

PAPER ON APARTHEID PRESENTED BY R. M. RESHA
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Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates,

This Human Rights Seminar on Apartheid meets at a crucial time in the history of the world. It is a time when the peace and security of Africa and indeed the whole world is being seriously menaced and threatened by the barbarous system of racialism. The vast majority of the peoples of the world are seriously engaged in the task of eradicating this scourge from human society.

The people of South Africa have a special interest in the struggle against apartheid because perhaps nowhere else today is racialism so blatantly and unashamedly espoused and so brutally imposed and enforced.

An effective struggle against racialism requires a profound understanding of this ideology which is called apartheid in South Africa.

The ideology of racialism, which postulates the inherent inequality of races has its roots in the history of man's exploitation by man. Throughout the course of human history these two have developed side by side.

At different times and in different countries and conditions, racialism has taken different forms. But the different forms have always had a common denominator that there was a superior race. The master race was the repository of power, the custodian and creator of civilisation and all the noble achievements of mankind. On the other hand the racialists claim that the inferior race is savage, unintelligent, lazy and subhuman, devoid of human feelings and emotions and with no morality, in short a cursed group. The inferior race according to the racists was human only in form but otherwise no higher than the animals. Its members are doomed to be servants, hewers of wood and drawers of water and to minister to the needs and pleasures of the master race.

Basically racialism is an extension of the myth to justify and perpetuate the position of the master, his power, wealth and comfort at the expense of a servant who lives in abject poverty and misery spending his life in grinding toil to produce wealth for the master.

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The "glory" and splendour of Rome was built on the bones and with the sweat and blood of slaves. The justification of the Romans for their system was their claim that the Romans were superior and that those they had captured and enslaved were inferior.

In feudal times in different parts of the world superiority and inferiority was based as an instrument of oppression and exploitation even with the same group of people. Society was divided into kings and lords on the one hand and serfs on the other. The kings and lords claimed that by divine right they were destined to rule and the serfs doomed to serve. The caste system which developed in other parts of the world was also based on the ideology of superior owners of wealth and the inferior producers of it who were denied the right to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

With the development of industry and capitalism the idea of superior sections of the people and the inferior ones were applied as between the capitalists and the workers.

The capitalists fraudulently claimed that by their thrift and superior abilities they were the creators of modern industry and were thus entitled to the mass of wealth and comfort in which they lived whilst the workers had, because of their inferiority to work for a pittance which barely kept them alive.

The sons and daughters of the capitalists inherited all the powers and wealth amassed by their fathers whilst the sons and daughters of the workers inherited poverty, ignorance and disease.

The capitalists and industrialists, however, were not satisfied with the robbery of their own people. In many countries in Europe, England, France, Holland, Portugal etc. the industrialists sought new sources of wealth in other parts of the world. By armed force, fraud and intrigue they subjugated the peoples of Africa, Asia, America, Australia and New Zealand in search of more land, slaves and the resources of these countries.

In the course of this banditry and piracy they decimated the populations in these countries and some cases for example in America with the Red Indians, the Khoisan in South Africa, whole tribes were virtually exterminated.

The people of Africa, Asia and America were not only robbed of their land, and the right to rule themselves, their cultural development was stifled and their labour ruthlessly exploited. Millions and millions of the young strong men and women were hunted like animals, chained and transported from their places of birth to be sold at slave markets thousands of miles from their homelands and their families. In order to justify this brutality and inhumanity and to perpetuate their colonial rule the colonialists expounded the racialist theory of the superiority of the white race over the black race. They justified their aggression and plunder of these continents by claiming that the white man had a divine mission to civilise the savage blacks. Science, religion and every form of argument were used to support this theory. The picture of the white god and the black devil is an expression of an ideology.

All the vicious, aggressive and lunatic consequences of this ideology were concentrated in Nazi Germany. The nazis singled out the Aryan race as the 'master race' of the world. In pursuance of this insane ideology they conspired to dominate, oppress and exploit the peoples of the world whom they regarded as inferior beings. Hitler unleashed a barbarous war and committed the most shocking atrocities in the attempt to subjugate the peoples of the world. During the perpetration of this monstrous crime no less than 55 million people died. The creative efforts of men lay in ashes and ruins. In the end, however, the 'master race' was completely defeated by what the nazis regarded as the 'inferior races'. The cost was extremely high and mankind has hardly recovered from the effects of the second world war. This should really have been the last that the world ever heard of racialism and fascism.

All the fraudulent scientific arguments to support racialism have been exploded by scientific research. Neither race, colour, the size and shape of the head, the weight of the brain, the texture of the hair, nor the climate where people live determine the abilities of a people and the contribution they are capable to make to human society. Despite the fact that science has destroyed the foundations of the ideology of racialism, and the peoples of the world have destroyed its perfect model militarily by crushing Nazi Germany, racialism still exists in the world today in particularly in Southern Africa where it is adopted a virulent form comparable to Nazism. Why is this so after 55 million people had given their

lives in what they hoped would be the final destruction of this monstrosity. In the U.S. which claims to be a model of democracy and the champion of freedom, racialism is rife.

The reason is that racialism today in whatever form it is an ideology, an instrument to justify and perpetuate plunder, robbery, terror, atrocities, genocide and the domination by the race which claims superiority over the so-called inferior race. It is an ideology which serves the interests of the imperialists and all those who are interested in the exploitation of man.

Racialism in South Africa, the ideology of white supremacy and black inferiority was born with the invasion of our country by white settlers in the seventeenth century. The Boers were the servants of the Dutch East India Company. Jan van Riebeck, the leader of the Boers described the Khoikhoi, the first aboriginal people at the Cape as "dull, stupid, lazy and stinking". The Khoisan, derogatory called Bushmen, were described by Jan van Riebeck, "Swart stinkende honde" (black stinking dogs).

The Boers organised kommandos and hunting parties to shoot adult members of the Khoisan. They shot down as many as they could and took the children as prisoners for domestic service and to herd their cattle.

against the Khoikhoi who owned large stock and grazing land the Boers organised predatory raids and took their livestock away. The survivors were driven away from the land and those who were captured were forced to work for the whites as slaves. Both these groups of Africans put up a valiant resistance against the aggression and robbery of the whites. Because of their inferior weapons, however, the Khoisan and Khoikhoi people lost the battle of resistance against white colonisation. In this course of this brutal plunder the Khoisan and Khoikhoi people were practically exterminated. The foundations of South African racialist society were already laid in these early struggles. They consisted of the dispossession of the land of the African people, the robbery of their wealth and the subjugation and enslavement of the people.

The development of slavery contributed to the character of racialistic society in the country. The slave-masters were

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white and the slaves who were regarded as the chattels of the white masters were all not white. They were either local Africans or people brought from Madagascar, Mozambique, Angola, West Africa or Asians from Batavia and Java.

Wherever they came from the slaves had one thing in common; their people were all victims of the rapacious plunder by European colonisers. In 1806, there were at the Cape 25,000 whites and 30,000 slaves.

The Whites enjoyed all rights and privileges whilst the slave's very life was at the mercy of his white master. The white master owned everything, the slave nothing either; neither his life, his children nor what he produced. Leisure, comfort and pleasure were the exclusive prerogative of the white master. Back-breaking toil, misery, humiliation and atrocities were the lot of black slaves. For disobedience, attempt to escape and revolt the slaves were brutally punished and in many instances killed.

