



Great Power Conspiracy

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF
SOUTH AFRICA**

Chapter One

No End to White Rule in Southern Africa?

The sharpening of the world struggle against colonialism in the period since World War II has brought victories on every continent. It has made the very word colonialism a symbol of shame, even to those forces that still practise it. In Africa, it has brought political independence to practically every former colonial territory—north of the Zambezi River. In the short space of ten years, the face of Africa has been transformed, and the way opened to political and economic progress which in the next ten years, perhaps, will enable the people of Africa to fulfil themselves as free human beings for the first time since the colonial period began. For the children of independent Africa, the future is bright, and there is no limit to the achievements to which they may aspire.

But our children, the children of Africa's deep south—the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia—can have no such confidence. We cannot promise them education—scarcely one in five of them can hope for a place in school, and none of them can expect to play any effective part in the government of his country, when he is of an age to do so. All we can offer our children is blood and tears and our own unbounded faith in ultimate victory.

How is it that the loudly vaunted process of 'decolonization' in post-war Africa has stopped at the Zambezi? Our peoples do not lack courage to fight—our history of struggles proves that. What is it in our situation that has so far left our oppressor in power?

In November 1962 the world community, through the General Assembly of the United Nations, made a historic resolution. For the first time the Assembly by a huge majority recommended member states to take effective measures, including the imposition of an arms embargo and trade sanctions, against apartheid. In August the following year the Security Council itself called on member states to cease selling arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. These resolutions followed a series of resolutions condemning apartheid and calling on South Africa to abandon its race policies, dating from the foundation of the UN itself in 1946. And they reflected a new determination by the newly independent African states to force effective international action to end apartheid.

But they were blocked, as similar initiatives at the UN and elsewhere have been blocked ever since, by the non-cooperation of the 3 major Western powers, Britain, France and the United States.

In November 1962, 67 countries voted for sanctions, 16 against, 23 abstained and 4 countries were absent. **Britain, France and the U.S. all voted against.** Again in the Security Council in 1963, Britain and France abstained. Over and over again this has been the pattern, not only in relation to apartheid, but in relation to Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies as well. These three powers, leaders of the so-called 'free world', which claims among its most sacred principles the belief in each man's right to liberty, and each nation's right to govern itself, have not merely contented themselves with conniving at entrenchment of police States, but have actively striven to maintain and strengthen White minority rule in Southern Africa. It is their clear plan to subject to perpetual White supremacy the 25 million or so Africans living in this highly developed and industrialised African sub-continent.

Prolonged race repression in Southern Africa has over the past five years alone resulted in massacres in Southern Africa, guerrilla wars in Angola and Mozambique, mass arrests in Rhodesia, and a total of over 50 political executions in the Republic alone. The Security Council has implicitly recognised these conditions as a threat to world peace, and the Organisation of African Unity has vehemently and repeatedly voiced not only its moral indignation, but its fears for the peace of Africa.

Between them, the three main governments of Southern Africa have now a formidable arsenal of weapons, capable both of internal suppression and external aggression.

All three governments have banned the African opposition organisations, and imprisoned their main political opponents. They now stand in a pose of defiance of all the world, apparently determined to resist to the last any attempt, from within or without, to destroy the slave economies and repressive political structures on which White privilege prospers. So repugnant to all civilised standards have the actions of White Southern Africa in defending its privileges proved, that there is not a government in the outside world that has not been forced publicly to condemn them. Apartheid was described in a single U.N. debate in 1963 by Britain as "abhorrent", by the United States as "toxic", by the Soviet Union as "shameful", by India as "hateful", by Belgium as "thoroughly repugnant", by Guinea as "inhuman", by Canada as "degrading", by Japan as "fundamentally immoral", by Algeria as "a cancer", by Tanganyika as "a catalyst of violence", by Bolivia as "the negation of all social purpose", and by Nigeria as "slavery". And yet some of these same countries have refused to accept any agreement

on action to end the system they denounced with such unprecedented unanimity, although it has been demonstrated—by the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against Southern Africa held in London in April, 1964, and by the Security Council's own Committee of Experts that reported in February 1965—that the means to defeat Verwoerd is at the disposal of the world community. Neither South Africa nor Portugal could survive longer than months, without international trade, without oil from abroad, without the armaments, the spare parts and the technical assistance bought from their partners overseas.

For partners is what the traders, the arms pedlars and the investors are. Not only do they fail to withdraw their support for the White dictatorships—but sometimes openly and sometimes in secret, they are pouring more money in, granting more licences to produce armaments, increasing their trade, defying the United Nations, and contradicting their own professions before the world.

During 1965, Mr. Achkar Marof, Guinea's Ambassador to the United Nations, and Chairman of the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid, made a series of speeches in which he solemnly warned the Western Powers of the grim consequences of these policies. M. Marof was speaking not simply for himself, nor yet only for the distinguished committee of which he is Chairman, but for all Africa, when he said:

“We regard the foreign business interests going into South Africa as, for all practical purposes, the collaborators with the fascist South African regime and partners in racial discrimination not only in South Africa but in the United States of America and other countries as well. They reassure the South African regime that it has powerful friends abroad. They help it to strengthen its military power and to build up self-sufficiency.

“When we take exception to the increasing foreign investment in South Africa, we do so not because we are opposed to foreign investment in general or to the companies involved, but because investments in South Africa strengthen the hands of the racist regime, for, according to the elementary rule of economics, investment is profitable only in countries offering a guarantee of stability.”

“Why then,” M. Marof asks, “do some of the Great Powers resist a recognition of the clear threat to the peace and why then are they supported by the major trading partners of South Africa, and, it seems, only the major trading partners? I must confess that I can discover no convincing reason except that they derive profit from the oppression of the non-White in South Africa, hesitate to disturb the source of those profits and make Machiavellian plans of military alliance with South Africa to fight what they call Communism, as if, in their view, apartheid is a superior ideology to

communism. They would certainly ally themselves to the devil to protect their exorbitant interests and their privileges which are too obviously selfish to be tolerated in our country."

These are hard words, but M. Marof hit harder. "An unholy alliance has been formed between the racists and the colonialists," he claimed, "with the object of keeping this part of Africa under tutelage. This alliance is being strengthened day by day." And he issued the most solemn warning of the consequences of their alliance.

"I call on these countries to realise the consequences of complicity with the racist oppressors of the African people, to desist now from supporting the South African regime and to join in the sacred fight against racism. The peoples of Africa, the peoples of Asia, all the coloured peoples, and history, will not fail to pass judgment on those who are today, by their actions and inaction, contributing to a holocaust compared to which, as the Secretary General U Thant has said, the religious wars and the ideological wars of the past would be like mere family quarrels."

Does M. Marof exaggerate? Let us examine the record a little.

Chapter Two

Kith, Kin and Dividends—Britain's Record

The links between Britain and Southern Africa are many. There are links of history, since Rhodesia has been Britain's colony for over 40 years, the High Commission Territories have been under 'British Protection' for over a half century, and South Africa itself is largely a British creation, through the Act of Union in 1910. Except for the Portuguese-ruled territories—and Portugal itself is claimed as Britain's "oldest ally"—the whole sub-continent was until 1961 part of the British Commonwealth, and even since the Republic left the Commonwealth, links on many major levels have persisted. There are also links of kinship, for most White Rhodesians and nearly 40% of White South Africans are English-speaking and have ties of blood with Britain. But the strongest and most enduring link is financial.

Profits from Apartheid.

Britain has over £1,000m invested in the Republic, and some £200m in Rhodesia. By 1963, South Africa had overtaken the United States and Australia as the U.K.'s biggest earner of investment income abroad. In trade, the U.K. exports some \$103m worth of goods to South Africa, and imports \$184m worth of goods excluding gold (first three months 1965). Before the unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965, British exports to Rhodesia amounted to a further £32m a year, and imports to £30m. In addition, British finance has links with the Portuguese colonies: A British company, Tanganyika Concessions, owns the Benguela railway linking the Copper-belt with Angolan ports; and another British company, Lonrho, jointly with a Portuguese one, controls the pipeline between Beira in Mozambique, and the Rhodesian oil refinery at Umtali.

Britain's interest in South Africa is in fact greater than in all the rest of the continent together.

It is also different in kind; for whereas foreign capital in the rest of Africa is concentrated in plantation, farming and mining, in Southern Africa it is centred in mining, manufacturing, and finance. In other words, foreign, and above all British, capital has gone into

partnership with local White enterprise, to create in the sub-continent not merely a source of raw material and a market for manufactured goods, but an extension of imperialist economies themselves. Here perhaps lies the clue to the tenacity with which this alliance of local and foreign interests has clung to the status quo which profits it so richly.

Britain is the major and traditional partner in this alliance. The foreign stake in the South African mining industry alone amounted to approximately £460m in 1960, and the lion's share of this—approximately £250m—is still British. Until recently, one of the seven biggest Rand mining houses, the Union Corporation was actually registered in London. Four of its ten directors are still British, and its former chairman, the late Sir Charles Hambro of Hambros Bank, is down on record as saying in 1963 that he had “not lost confidence in the long-term future of the country (South Africa)”, and that “one of the best ways of strengthening Western civilisation in Africa is to strengthen South Africa.”

Rand mines, another of the big seven, has three British directors out of 13; the Gold Fields of South Africa three British directors out of eight; the General Mining and Finance Corporation three British directors out of 13; and Johannesburg Consolidated Investment three British directors out of eight. The giant of them all, Anglo-American (authorised capital £10m), has a separate board of London directors. A third of Anglo-America's capital is British, and the London company united in 1965 with Cecil Rhodes' original Charter company, which administered Rhodesia and controlled rights throughout both Rhodesias—the British South Africa Company.

Indeed, ever since Rhodes opened the Kimberley Diamond fields in the 1860's, and with his colleagues joined the gold-rush to the Rand and later into Rhodesia, Britain has provided capital, skill—and the market for the sale of Southern Africa's gold and diamonds. Southern Africa's gold exports, worth some £490m a year, are marketed exclusively through the Bank of England; and 80% of the world's diamond output, including nearly all South Africa's diamonds, are sold through London.

London's role as Southern Africa's banker is of some political significance. Well over 70% of South Africa's domestic bank deposits are held in British-owned banks. The Standard Bank controlled from London, possesses South African assets worth £330m, and is one of the three dominant interests in Rhodesian banking. Barclays Bank D.C.O., though it does not publish separate accounts, has an amount of £1,209,689,296. And National and Grindlays Bank has major interests both in Rhodesia and the Republic. Most leading British insurance companies and building

societies have a share in the Republic's £400m insurance societies and £680m building society movement. Lloyds alone has 21 agents and underwriters in the Republic.

