the RSA racial discrimination, or apartheid, is official state policy. In Israel racism has penetrated many spheres of the state system although the Israeli leaders still try to hide this. Outright racial discrimination against the Arab population in Palestine and the occupied

territories is openly practiced by the Israeli aggressors. According to Sabri Jiryis, the author of *The Arabs in Israel* published in Beirut, in Israel the Arabs are oppressed by a military rule which is based on "laws" no less despotic than those of apartheid. They limit an Arab's freedom of movement, legalize the forced resettlement of peasants, discriminate in the sphere of education and social security against the Arabs, and allow the authorities to arrest Arabs without trial. Israel's racial law defining the requirements necessary for a person to be considered a Jew, would not hold out of place in the statute books of South Africa. Sabri Jiryis writes that all of the 170 thousand Arabs living in the rural areas of the country are classified as a "lower class." In fact, they are deprived of their land and the means of production. The situation is particularly bad for the young Arabs who as a rule receive no education.

The Israeli Zionists and the South-African racialists have declared themselves to be the outposts of the "free world" against communism, and they label all who strive for freedom as communists. According to S. Muller, a member of the RSA Government. Israel and the Republic of South Africa are the only two countries in the world that are continuing to frustrate the "plans of the Reds." The rulers of Israel and South Africa are linked by bonds of anti-communist bigotry and hatred for the socialist world, particularly the Soviet Union. In an effort to raise the prestige of Israel in the eyes of the South-African racialists, the enemies of peace and progress, the Israeli consul-general in the RSA upon his arrival in the country in 1969, declared that were it not for Israel, Pretoria would have found

itself surrounded by a more chilly atmosphere in Africa.

The South-African and Israeli leaders, in violation of the UN Charter, stop at nothing to achieve their aims, including aggression against other countries and peoples and the mass extermination and expatriation of the civil population. The racist philosophy of an "elect nation" underlies the home policies of both South Africa and Israel. This policy tramples on the elementary standards of democracy and legalizes violence and despotism. It is also the source and "justification" of their aggressive actions. Both Israel and the RSA are beginning to conduct a more openly imperialist policy towards their neighbours. Dr. P. van der Merwe, Chairman of the Nationalist Party's Foreign Affairs Committee, cynically declared at an election rally on March 16, 1970, that South Africa might have to go beyond its borders in order to "destroy its enemies." He cited the example of Israel as one which South Africa would follow in fighting against its enemies. Both Israel and South Africa are illegally occupying territory which does not belong to them. The occupation by the RSA of Namibia with its 600 thousand African population presents a similar picture to the occupation by the Israeli military of the Arab territories populated by more than a million Arabs. The South African Deputy Minister of South-West African (Namibian) Affairs, van der Wath, declared that South-West Africa must be regarded as an integral part of the Republic of South Africa.

The aggressive policies of Israel and South Africa with regard to other countries and nations are supported by the western capitalist countries. In fact, they would not be possible without this

support. As soon as the RSA realized that the western powers were not going to prevent Israel from seizing the Arab territories, it did not hesitate to march its troops into Rhodesia to suppress the national-liberation movement. Afraid of losing the support of the imperialist powers, the Pretoria and Tel Aviv rulers are ready to smother all national-liberation movements in line with the aims of their backers. In northern Africa Israel is trying to overthrow the progressive Arab regimes, while in the south Pretoria is launching punitive crusades against the freedom fighters and is constantly threatening independent Zambia and Tanzania because of their support for the national-liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia.

The activities of Israel and South Africa are in line with the interests of the big monopoly amalgamations of the imperialist states. Without the support of these monopolies both of these regimes would have collapsed long ago.

The collusion between Israel and the RSA is promoted by the fact that many of the top Israeli leaders come from the Republic. According to the American writer, J. Hunter, many South Africans maintain the closest contacts with Israel and are the most rabid Zionists. Approximately seven thousand Israeli citizens have moved to the country from South Africa. Among them are Abba Eban, the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Louis Pincus, President of the Jewish Agency. South Africa is the home of the world's largest (approximately 120 thousand) and wealthiest Jewish community. Its leaders support Israel. The community renders the Israeli Zionists extensive financial aid and is one of the chief backers of Zionism.