The British took over the Cape in the 19th century. Slavery was abolished in 1807. The Boers, however, like the whites in South America, opposed and resisted all efforts to free the slaves. Finally they left the Cape in protest and declared that they were going to seek a place where a 'proper' relation between master and servant, black and white, could be maintained. When they ultimately established the republic of the Transvaal their constitution contained a clause which stated that there would be "no equality between black and white either in church or state".

During the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century the Boers carried out their policy of intrusion, theft, fraud and aggression against the African people in our country. They met with firm resistance. In the Cape alone there were nine wars of resistance against the Boer encroachment which were waged continuously over a period of a hundred years. In everyone of these wars our people were defending their land, their livestock and themselves from enslavement. Today Verwoerd and his racialists try to distort the facts of history and falsely claim that the whites occupied vast empty portions of South Africa peaceably. The facts of history give the lie to this statement. Everywhere the Boers went, in Natal, Transvaal, Free State and Basutoland, they met the fiercest resistance of our people.....6

people.

The Boers only avoided complete defeat when they were reinforced by the arrival of the British who had superior arms and large numbers of trained men.

After a series of grim battles, the valiant armed resistance of our people which lasted for more than 220 years was eventually subdued and the grand design for the colonisation of our country national oppression and the exploitation of our people was completed. All the fertile portions of our country were grabbed by the whites, the Africans were driven into reserves. The fascist government of Verwoerd fraudulently claims that these were the original homelands of our people.

Every aspect of the development of our people was stifled. Their political and social organisations were completely disrupted. Their culture and languages were despised and were described as barbarians, savages and kaffirs. Their only value to the whites was as as cheap labourers.

Until the discovery of gold and diamonds South Africa was largely an agricultural country with a feudal economy. The whites owned the land and the Africans were allowed to live on white-owned farms only if the whole family, man, wife and children worked for the farmer for the greater part of the year. In return the African was allowed to till a very small portion of land for himself. This system still prevails in many parts of our country. Sometimes the reward is varied by giving a few bags of the produce to the African family.

Even after their military defeat the Africans did not readily and voluntarily work for the whites, numerous devices were used to compel them to work. Amongst these, taxation, and the pass laws featured prominently. The pass laws which were introduced during the days of slavery are still today one of the most ruthless instruments of exploitation.

FOUNDATION OF RACIALISM IN INDUSTRY.

The discovery of gold and diamonds laid the foundation for racial discrimination in industry. The original artisans and skilled workers in the mines were naturally whites who came from Europe with experience in modern mining. The Africans who had no such experience were employed in the more arduous unskilled labour for very low wages. This system proved

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extremely profitable to the gold miners. It has since been maintained in all industries. The white aristocratic workers monopolise all skilled work whilst all the dirty menial work has to be done by those who are not white. The white workers are bribed to support the system of racialism by better conditions of work and higher wages. The ratio between the average wage earnings of whites and Africans is approximately 15 to 1.

The mining industry was a marriage between international capital and local feudalism. Both the imperialists and the whites in South Africa found in racialism a common instrument for national oppression, exploitation and the accumulation of fabulous profits. It is true that this alliance was not without its internal conflicts and contradictions but these were secondary to the common benefits. This is clearly demonstrated by the history of the agreement between the different white parties on racialism irrespective of whether they represented the imperialists, the mining or farming classes in South Africa. Mining was the beginning of the most ruthless plunder of the mineral resources of our country.

Mining not only attracted international capital and imperialism in South Africa but just as in the days of slavery men were brought from many parts of Africa which had been subjugated. They came from East Africa, Angola, Congo, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique and West Africa. The recruiting corporations took the place of the slave markets but the purpose was basically the same.

South Africa had thus become the hunting ground of international capitalism and the centre of exploitation of the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Africa and Asia.

In a moment of frankness, the notorious imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes said in the Cape House of Parliament, " I will lay down my policy on this Native question... either you receive them on an equal footing as citizens or call them a subject race... I have made up my mind that there must be class (race) legislation... these are my politics and these are the politics of South Africa. The Native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise... WE MUST ADOPT THE SYSTEM OF DESPOTISM SUCH AS WORKS WELL IN INDIA IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE BARBARIANS OF SOUTH AFRICA."

Cecil Rhodes advice of rabid and vicious racialism has been consistently followed by the whites in every field of life. Some have tried to call it white leadership or try to sugar-coat it as white trusteeship. Others like the present Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd has been almost as frank as Rhodes when he said in 1963, "Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this, we want to keep South Africa white. Keeping it white can only mean one thing namely white domination, not "leadership" nor "guidance" but control, supremacy".

The importation of indentured Indian labour to work on the sugar plantation of Natal under feudal conditions brought ^{more} people of Asian origin into the furnace of white racialism which was being fanned by the colonialists.

TREACHERY OF BRITISH IMPERIALISTS.

The legal corner-stone of South African racialism was laid when the British betrayed the African people by vesting all the political power in the hands of white minority in 1910. The racialist constitution legalised racialism in the country and prepared the ground for the legalised national oppression, robbery, exploitation, humiliation and the atrocities which are are being committed against our people by the whites individually and collectively.

The character of South African constitution reflected the racialism which had been developing in the country over centuries. The compromise between Britain and the Boers over the question of non-white franchise was the natural result of the mutual interests and the exploitation of the non-white peoples which the British imperialists shared with the South African Boers. From thence forth the African people, the Coloured people (people of mixed race), the Indians and Chinese suffered ever increasing racial discrimination in every field of life.

The first and main assault by the all-white South African parliament on the rights of the African people was the land Act of 1913, which prohibited the Africans from owning land outside the reserves which constituted approximately 13% of the country. This act played havoc on our people on the countryside and reduced them to utter ruin. The whites reserved themselves 87% of the best and the most fertile portion of our country. The Land Act was a legal form of dispossession and the method of compelling the Africans to live under

conditions of poverty in order that they may be forced to come out and work for the Europeans on their farms, mines and industries on conditions which were laid down by the white employer. The reserves were nothing less than reservoirs of cheap labour and burial ground of those Africans who had worked themselves virtually to death under the semi-slave condition which prevail in the mines and farms. By legislation therefore which substituted military conquest the Africans became a landless mass of people. It has been estimated that at any particular time of the year 65% of the male population between the ages of 16 and 64 are away from the reserves working on the mines, farms and industries of the whites.

The South African all white parliament spends all its time intensifying laws for the oppression and exploitation of the non white peoples. During the election time the main issue between the white parties is the question of which party can best uphold white supremacy and maintain black inferiority.

NAZI INFLUENCE.

With this obsession with racialism it was no accident that Nazi ideas found fertile ground amongst the whites of South Africa. During the rise of the Third Reich several of its apostles and agents in South Africa, began to create secret societies whose object was to perfect South African racialism in the same as Hitler developed National Socialism in Germany. Amongst these organisations was the Broederbond which virtually rules South Africa today. Dr. Verwoerd and other members of his cabinet are members of this organisation. They studied in German universities and eagerly imbibed Nazi philosophy. They equated the Aryan in Nazi philosophy with the Afrikaner group in South Africa. The aim of the Broederbond was to achieve the domination of the Afrikaners. It is organised along the same pattern as Hitler's Nazi state, with Feuhrer, gauleiters groups, and cell leaders. During the war against fascism the Broederbond actively organised sabotage activities against the war efforts in South Africa.