Among the British firms with investment in South Africa—there were 3 with subsidiary or associated companies there in 1964—figure nearly all the giants of British industry. Imperial Chemical Industries (in which the U.K. Government has a holding, and representation on the board), has invested £45m in the Republic since the last war. Its most notorious recent venture was £10m invested in three munitions plants to manufacture ammunition for Verwoerd's army. Courtaulds works in partnership with the state-financed Industrial Development Corporation in the South African Industrial Cellulose Corporation, making rayon pulp. Unilever is increasing its already considerable interests in the Republic. Dunlop Rubber, Metal Box, English Electric are all there.

The list includes major shipping lines, such as the South and East African Conference Lines and the British and Commonwealth Shipping Company. The British registered Union Castle Line exercises a monopoly over mail shipping between Europe and South Africa. Ship-building firms such as John Brown of Glasgow and the Clelands Shipbuilding Company of Wellsend; textile firms, such as Cyril Lord of Lancashire who transported an entire factory, workers and all, to a development site offered him by the South African Government in one of the 'border areas' being developed near the Transkei as part of Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan policy; and food companies, such as Cadbury-Fry, Harvey's of Bristol, Booths, Gilbeys and Guinness, and Associated British Foods, the empire of the Canadian, Garfield Weston, who has described the South African cabinet to the Press as "a god-fearing body of Christians," and in 1963 expressed himself "enormously impressed by the growth and possibilities of the South African economy, by the quality of its business and the stability of the government."

These investors have always been branded collaborators in the machinery of exploitation, content with profit by apartheid and the oppression of the non-Whites of Southern Africa. They have shown themselves ready and eager to back the Verwoerd Government in the interests of 'economic stability'. and the striking fact is that Britain's stake in apartheid has not diminished, but increased, since the appeal from the African people of South Africa, backed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1962, to boycott South Africa. The British stake rose by 25.4% in the years between 1958 and 1962, and has been rising steadily since. The reason is not far to seek. British profits from investment in the Republic average over these years 10.9% compared with an average profit from investment in the rest of the world of 7.9%.

The fields in which British investments have been growing fastest include the motor industry, oil and chemicals, engineering and textiles.

In 1965, South Africa was Britain's best customer for motor vehicles, having ousted the United States as the Republic's main source of motor imports. The U.K. also now has the largest share of the 110,468 cars assembled in the Republic (1963 figures): six British car firms have established assembly plants there.

Leyland Motors has an £8m stake—its chairman, Sir Henry Spurrier, admits that "We back our belief in that country with a big stake", The Rootes Group (now linked with the Chrysler Corporation of America) is vastly increasing its investment. The British Motor Corporation has set up a factory to produce 90,000 car engines a year and has also a plant in Rhodesia. Rovers are making Landrovers for South Africa's army and police.

Shell and B.P. have a large share of South Africa's oil industry, and it is their subsidiaries which, directly or indirectly, have been supplying the means for South Africa's breach in the oil embargo against Smith's Rhodesia.

British insulated Callenders and Cables, Stewards & Lloyds, British African Standard Telephones and Cables, Turner & Newall, Mitchell Cotts, and Dorman Long all have an increasing stake in South Africa's flourishing engineering industry: English Electric was reported in early 1966 as increasing its existing stake to £1½m, the second largest investment by the parent company in overseas manufacturing. The South Africa plant is supplying 65% of the South African market, and exporting as far afield as Chile and Greece, according to Lord Nelson of Stafford, chairman of English Electric, the new investment reflects "the continued confidence in the economic stability and future growth of the Republic."

Vickers and Associated Industries are both involved in the £8m, VECOR Engineering works, a state controlled concern.

The foundation stone of a new £8½m Fissons factory was laid in Cape Town in February, 1966, which is expected to save the Republic some £350,000 annually in foreign exchange.

And in textiles, the bold minister Cyril Lord is not alone. The Calico Printers' Association, Horrockses, Paton and Baldwins, and the Lindhurst have all accepted Verwoerd's invitation to invest in the 'border areas' where cheap labour (trade union organisers are excluded from the region) and the government incentives are offered to firms that cooperate in the 'separate territorial development scheme' of apartheid. "In the same position as South Africa, I would do exactly the same as the Verwoerd government," boasted Mr. Lord in 1963.

The pattern, on a smaller scale is similar to Rhodesia. Between 150 and 200 British companies have interests there, in many cases operated through the same companies' South African subsidiaries.

Barclays, the Standard Bank—now linked through the Portuguese to extend its operation to Mozambique and the third member of the unholy alliance—and the National and Grindlays Bank dominated Rhodesia's banking.

British manufacturing interest in Rhodesia include the Dunlop tyre factory in Bulawayo, the B.M.C. assembly plant at Umtali, the British American Tobacco cigarette factory in Salisbury, and Metal Box works in Salibury and Bulawayo. There are also British interests in agriculture, for instance through Tate & Lyle, (Rhodesia Sugar Refineries); and in tobacco, through British American, Imperial Tobacco and Gallahers. Lancashire Steel and Stewart and Llyod are two of international share-holders in RISCO, the Rhodesian Steel and Iron Corporation.

Other British companies have interests in Rhodesia mainly through, or in collaborating with, South African companies. Schweppes and Unilevel both co-operate through their South African companies. I.C.I. is represented through a South African company, African Explosives and Chemical Industries, financed jointly by I.C.I. and the South African Diamond empire, de Beers. John Brown (shipbuilding and engineering) has a half share in Rhodesian Alloys with the Rand gold-mining company (itself linked with de Beers), Anglo-American. Lonrho (of which Mr. Angus Ogilvy, husband of Press Alexandra, is a director) not only has direct interests in Rhodesian land and mining, motor assembly and breweries but also five subsidiary companies of its own South African subsidiary. It has built the Umtali-Beira pipeline that is the main source of Rhodesia's oil, and has been in the centre of the drama over whether or not oil should be piped through in breach of Britain's embargo—the other partner in the venture being a Portuguese company, Companhia de Pipeline Mozambique, and a Portuguese Government representative having a casting vote! Lonrho also, incidentally has extensive interests in Zambia, including control of the country's only daily newspaper.

One of the biggest single shareholders in Lonrho is the British South Africa Company—Rhodes' "Chartered." And B.S.A.C. in 1965 joined with the London holding company of Anglo-American to form a new company, Charter Consolidated, a deal which symbolises the continuing role of the Rand as centre of the economy not only of the Republic itself, but of the whole of Southern Africa. Anglo-Americans, and other Rand mining companies with interests in Rhodesia, appears over and over again behind Rhodesia mining and industry, and the fact that a large proportion of the investment in

the Rand companies is in fact British, underlines the complexity and closeness of the financial connections that dominate the economic life of the Republic and Rhodesia, and are making increasing moves to draw Mozambique and Angola into the net.

These extensive economic connections—which of course involve the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Swaziland as well, since all are economically dependent on South Africa—are the background to British policy in the sub-continent. Successive Conservative governments in Britain allowed themselves to be dominated by the interests of the financial collaborators. Mr. Peter Thomas, (now Lord Colyton), speaking in the House of Commons for the Foreign Office in 1962, declared that South Africa “affords us one of our largest export markets. Our two-way trade amounts to £16m, a year for our shipping, and our total net invisible earnings there are about £100m a year South Africa is the repository of about £900m of United Kingdom capital investment. As the world’s largest gold producer, she is an important member of the sterling area, and I am sure that it is a matter of great importance to Britain that South Africa should remain in the sterling area and that her gold come to London.”

And the Labour Government which succeeded the Tories in October 1964 has shown itself to be no less interested in the profits of apartheid. No move has been made to discourage investment in the Republic, and Mr. Douglas Jay, President of the Board of Trade, has said publicly that he values and intends to encourage South African trade. While imposing economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the Wilson Government has continued to oppose moves against South Africa, even in the face of Verwoerd’s blatant defiance of the Rhodesia boycott.

Indeed, since Labour came to power there has been a veritable scramble for South Africa trade—a nine-men mission of the British wool textile industry visited the Republic early in 1966, declaring that the Republic was one of its most important world markets; their visit coincided with one by the head of the African department of the Confederation of British Industries, and another by the newly—formed U.K.—South Africa Trade Association (which shares many of its officials with the London committee of the apartheid whitewashing South Africa Foundation). “A powerful group of men in Britain is determined to maintain and increase two—way trade and investment with South Africa,” Said Mr. W. E. Luke for the delegation—and Mr. Luke is chairman of the Southern Africa Committee of the Labour Government’s National Export Council, and official body, which had already made its position clear through its chairman, Sr William McFadzean. Sir William wrote in the South Africa Foundation’s monthly journal *Perspective*

in August 1965, pleaded for "greater understanding" by all concerned for South Africa's problems, and an increase in mutual trade.

One major step, and one only, has been taken by the Labour Government against collaboration with Verwoerd: one of the first acts of Wilson's Government was to announce the long-promised arms embargo. But its implementation has been too timid, and too late.

Arming White Supremacy

All three major powers in Southern Africa are highly armed. Portugal has an army of some 134,000 including 14,000 African troops; and of the total over two-thirds are in Africa: some 50,000 in Angola, 30,000 in Mozambique and 20,000 in 'Portuguese' Guinea. The Portuguese navy includes three destroyers, eleven frigates (two of them supplied by Britain in 1962) and three submarines. The air force comprises 250 aircraft. British-made Havards are reported as being used against Frelimo guerrilla forces in Mozambique.

Portugal is a member of NATO, and therefore has access to Western armaments. Both the British and American Governments have indicated that they do not intend to supply Portugal with armaments for use against the people of the colonial territories—but as the African freedom movements are not slow to point out, since neither power has any control over the disposition of weapons once they are in Portuguese hands, these assurances are of little value.

Rhodesia has one of the best equipped air forces in Africa, thanks to the agreement, to which Britain was the most powerful party, by which Southern Rhodesia retain virtually the entire Federal Air Force at the time of the dissolution of the Central African Federation in 1963. It is of course British equipped.