Israel and South Africa are linked by their dread of the freedom-fighters and joint activities against the national-liberation movement. The only difference is that the South-African racists make no secret of their military crusade against the patriotic forces of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) whereas Israel tries to cover up its aggressive actions.

During warfare in Angola, the guerrilla fighters discovered automatic guns manufactured by the "Suzzy" company in Israel among the arms used by the Portuguese colonialists. It turned out that these arms were supplied to the Lisbon rulers by West German firms which purchased them from Israel.

According to the Algerian *Al-Moudjahid*, there are many Israeli military experts among the Portuguese punitive troops. Besides the Portuguese officers are trained for fighting the guerrillas, in Tel Aviv.

Louis Cabral, the prominent leader of the national-liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau), wrote in the *African Communist* in 1970: "Portugal has a strong alliance with Israel. Israel's action is not limited to giving the Portuguese the means they need to destroy our people. Israel is also trying to sabotage our struggle by using small groups of people originally from our country... These people are sent to Israel and we have reports of Israel-trained agents trying to infiltrate our ranks."

The UN General Assembly has repeatedly adopted resolutions calling upon UN members to break off diplomatic, consular and other official relations with the South-African Government. The twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly ex-

pressed its "utmost regret" that there were states which, in violation of the decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, were continuing to collaborate with the South-African Government. Israel is one of these states.

Political, military and economic relations are growing apace between Israel and South Africa. To promote their collaboration, the Israel-South Africa League headed by deputies to the Israeli Parliament (knesset) E. Shostak and Sh. Tamir, was established in Tel Aviv. Its leaders state that Israel and the RSA "have common problems and interests." Shostak and Tamir have formed a group inside the knesset which gives membership to representatives of different political parties "on an individual basis." In January, 1968, the "Friends of South Africa" society was set up in Israel under the leadership of the ultra-right Israeli politician, ex-Vice Premier Begin.

"The South African Foundation" monopoly which co-ordinates the capital investments of South Africa and Britain and regulates international "big business" contacts, has reorganized the Israel-South Africa Committee for promoting contacts between the two countries. It is headed by Sh. Peres, veteran member of Israel's RAFI party, and E. Shurer, of the "El Al-Israeli Airlines" company in South Africa, is among its members.

As far back as 1953, the South African ex-Premier, D. Malan, received a hearty welcome in Israel during his official visit to the country. Many prominent Israeli politicians often visit the

RSA. Israeli ex-Prime Minister Ben Gurion used to be a frequent guest in South Africa. In the spring of 1970, I. Goldstein, Chairman of the United Israel Appeal organization, which plays an important role in Israel's political life, went to South Africa to collect money for his country's aggressive schemes.

The collaboration of the Pretoria racialists and the Tel Aviv Zionists is boosted by the favourable attitude of the South African rulers to Israel's aggression in the Middle East and the practical encouragement given to South Africa's inhuman apartheid policy by Israel. In 1956, South Africa, making no secret of its sympathies with Israel, supported the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. When, on June 5, 1967, Israel launched its war of aggression, South Africa adopted a "neutral" stand which, when stripped of pretence, turned out to be a position of all-out assistance to Israel.

This collusion and collaboration gained momentum after 1967 when Israel re-established diplomatic relations with South Africa. (They had been formally broken off to enable Israel to consolidate its positions with the independent African states.) This was done in complete disregard of the decisions of the UN and the OAU to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa until it put an end to apartheid. The South-African Government began to encourage vigorously the mobilization of "volunteers" for military action against the Arab states in Africa and the Middle East. Ezer Weizmann, ex-Commander of the Israeli Air Force, speaking in 1971 at the 19th Conference of the Zionist Women's Organization in South Af-

rica, said that Israel and the Republic of South Africa had "long-standing and strong" ties. During the 37 years of the organization's existence this was the first time it had held its conference abroad (in Jerusalem). According to Weizmann, the first flier to be killed in action on Israel's side was a young volunteer from South Africa. Weizmann said also that the foundations of the present-day Israeli Air Force had actually been laid by South-African fliers. The cordial relations between the two countries were stressed by the resolution on the granting of South-African scholarships to Israeli students in memory of South Africans killed in action in Israel.