Another organisation whose general was B.J. Vorster, the present Minister of justice, was the Ossewa Brandwag (Ox-wagon sentinel). It was the military wing of the Afrikaner Nationalist which was preparing for an armed insurrection to establish a fascist dictatorship. 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 Nationalist Afrikaner Party in South Africa in 1948.

INTENSIFICATION OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION

The Afrikaner Nationalist Party of Dr. Verwoerd began a wholesale attack on everything which appeared democratic and progressive. They won the elections on the slogans of apartheid (separation); they promised the whites that they would 'keep the kaffir in his place'. The Nationalist Party sharpened and intensified oppressive and repressive laws by making new and even more discriminatory ones. Terror and tyranny were intensified. Racialism in its most putrid form was consolidated in the political residential, social, labour and cultural domains. Some of the most notorious of these laws are:

(a) The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950: which gave the Minister of Justice power to ban organisations and gatherings, to prohibit publications, and banish and confine persons from certain areas. This Act which was designed ^{to} persecute opponents has since been supplemented by the 90 day law and the 180 day detention law without trial.

(b) The Group Areas Act (1950): which empowered the government to divide towns and cities into separate group areas for different racial groups. This Act has ruined the non-white sections of the population economically especially the Indian community which has suffered immense property and financial losses.

(c) The Bantu Authorities Act (1951); which destroyed tribal organisational structure and democracy established in their place a fascist-despotic stooge system of rule for rural Africans.

(d) The Native Building Workers Act (1951): which prohibited African building workers from doing skilled work in the urban areas.

(e) The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951): which imposed several penalties for illegal occupation of land by Africans.

(f) The Natives Laws Amendment Act (1952): which further tightened influx control and pass regulations.

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(g) The Native Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act (1952): which consolidated all documents usually demanded by police from Africans, tightened the pass-laws and extended the pass to African women.

(h) The Bantu Education Act (1953) : whose aim is to keep Africans ignorant and benighted and to accept the idea that they had no place in the so-called European areas "above the level of certain forms of labour".

(i) The Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act (1953); which prevented direct bargaining between African workers and their employers and outlawed strikes by Africans.

(j) The Public Safety Act (1953) : which gave the Government power to proclaim a state of emergency whenever it deems fit and to impose martial law.

(k) The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953): which is a counterpart of the Public Safety Act. Both these Acts were enacted to crush the campaign for Defiance of Unjust laws in 1952. It imposes severe penalties, including whipping on persons found guilty of "breaking the law by way of protest."

(l) The Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act (1959): A glorified "Bantu Authorities Act". It repealed the "Native Representation Act of 1936", and abolished the representation of Africans in parliament.

BANTU LAWS;

The "right things" include Government measures to control African labour under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, which removed the few remaining rights that Africans enjoyed as urban dwellers. The Government has now complete power to direct the movement of labour, not only from industry to industry but also from area to area.

To ensure the continuation and profitability of investments, the Government has taken Draconian measures to ensure the maintenance of 'law and order', and suppress any signs of opposition to apartheid. These include a campaign of terror against the working population of the big cities, and a massive security clampdown.

Regular police raids on the African townships and on domestic servants' quarters in the White suburbs sweep up thousands in a single night.

In the Eastern Cape, over 1,000 men and women have been arrested during the last two and a half years, for political offences, and are being tried in batches in remote villages far from their homes, from lawyers who might defend them, and from newspaper reporters who could publicise their cases. Many of the prisoners have been held for months before being charged, and some months more before being tried - they have been interrogated, sometimes beaten and tortured. Of the few who have given evidence, some have become "travelling witnesses", reciting their little piece in case after case, assuring the court that "I was not forced to make a statement", and giving accounts of events three or four years ago in more detail than they are able to give about events only weeks old. Perhaps the most unsavoury trick of all is that of re-trying those who for which they were originally imprisoned - charges so framed that a man originally jailed for being a member of the banned African National Congress would then be charged with raising funds for the A.N.C., furthering the aims of the A.N.C. distributing leaflets - each leaflet in some cases being treated as a different charge. (cf Christian Action pamphlet "The Purge of the Eastern Cape", and Mary Benson's evidence before the Congressional hearing in the US, May, 1966)

DETAINEES

To date, over 50 people are known to have been held under 180-day detention, including 2 school girls of 16. At least two have attempted suicide. Under the 90-day detention law. (suspended in January 1965) over 1,000 people were held. Three committed suicide while in detention, and many left their cells for mental hospitals. Under both these laws, people are held in solitary confinement for months on end, and with no charge or trial and no access to anyone except a 'visiting magistrate'. Over 520 people have been banned, and nearly 50 are under house-arrest.

SUPPRESSION OF OPPOSITION.

It is an indication of the Government's success in cowing White opposition and silencing public protest, that the recent student demonstrations against the banning of the president of their union (NUSAS) were the first mass political demonstrations among whites for nearly 3 years.

The Government now has powers to ban organisations, to prevent individuals from meeting each other, from appearing in public, from writing, speaking or being quoted in the press, from being

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in trade union or publishing offices or universities - virtually from doing anything the Minister of Justice chooses to specify.

The peoples' leaders are in jail, all political work comes under constant police surveillance, and even those who attempt to assist prisoners with legal defence and welfare grants for their dependents have now to live under the constant threat of police persecution.

NEW POWERS

The Government powers are constantly being added to at each Parliamentary Session. In 1965 alone, a Bill was introduced into Parliament to establish a division of Emergency Planning, which vastly extended the Government's rights in declaring a State of Emergency and its powers in such circumstances; there were amendments to the Police Act, the Railways and Harbours Act, the Sea Fisheries Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Prisons Act, the Radio Act, the Suppression of Communism Act. - all in order to extend the Government's "security" powers.

INDOCRINATION

The whites were called to rally and unite to defend themselves against the 'swart gevaar' (black danger). All the white minority government agencies were geared to spit every form of propaganda which would fan race hatred amongst the people of South Africa. From childhood the white child was conditioned to despise the African. This was fortified by the introduction of 'Christian National Education' whose fundamental aim was to imprint on the African child throughout his educational career the virtues of white supremacy and the 'glory' of loyalty to it. The psychological conditioning of the whites to racialism is second only to the indoctrination of the Germans during the Nazi Germany. What is usually referred to as the laager mentality of the whites sometimes gives the impression of a defensive position they occupy. In fact the whites have been rallied into a laager for the most brutal aggression against the non-whites in South Africa.

In a recent book, "The Power of Prejudice in South African Education", Mr. F.E. Auerbach, a well known South African educationist, remarked on differences in presentation of history to Afrikaans and English-speaking children. "This trend has been influenced by the philosophy of Christian National Education. It is characterised by much emphasis on the history of Europeans

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in South Africa, and of the forbears of the Afrikaans-speaking section of the community especially...White children who learn history and related subjects with this emphasis...are likely to be imbued with the erroneous belief that Africans are permanently tribal and inherently inferior to Whites, and that Western civilization and christianity are racially linked with people of white or Caucasian stock." Mr.Auerbach quotes from a Standard Six textbook: "When the lord planted a new nation at the tip of Africa.... this people was to stand on the verge of being wiped out, and yet was to be saved in a wonderful manner."