Rhodesia armed forces comprise

ARMY 3,400 regulars. 1 Air service squadron, 2 infantry battalions, 4 reserve territorial battalions AIR FORCE: 900 total strength; 1 squadron Hunter day fighter/ground attack, 1 squadron Vampire day fighter/ground attack, 1 squadron Canberra light bombers, 1 squadron armed Provost reconnaissance aircraft; 1 squadron Dakota transport, 1 squadron Alouette helicopters.

POLICE. 6,400 active strength. 28,500 police reserve.

The sanctions imposed on Rhodesia after unilateral declaration of independence in November 1965 included an arms embargo, including an embargo on the supply of spare parts.

But the arsenal of Southern Africa, the shield of White domination, is the Republic. South Africa has increased its defence budget by more than 500% since 1960, the year of Sharpeville and the figure

for 1965—66 stands at £115m. It is now increased by 10%. In 1965, the Republic's armed forces comprised 26,500 men, 19,000 of them in the army. Army equipment included Sherman and Centurion tanks (the latter Britishmade), Panhard armoured cars, and Cessna reconnaissance aircraft.

The police have British Saracen cars. The navy includes two destroyers carrying Westland Wasp helicopters; 6 frigates (5 of them recently modernised for anti-submarine detection). And the air force comprises one squadron of Sabre-Jet Mark VI interceptors, one squadron of Mirage 11C fighter-bombers equipped with AS air-to-surface missiles, one squadron Canberra B-12 light bombers; 7 Shackleton maritime reconnaissance aircraft, one squadron Buccaneer light bombers, and 60 helicopters, including Alouette and Sikorsky. Transport aircraft include C-47, Lockheed C-1308, and Viscounts. In addition, the Citizen Force operate 200 Havards, and 30 Vampires.

Britain has been South Africa's traditional arms dealer: the Centurion tank, the Westland Wasp Helicopters, the ships of the South African navy, the Canberra bombers, the Shackletons, the Viscounts transports, the Havards and Vampires, and the Saracen armoured cars, are all British made; and perhaps most shameful of all, the 16 Buccaneer bombers, supplied to Dr. Verwoerd in 1965 and explicitly excluded from the arms embargo.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement lobbied parliament to demand fuller implementation of the embargo in March, 1965.

The disappointments arise from the important *exceptions and omissions* to the embargo made by Mr. Wilson in his House of Commons statements of November 17th and 25th (1964). They give rise to widespread and justified fears that these exceptions and omissions can and will go a long way towards maintaining the strength and viability of the preponderantly British component in South Africa's arms structure and power. As announced, the exceptions take two principal forms: All existing contracts entered into by British firms and the Ministry of Defence with the South African Government will be honoured—'outstanding commitments not yet concluded will be executed.'

The contract to supply 16 Buccaneer jet bombers will be carried out. In justifying these exceptions, the Government has argued that it has a duty to honour contracts already entered into—'we can adhere to our usual and established policy of honouring firm contracts;' however, so it seemed, this duty does not apply to those contracts already entered into by British firms for the export of the largely irrelevant 'sporting guns and ammunition'. For the latter, all export licences were immediately cancelled.

On November 17th, the Prime Minister informed the Commons

that the Government 'went very carefully through every one of the existing contracts'—some of these referred to spare parts 'for certain equipment sent there', but apart from the Buccaneer aircraft, 'there are others into which it should not perhaps be helpful to go at this stage'. On November 25th he announced that all existing contracts with the South African Government would be executed.

The Government may well believe that the issue of the spare parts for arms and equipment already sent to South Africa is, as Mr. Wilson put it, 'minimal'. But the range and the wealth of British arms that have gone to South Africa in recent years do strongly suggest that the continued execution of this aspect of 'existing contracts' is of critical value to the South African arms build-up.

According to the London *Sunday Telegraph*, January 17th 1965, Britain has also accepted an order for three submarines, from South Africa, worth £13m, apparently in accordance with the "secret clauses" of the Simonstown Agreement. This Agreement, South Africa's only public defence treaty, provides for co-operation between the British and South African navies in time of war, for British training of South African naval personnel and the use of Simonstown naval base by Britain in any war in which both countries are involved. The Anti-Apartheid Movement warns that "The Agreement does, in fact call for British support in the build-up of South Africa's naval strength. And the British Government knows that no one in the world will stop Verwoerd and his government from employing the aircraft, the helicopters and the considerable array of arms which fall vaguely in the category of 'naval' armaments from being employed either against the local population or for acts of aggression further north. And the latter is not unlikely for as the *Economist* has warned, 'Dr. Verwoerd might succumb to the temptation to use his present military strength to lunge against the black north (Nov. 21, 1965)'. This Agreement is clearly a basis for possibly increasing blackmail of Britain by South Africa, and in December, 1965 the South African Minister of Defence, intimated that his government intends to use the blackmail potential to the full. Mr. Fouche let it be known that he expects the West to supply South Africa with ground-to-air missiles. "South Africa was prepared to make her modern harbours, airports and communications facilities available to the Western nations," he said, "but it was not prepared to give assistance which would make her an increasingly important target unless essential defence equipment was made available." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg 8th December, 1965).

Whatever may be Mr. Fouche's prospects of getting ground-to-air missiles, he has since the 1964 arms embargo got a number of other things that he wants from the British Government. In mid-1965 the Board of Trade licenced the export of four-wheel-drive

Bedford trucks to South Africa, in spite of the fact that the order came from the South African Defence Forces, and the U.S. and the Canadian Governments had already refused an export permit to the Ford Motor Company to fulfill the same order, on the ground that the vehicles could easily be converted into armoured cars.

In February, 1966, it was announced that the British firm of Hawker-Siddeley had sold its first HS-125 jet to South Africa—and allegedly 'civil' aircraft which had in fact been demonstrated to the South African Air Force in 1965. Virtually simultaneous with the announcement, came a speech by the chief of South Africa's Defence Forces, General Hiemstra, suggesting that light aircraft owned by civilians, farmers and businessmen, could augment the Air Force in the special role against guerrilla fighters.

In October 1965, it was reported that the S.A. Air Force was to be equipped with trainer-attack aircraft from Italy—the Macchi MB 326. The "Viper" engines of the Macchi are British, made by Bristol Siddeley. According to *Flight International*, the aviation magazine, "the total order for the MB 326s is for 300 aircraft, of which only a very small proportion can conceivably be required for flying training in the modest-sized South African Air Force. It is evident, therefore, that the Verwoerd Government intends to form a very considerable counter-insurgency army equipped with the type, and orders for arms and attack systems for installation on the MN 326 are expected. Most of the MB 326s are in fact to be assembled in South Africa—in the brand new Atlas Aircraft Corporation's plant outside Johannesburg. And here again British technical and financial co-operation is playing a part. A large proportion of the aircraft technicians have been recruited in Britain, with the apparent compliance of the British Government, although one of the principal trade unions involved, the Association of Scientific and Executive Technicians (ASSET) appealed to its members not to go to South Africa, on the grounds that Atlas is intended to further Verwoerd's arms build-up against the people of South Africa. Six months later, two British businessmen, one of them a former R.A.F. Chief Marshall, were in South Africa, inspecting the Atlas factory. "We are here to explore business possibilities—defencewise as well as general business," said Major W.T.C. Rogerson, who has close connections with the company in the Macchi deal.

It is thus clear that not only is the existing arms embargo incomplete—it simply does not cover other forms of military co-operation with South Africa, including the supply of capital from Britain for the construction of armament factories on the spot. The I.C.I. venture has already been mentioned. And the British Miles Company is reported to have registered a South African subsidiary in order to manufacture the Mark II Student plane there.

South African pilots have been trained in Britain in the use of the Buccaneer and other British aircraft; in May 1964, Britain joined with South Africa and Portugal in naval exercises around the Cape, known as 'Operation Capex'. Royal Air Force teams have visited the country to lecture on tactics, electronics and guided weapons.

These exchanges, and the undoubted exchange of military information and intelligence, are apparently to continue. They imply that in spite of the arms embargo gesture, Britain under Mr. Wilson still insists on viewing Dr. Verwoerd as a member of the "Western Alliance". And speculating on this assumption, several South African newspapers have suggested that South African co-operation is to be counted on in Britain's "East of Suez" policy to combat "communism" in Asia, and possibly in Africa too. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, South Africa's role in the Anglo-American plan may involve continuing professional contacts between the South African navy and the Royal Navy as well as the use of the Simonstown naval base.

Abetting the Police

In September, 1961, a young African resistance leader from Pondoland, in the Transkei, was kidnapped by South African policemen from his hut in Qacha's Nek, Basutoland, where he had sought refuge from political persecution in the Republic. His name was Anderson Ganyile, and fortunately he was resourceful enough to be able to get a message out of the jail to which was he taken. The international agitation that followed forced the South African Government some months later to admit that Ganyile had been abducted, and to return Ganyile to British territory.

Not the least scandalous aspect of this case was the apparent inability of the British police in Basutoland, not only to prevent the kidnapping, but to establish the fact about it afterwards. They were still "investigating" at the time when Ganyile was eventually released. And the facts when they did emerge, revealed that South African police were wandering freely in and out of all the three British High Commission Territories, and spying on South African political refugees there with impunity. The British police, far from protecting the refugees from their attentions—foreign police operating on British soil are after all committing an illegal act—appeared to be assisting the South Africans with personal co-operation, and with information. Ganyile's was only the first of a series of kidnappings—Rosemary Wentzel's abduction from Swaziland and Dr. Kenneth Abraham and Michael Dingake's from Bechuanaland are only a few that gained international publicity—which the Protectorate police were powerless or unwilling to prevent; and excessively unwilling to admit once they had taken place.

In March 1963, the Pan Africanist Congress headquarters in Maseru, Basutoland, was raided by Basutoland police, and a list of contacts and members in the Republic seized. Within days, the South African police had rounded up and imprisoned nearly everyone of the men and women on that list.

And only last year, a group of South African political refugees jailed in Maseru alleged in court that they had been put in a cell with a group of South African policemen, sent, presumably with the connivance of the Basutoland authorities, to spy on them.

No one knows the full extent of 'security' collaboration between South Africa and Britain. During the ten years before South Africa left the Commonwealth, it is known that British advice helped to modernise and streamlined South Africa's entire police system. What form co-operation now takes is obscure; but in July 1965 a curious event took place. A Coloured Detective from Cape Town, Detective A. J. Koker, arrived in London—he said he was 'on holiday'. Coloured detectives cannot normally afford holidays overseas; and according to an informant of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Detective Koker was not on holiday, but had been sent by the South African police "to contact members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement especially those non-Whites who have fled South Africa since 1960. He has been detailed to find out whether there is any liaison between them and people at present in South Africa". Koker claimed while in Britain that he was expecting co-operation from Scotland Yard.