For many years the RSA ranked second, after the USA, for its financial assistance to Israel. The South African Government passed a law allowing the unlimited export of capital to Israel. In 1967 the sum of £ 10,000,000, collected by Zionists in the RSA was transferred to Israel without difficulty. In February, 1970, the South African Minister of Finance declared that this money had been collected for a "humane and charitable" purpose. Several South-African towns have introduced a special tax for "aid to Israel" which is imposed upon all well-to-do Jewish families. On the initiative of South-African magnates "donation fairs" have been organized to help Israel. At the beginning of 1970, the RSA Government gave official permission for the transfer of up to a million rands to Israel every year over a five-year period. In 1970, the South-African Corporation for Industrial Development gave Israel credit to the extent of 10.5 million rands.

However, it is not only the local Zionist organizations in South Africa that help Israel finan-

cially. All the reactionary forces of South Africa are making common cause with the Israeli Zionist aggressors. According to the South-African press, the secret fascist organization, "The Broederbond" (Association of Brothers), which backs and directs the policy and activities of the South African ruling Nationalist Party, has rendered "substantial financial aid" to the Israeli aggressors. In this connection the Johannesburg *Star* wrote that the impressive financial aid of the Broederbond to Israel is evidence of this party's reaction to Israel's activities.

The South African "money bags" played an active role in the "millionaires' conferences" held in 1967, 1968 and 1969 in Israel. In 1970 Israel was visited by Henry Oppenheimer, the South African "diamond magnate," who owns all the Republic's diamond-mining companies which trade with Israel.

Israeli actions go a long way towards paying Israel's debts to South Africa. The aggression of the Israeli Zionists, their attempts to preserve their rule in the occupied territories, and their racial policy regarding the Arab people, all support the stand of the South-African racialists. Israeli aggression in the Middle East has a harmful effect on the atmosphere in which the African people are fighting for their final emancipation from colonialism and racism. Today the liberation struggle in South Africa has entered a new stage which demands the concerted efforts of all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist states, particularly the African states. This was emphasized at the International Conference, held in July 1970 in Rome, in support of the peoples of the Portuguese co-

lonies who are fighting for their freedom. The Arab Republic of Egypt, one of the largest African states, being a victim of aggression, is forced to mobilize all its forces to drive out the invaders. Other Arab-populated countries of Africa—Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania—have joined in the struggle against Israeli aggression.

As can only be expected, until the aftermaths of Israeli aggression have been eliminated, the opportunities of these states to render material assistance, including military assistance, to the embattled peoples in South Africa and Portugal's colonies will be severely limited. The South-African racists, in collusion with Israel, and their allies, Rhodesia and Portugal, are taking advantage of the situation to intensify their punitive operations against the armed forces of the national-liberation organizations in Angola and Mozambique, Namibia and Guinea (Bissau), Rhodesia and the RSA.

With two fronts of struggle—against the Israeli aggressors in northern Africa, and against the racialists and colonialists of the RSA, Rhodesia and Portugal in the south—the task of ridding the African continent of colonialism and racialism is rendered extremely difficult. With the elimination of the after-effects of Israeli aggression and the establishment of peace and security in the Middle East, it will become possible for all African states to turn their efforts to the liberation of southern Africa.

In recent years the Pretoria rulers have been openly advertising their readiness to render economic "assistance" to African states which promise not to speak out against apartheid and racism.

At the same time the racialists are availing themselves of Israel's help to infiltrate the economies of the independent African states. The well-known expert on Zionism, Nathan Weinstock, in his book *Zionism Versus Israel* exposed the mechanism of such operations. When the Pretoria rulers allow Israel to receive the funds collected by Zionists in the RSA, they oblige them to invest a part of this sum in South-African securities. And even if Israel relinquishes these shares, it must present the racialists with shares to the same value in mixed Israeli-African companies. According to Weinstock, two mixed companies are already functioning in Kenya, the Israeli signboard being merely a screen for South-African capital.