PRESS

The press is allegedly 'free' - but not only are all real popular organs banned, but the Government's powers to ban individuals from writing for or being quoted by the press, its powers under the Prisons Act which prevent publication of pictures or information on prisons and prisoners, and its impending powers under the Officials Secrets Act to include any police matters under these bans, already constitute a powerful censorship. The South African Broadcasting Corporation, a Government-controlled monopoly, has degenerated under the leadership of a Controller who is also a senior member of the Nationalist secret society Die Broederbond, and is now nothing more than a media for selling apartheid to the Republic.

The white minority racialist Government realise that it would not be sufficient to maintain racialism by indoctrinating the white youth only. They geared their education and propaganda machinery in a heinous scheme to try and condition the non-whites to their subjugation and to create conditions which will ensure that the African cannot compete intellectually with the whites. The main instrument of the plot was Bantu Education. There is no better discription of the objects of this diabolical act than of its main author Dr.Verwoerd:- "When I have control of Native Education, I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for him... People who believe in equality are/^{not}desirable teachers for the Natives. When my department controls Native Education, it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted and whether he will have a chance to use his knowledge" (House of Assembly, 1953).

And again in the Senate in June 1954, he declared:-" The school must equip him (African) to meet the demands which

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the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him. Western Education tended to create a class of educated or semi-educated Natives which learnt to believe that its spiritual, economic and political home is amongst the civilized community of South Africa. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... for that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive the training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze. What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics, when it cannot use it in practice ?"

Education for an African child is a punishable crime if it is not authorised by the Government. Racialism in education is maintained by having separate schools for white and black, different aims and purposes of education. The White racist are attempting to reverse the wheel of history and to divide the people by having separate schools for even different tribes. In addition there are separate schools and universities for Coloureds and for Indians.

The image of the superiority of the Whites over the Africans is created in wages as well as expenditure for education. Despite the fact that the African is paid 1/15 of the earnings of the white in mining industry, 1/16 in secondary industry, and 1/16 in agriculture, £64 is spent on white child's education each year, whereas approximately £9 is spent on an African child. White children have compulsory education up to the age of 15 years, whereas the African child is the victim of child labour. The farmers and miners prefer the virile strength of our youth and children.

GENOCIDE

Racialists and imperialists in our country constantly boast of the 'high standard' of living of our people and the rapid increase in population. Behind this facade they hide the genocide which is systematically carried out, officially and unofficially, individually and collectively by the whites in the name of White supremacy. The massacres of our people did not end with the Khoikhoi and Khoisan people. The whole history of White domination is spattered with the blood of our people. Here we can cite the shootings and killings of Africans during the anti-

pass campaign in 1919, in 1946 the Rand African miners strike and the Port Elizabeth African workers strike, in 1920. Then there was the Bullhoek massacre in 1921 when 163 Africans were killed and 130 were wounded; the Bondelswarts massacre in 1922 when 100 Africans were shot dead and hundreds of others wounded... People were also killed in Durban and Potchefstroom during the 1930 anti-pass campaign. There are other stories at Worcester in 1930; Vereeniging location 1938; Johannesburg, May Day 1950, and at many other places throughout the country. In 1957 and 1958 scores of peasants resisting apartheid measures were shot in Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland, Witziesshoek and Marico. In 1960 in Sharpeville 69 Africans were killed by the police at a peaceful and passive demonstration.

Finally, our memories are still fresh with the heroic armed resistance against the Bantu Authorities waged in East Pondoland, and other Transkeian and Ciskeian areas in 1960, where a state of emergency still exists to this day.

Genocide begins at childhood. The infantile mortality rate is the highest in the world for African children (400 per 1000) and the lowest in the world for whites at 27 per 1,000. This then is the official genocide carried out in the name of White civilization and yet the recent and the only vociferous criticism on the Verwoerd policies that have come from his supporters have been that he has been too lenient and liberal with the 'kaffirs' and that if he were not he would have legislated for the sterilisation of African women with more than two children.

BRUTALITY

Acts of brutality on the Africans by white police both in and out of prison are too numerous to recount here. Suspects and those detained in connection with political offences are being subjected to the worst forms of torture. Reports of suffocation and electric shock -treatment are the order of the day. Some of the detainees have had to take their own lives in order to escape the demoralising and unbearable effects of torture on them. Several prisoners are being given constant spells of solitary confinement with spare diet for various minor infringements of prison regulations. When they report sick, prisoners accused of shamming and assaulted. Some leaders and staunch opponents of apartheid have been bannished to remote, often desert areas for indefinite periods. Others are put under

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house arrest and in some cases even deprived of their means of livelihood.

On the judicial benches, the scales of justice inevitably weigh much against African offenders than whites. Scores of Africans have been dropped through the trap doors because they were accused of raping white women whilst white offenders against African women have either been given a token sentence or a caution.

In 1963, the courts in South Africa sentenced 168 persons to death. Of these 120 were executed. Of the 168 persons sentenced to death 152 were Africans. Of the 120 accused 109 were Africans in 1964, a total of 169 persons were sentenced to death 84 of whom were executed. Of the 127 sentenced to death 105 were Africans of whom 65 were executed.

Raids are ruthlessly conducted at dawn upon Africans communities in an effort to harrass and cow the spirit of resistance among the people. The rule of the Klu klux klan of United States' southern states dominates the lives of the African people. As a result, thousands of Africans are today languishing in the dungeons of Verwoerd's jails.

COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL KIND

Although the majority and indiginous people of South Africa, the Africans have been the most oppressed. The Coloured, Indian and Chinese have also suffered from the intensification of oppression and exploitation by the Afrikaner Nationalist Government. The future privileges they enjoyed were removed one by one. One of the most telling example of the close and mutual interests between the racialists in South Africa and imperialism, is the case of Japan. The Japanese monopolists have since the second World War been strengthening their economic relations in South Africa. They have defended her racialist policies in international forums and for all this the white racialists have regarded the Japanese monopolists who are as Asiatic as the Indians in South Africa by giving them the status of Whites. Common interests of exploitation and profits are able to change even the colour of persons!

South Africa has become the most highly industrialised country in Africa. Legally it is independent and not a colony of a foreign state. Superficially South Africa is ruled by Whites; in essence, however, the power to rule rests in the South African

...monopolists...18..

monopolists and the international consortium of the imperialists. The combination of racialism, capitalism and imperialism has created South Africa into a colony of a special type. The majority of the people of South Africa, the Africans, and non-Whites are subjected to the worst forms of the evils of colonialism; they are neither independent nor free. They are rightless, voteless, landless and compelled to provide cheap labour to produce the fabulous wealth of the country which is bargained for in the stock exchange of Johannesburg, London and New York, by the South African monopolists and the imperialists. The oppressed and exploited live within the same country as the oppressors and exploiters.

IMPERIALIST NATURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME

Racialism and capitalism in South Africa have not merely created conditions similar to colonialism within the country, but they have reached a stage where the racialists and fascists look beyond their borders for new fields of colonisation. Several methods are used; demand for incorporation, naked annexation and the export of capital by South African monopolists, for decades the swan song for all South African Governments was the incorporation of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

Apartheid is not only an instrument of terror against the peoples of South Africa and South West Africa, its ideological basis is in fundamental contradiction with the United Nations Charter and the spirit and the intention of the world organisation.