Within weeks of this incident, and while accounts of torture, violence and humiliation in South Africa's jails were actually appearing in the British Press, the South African Commissioner of Prisons was received in Britain on his way to a United Nations conference in Stockholm.

Britain, in short, in spite of all public protestations abominating apartheid, seemed unable and unwilling to extract itself from its involvement, financially, militarily and politically. Similarly, in Rhodesia, although it has been Britain's colony since 1923, the U.K. has never mustered the courage to insist upon real democratic advance; nor when faced with the illegal declaration of independence, was it prepared to put an end to the rebellion by the only really effective means (means which Britain had never been slow to use in Cyprus or Kenya or Guyana or Aden)—**force**. White Southern Africans are helping to make profits for Britain—and no British Government is prepared to hazard these profits by any sudden and radical change in the sub-continent. Nor does the moral ignominy, and the sheer inhuman cruelty of apartheid, yet counter-balance the comforting and indubitable fact that White Southern Africa is staunchly anti-communist, an ally of the 'Western Alliance'

which already recognises fascist Portugal as a worthy partner. The cold cynicism of this 'logic' which is ready to sacrifice the interests of 25 million non-White people in Southern Africa to the short-term advantage of financial and strategic gain, accords ill with Britain's often voiced ambition for 'moral leadership' in the world, her claim to 'enlightenment' in colonial policy, and her professed interest in world peace and justice.

Chapter Three

The United States: Profits and Cold Warriors

American investors have for some time had interests in Southern Africa, particularly in mining—much of the capital in the Central-Mining-Rand Mines group, for instance, is American; the Tsumeb copper mines in South West Africa are exploited by a subsidiary of the giant American Metal Climax, New York, which also controls the Rhodesian Selection Trust, one of the two groups dominating copper belt mining in Zambia. And U.S. trade with South Africa has been considerable, particularly since the last war. America was, until replaced in the last few years by Britain, the principal source of motor vehicle imports into South Africa. But massive U.S. financial involvement with apartheid is a comparatively recent phenomenon. The significance of U.S. investment lies not so much in its size—amounting to about \$500m in 1963, it is still a bad second to Britain's—but in the fact that it is rapidly increasing, politically, the single most important fact about the U.S. financial support for apartheid is that its most dramatic growth dates from 1960, the year of **Sharpeville**. It was the U.S. that bailed South Africa out of the financial crisis that followed Sharpeville; the U.S. that helped restore the confidence of overseas investors at a time when this confidence had been badly shaken by the imminent threat of country-wide violence provoked by the brutal massacre of innocent people at Sharpeville which had the effect of reducing South Africa's foreign reserves to the lowest level in years.

In 1960, direct U.S. investment in South Africa amounted to some \$286m; and this sum was almost doubled by 1963. A recent estimate published by the American magazine *Newsweek* puts the total as high as \$600m.

Profits from investments in Verwoerd's Republic are indeed, as Marcus D. Banghart, Vice-President of the ubiquitous Newmont Mining Corporation once remarked, "tantalsing". They are in fact among the highest in the world, for American investors, rising from an average return of 19.7% in 1961 to 26% in 1963. In some cases, ratio of earnings to investment has been 30% or higher and the average return over the period since 1958 has been 12.5%. These figures can be compared with the average return of 6.6% for American investment in western Europe, and 5.5% for the overall

average. Since 1958, according to the *Moorgate and Wall Street Review* in 1964, profits from U.S. invested in South Africa have been higher than in any country except West Germany.

Mr. Banghart boasted in 1962 of his connection with South Africa, that "We know the people and the Government, and we back our convictions with our reputation and our dollars". Mr. Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange, holds similar views. He said in the same year that "The whole Western world and all the nations of the free world, of which South Africa and the U.S. are two outstanding examples, will have to work together more in the coming years." And the extraordinary Mr. Charles Engelhard, adviser to the U.S. State Department, major donor for Democratic Party Funds, and a South African mining magnate second only, perhaps, to Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, believes that "there are not many countries in the world where it is safe to invest, and South Africa is just about the best of the lot." And finally, economic self-interest, and political strategic opportunism, combine in the opinion of General Luris Norstad, former NATO Commander in Europe and now president of the Owens-Corning group which in 1965 launched a \$1,400,000 expansion scheme in the Republic: "This country's record of economic and industrial expansion is outstanding. We have great appreciation of South Africa's importance as an ally and as an economic force in the free world."

Over 180 US companies were operating plants or subsidiaries in the Republic in 1965, compared with 85 in 1960. Among the more recent investments are \$30m by General Motors, \$11m by Fords, \$35m by Chrysler, \$7m by Firestone, \$3m by Goodyear, and \$7.5m by Crown-Zellerbach. Singer Sewing machines and Xerox have increased their investments by unknown amounts.

In 1952, a list of U.S. firms operating in South Africa published by the U.S. Department of Commerce included two advertising agencies, 10 motor car companies, 13 drug and cosmetic companies, 12 electrical concerns, 10 food and beverage firms, 6 imports-exports companies, 14 industrial machinery companies, 9 mining companies, 5 motion picture companies, 2 office machines companies, 4 oil companies, 5 rubber goods concerns, 5 steel companies, 9 tractor and farm equipment companies, 7 transport and insurance companies, and 11 others.

This list, however, made no mention of the large banking and finance companies whose loans to South Africa since 1961 retrieved South Africa's economy from the post-Sharpeville crisis. The major private institution involved was the Chase Manhattan Bank, which loaned \$10m to the South African Government followed by the First National and City Bank with \$5m. Chase Manhattan has since actually joined with a South African Bank, the Standard

Bank to form a joint concern to take care of its interests in Africa.

But the total dollar sum loaned to South Africa in 1961 was not \$15m. It was \$150—the balance provided by unidentified U.S. lenders (\$70m) and two gigantic loans from public funds: \$38 m from the International Monetary Fund and \$28m from the World Bank and affiliates. Both these international forces are heavily influenced by the U.S., without whose approval the loans could never have gone through. These transactions directly involved Government policy.

The U.S. Government and South Africa

A study of U.S. relations with South Africa, published by the American Committee on Africa in 1964, points out close connections between policy-makers in the U.S. administration, and financial interests in South Africa.

Engelhard is of course a main example, a man so close to the Democratic Administration that President Kennedy sent him to represent the U.S. at the coronation of Pope Paul IV, and President Johnson sent him as his personal representative at the independence celebrations in Zambia in 1964. According to the American Committee on Africa: "In 1957, while the United Nations General Assembly was voting to 'deplore' apartheid (the United States abstained), Mr. Engelhard acquired control of a group of South African financial and mining companies. These companies, known as the Rand Mines Group, employ nearly 100,000 people to produce cement, chrome, coal, iron pipes, uranium, and about 17% of South Africa's gold.

In 1958, while the United Nations was voting to 'condemn' South Africa's policy of apartheid, Engelhard organised the American-South African Investment Company, which raised \$30m in the United States to be invested in South Africa.

Engelhard's investment banker in these ventures, Dillon Read and Co., is also the traditional U.S. investment banker for the South African Government. The chairman of Dillon Read and Co. is still a director of Engelhard's South African Investment Adviser Ltd. (Dillon Read's previous chairman, C. Douglas Dillon, left in 1953 to become assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and is currently Secretary of the Treasury)".

Engelhard is a director of the Native Recruiting Corporation and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, the two organisations that recruit African Labour for the South African mines. He is director of Chamber of Mines, and of de Beers, the diamond empire. In 1966, he was reported to be launching two more South African ventures.

The U.S. Government, at the U.N. and elsewhere has repeatedly

denounced apartheid. According to the late Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., "time is running out" to avoid "a racial conflict which could seriously trouble peace and progress throughout the world." And since the beginning of 1964, following the Security Council Resolution of 1963 urging an international arms embargo against Verwoerd, it has imposed an embargo on the sale of arms and munitions to South Africa. But parallel with this stand, the U.S., together with Britain and France, has opposed every move to use economic sanctions against the apartheid regime, voting against the November 1962 General Assembly resolution calling for the total isolation of South Africa, and against the November 1963 resolution proposing an oil embargo against the Republic.

Far from sympathising with sanctions, the U.S. Government has over recent years given every encouragement to the South African economy. In addition to the transactions involving the I.M.F. and the World Bank in 1961, the U.S. Government authorised a loan in September 1959 of \$24 for long-term South African projects, followed by a further loan in September 1960 and other loans since, guaranteeing American exports to South Africa. South Africa enjoyed some \$40m worth of "revolving credits" through U.S. banks in 1963. Since 1960, when Cuba was struck off the U.S. quota of sugar imports, the South African quota has risen from nothing to over 100,000 tons in 1965. The U.S. continues to trade in uranium with the Republic, although procurement contracts with all other foreign suppliers have been cancelled. The U.S. has a large surplus of uranium; yet the Atomic Energy Commission (with its British equivalent) has an agreement with South Africa to deliver 5,480 tons of uranium oxide per year *until* 1970. According to the London publication **Africa 1964** \$12 per pound is being paid for this uranium, Although American producers would be willing to sell for \$4 per pound.

Military Co-operation

In 1963, just before the arms embargo was introduced, the United States London Embassy wrote to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London in response to a protest at the supply of Lockheed C130 military transport planes to South African Air Force, as follows:

"In any determination of our arms policy towards South Africa, consideration must be given to the fact that South Africa has always been firmly anti-communist and a staunch member of the western community of nations while geographically that country occupies a strategic position one of the principal East-West communications routes. South African forces fought with the Allies in World War II" and South Africa participated in the Berlin Airlift

of 1948-49. In the Korean conflict a South African air squadron served under the United Nations command from 1950 until after the Armistice in 1953."

It is no doubt in pursuit of this astonishing logic that, in spite of the arms embargo, the United States is even now engaged in military co-operation with the Republic—involving the most dangerous armaments known to mankind, nuclear armaments.