South-African shareholders are extensively represented in Africa-Israel Investment, one of Israel's biggest investment companies. Its 1,100 South-African shareholders own 25 per cent of the company's shares. (In the past the company belonged wholly to South Africans several of whom are still on its board.) During his visit to South Africa in February-March 1971, the Manager of the Company's Board of Directors said that during the last ten years the South-African shareholders had received dividends to the tune of 600 thousand rands. Africa-Israel Investment maintains close business contacts with numerous South-African companies and these contacts have been steadily expanding.

The 24th session of the UN General Assembly in 1969 called upon all UN member-states "to prohibit airlines and shipping lines registered in their countries from providing services to and from South Africa and to deny all facilities

to air flights and shipping services to and from South Africa." As African states prohibit flights sponsored by South-African Airways over their territories, the company's planes fly along the western coast of Africa via Lisbon. In violation of this UN resolution, Israel does everything possible to facilitate communications between South Africa and Western Europe. The Israeli Airline, El Al, which makes regular, (twice-a-week) non-stop flights between Tel Aviv and Johannesburg, transports cargoes and passengers to South Africa.

Israeli-RSA trade is steadily growing. The Republic is the chief supplier of uncut diamonds for Israel's diamond industry, one of the key branches of its economy. The Republic of South Africa is the biggest trading partner of the Zionists on the African continent. In 1969 alone Israel's exports to South Africa increased by 147 per cent as compared with the preceding year. During the first nine months of 1970, Israel's exports to South Africa amounted to six million rands, more than its exports for all of 1969. There has also been a marked rise in South Africa's exports to Israel. The value of South African exports to Israel during the first seven months of 1970 amounted to 3.85 million rands as against 1.33 million rands in 1969. As reported by the western press, in 1971 the volume of trade between Israel and South Africa was expected to increase by another 50 per cent.

In December 1970, M. Ram, Israel's trade representative in Johannesburg, said that Israel, after its six-day war in 1967, "realized the importance of developing trade with South Africa." He

also said that Israel was contemplating a large-scale programme to develop trade with the Republic. This programme included the sending of trade missions to South Africa and participation in several specialized trade fairs to be held there. Israel, in its turn, would invite South-African exporters to take part in Tel Aviv trade fairs.

Israeli-South African military contacts are expanding. A meeting has taken place between the South African Minister of Defence, P. Botha, and the Secretary General of the ruling Israeli Labour Party (and ex-Deputy Minister of Defence), Sh. Peres. In September 1967, General Mordechai Hod, Commander-in-Chief of the Israeli Air Force, visited South Africa, where he spoke at a meeting of the cadets at the Aviation College of Pretoria, and met high military officials. As a result of his visit, military contacts were established between the two countries under which military information and experience of waging anti-guerrilla warfare were to be exchanged. Since then such visits have been regularly exchanged between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. The two countries have signed an agreement on deliveries of the Israeli "Arava" aircraft and on the sale of arms, seized from the Arabs in June 1967, to South Africa. In its turn, South Africa is supplying Israel with 65-ton tanks designed after the new British models.

The Israeli Zionists and the RSA racialists are vigorous opponents of disarmament. It is no longer a secret that the governments of both these states are bent on gaining hold of nuclear weapons in order to use them against the national-liberation movement in the Middle East and in

Africa. This is the actual reason why Israel and the RSA refuse to sign the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and to agree to the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East and Africa.

Both Israel and the RSA are devoting a great deal of attention to the elaboration of problems dealing with production of atomic bombs and missiles.

Israel's hostile attitude to the independent African states which are fighting for their national emancipation was clearly shown by its attitude towards the decision of the British Tory Government to resume arms sales to South Africa. While all the African peoples condemned Britain's decision as being opposed to Africa's interests, Israel sided with South Africa.

Officially Israel gives support to the UN's condemnation of South Africa's racial policy. But in reality, as stated by an Israeli statesman, "Israel is following an extremely delicate course" in regard to South Africa.

In order to veil its contacts with South Africa, Israeli diplomacy ostentatiously declares that Israel condemns apartheid and wants to have nothing to do with the Republic. But the actual ties that link the Israeli and South-African governments show the true face of the Israeli Zionists and the South-African racialists. To quote *The African Communist*, "The Republic of South Africa in the South and the State of Israel in the North are the twin-armed juggernauts of imperialism, united to throttle the African revolution."