The founding members and the still colonial world had at a great cost in human lives and resources, fought against just such a tyranny as South Africa is now establishing. Since the defeat of Nazi Germany, South Africa has attracted to itself the loyalty of many of Nazi followers and is practising a variation of its ideology.

So long as this situation remains, the basis of the U.N. cannot be secure. The very existence of apartheid undermines the peaceful development of South Africa's neighbours, and retards the establishment of harmonious race relations elsewhere. Apartheid denies not just the humanity of South African non-whites, but is aimed at all black peoples as such.

Apart from the inherent dangers of apartheid, South African policies now pose a more direct and immediate threat. Recognising that the existence of stable, progressive, developing independent states is a negation of the basis of apartheid, South Africa has attempted where possible to subvert the security of her African neighbours and even to prevent the establishment of truly independent states, especially on her borders. She has provided assistance to the cessionist Tshombe regime in Katanga, annexed South West Africa, defied the United Nations, interfered in the elections in the neighbouring territories and even now blatantly assisting the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Early this year, President Kaunda alleged that South Africa had financed a plot to undermine the Zambian economy. The President also alleged that the South African military base on the Caprivi strip was a direct military threat to Zambia.

President Kaunda was here giving voice to the fears of many of South Africa's neighbours. South Africa is today by far the strongest military power in the continent south of the Sahara. She has acquired weapons which bring virtually every African country within range. Her mirage fighter planes have a range of 1,500 miles and her Bucaneer bombers have a range of 2,000 miles. The development of the air base in the Caprivi strip (which is part of South West Africa) adds 1,000 miles to the range of South Africa's air-force. Training bases, military air strips and depots and strategic roads have been built particularly along the northern borders.

The existence of the military threat is bound to initiate an arms race in Africa by forcing more and more independent states (now struggling to lift themselves out of poverty) to divert their scant resources into armaments in order to reverse the balance. Thus South Africa contributes to the instability in Africa.

South African Military strength, according to the Institute of Strategic Studies: Total armed forces 26,500. Defence estimates 1965-66, £115 million. Police £28 million. Army equipment includes Sherman and Centurion tanks, the French Panhard armoured car, Cessna reconnaissance aircraft. Strength 5,500 regulars plus 13,500 conscripts on training course of 9 months. Navy, strength 3,500. 2 destroyers with helicopters.

...6 frigates..20

6 frigates, Training ship, mine sweepers and escort sweepers, defence boats, other vessels. Air Force, strength 4,000. One squadron Sabre interceptors (with 20 in reserve), one squadron Mirage fighter-bombers, one squadron Canberra light bombers, 77 Shackleton maritime reconnaissance, one squadron Buccaneer light bombers, 60 helicopters, transport aircraft. Citizen Force operates 8 squadrons with about 200 Harvard aircraft and 30 Vampires. 300 Harvards are in storage. Police, 29600 plus 6,000 reservists. 430 riot trucks and 80 armoured cars. Commandos, 51,500 with armoured cars and 250 aircraft.

BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND, SWAZILAND

South Africa's policies have tended to undermine the development and independence of the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. Though Britain is taking constitutional steps to grant these territories independence in the near future, this independence cannot be real or effective so long as the countries are economically dominated by South Africa.

Basutoland is surrounded by the Republic, Swaziland by the Republic and Mozambique and Bechuanaland by South Africa, Rhodesia and a tiny 50 yard border with Zambia. Each of the three territories depends^{upon} the Republic for its communications; and there is a common currency, a Postal Union and a Customs Union. South Africa is thus able to control the entry of goods and persons. She has exercised her powers to the extent of refusing transit or over-flying rights to Basuto citizens.

MANPOWER

One of the most profitable exports of all three territories has in the past been their man power - the migrant labourers working in the Republic. The state of South Africa Year Book 1966 estimates the number of foreign Africans in the Republic as one million. Of those, one fifth are in gold-mining jobs, and of that fifth, one third are from Mozambique, one third from the three territories and one third from tropical Africa.

TRADE AND INVESTMENTS

The second aspect of South African domination of the three territories is that of trade and investment. All three import the vast mass of their consumer goods from South Africa. Some of their raw products (meat in Bechuanaland, Sugar in Swaziland) are processed in South Africa. Many of the biggest farmers in Swaziland and Bechuanaland are white South Africans who export

a large....21

a large proportion of their profits back to the Republic. The few infant industries in Swaziland are often controlled through South African registered companies.

POLITICAL EXPLOITATION

Politically, South Africa has not hesitated to exploit this situation. The South African and British police have traditionally worked hand in hand across the borders. But since 1960, when numbers of South African refugees began to seek asylum in the territories there has been a source of conflict. For example, in March 1963, the Basutoland police raided a Pan Africanist office in Basutoland. Shortly thereafter 5,000 people were rounded up in South Africa allegedly after lists of contacts found in the P.A.C/^{office} had been "passed-on". A series of kidnappings back into South Africa of refugees in the territories have apparently been engineered by South African agents with help from their counterparts, or at least with no hindrance.

SUPPORT FOR CHIEF JONATHAN LEABUA

Since the prospect of independence for the three territories, the Verwoerd Government has interested itself even more closely in the internal affairs of the territories, to the extent of intervention in the elections. In Basutoland, trucks and money were given to the Basutoland National Party by Dr. Verwoerd's Nationalist Party of South Africa. In June 1966, the two opposition Basutoland parties were forced to walk out of the constitutional conference in London on the grounds that they could not be parties to fraudulent independence which sacrifices Basuto interests to those of South Africa and Britain. The situation is even more alarming in the light of the rumour that South Africa has offered Prime Minister Jonathan Leabua assistance in building Basutoland's Defence Force - to include financial aid, armaments and even White South African officers.

With the assistance of the British Government, the majority of the peoples of these territories were forced into the windmill in South Africa whilst the British pretended to be protecting them from the White racialist government of South Africa. They were in fact converted into reservoirs of cheap labour, for the South African mines and industries. No attempt was made to develop or protect them from dependence on the White-dominated economy of South Africa.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

South West Africa is an example of the most brazen annexation and colonization by South African monopolists and international capitalism. The South African monopolists together with United States and British Financiers are deeply involved in a conspiracy to keep South West Africa as a colony. For years now, in flagrant defiance of United Nations' resolutions and with the assistance of the imperialist powers of Britain, France, United States, West Germany, Belgium, Italy and Japan,

South Africa has contemptuously violated the international status of South West Africa. The Government of Verwoerd has openly proclaimed South West Africa as an integral part of South Africa in all respects, treats it as such. Racialism has been imposed on South West Africa. All this was done because South Africa was assured of the support and protection of the imperialists who shared the loot and rape of South West Africa with her.

As in the other territories we have referred to, it will be seen that ruthless economic exploitation of South West Africa by foreign concerns has been going on side by side with South Africa's unyielding grip on the territory. An illustration of this is the profits made by the Consolidated Diamond Mines a subsidiary of De Beers and Anglo-American empires. In 1961, the Consolidated Diamond Mines, with a registered capital of £5,240,000 made profits totalling £15,553,197. This was almost double the annual budget of South West Africa which in that year amounted to £8,097,710. An American company, the Tsumeb Corporation of S.W.A. operates the largest lead mine on the continent. American Metal Climax Inc. is another of the giant companies making fabulous profits in S.W.A. There are numerous others. Recently, a substantial number of South African and foreign companies have undertaken large scale prospecting for oil in the territory.