According to the official State of South Africa Yearbook for 1962, the U.S. agreed in July 1957 to help South Africa become "one of the select band of nuclear nations." An American company Allis Chalmers, has been building South Africa's first research and test atomic reactor. This reactor is alleged to be intended for peaceful purposes only—but it can at any time be converted to war use. Spokesmen of the South African Atomic Energy Board have repeatedly claimed that the Republic could produce its own atomic bomb. If ever it does, it will have American co-operation and technical assistance to thank for it.

Another almost equally portentous field of U.S.-South African co-operation is space research. The U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration has had a deep space tracking station in operation near Krugersdorp in the Transvaal since 1960. It was in operation in 1965, in connection with the synchronous communications satellite, Syncom II, and it seems likely that it may be used in the U.S. spy-satellite programme for observing the Soviet Union from space.

According to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, speaking on the U.S.-South Africa friendship in 1962, "*Not only is there economic co-operation, but this is also apparent in the sphere of research, and indeed that research which at the moment holds the attention of the world—namely, in connection with satellites and related space projects.*"

The truth is that America, blinded as it is by anti-communist hysteria, continues to see Verwoerd fundamentally as an ally against communism, in spite of his unpalatable internal policies. The U.S. myopia bears comparison with that of those forces in the West in the 1930s who saw in Hitler a bastion against the Soviet Union, in spite of the disagreeable nature of his Nazi regime. In a report presented to the International Seminar on Racism held at Dar es Salaam Tanzania, on the 27/4/1966, the A.N.C. Youth Action Council underlined the fascist ideology of the Verwoerd regime:

"In 1942 Vorster declared: 'We stand for Christian nationalism which is an ally of national socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you like. In Italy it is called fascism, in Germany national socialism and in South

Africa, Christian nationalism'. The triumph of all the fascist movements in South Africa was a victory of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party in 1948."

This is the political philosophy which the U.S.A. and the Western Powers support in South Africa. This is the policy which the South Africa Foundation beautifies in its lobbying outside South Africa. This is the policy which is doomed.

Ever since the arms embargo, America has left itself a loophole. It announced that the U.S. Government regarded itself free to supply South Africa with any weapons considered necessary for the defence of the West.

It is in the context of this reservation that the Verwoerd Government has been pressing the West on the issue of missiles for external defence. And the possibility is that if the U.S. does not in fact come up with the missiles—which are of course nuclear weapons other Western countries will: France, and West Germany, should it ever be in a position to do so.

The U.S. and Portugal

If Portugal is Britain's 'oldest ally' it is equally, though more recently, bound up with the United States, through NATO, of which Portugal is a member, and therefore a candidate for U.S. military assistance. The Sabre jets and Thunderjets, the Neptune and the Noratlas weapons of Portugal's air force are all made in America, and so have been the guns and ammunition used by Portuguese troops in the colonial wars against the PEOPLE of Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea.

America is already exporting considerable capital to Portugal itself, which, as an underdeveloped country, tends to be treated in a sense as an American colony. Labour is cheap, and profits on investment much higher than in the United States.

Since the last war, U.S. capital has also been finding its way into Mozambique. In September 1964, *Portugal Democratico*, an opposition Portuguese paper, announced a considerable stepping up of U.S. involvement in Mozambique at the very time when M.P.L.A., P.A.I.G.C., and Frelimo forces are valiantly fighting to rid themselves of Portuguese domination. According to *Portugal Democratico*, "The Inter-American Capital Corporation, one of the main finance and investment trusts of the United States, is going to establish a delegation in Lisbon, which, according to the President of the Trust, will act as a 'bridge between all Europe and Africa.' That magnate of North American finance told the Press in Lourenco Marques that Inter-American is ready to invest capital in Mozambique to the amount of not less than one billion dollars."

In a petition submitted to the United Nations Special Commi-

tee on Decolonisation (Committee of 24) which sat at Msimbazi Community Centre, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on the 24th May, 1966, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) unmasked the great imperialist conspiracy in this way:

"I wish to refer once again to the role being played by a number of Western European and North American powers, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, in the question of colonialism to-day. Under the guise of participating in an alliance for the defence of democracy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of West Germany, are supplying Portugal with some of the most deadly modern weapons and training her soldiers in the techniques of counter-guerrilla warfare. When we present convincing arguments against this anti-democratic alliance with a fascist regime such as Salazar's Portugal, we are cynically told that there is a clause in the NATO Agreement which stipulates, *inter alia*, that no weapons acquired through the NATO Agreement shall be used for the maintenance of a colonial power or anywhere in Africa south of the parallel of Cancer. Yet in the same Agreement, nothing is said about the deployment of military personnel trained and/or maintained through NATO auspices to colonial Africa; nothing is said about prohibiting the same NATO powers from giving or selling their own weapons to Portugal outside of the NATO Agreement, or about an outright exclusion of a state whose attitude towards self-determination, self-government and independence is as fascist as Portugal's is. We Mozambican people often ask ourselves, in view of the above situation, what kind of democracy do the Western People intend to defend? Getting no satisfactory answer, our people cannot help but conclude that the U.S.A., Britain, France, West Germany and their allies in NATO, being aware of the anti-democratic position of Portugal, agree with Portugal's position on her colonies, and knowingly wish to continue supporting the continuation of colonialism in Africa."

The Frelimo petition also revealed that "Late last year (1965) an agreement was signed between Portugal and South Africa, purportedly to settle several thousand South African White farmers in the Tete Province of Mozambique. We discovered that the real intention of the two governments was to cover up a much more sinister scheme, that of providing the Portuguese army with South African White mercenaries to help stamp out the Mozambican liberation struggle. We call attention to this situation in Mozambique because we believe *it is a violation of international law; it is an interference in the internal affairs of Mozambique.*"

Chapter Four

The Ignominy of France

France is a new member of the conspiracy. French-South African sympathy seems to date from the period of the Algerian war, when United Nations votes were traded between the two countries for 'non-interference in the internal Affairs of member countries, a device aimed at protecting France from action over Algeria and South Africa from action over apartheid. Collaboration was reported to have reached the point at which South African army and security officers were sent to Algeria to learn techniques of oppression from the French.

After the end of the Algerian war in 1961, and the accession to independence of nearly all France's colonies in black Africa, it might have been expected that France's policy might change. In other fields—in the far East for instance—de Gaulle has attempted to disentangle himself from the policies of the Western Alliance, and to adopt a more independent stand, partly designed to improve French relations with the 'third world'. But in fact, far from disentangling, France has involved itself more and more deeply with White South Africa. In April 1965, for instance, Mr. R. Schmittlein, Vice-President of the French National Assembly, and a prominent member of the Gaullist Party, arrived on an official visit to Johannesburg, and told Press reporters that France would continue to vote against any resolutions designed to penalise the Republic for its apartheid policies. "France may not agree with all aspects of South Africa's policy, but she cannot concede that other nations have the right to introduce punitive measures to force South Africa to change its policy," he said. France would oppose any international programme of sanctions against South Africa, and would "continue to supply arms for South Africa's defence. Our trade and cultural ties will also be strengthened."

In fact, when the Expert's Committee of the Security Council, set up in 1964 to examine the question of sanctions against South Africa, circulated a questionnaire to member nations on the extent of their military assistance to South Africa, France was one of the few nations that did not even bother to reply. And when Britain imposed sanctions against Rhodesia, the reaction of the French Government was apparently to ignore them, French businessmen have continued to operate freely in Rhodesia. Between 1958 and 1962, French imports from South Africa rose from some \$10m to

nearly £14m per year, while exports to South Africa increased from £10m to over £15m. France then lay twelfth in the list of world traders with the Republic. By 1965, she had risen to 7th position.

In the first three months of 1965 alone, French exports to South Africa amounted to over £5m, the main items being chemicals, manufactured goods, machinery and transport equipment.

But what is more important still than the rapid increase in trade, is the increase of French investment in the Republic. She now lies third, after Britain and the United States, having a capital stake of some £87.5m in South Africa. French money has been invested in mining, in textiles, electronics, motor vehicles, aeronautics, steel and armaments.

Recent examples of French ventures include an attempt launched in August 1965 to capture the market for trucks and heavy duty vehicles, some of which are banned for export to South Africa by the U.S. and British arms embargo. The firm involved is the French firm of UNIC, which plans to start by importing trucks into the country, and gradually assembling and then manufacturing in South Africa. Another motor firm is Verliet, which plans to build off-the-road trucks capable of carrying up to 100 tons, at a factory at Jacobs, Natal. The role of the French Government in actively encouraging these new links is particularly clear in the issue of finance for the giant Hendrick Verwoerd dam project for the Orange River, intended to provide irrigation and hydro-electric power for the parched lands of the Orange Free State. These French concerns were involved in tenders for the building of the dam, and it is confidently expected that it will be a Franco-South African consortium that will be awarded the contract. One consortium spokesman stated after the opening of tenders: "If a French group gets the tender for this, the French Government won't hesitate to provide money for the consortium to go ahead with the work. . . in this way, the bonds between France and South Africa will be further strengthened."

It has been reported that two London consulting engineers are among the 11 chosen to launch the first phase of South Africa's Orange River development scheme. They are Sir William Halcrow and Partners and Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners.

As recently as December 1965, Dr. Diederichs, South Africa's Minister for Economic Affairs, was in Paris, "conferring with French Bankers." The stated object of his visit was the encouragement of French-South African trade, and he was the guest of the Foreign Trade Centre of the Employers' Association.

Pirates of the Arms Embargo

But by far the most sinister of France's relations with South Africa is the fact that she has replaced Britain and the United

States as *the Republic's principal source of foreign armaments*. This is the cynical bargain that de Gaulle has made with Verwoerd to supply him with arms in defiance of the embargo, in exchange, apparently, for trade and investment opportunities, and, it is even rumoured, the possible use of nuclear testing ground in South Africa, should the Algerian Government close the existing site in the Sahara.

France has supplied the South African army with Panhard AML armoured cars, being manufactured under licence in the Republic; with unspecified equipment valued at £11,450,000 from the Hotchkiss Brandt-Engineering Company, with 1600 m.p.h. Mirage jet fighters, Fouga jets, and Alouette helicopters. The Italian Macchi jets to be manufactured by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation use French electronic equipment, and the French share of the £15m deal has been estimated as up to 50%.

It was without doubt French firms that Mr. Fouche, at the time South African Minister of Defence, had in mind when he claimed in September 1963 (just after the U.N.'s call for an arms embargo) that South Africa's problem was no longer to get arms manufacturers of other countries to produce arms in South Africa, but rather to decide whose request for the establishment of factories should be accepted.