## THE UPSWEEP OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The struggle against the racial and colonial regimes in southern Africa has entered a new stage. Its former exclusively political character will undoubtedly be promoted. However, racial and social oppression, the lack of rights, the poverty foisted upon the peoples of southern Africa by local and foreign imperialists and the obstinacy with which the NATO-backed racial and colonial bloc is pursuing its inhuman policy, have forced these peoples to take up arms. This struggle in southern Africa is playing a prominent role in the general anti-imperialist front and is supported by all honest-minded people. "The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of the fascist and racialist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution", reads the Main Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969.

The conditions of struggle for the national-liberation forces in southern Africa are extremely difficult. The struggle is hampered by the economic and military strength of the oppressors and the fact that they are stationed directly in southern Africa. Besides, the majority of the nearly four million whites of the RSA, who enjoy economic, social and political privileges by virtue of the apartheid system, give the oppressors every support.

Nevertheless, the forces that oppose reaction and racism in southern Africa have lost none of their courage and their ranks are growing all the time. The struggle of the South-African peoples against apartheid is headed by the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC, which unites representatives of all classes and social groups, gives membership only to politically-conscious Africans residing in towns, particularly workers, but the organization is supported by the great majority of the South-African population. Its programme is expressed in the Freedom Charter adopted in 1955 which proclaims its chief aims to be the formation of a democratic multi-racial state, the nationalization of the country's mineral wealth, banks and industrial monopolies, and the redistribution of land among those who till it.

Along with the ANC, the South African Communist Party, founded in 1921 and the oldest Communist Party in Africa, heads the liberation struggle in the Republic of South Africa. The chief objective of the South African Communists at the present stage of the struggle is to achieve the national emancipation of the African people and establish a national democratic state in South Africa.

The ANC, which was outlawed in 1960, works in an atmosphere of the most savage political terror. Oliver Tambo, Acting Chairman of the ANC, who was a guest to the 24th Congress of the CPSU (April 1971), gave a true picture of his people's struggle for liberation. "Our people," he said, "is one of the most important detachments of the world anti-imperialist movement. We are fighting for liberation, against the fascist regime, which embodies the vilest features of co-

lonial oppression, economic exploitation and racial fanaticism and is supported by all imperialist powers." Many ANC leaders have been persecuted by the RSA Government. Following a rather long period when only non-violent forms of struggle against apartheid and racism were acceptable to the ANC, the South-African liberation fighters came to the conclusion that the political emancipation of the non-white population could be achieved only by taking up arms, destroying the state machine and radically changing the socio-economic system. Recently the militant detachments of the ANC have been mustering their forces for a large-scale guerrilla warfare in South Africa. At the same time the ANC is carrying on extensive political work among the African people. It is drawing the most politically conscious Africans into active struggle against apartheid and racial oppression, and for better living conditions. The ANC launches mass campaigns of protest against repressions, organizes strikes, and distributes leaflets and literature.

An important event in the struggle to rid southern Africa of racism and colonialism was the beginning of the guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia in 1967. It is led by the patriotic revolutionary-democratic "Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). ZAPU demands the suppression of the illegitimate racial regime of the white minority, the freeing of political prisoners and the convocation of a representative constitutional conference with the participation of all of the country's political parties for the working out of a new constitution based on the principle of "one man-one vote." This would make it possible to form a government representing the majority of the

country's population, which would undertake extensive democratic reorganizations in Rhodesia. ZAPU guarantees the white minority equal rights and opportunities with the African population.

When a ban was put on ZAPU (September 20, 1962), the organization went underground. Its founder, leader, and life-long Chairman is Joshua Nkomo who was exiled to a remote district of Rhodesia in 1964.

Towards the end of 1967 a qualitative change took place in the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. Having secured bases in different regions of Rhodesia, the united guerrilla forces of ZAPU and ANC took up arms against the Smith regime. In March-April 1968, they launched an offensive in the remote areas of the country and directly in the environs of Salisbury. Although these attacks turned into separate clashes with the government forces, which were soon joined by several thousand troops from the RSA, their political effect was immense. They opened up a new stage in the long and bitter struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. The result of these activities has been the emergence of a united army of the South African and Rhodesian peoples operating to the south of the Zambesi River. Devoted to the cause of Africa's liberation, it is distinguished by its high level of political consciousness and is an example of unity among freedom-fighters of different countries and peoples.