There could hardly be a more precise description of the situation in South West Africa than in the words of Ruth First, in her book "South West Africa" in the chapter entitled "Wealth accumulates But Men Decay", where she writes:

South West Africa is on the lips of the politicians, in the hands of the farmers, and in the pocket of the great mining and finance corporations.

..The imperialists.

The imperialists are so deeply committed in South West Africa and their stake in retaining racialism and the status quo is so great that even if the International Court of Justice were to give a judgment against South Africa, they can be expected to resort to their old tricks of shamelessly twisting and distorting the judgment in order to render it ineffective.

The investments of the South African monopolists have spread far beyond the borders of South Africa and South West Africa. White racialist and fascist South Africa has developed all the features of imperialism. It is for this reason that South Africa has now become the bulwark of reaction in its worst forms in Africa. It is the bastion of racialism, fascism and imperialism. The Congo is a classical example of this. Although Tshombe and his government were Africans, colour to the South African government was of no consequence in this instance. Friendly relations between the two Governments were established. Tshombe's emissaries visited South Africa in 1960 and stayed in the Langham Hotel in Johannesburg where no Africans were allowed except as servants. It is now a well known fact that so-called 'white mercenaries' from South Africa under Michael Hoare have been active in defence of Tshombe's regime against the liberation forces of the Congo. What is the magic wand which changed the hearts of the white racialists to the extent that they were prepared to die for Tshombe's regime?

Tshombe's regime protected imperialism ensured the perpetuation of the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the Congo by a combination of South Africa and imperialist monopolists. In Tshombe's case the white fascist government was happy to concede that Africans could rule themselves and deserved military assistance, even though it is given in the disguised form of mercenaries. Those African states which opposed imperialism and strove for genuine political and economic independence are, according to the South African racists, immature. The South African Government is hostile towards them because she maintains that their activities constitute a threat to South Africa's internal security.

In essence, the intervention by South Africa in the Congo does not differ from the military intervention of the United States of America in Latin America, in Korea and in Vietnam today. This is an indication of the role the growing South African imperialists are going to play in Africa in the future.

The Unholy Alliance

In order to fortify its position as the bastion of reaction, the South African racists have become the architects and spearhead of an unholy alliance in Southern Africa. It is an alliance of Verwoerd, Salazar and Smith, the foundations of which are a common political outlook based on racialism and fascism; a common economic objective whose aim is the ruthless exploitation of the African people; a common military strategy designed for the defence of colonialism, white domination and fascism and the subversion of genuine independence in the whole of Africa.

South African monopolists together with the imperialists, are trying to preserve Southern Africa for exploitation. An analysis of the major companies operating in this area and Angola exposes their plot. South African monopolists have interests in mining, oil, breweries and other commercial and industrial enterprises in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola.

RHODESIA

When sanctions were imposed after UDI, "gifts" began pouring in from South Africa, and no attempt was made by the South African Government to stop them. On February 28, Verwoerd told an election meeting that he would allow "normal trade" to continue between Rhodesia and South Africa - and pointed out that "normal trade means that everyone in competition tries to sell as much as he can".

OIL 25..

OIL

The sanction most like to have an effect on Rhodesia was the oil sanction - yet there was never any pressing difficulty for Rhodesia because of the help received from South Africa and Portugal. In the first few months supplies were low and rationing was introduced. But by the time Prime Minister Wilson was busy holding off the chartered tankers at the Mozambique port of Beira Rhodesia was steadily receiving double her oil requirements under rationing through South Africa and Portugal (Port Elizabeth Evening Post, April 18,). The company that chartered the oil tankers incidentally, was a South African one, A.C. Morrison & Company, of Cape Town. South Africa's imports of mineral fuel and lubricants rose in the first four months of 1966 by nearly £4 million over the figure for the same period last year.

TOBACCO

Rhodesia's principal export, tobacco, was another test issue over which South Africa showed herself willing to bridge the gap. The Nationalist paper, The Financial Gazette, said on March 21st, that South Africa would be buying "unlimited quantities" of Rhodesian tobacco in Salisbury that week. Even before U.D.I. South Africa and Rhodesia were establishing links to avoid possible sanctions. In December, 1965, South Africa's trade figures showed a sudden and unexplained rise in tobacco exports - in spite of the drought. At the same time, there was an equally sharp rise in imports "from African countries". It is believed that at the recent auctions the little tobacco that was sold was in fact bought by South African interests.

FINANCIAL

Because British Insurance Companies were prohibited from remitting money to Rhodesia, to settle claims Salisbury Municipality transferred £28 million fire insurance from Lloyds of London to a subsidiary of Old Mutual, one of South Africa's biggest companies.

As early as November 1965, South Africa took financial steps to undermine the impact of sanctions: the department of Commerce and Industry ^{assured} the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation that all political and transfer risks on exports to Rhodesia would be fully covered as usual by the Government. The South African Reserve Bank announced that after "negotiations", permissible financial and trade transactions between South Africa and Rhodesia may be resumed forthwith on the basis operative

prior to November 11, 1965". Dealings in Rhodesian currency by local commercial banks established the exchange rate as two rands = £1. This had prevailed before U.D.I. The South African Rand is a sterling area currency solidly backed by the South African economy.

LABOUR

A principal export of Mozambique is labour for the Republic and Rhodesia. By Conventions of 1926 and 1934, the Portuguese Government is bound to send these countries a quota of approximately 160,000 workers annually, in return for a large proportion of export traffic channeled through Mozambique ports.

MILITARY

Military missions from both Rhodesia and South Africa have visited Mozambique at the invitation of the Portuguese Army Command, and taken part in training exercises (cf "Unholy Alliance", Southern Africa News Features). The Caprivi Airbase is reportedly for the use of Portuguese Air Forces as well as those of South Africa and Rhodesia.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

The notorious White South African mercenaries have been recruited to help to attempt to overcome the War of Liberation in Northern Mozambique, according to Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO. He alleges that an agreement was signed in 1965, purportedly for the settlement of South African farmers in Mozambique, but in reality to provide the Portuguese Army with mercenaries. (cf "Frelimo Petition to U. N. Decolonisation Committee, 24/5/1966.)

There has been a regular interchange of trade commissions, and the Portuguese Bank of South Africa is now operating widely in the Republic. The Portuguese airline TAP has been granted extended traffic rights into Jan Smuts airport by the South African Government. The South African State-established Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) is concerned, through its subsidiary South West Africa Water and Electricity Corporation (Pty), in the £24 and half million Kunene River power and irrigation scheme in Mozambique, planned by South Africa in agreement with the Portuguese Government (Financial Times 25 April, 1966)

Even overseas investments in the Portuguese territories are often channelled through South Africa. The West German Krupp interests have invested \$125 million in various undertakings in Angola. This substantial stake in the Angolan economy is controlled through Krupp's subsidiary in South Africa, called Krupp South Africa. ('Neo-Colonialism of the West German Republic', issued by Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee).

WESTERN INVOLVEMENT

South Africa's support of the illegal Smith regime in defiance of world opinion, and her collaboration with the Portuguese, is in line with her policy of supporting the governments among her neighbours who will support her own international policies. To do this, she has not hesitated to defy the UN. She has thus shown that she is prepared to defy world opinion not only in regard to her own domestic policies but also wherever else on the continent of Africa she considers necessary to her interests.