In October 1964, a French armed force ministry official was quoted as saying that South Africa was now among France's best customers for arms.

And in February 1965, *South Africa*, a London weekly sympathetic to White South Africa, reported: "South Africa is believed to have made a large purchase of weapons within the past few days, and in Cape Town it is thought that the order probably included ground-to-air missiles to take the place of the Bloodhounds which the Republic was to have received from Britain. . . The most likely source of supply is thought to be France."

Southern Africa News Features, London, commented soon afterwards that France could expect to profit considerably from the arms embargo of the other world powers. The U.S. apparently stands to lose £90m and Britain £150m worth of orders over three years. "It is understood that South Africa hopes to increase its ground-to-air defence. . .and also to buy submarines, more ships, and long-distance maritime reconnaissance aircraft. France has now reached an advanced stage in the development of 'hunter-killer' submarines, and manufactures a maritime patrol aircraft, the Bre-gnet 1150 Atlantic, with a range of 5,600 miles".

South Africa's increasing dependence on a sole armaments supplier lent special significance to the visit of Mr. Fouche to the Paris Air Show in June 1965, where he was believed to be planning to place orders for Mirage supersonic aircraft, air-to-air missiles, submarines, and war ships. Neither Fouche nor the French Mini-

stries involved would comment on specific orders, but in July Mr. Fouche did confirm that the South African Air Force had ordered three Mysters 20 Executive Jets from France. The Mysters 20 carries 10 people, and has a range of 1900 miles.

In the context of this blatant military collaboration, it is perhaps no surprise to find France a partner in the most menacing field of all—the atomic field. South African atomic scientists are being trained in France, as well as the United States, the rumours are already rife that this collaboration is likely to grow, possibly to the extent of collaboration over the testing and production of atomic weapons.

Related to the field of nuclear research, is that of space research, and here too France has achieved a high degree of co-operation with South Africa. According to the Sunday Express, Johannesburg, in July 1965, South Africa is paving the way to build her own artificial satellites. The Government had successfully sought permission from the U.S. space authorities to use their chain of tracking stations if and when South African satellites were launched. This was effected by a special clause inserted in agreements made at the time between the Governments of U.S., France and South Africa. France has already built a space tracking station near Pretoria.

What, one may well ask, is driving de Gaulle into this ignominious pose as the rescuer of Verwoerd from the consequences of evil apartheid policies? Why risk the fair name of France, allegedly so dear to the President, in so squalid a cause? There seems no other answer than the old one of economic greed, the sordid ambition to join in the scramble for the profits of apartheid, and to take the opportunity of South Africa's embarrassment over arms supply, to seize a share in the exploitation which was until recently the virtual monopoly of Britain and America. France is attempting to compete with the other two Western powers on a world scale. The people of South Africa are once more the victims of imperialist greed.

Chapter Five

The Secret Ally

Britain, America and France—three powerful allies for Southern Africa's ruling minority. All permanent members of the Security Council, all among the most powerful and the most highly developed countries in the world. Probably because of their world position, these countries evolve their policies in the full glare of world scrutiny, and their relations with Southern Africa are known. What is less known, barely remarked even outside the countries directly concerned, is the existence of a fourth ally, **a secret ally**, but no less committed for that: **the Federal Republic of Germany**.

West Germany has been particularly anxious over the past five years to ingratiate itself with the independent African States—President Lubke only this year made a triumphant 'goodwill' tour of eleven African countries; and West German economic 'aid' has been liberally dispensed in key regions of the continent. So it is not surprising if the Government is in no hurry to reveal the extent of its current involvement with the oppressors of Africans in the South, or to remind the world of President Lubke's other African tour, seven years ago, when he visited the Republic of South Africa, and declared that "the problems (of the Africans) are in good hands with the (Verwoerd) government; its experience could be usefully employed on the whole continent." President Lubke's pronouncement was no isolated comment: the West German Ambassador to South Africa, Gustav Strohm, former head of the Africa department of the Nazi Foreign Ministry, said in 1957 that "the foreign policy of the two countries (West Germany and South Africa) are parallel and support each other. South Africa is firmly rooted in the Western camp, and opposes communism as unconditionally and actively as we do." And in 1954 Professor Ludwing Erhard, now Federal Chancellor, had visited the country too, and told his hosts that "**there is a similar spirit at work both in (West) Germany and South Africa.**"

Germany and White South Africa first found common ground over thirty years ago, when the rise of Nazism in the 1930s met a response far away in the southern tip of Africa as brownshirts and grey-shirts among South Africa's extreme racialists became distant converts to Hitlerism. The Broederbond, an Afrikaner Nationalist secret society founded in 1919 became the underground platform of the

South African Nazis. Dr. Verwoerd (who had been educated in German universities), Justice Minister Vorster, and most of the present-day South African cabinet are self-confessed or proven members of the Broederbond, or of its military wing formed at the beginning of the last war, the Ossewa Brandwag or O.B. Broederbond leaders were sent to Germany for training—among them, Dr. Diederichs, now South African Minister of Economic Affairs, who, according to a South African Government investigation into the Broederbond conducted in 1944, “qualified as a qusling in the Nazis’ Anti-Komintern training school.”

When South Africa went to war in 1939 on a slender parliamentary majority, the O.B. moved into action. Power lines and post offices were dynamited, and some saboteurs were arrested, tried and sentenced to death. When the Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan, now being led by Dr. Verwoerd, came to power in 1948, they set free six prisoners—Robey Leibbrandt, Visser, van Blerk, Holm, Strauss and Pienaar—who were serving sentences for having committed treason during World War II. This amnesty to convicted traitors was justified as the ‘healing of war-time wounds’ by Mr. C. R. Swart who is now the President of the Republic of South Africa.

Balthazar Vorster too spent some time in an internment camp during the war, apparently for giving the Germans detailed information about troop movements, and plotting civil war against the Smuts Government. Verwoerd, who was editor of the Johannesburg daily *Die Transvaler* at the time, lost a court case for libel against a rival paper that had called him a ‘Nazi’. The judge found that he had knowingly used his paper as a tool of Nazi propaganda.

Not surprisingly, then, with this history of collaboration, South Africa became after the war a refuge for former Nazi Wehrmacht and S.S. officers and others, who fled from occupied Germany to escape prosecution for their war crimes. Many of these settled in South West Africa, where a German speaking community dating back to the days of German rule before 1914 still flourishes; others entered South Africa’s commercial and industrial world.

One of the post-war immigrants was former Major-General Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin, a military expert on Africa who had served on the Nazi general staff. During the North Africa campaign, he was intelligence and espionage officer with the Afrika Korps, and is believed to have built up contacts with the O.B. fifth column in South Africa at this time. In 1950, he emigrated to South Africa, to found a private airline company, Trek Airways. He started the South African-German Flying Club, with the help of former Wehrmacht officers. . . . an innocent enough activity, except that it has been organised into ‘air commandos’, to be used (as they were in 1961) in times of emergency as spotter planes for police and ground

troops. And in 1961, having sold Trek Airways, he was appointed Director-General of Lufthansa (the West German Airlines, jointly controlled by the West German Government and the Deutsche Bank) for the African continent.

Von Mellenthin is an internationally-known military strategist, and in September 1960 he published an extraordinary article in *Afrika Post*, organ of the German community in South West Africa, and in fact edited by another former Nazi, H.G. Thormeyer, once employed in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Von Mellenthin's article was entitled "The Military-Political Position of the Countries and Territories in the South African Area," and it foresaw "trouble" from the States of independent Africa. . . "The first conclusion which the South African countries should draw from the unreliability of the young African states in the military field, is the formation of SATO, consisting of Portuguese territories of Mozambique and Angola, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. . . The formation of new independent states in Africa has changed the military situation not only for the South Africa area, but for the whole world. The West must realise that the military vacuum which has now been created, particularly in Central Africa, and the factor of uncertainty presented by the new Native states, means that the South African states and territories are the only reliable allies upon whom the West can reckon in a crisis." The Article goes on to conclude that South Africa could be given "full moral and material support. . . as long as there is peace." Von Mellenthin recommended raising "a permanent striking power" of easily disposable mechanised units.

It was round the time when this article was published that rumours began to circulate of an unspoken, military agreement between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal—the **unholy alliance**. The formal project for a Southern Africa Treaty Organisation has never been realised, partly because world public opinion has been so roused since 1960 that the signing of such a treaty would be regarded as a blatantly provocative act. But von Mellenthin's thesis is alleged to be the basis of another treaty, a secret military treaty between South Africa and West Germany believed to have been signed in 1961, according to a Memorandum on Co-operation between the Federal Republic and South Africa published by the African-Asian Solidarity Committee, in the German Democratic Republic in 1964. And the modernisation programme of South Africa's defence forces carried out since then, involving the establishment of flexible, highly mobile units, indicates at least a profound sympathy between von Mellenthin's strategic thinking and that of the Republic's military leaders.

Whatever the truth of the sinister von Mellenthin role in the West German-South African rapprochement, what is even more

interesting is the increasing interest of certain key financial figures, led by Herman Josef Abs and Alfried Krupp, in the sub-continent.

Abs and Krupp both figured after the war in the Nazi war crimes trials, and both were among the "eight financial and industrial bosses who exercised the greatest influence on the direction of Hitler's policies." (U.S. Department of Justice, 1945). Abs is chairman of more than 50 West German, foreign and international companies, among them Lufthansa, for which von Mellenthin works. As chairman of Dagussa, the West German nuclear firm, and a leading member of the Atomic Commission of the Bonn Government, Abs is clearly back in a highly strategic position. He visited South Africa in 1963, for "conversation with various government branches" on "certain plans in South Africa." He did elaborate further, but most of his talks seem to have been with Economic Minister Diederichs, with whom his association goes back to the pre-war periods. Diederichs in 1963 bore cabinet responsibility for the South African Atomic Energy Board.

Nuclear Collaboration

Nuclear collaboration between the countries dates from 1958, the year in which Diederichs was given atomic responsibility. In that year, South Africa offered Dagussa the supply of uranium which the Germans could obtain from the U.S. only under severe restrictions: and in return were given the licence for the Ellweiler method of refining uranium ore. A leading West German uranium expert, Hans Paul, was placed at the disposal of the South African Atomic Energy Board, and two West German construction firms, Lurgi, and Philip Hozman, both of them controlled by Abs, built the pilot plant which successfully completed tests in 1963.