The people of Namibia, which was illegally occupied by the South African racialists, have risen to free themselves from racism and foreign oppression. Their struggle is led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) founded in 1958. The goal of this party is to oust the

RSA occupationists and to give Namibia a democratic government. The SWAPO programme includes the elimination of racial discrimination, the implementation of democratic reorganizations, the development of industry, the establishment of agricultural co-operatives, the limiting of the activities of foreign capital, and co-operation with independent African states, particularly in activities aimed at eliminating all forms of foreign rule throughout the African continent. In 1966 the SWAPO leadership realized the necessity of using both peaceful and non-peaceful methods of achieving the country's independence. In the same year guerrilla detachments were formed in several regions of the country, and they began to launch attacks against the RSA occupation troops, to carry out acts of sabotage on the roadways, and raid the outposts of the white colonialists and racists.

The nation-wide protest against the barbarous colonial exploitation, racial discrimination and violence, which has been coming to a head for many years in Portugal's "overseas provinces," in the early sixties developed into an armed struggle for national liberation. In Angola this struggle is headed by the revolutionary-democratic People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) which has more than 40,000 members. In 1964 military operations against the colonialists were limited to small areas in the northern parts of the country, but today guerrilla detachments carry on active warfare in nine of Angola's fifteen provinces, which embrace an area of some 500 thousand square kilometres. They have already liberated more than one-third of the country's territory. They have shot down many air-

craft, have constantly harassed the enemy garrisons and have destroyed thousands of enemy troops.

In Mozambique the struggle is headed by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), a mass revolutionary organization founded in 1962 by the amalgamation of several small nationalist groups. Since September 1964, FRELIMO detachments have liberated two northern provinces (Cabo Delgado and Niassa) with a population of nearly one million, which make up one-fifth of the country's territory, and guerrilla detachments are gradually advancing southwards. In July 1968, the Second Congress of FRELIMO held in the northern liberated areas, mapped out a plan for expanding the armed struggle and decided to form a regular liberation army.

A special feature of the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies is that socio-economic measures are carried out by the revolutionary forces as new areas are liberated from the colonialists. The revolutionary parties have set up a range of bodies (military, economic and administrative) controlled by the people and these function in the liberated areas, organize agricultural production and trade, establish health services and develop education, thus laying the foundations for future statehood. The revolutionary leadership devotes considerable attention to social questions and to improving the living conditions of the local population. This shows the deeply national character of their policy and a correct understanding of their tasks and duty to their people.

The successful liberation struggle in southern Africa is greatly hampered by the splitting tac-

tics employed by both right and "left"-wing groups which are supported from the outside. Splitting activities inside the ranks of the freedom-fighters only play into the hands of those who oppose Africa's freedom. The chauvinistic activities of the Chinese leaders who are out to spread their influence over the African national-liberation movement do nothing to help the struggle for the elimination of colonialism and racism.

The experience of the liberation struggle in southern Africa is convincing proof that the movement against racism and apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism is invincible. The date of the final victory over the colonialists and racists will greatly depend both on the efforts and unity of the freedom-fighters and on the effectiveness of international anti-imperialist solidarity. Aid from the independent African states which are united into the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is particularly important for the speedy liberation of southern Africa. From its very inception (May, 1963) the OAU has proclaimed the elimination of colonialism, racialism and apartheid in Africa as one of its principal objectives. The people of Africa are beginning to realize that the existence of the racial and colonialist bloc in southern Africa presents a constant threat to the freedom of the young sovereign states. That is why these states consider that they are directly involved in the struggle to rid southern Africa of the colonialist and racialist regimes. The Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda, addressing a meeting in Lusaka in October 1970, said that Zambia could not feel itself completely free while Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), the peoples of the Re-

public of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia were still under the domination of the racialists and colonialists. The people of Africa and the leaders of the young sovereign states are demanding more and more vociferously that the western powers stop delivering arms to the colonialist and racist regimes.