In this defiance, she is receiving support from other members of the UN. At the same time that they join in public condemnation of apartheid, Britain, the U.S., France and West Germany pursue policies that in fact underpin the whole apartheid structure, and by strengthening South Africa they enable her to continue her defiance.

The strength of the South African economy has arisen not only from the unscrupulous use of vastly underpaid and regimented labour, and the wealth of the gold mines, but also from the vast foreign investment that has been injected into it.

Instead of acknowledging the effect of their investment and attempting to extricate themselves, in the light of the numerous resolutions of the UN, the Western powers have in fact increased their involvement in the South African economy over the past five years.

UNITED KINGDOM: TRADE AND INVESTMENT

The value of British trade with South Africa rose by £114 million between 1961 and 1965, and South Africa is now Britain's third biggest customer, and her second biggest customer for motorcars and aircraft. Imports from the United States in 1964 reached £150 million. Britain now has over £1,000 million invested in South Africa, and the US over £250 million. West German investment in South Africa has increased 5-fold in the past

ten years, now amounting to about £30 million. West German trade with South Africa has risen by something like 20% per year in 1964 and 1965. France now has a stake of over £80 million and Italy is beginning to figure in the trade and investment charts.

Even while apparently bowing to world opinion and the will of the UN by announcing arms embargoes against Verwoerd in 1963 and 1964 respectively, the US and UK have in fact strengthened their links with apartheid through investments, trade, and technical and scientific co-operation that make nonsense of the arms embargo itself.

The United Kingdom supplied bombers in 1965, explicitly excluded from the arms embargo. The exceptions and omissions to the embargo made by Mr. Wilson have given rise to widespread fears that the strength and viability of the largely British-made defence forces of South Africa will continue unimpeded. The contract for the Buccaneers had been entered into before the embargo was applied - so their delivery was permitted on these grounds. But at the same time contracts for "sporting guns and ammunition" that had been made earlier were immediately cancelled (the export licences were cancelled). The other exception in the embargo is for spare parts for military units already in South Africa - which means the largely British military machine of South Africa will continue to perform for many years to come.

According to London "Sunday Telegraph" of January 17, 1965, Britain has also accepted an order for 3 submarines worth £13 million, apparently in accordance with the "secret clauses" of the Simonstown Agreement, which provides for co-operation, in time of war, between the navies of both countries. Britain has previously complied with the public provisions of the Agreement regarding the supply of various vessels to the South African navy.

In mid-1965 the British Board of Trade licenced the export of Bedford trucks to South Africa in spite of the fact that the order came from the Defence Force, and the US and Canadian Governments had already refused an export permit to the Ford Motor Company to fulfil the same order, on the ground that the vehicles could easily be converted into armoured vehicles.

..In February...29..

In February, 1966 it was announced that Hawker-Siddeley had sold its first HS-125 jet to South Africa - a 'civil' aircraft which had in fact been demonstrated to the South African Air Force in 1965.

In October 1965, it was reported that the South African Air Force was to be equipped with the Macchi MB trainer-attack aircraft. The engines are British, made by Bristol-Siddeley. According to Flight International, the aviation magazine, the total order is for 300, of which only a small number could conceivably be used for training. Most of the planes are in fact to be assembled in South Africa, in the new Atlas Aircraft Factory near Johannesburg. A large proportion of the technicians have been recruited in Britain. Two British businessmen, who have close connections with the company involved in the Macchi deal, inspected the Atlas factory earlier this year. "We are here to explore business possibilities - defence-wise as well as general business," said Major W. T.C. Rogerson.

The British Miles Aircraft 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 Pucaneer; Royal Air Force teams have visited South Africa to lecture.

According to the official State of South Africa Yearbook 1962, the US agreed in July 1957 to help South Africa become "one of the select band of nuclear nations". An American company, Allis Chalmers, has built South Africa's first research and test atomic reactor. It can be converted at any time to war use. The US National Aeronautics and Space Administration has had a deep space tracking station in operation near Krugersdorp in South Africa since 1960, a project with obvious military potential. The truth is that America will continue to cooperate with Verwoerd as fundamentally an ally, despite Verwoerd's repugnant and fascist internal policies, and at the expense of the people of South Africa.

By way of illustrating the extent to which the imperialists are prepared to go in their bid to preserve a system that guarantees them huge profits in South Africa, we take the role of the United States during the 1960 State of Emergency in

...South Africa...30..

South Africa, when the South African economy, although highly developed and diversified, was heading for a severe crisis which threatened the stability of the White minority government of Dr. Verwoerd.

We reproduce here the facts of what we can only describe as the treacherous act of saving an inhuman and condemned policy - the policy of apartheid, at a time when it was running into serious difficulties, following the mass murder of Africans in Sharpeville. The United States came to the rescue. It contributed in 1961 almost the entire amount of foreign exchange needed to reverse the precipitous decline of the South African economy. In that one year, American companies increased their investments by \$23 million; an improved trade balance with the US furnished another \$50 million; and \$150 million loans were made to South Africa by these U.S.-owned or U.S.-influenced institutions:

International Monetary Fund	\$38 million
World Bank and its affiliates	\$28 "
Chase Manhattan Bank	\$10 "
First National City Bank	\$ 5 "
U.S. lenders not publicly identified	\$70 "

By June, 1963, as a result of exchange contracts and continued U.S. help, South African gold and foreign exchange reserves had more than tripled to a record high record and the boom was on. (Africa Today" March, 1964).

Addressing the 1962 Annual meeting of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, Mr. M.D. Banghart, Vice-President of Newmont, stated:

'We know the people and the Government (of South Africa) and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars'. Mr. Banghart told the meeting that American firms doing business in South Africa made an average profit of 27% on their investments. This was the decisive factor, he advised. (South West Africa by Ruth First).

To place the matter beyond all doubt, Mr. G. Mennon Williams, United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs stated the foreign policy of the United States in the following terms on March 18th :

The primary purpose of all United States foreign policy is of course the security of the United States and this concern is reflected in our African policy.

The statistics for 1961 indicate that the U.S. imported 3.6% of Rhodesia's total exports and supplied 5.9% of her imports.

Angola's main crop is coffee and the principal market for this crop is the U.S. which imports about 85,000 tons annually.

The American brokers, Dillon, Read and Company, one of whose clients is the South African Government, have underwritten the development plan of the Portuguese for Angola and Mozambique to the tune of \$20 million. This is the extent of the close financial connections between South Africa, Britain, U.S.A., West Germany and Portugal in the exploitation of the people and wealth of Angola.

The South African Financial Gazette of February, 1965 reported that a merger had been agreed upon between the Standard Bank which has branches throughout almost the whole of Southern Africa and the Chase Manhattan Bank. The formation of this vast imperialist banking giant and its commercial and industrial activities will form part of the economic foundations which are calculated to prolong the life of colonialism in Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and South West Africa.

FRANCE

France and West Germany have come into the scene after Britain and the U.S.. It was the very act of the arms embargo imposed by the big powers that stimulated their entry into South Africa. France and West Germany stepped in to supply arms no longer available from the U.S. and the U.K., and in return gained facilities for large scale financial stakes in the profits of apartheid. Both countries are now major investors; both have gained important contracts; both are involved militarily with Verwoerd, not only in sale of arms but in co-operation in nuclear research.