Poisonous Gases?

In November 1963, Professor L.J. le Roux, Vice-President of the National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, told a scientific congress in Pretoria that the South African Defence Research Council had set up a specialist group of scientists to develop the virulent gases, such as Tabun, Soman and Sarin, developed by Nazi Germany towards the end of the last war. They are ten times as poisonous as all previous gases, are odourless, and could be sprayed like insecticides from planes and rockets. They would have the destruction effect of a 20 megaton atom bomb, but are considerably cheaper (Reuter, 11th November, 1963, New York Herald Tribune November 8th).

Among the specialists involved in this poison gas research are believed to be several experts formerly employed by I.G. Farben which produced the gas that killed the Jews in Nazi gas chambers,

and in particular, Gunther Prus, poison gas expert in the Nazi Wehrmacht.

One of the South African plants that could conceivably produce these gases is FBA Pharmaceuticals, near Johannesburg, which was built to the specifications of the West German dye stuff works of Bayer AG, another of the major suppliers of poison gas to the Nazi death camps.

Bayer's relation with South Africa is a peculiar one, for it has found in South Africa a source of the raw material especially chrome ore, which they lost at the end of the war. Bayer has a subsidiary, Rustenburg Chrome Mines, operating near Pretoria, in 1956, and has since widely extended its South African interests and associations. It played a major role in the establishment of a West German-South African chemical pool, Norichem.

Rocket Research

After Defence Minister Fouche had announced in 1963 that South Africa intended making her own guided missiles, and Professor le Roux declared that South Africa had established an Institute for Rocket Research near Pretoria, and set up its own testing grounds, the West German Institute for Aeronautics, Lindau am Harz, set up a rocket observation and ionosphere station near Tsumeb in South West Africa (1964). According to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, April 1964, the Aeronautics Institute is financed directly from the budget of the West German Defence Ministry. The Tsumeb station is controlled on the South African side by Dr. Theo Schoemann, a rocket specialist who works in collaboration with the Atomic Energy Board. It is worth remarking in this connection that South West Africa is a mandated territory under the League of Nations, and that South Africa is specifically forbidden under the mandate from using the territory for military purposes.

What Arms Embargo?

Not surprisingly in the context of this collaboration, West Germany has barely concealed its lack of sympathy with the Security Council's demand for an arms embargo against apartheid. In 1964, it sold 50 sabre fighters to South Africa—and managed to persuade a Swedish Company, Johnson-Gotsborg, to ship them, in an attempt to disguise their source. A West German firm, Henschel Diesel, have a large plant near Johannesburg, which serves South African armoured vehicles.

Trade and Investment

Although West Germany does not figure as the major investors in the Republic, her trade with South Africa has risen dramatically

over the past few years. West Germany was by 1962 the world's third biggest importer (£21.38m). Of the capitalist countries which maintain extensive economic and political relations with South Africa in defiance of the United Nations policy, West Germany is the most important and deserves special mention. Within 5 years this country's trade with South Africa has more than doubled and today West Germany supplies over 11% of South Africa's import needs. The Bonn Government extended a £10m loan to South Africa. Herr Abs, the influential West German banker, head of the powerful Deutsche Bank, paid a visit to South Africa ostensibly for the purpose, as officially described, of preparing the way for the increased flow of private capital." A group of West German firms headed by the firm Boelkow are working on the development of rockets in South Africa. This has been confirmed by the South African Government.

The stake of the European Common Market countries invested in South Africa has reached £162.5m and among them the Federal Republic of West Germany increased its share from £14m to £28.5m. West Germany maintains the leading position among the E.E.C. in trade with South Africa as the following abstract of S.A. trade returns will show:—

COUNTRY	S.A. EXPORTS	S.A. IMPORTS			
		Monthly Averages in '000 U.S.A. \$			
		1964	1965	1964	1965
France	4,290	3,603	4,328	5,115
West Germany	7,272	5,601	18,385	24,011
Italy	6,848	3,994	5,073	8,957
Netherlands	2,499	3,417	4,659	3,941

But it is also clear that West German investment too is increasing. Abs' Deutsche Bank has become a major source of finance for South African industry; and though Krupp is extremely reticent about his interests there, he told reporters in 1965 that they were "going very well". Krupp was on a visit to South Africa and Rhodesia, just after U.D.I. He referred to several "government contracts", including contracts in relation to the giant Orange River irrigation and Hydro-Electric Scheme.

And in the wake of these developments, are constant increases in tourist trade between the two countries—Mr. Kurt Elsholz, West German Minister of Transport, visited South Africa in February 1966 in order to discuss tourism. And West Germany has even been mentioned as a buyer for Rhodesian Tobacco, which was expected to be bought at the "secret" sanctions-defying sales in Salisbury in

March by a South African firm, for re-export to West Germany. West Germany had earlier expressed its intention to ignore Britain's sanctions on Rhodesia, and to continue, like South Africa itself, with "business as usual"

West Germany and Portugal

The Federal Republic's policy towards Portuguese colonialism in Africa is consistent with its policy in South Africa. To Angola and Mozambique, too, have trooped West German leaders: Dr. Euan Gerstenmsier, President of the Federal Parliament, was there in 1960, voicing his solidarity with the Portuguese regime; and in 1963 a group of politicians and generals led by Dr. Richard Jaeger, Vice President of the Bundestag and chairman of its defence commission, followed. Dr. Jaeger was quoted afterwards in *Der Rheinischer Merkin*, Cologne, as saying that "The Salazar Government has achieved something really great there, which does credit to Portugal." At this time, the popular uprising in Northern Angola was nearly three years old, and Portuguese military repression was at its height. Dr. Jaeger added "I have the impression that Portugal has made it possible for every black man to avail himself of every form of education, but that it does not, however, assert force". The illiteracy rate in Angola, after 450 years of Portuguese rule, is still over 99%. "It is not Portugal that endangers world peace in Angola but its opponents. . .the Portuguese were the first to have found the only possible solution to the relation between the races in Africa."

German-Portuguese friendship of course dates back to the association between Hitler and Salazar before the war. It was Portugal after the war that first proposed West Germany's admission to NATO, and Portugal was the first country to return the confiscated assets of German companies. In return for this solidarity, Germany's Foreign Minister Von Brentano assured Salazar in Lisbon in 1958 that he supported the concept of NATO as including the defence of the "territorial integrity of member countries," a concept which would open the way for the use of NATO forces to suppress African rebellion in Portugal's "overseas territories". Portugal was "fighting for Europe overseas, for its freedom and world authority," said *Der Stahlhelm*, Munich, in 1962.

One major motive for Portuguese-West German collaboration in the 1950s was the Federal Republic's desire for armaments, at a period before it was permitted to re-establish its own arms industry. According to *Der Spiegel*, October 1965, "for ten years the Federal Government has been using arms deals as a means of foreign policy. . . arms and equipment (in 1955) had to be produced from abroad. The Bundeswehr purchased. . .ammunition in Portugal, Greece and Turkey". Salazar was able to profit by these deals to the extent

of millions of marks, which helped to enable this tiny underdeveloped country to bear the burden of the colonial wars that followed.

The Revenge-Seeking Strauss

Frans Josef Strauss, West German War Minister, visited Portugal in January 1960, and arranged for arms and ammunition deliveries and technical assistance. He returned two years later, together with senior military experts, to negotiate the stationing of 17,800 West German troops in Portugal, and the establishment of a jet aircraft base, training grounds, and depots at Beja (Southern Portugal). The base was equipped from NATO funds.

Frans Josef Strauss is a revenge-seeker. During his term of office agreements were reached between West Germany and the Rhodesian racialists for West Germany to train Rhodesian pilots. In April, 1966, Strauss was personally in Salisbury where he had secret negotiations with the Smith rebel regime. This visit to Rhodesia followed his secret mission to South Africa. The Strauss visit to South Africa marks a consolidation of the relations that have existed since the 1930s between the Nazis and the leaders of the Verwoerd Nationalist Party.

Frans Josef Strauss harbours a burning aspiration to the Federal Republic's Chancellorship and to achieve this he has steadily fortified his position as the head of one of the influential ruling parties, the Christian Social Union which propagates dangerous views on the revision of Germany's boundaries; gaining nuclear weapons; "liquidating" socialism in Eastern Europe's peoples' democracies. His biographer, Hans Frederik described him as a "provocation to his opponents and a programme to his friends". Of course, he has himself defined his programme in *Die Welt*, October 9, 1965, showing a grand design to gain possession of nuclear weapons: "Only an integrated Europe, using all its strength, can be an equal partner of America. The United States needs such a partner to retain its positions. Consequently, it should help promote European integration with all means at its disposal. For instance, it could offer France and Britain its technical know-how and thus increase the nuclear potential under their national control". Strauss seeks nuclear power for revenge.

In May 1965, General Von Hassel visited Portugal and was awarded the Great Cross of the Military Order of Christ!

Portuguese democrats point out that not only has military co-operation with West Germany benefitted the Portuguese Government economically, but it has also helped consolidate it politically, by enabling it to continue its repression of resistance within the country. Beja was perhaps a site chosen not without regard for the fact that the garrison had mutinied there in 1962, with the active

support of the civil population. Africa and the Portuguese people have common reason to detest the Salazar-West German conspiracy. By 1962, West Germany was already Portugal's most important trading partner, accounting for 16.3% of the country's imports. West German companies have built the first Portuguese iron and steel works near Lisbon; and leading West German banks, including the Deutsche Bank AG and the Bayrische Vereinsbank, operate there. The West German Government itself granted Portugal a 150m mark long term credit in 1961. A joint Commission for German-Portuguese Economic Co-operation was set up in 1960. And the two concerns most closely involved in Portugal are also the two most closely involved in South Africa—Abs, and Krupp.

Krupp has particularly heavy investment in 'Portuguese' Africa. In 1960, Portugal suddenly reversed its policy of excluding foreign investment from its colonies, in the hope of gaining allies in the struggle to maintain White rule. According to the Paris paper *Combat* (August 1964), the Krupp empire is the biggest of the foreign concerns that subsequently entered Angola, and Krupp's investment amounts to some \$125m (500m marks). Friedrich Krupp K.G., Essen, heads the international syndicate, Companhia Mineira de Lobito, currently exploiting one of the richest iron ore deposits in Africa, in Cassinga, Southern Angola. A medium-term 120m mark credit has been guaranteed by the Federal Government, and Krupp gains ore for his steel mills in Germany.