The peoples waging an armed struggle against these regimes are aware of the moral and political support of the OAU. When the OAU, with its membership of 41 independent African states, unanimously condemns the participants of the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury military-political alliance, and openly names the sponsors of this infamous alliance (the USA, Britain, the FRG and other NATO members), this dispels any lingering illusions of the imperialist powers' "friendly attitude" towards the African peoples. The importance of the appeal of the OAU to its members to break off diplomatic, political, economic, trade and other relations with the colonialist and racist regimes should not be underestimated. The overwhelming majority of the sovereign African states have already discontinued all relations with the RSA, Rhodesia and Portugal.

Today the struggle in southern Africa has reached a stage when material assistance is just as important as moral and political support. To provide the liberation struggle with financial means the OAU has set up a Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa and a Special Fund of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa to which all OAU members are obliged to make annual contributions. The work of the Co-ordinating Committee is rendered less effective by the fact that some African countries,

including Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland are falling short of their commitments as stated in the "Charter of the Organization of African Unity" by failing to give material assistance to the freedom-fighters of South Africa. The Special Fund has enabled the Co-ordinating Committee to set up a number of military training centres in the independent African states in order to train military cadres for the liberation armies. Here the fighters are drilled and taught to use arms, are trained in one-man fighting tactics, and study tactics, strategy and other military disciplines. These centres have already given the liberation armies many capable soldiers and officers.

Expansion of the struggle of the African patriots to warfare on a national scale will put an end to racist and colonialist regimes in Africa. But before this can happen, effective moral and material assistance from the independent African states must be coupled with the immediate implementation of all UN decisions and resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racialism in southern Africa. It is essential that pressure should be increased on the governments of those countries that are continuing to maintain and develop economic, political and military relations with the racist and colonialist regimes so that they will render them financial and material aid, including the delivery of arms.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, the World Peace Council and progressive trade union, public, women's and youth organizations are playing a very important part in carrying out this task and in mobilizing world opinion in support of the national-liberation movement in southern Africa. The Khartoum Conference in sup-

port of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies and southern Africa (1969), and the Rome Conference (1970) in support of the peoples fighting for their freedom in the Portuguese colonies in Africa also made important contributions. These conferences promoted solidarity between the world democratic public and the fighters against racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism.

The war of liberation being waged by the peoples of Africa for freedom and independence receives the vigorous support of the forces of socialism and particularly of the Soviet Union. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, speaking at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow (June, 1969) said, "The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, holds active positions in the wide and seething front of the national-liberation movement, and renders firm political support and moral and material help to the peoples fighting for liberation."

On the strength of this principled position, the Soviet Government as far back as 1960 moved that the 15th session of the UN General Assembly adopt the historical Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which in the course of the last ten years has played an effective role in emancipating oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence. On the initiative of the Soviet Union, the 24th session of the UN General Assembly proclaimed 1971 International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In the world arena Soviet representatives always come forward with proposals to force the South-African racialists to put an end to their

criminal apartheid policy. At a sitting of the UN Security Council (July, 1970), which discussed intensifying the embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa, the Soviet representative said, "The USSR delegation fully shares the well-founded anxiety of many UN member-states in connection with the situation in South Africa brought about by the violation of the UN decisions on apartheid by those western countries which are continuing to deliver armaments to the Republic of South Africa."

The Soviet Union firmly and consistently adheres to the UN resolutions on sanctions against the racist and colonialist regimes. The USSR does not maintain diplomatic, consular, trade and economic or any other relations with the RSA, Portugal and Rhodesia. The Soviet Government refuses to recognize the illegitimate regime of the white minority in Rhodesia and has no contacts with that country. The Soviet people regard the revolutionary-democratic organizations of South Africa—ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO, MPLA and FRELIMO—as the true representatives of their countries and render them all-round aid and support. The USSR supplies the peoples of southern Africa who are fighting for their freedom with military equipment, armaments and ammunition, means of transport and communication, and uniforms for their guerrilla soldiers, and helps them to lay the foundations for a new life in the liberated areas.

The Soviet Union answers by deeds the appeal of the UN to all its member-states to render moral and material help to national-liberation movements in colonial territories, an appeal which the

General Assembly has repeatedly voiced during the last few years.

Soviet representatives to the UN have repeatedly declared that the USSR is ready to support any steps taken by the African countries and peoples to eliminate racism, apartheid and colonialism in Africa as quickly as possible. The Soviet public regards the vigorous condemnation and exposure of the backers and allies of the racist and colonialist regimes as essential to the speedy liberation of the peoples of southern Africa.

"The role of the Soviet Union in solving this major international issue (the elimination of colonialism—*L.T.*)" said A. A. Gromyko, the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, "is highly important. This is due not only to the significance of our practical political steps, but also because our world outlook and the example of our multi-national state prove to have a most disruptive effect on the policy of national and racial oppression."

The leaders of the national revolutionary movements in Africa have often emphasized that the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states gives the peoples of southern Africa who are fighting for their freedom strength and confidence in the future triumph of their just cause. They greatly value the policy of the Soviet Union which is aimed at bringing closer the hour of the African peoples' victory over the racists and colonialists. According to J. B. Marks, Chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa, the Soviet Union has invariably rendered practical help to the freedom-fighters. "We thank the Soviet Union," J. Marks said on June 16, 1967, "for the very fact of its existence, for the fact that in

the face of the tremendous difficulties, it fulfils with honour its internationalist duty." (Translated from Russian—*Ed.*)

On the occasion of Lenin's birth centenary, the leaders of the revolutionary-democratic parties of southern Africa (MPLA, ZAPU, FRELIMO, ANC and SWAPO) expressed their gratitude to the CC CPSU for the truly internationalist stand of the Soviet Union in relation to the liberation struggle in Africa. "We know that in our struggle against the Portuguese regime and its NATO allies," wrote the Presidential Council of FRELIMO, "we can always count on the material assistance and solidarity of the USSR, and that its support is the decisive contribution that allows us to score one victory after another over our enemies." James Chikerema, ZAPU Vice-President, in his cable to the CC CPSU in April 1970, said, "Allow us, on behalf of the five million oppressed Zimbabwe people, and on behalf of their leader, Joshua Nkomo, to express our profound gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union and all socialist countries for their struggle against the exploitation of man by man and for their huge moral and material help. The Zimbabwe people send you their warmest greetings and together with you celebrate the great event of Lenin's birth centenary."

At the 24th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said, "The UN decisions on eliminating the remaining colonial regimes should be fully implemented in practical life. Manifestations of racialism and apartheid should be universally condemned and boycotted." The Soviet people are aware that the Leninist policy of solidarity with peoples fighting for

freedom and independence meets with understanding among broad sections of the African public. To quote MPLA Chairman Agostinho Neto, "Africans are aware that assisting the struggle against colonialism and racialism has always been a firm principle of the Soviet Union Leninist foreign policy. In practical life this principle is expressed by the extensive moral and material help rendered by the USSR to our movement and by its internationalist solidarity with freedom fighters in Africa."

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Colonial rule in southern Africa is being maintained by the most inhuman methods. It is a particularly dangerous form of colonialism which constitutes a threat to world peace. Therefore the struggle for peace and the struggle for the implementation of the principle of the equality of peoples and their right to self-determination are inseparable. That is why the UN, whose most important task is to maintain international security, gives considerable space in its Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations to the question of combating racialism and apartheid. "We, the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations...," reads the Declaration, "strongly condemn the evil policy of *apartheid*, which is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind... We reaffirm our determination to spare no effort, including support to those who are struggling against it, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, to secure the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa. We also condemn all forms of oppression and tyranny wherever they

occur and racism and the practice of racial discrimination in all its manifestations."

The interests of peace, and of the social progress of all peoples, and the ensuring of man's rights and essential freedoms, demand that new, more vigorous efforts should be made for the speediest and complete eradication of apartheid and racism. Mirroring the sentiments of the great majority of the people of the world, the twenty-fourth session of the UN General Assembly called upon countries to intensify their struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations.

All the efforts of imperialism to preserve its rule over the peoples of Africa are doomed to failure. One cannot break the will of peoples fighting for independence when they are united in their struggle and enjoy the powerful support of all of the world's progressive forces, and particularly of the socialist states. And this is the guarantee of Africa's liberation which is near at hand.