There are some 1,100 German land-owners in this part of the country, many of them ex-Nazis who had fled to Angola after the war, as others had fled to South Africa. These together with Krupp's South African subsidiary, Krupp S.A., form a base from which the company is expanding its interests.

Other German companies operating in Angola include the Bermann Opelana group, dominating housing construction in Luanda, sisal plantations and manganese ore mines; and the Luso-Alema Lds., which also own sisal plantations, and supplies West German agricultural machines, and electrical goods.

Arms against Africans

By 1961, the West German-Portugal arms trade was operating in the reverse direction, and Portugal was buying German armaments. Angolan freedom-fighters claimed to have evidence that West Germany had supplied 10,000 sub-machine guns for use in Angola, some of which had been captured by guerrilla troops. Dornier military aircraft from Germany have been used in the Angola war since 1962, to bomb Angolan villages, and German shells dropped in Angola were produced before the U.N. Trusteeship Committee in November 1963. In 1965, the Federal Government sold 60 more

military aircraft to Portugal for use in Africa, provoking a protest from the Government of Canada.

Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Front, accused the West Germans in 1963 of sending officers to train Portuguese troops in Africa, and in April 1964 the M.P.L.A. (Popular Liberation Movement of Angola) claimed that since 1963 Bundeswehr troops had actually been in Angola to protect West German capital investments there.

“The united force and action of all the anti-imperialist people of the world, the independent states of Africa, Asia, the Socialist countries and progressive forces in the imperialist countries can rid mankind once and for all of the scourge of racialism and colonialism. The unity of this force to-day is vital and crucial”.*

*Report of an A.N.C. Youth Action Council to International Seminar on Racism—1966.

Chapter Six

The Other Germany

We have analysed the neo-Nazi revival of old links between West Germany and South Africa as well as the rest of White minority fascist regimes in Southern Africa. But there is the other Germany. This is the German Democratic Republic which West Germany and the imperialists have relentlessly and on a world-scale tried to snuff out of existence. West Germany through the Hallstein Doctrine tries to isolate the G.D.R. by refusing to have any relations whatsoever with a state that extends recognition to the G.D.R. Thus they aim at achieving world support for their policies based on revenge. But by the Hallstein Doctrine they do not only limit the sovereignty of other States but also blatantly impose the policy of the Bonn Government on the foreign relations of independent states.

Whilst West Germany is a member of NATO and through this body enjoys the possibility of rearming and even gaining access to the use of nuclear weapons, the G.D.R. is not a member of NATO and has no atomic arms.

In a speech delivered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the U.N.O. at an official function of the German League for the United Nations, Mr. Otto Winzer, G.D.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs defined his government's position on the question of the re-unification of Germany as follows:—

“The Bonn Government employs various means to spread the idea amongst the member-states of the United Nations that settling the so-called German question and the country's re-unification is the affair of the FOUR GREAT POWERS. In contrast, the G.D.R. underlines her position that every people, including the Germans, have the inalienable right to decide its internal affairs in a manner meeting its national interests and without interference by other Powers”. Dealing with neo-colonialism he went on to say:—

“The G.D.R. staunchly supports the struggle for the final elimination of the remnants of the imperialist colonial system. The conjoint struggle waged by the Socialist states and the countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism has achieved that the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples!!!”

But why is Germany divided? In the February, 1966 G.D.R. Memorandum applying for membership of the U.N.O. the matter is unambiguously stated:

“The forming of two German states is the consequence and result of the division of Germany carried out against the will of the German people and in gross violation of the basic post-war Agreements on Germany. As early as 1947 and 1948, through the establishing of the so-called “Bi-zone” and “Tri-zone”, the setting up of a unified central German administration, as envisaged in the Potsdam Agreement, was prevented and separate administrative bodies for West Germany were created. With the introduction of a separate currency in West Germany in June 1948, the relations between East and West Germany, which had continued until then, were disrupted. The step-by-step implementation of so-called London Recommendations led to the setting up of the West German Federal Republic on September 7, 1949, finally completing the division of Germany. The anti-fascist and democratic forces of the German people resolutely resisted this policy of division. They launched the People’s Congress Movement for Unity and a Just Peace, their goal being to ensure democratic unity and an anti-fascist development all over Germany. As a result of a democratic decision of the people and applying its right to self-determination, the German Democratic Republic was founded on October 7, 1949. In its first Government statement of October 12th, 1949 it expressed its determination not to reconcile itself to the division of Germany and to conduct a persistent struggle for the restoration of unity”.

These facts speak for themselves and can be verified.

G.D.R. Friendship and Solidarity

But what is even more impressive is the work of the G.D.R. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Apart from supporting the cause of the oppressed peoples, the G.D.R. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee offers scholarships to students from Africa, Asia and Latin America as a contribution to the training of skilled workers and cadres for the developing countries and the liberation movements.

At a meeting to protest against the imprisonment of Bram Fisher, the G.D.R. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee adopted a Declaration which stated in part:

“True to its mission as the first German peace state in history, the G.D.R. stands firmly by the side of the heroically fighting liberation movement of South Africa. Our struggle against Hitler’s heirs in the Federal Republic and the struggle against people like Verwoerd and Vorster is one and the same struggle! It is part of the world-wide struggle for peace and humanism!”

Law and Society

Such is the character and integrity of the G.D.R. that one of its leading jurists, Professor Dr. Steiniger, Director of the Institute

of International Law at Humboldt University, wrote to Mr. B.J. Vorster, South African Minister of Justice in May 1964 pointing out that what was happening to the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was a negation of the principles of international law and of the principles of the U.N. Charter. He also recalled the judgment at Nuremberg. But Vorster in a letter signed by his Private Secretary cynically replied: "It will be very interesting to learn from a man who calls himself "Director of International Law" since when people who are in fact found guilty of premeditated murder or are charged with sabotage and murder may not be tried by independent courts."

Dr. Steiniger replied in a well-balanced and convincing manner. We shall only quote a few salient points which he made: "In order to answer satisfactorily your query as to justification under international law of my protest against the so-called Rivonia trial and against other terrorist measures ordered by your government, permit me to point out the following: if wrong is systematically proclaimed right in a country, through laws which violate binding principles of international law, this system is profoundly contrary to law. Resistance to such wrong in legal form is the duty of all right-thinking citizens of the country involved—not to mention the international responsibility of that country and the personal responsibility of its functionaries.

This has been an established truth since the pronouncement of the court in the Nuremberg trial—of judges—a court of American judges—and it emerges from the principles of the International Military Tribunal in the judgment passed against the main German war criminals. *The "order" which according to your laws, it is sabotage to attempt to alter, is in itself a single act of sabotage of all basic human rights. To pass and enforce fascist "law" is morally shameful, politically suicidal and legally criminal.* I shall assume the personal integrity of the judiciary of your country. But this does not absolve me from the duty to ask the following questions: can judges be called *independent* if they are bound by the State to administer laws which are profoundly contrary to international law and can they be permitted, by reference to such laws, to divest themselves of personal responsibility? Articles 7 and 8 of the London International Military Tribunal of 8.8. 1945 provide a valid answer under international law. According to these Articles, neither the official position of a person who commits crimes against humanity nor the position of such a person as a servant of his government can absolve him from punishment." Dr. Steiniger aptly concluded "*Judged by these standards of international law your entire terror legislation is undiluted injustice.*"

Such are the moral principles of the G.D.R.—the other Germany!!

Chapter Seven

A Sordid Tale

It is a sordid tale—of four great and rich Western powers, each of which in public protests its detestation of racialism, colonialism and apartheid, and each of which in practice is competing with the others for the profits these evils produce. Britain and America impose sanctions on Rhodesia—France and West Germany defy them; Britain and America place an arms embargo on South Africa—France and West Germany stab them in the back. And yet an ugly suspicion arises that the role of the defiers, though superficially antagonistic, is not really contrary to broader imperialist strategy at all: that France and West Germany are being permitted to do the dirty work that the U.S. and U.K., for diplomatic reasons, can no longer openly afford. Collaboration is so closely interwoven—both Britain and France have an interest with the Macchi aircraft deal, for instance, and all four powers are involved in the development of South African nuclear power—that it is difficult to imagine that they have no strategy in common.

All four powers have now enough stake in Southern Africa to have a common interest in preserving the status quo. It is a measure of the indignation of world opinion, and in particular of the newfound strength of independent Africa and Asia, that the conspiracy can no longer be an open one, and that the leading Western powers find it necessary to disguise their connivance at race rule, to impose embargo and to dissociate themselves from the methods of White oppression. But the facts in this pamphlet indicate that a conspiracy does exist, that the biggest powers are content to hide behind the skirts of the lesser ones, and that all are prepared to exploit what advantage they can gain from the oppression of the people of Southern Africa.

We have in the past emphasised the view that we are dealing with a combination of economic power, military might and rabid racialism which has been marshalled in a desperate bid to halt the march of the people to independence and secure the whole area of Southern Africa for exclusive and perpetual imperialist exploitation. It is not surprising that U.N. resolutions have been flouted by Verwoerd and Salazar; earnest appeals ignored by Britain and treated with contempt by Smith, and political pressure by the oppressed masses answered with bullets and gallows.

There can be no doubt whatever that colonialism is doomed to failure and the resistance of the racist and fascist White minority governments in Southern Africa is bound to collapse. But equally there can be no doubt that in the prevailing situation, peaceful persuasion has lost its value as a mode of struggle, and only force on a large-scale has any meaning. This fact has been recognised by the liberation movements in the affected areas, by the O.A.U., and by the vast majority of the peoples of the world opposed to colonialism, racialism and fascism.

We consider it is essential and timely for the U.N.:—

1. To invoke the provisions of the Charter against those Member-States responsible for perpetuating colonialism or failing to implement U.N. resolutions designed to end colonialism in Southern Africa and elsewhere;
2. To declare its full support for those fighting for transfer of power to the majority of the people, and to urge all its member-States, and all other governments, collectively and individually, to give to the liberation movements such aid in materials (including, where necessary, arms and equipment) manpower and technical skill as will ensure the expeditious liquidation of colonialism in Southern Africa,**

*From "A.N.C. Petition submitted to U.N. Decolonisation Committee—6.6. 1965."

The record is such as to convince us that it will not be enough to push the White racials into the dust-bin of history. Our freedom will only be complete and secure when in our own country we shall have got rid of their imperialist sponsors too.