France has replaced the U.S. and the U.K. as South Africa's principal source of foreign armaments. She has supplied the South African army with Panhard AML armoured cars, being manufactured under licence in the Republic; unspecified equipment from the Hotchkiss-Engineering Co. valued at £1,145,000; 1600 m.p.h. Mirage jet fighters, Fouga jets and Alouette

...helicopters...32..

helicopters. The Italian Macchi jets use French electronic equipment, to the value (it is estimated) of 50% of the deal.

The South African Air Force has ordered 3 Mystere 20 Executive jets from France. The Mystere carries 10 people and has a range of 1900 miles. It was reported by Southern Africa, a London magazine sympathetic to Verwoerd's South Africa, that ground-to-air missiles have been obtained from France. South African atomic scientists are being trained in France. France has supplied and is building in South Africa trucks and heavy-duty vehicles.

France has built a space-tracking station near Pretoria, and according to the Sunday Express of Johannesburg of January 1966, South Africa is paving the way to building her own artificial satellites.

SLAVE LABOUR

The main commodity in which South Africa, Rhodesia and Mozambique trade is African Labour. In terms of a 1926 Convention between Mozambique and South Africa, the former exports to South Africa 100,00 Africans annually. In terms of another Convention concluded with Rhodesia in 1934, Mozambique exports 70,000 Africans annually to that country. In return, South Africa and Rhodesia channel their export merchandise through Mozambique ports. This trade in human beings ensures cheap labour for South Africa and Rhodesia and a source of revenue to the Portuguese colonialists in the form of commission for recruiting, taxation and emigration fees. Whilst slavery and the slave trade have long been abolished in the rest of the world, these three countries are carrying on a system which is hardly distinguishable from slavery.

The unholy alliance is a fortress against liberation in Southern Africa. This is clearly demonstrated by the economic and military aid which the South African racist Government is giving to her partners. In the present situation in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the alliance has come out in its true colours. Both South Africa and Portugal are giving material and moral support to the white racist and fascist regime of Smith. The Portuguese are obtaining the active support of the South Africans in their struggle against FRELIMO and M.P.L.A. in Mozambique and Angola. The South African racist state has become the conduit pipe through the combined forces of reaction are channelling their support to maintain white and imperialist domination...33..

domination in Southern Africa.

The betrayal of the people of Zimbabwe by the British Government and its subsequent attempts to defraud the world by adopting obviously ineffective steps to overthrow the rebel and racist regime of Smith, follow the same pattern which was adopted in South Africa in 1910. The interests of the British in this situation are two-fold. Firstly, to keep Zimbabwe in the hands of the white minority whose policies will guarantee the exploitation of the African people. Secondly, to stem the tide of the African Revolution in order to protect their treasure chest - South Africa.

Britain's blatantly fraudulent manoeuvres in the situation in Zimbabwe, are more by design than by accident. The Smith regime is a creature of their own making. The British problem is to keep a white racist regime going whilst pretending to the world that they are doing everything to destroy it. It was therefore, no accident that Britain has refused to use force against the rebel regime of Smith, and when she asked for powers in the U.N. to enforce the oil embargo she deliberately excluded South Africa and her ports. The African, Asian and Socialist States are trying to do everything to help Britain crush what she calls a rebel regime, but, the main obstacle and saboteur of these efforts is Britain herself. For Britain a racist government ensures a wider area of exploitation which has rapidly been shrinking under the pounding blows of the African Revolution.

The Main Pillars of the Unholy Alliance

The main pillars behind the unholy alliance are Britain, the United States, France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium and Japan. It is these powers which have a huge and growing stake in the oppression and exploitation of the people. They sabotage all efforts to end Verwoerd's apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa; Salazar's fascism in Mozambique and Angola and Smith's oppression of the peoples of Rhodesia. So close are the relations between the United States and Rhodesia that in exchange the Smith regime's Information Officer offered the United States Rhodesian volunteers to fight side by side with the United States in the dirty war which is being waged against the heroic people of Vietnam. But in the United States the negro and progressive peoples are waging their own struggle against racialism and the capitalist system which, in an effort to detract world attention from its own internal disorder and injustices, involves them in the Vietnamese question.

...In order...34..

In order to perpetuate colonialism and fascism, the imperialists have actively and directly assisted in transforming Southern Africa into a concentration camp and a military theatre. Race hatred and a war hysteria reminiscent of Nazi Germany is being whipped up among the whites who are being armed to the teeth to protect this obnoxious system. In Rhodesia, Smith's army is really a British army - British trained and equipped with British arms. Portugal is being supplied by the NATO powers with arms to fight against the liberation movement in Mozambique and Angola. But perhaps nowhere else in Southern Africa have imperialist efforts been pooled to create a military monster as in South Africa. The United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Belgium have individually and collectively supplied South Africa with arms and equipment as well as with the technical know-how, to create the biggest arsenal in Africa.

Verwoerd and his racist followers have loyally maintained their fraternity with fascist organisations throughout the world. The Klu Klux Klan has its counterpart in South Africa. Oswald Mosley, the British Nazi, is in consultation with the fascist South African Government. Mosley and his Nazis in Britain are fomenting racialism and racial strife between whites and non-whites.

The fraternal bonds between the South African racist and the Nazis of Bonn are constantly being strengthened. West Germany is playing an ever-growing role in the commercial, industrial and military life of South Africa. There is a constant exchange of visitors between Bonn and Pretoria. In April this year Franz-Josef Strauss, a former training officer in Nazi Germany and former War Minister, visited South Africa. Strauss has a long and dirty record of supporting fascist regimes against the liberation movements. He was responsible for agreements to supply arms, lorries, equipment and military personnel for the use of the Portuguese colonial army against the Angolan freedom fighters. The bombs which were dropped on Angolan villages were West German bombs. Last year in defiance of the U.N. resolutions, the Bonn Government supplied Portugal with 60jet fighters which were used in Angola.

West Germany is actively assisting in the militarisation of South Africa. The agreement for military co-operation between South Africa and West Germany was concluded in July, 1961 when

Franz-Josef Strauss was Minister of Defence. Two thousand Nazi and S.S. officers have become officers and instructors in the white army. West German arms firms like Henschel, Siemens and others have built branch factories in South Africa. West Germany is helping in the manufacture of tear-gas and other poison gases and guided missiles. West Germany is directly assisting South Africa to develop nuclear arms.

West Germany in 1964 sold 50 Sabre jet fighters to South Africa. In technical and scientific co-operation in the 'defence' field, involving nuclear collaboration, rocket research and poison gases, Germany has excelled. In November 1963, Prof. 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 group to study and develop the virulent gases developed by Nazi Germany towards the end of the last war. They could be sprayed like insecticides from planes or rockets, and would have the destructive effect of a 20-megaton atomic bomb. Among the specialists involved in the research are believed to be several experts formerly employed by I.G. Farben, which produced the gas that killed the millions of Jews and Communists in Nazi gas chambers; and in particular Gunther Prus, poison gas expert in the Nazi Wehrmacht. One of the South African plants that could produce these gases is FBA Pharmaceuticals near Johannesburg, built to the specifications of the West German dye stuff works of Bayer AG, another supplier of poison gas to the Nazi death camps. Bayer has a subsidiary operating near Pretoria and has since widely extended its South African interests and associations. It played a major role in the establishment of a West German and South African Chemical pool, Norichem.

The West German Institute for Aeronomics, Lindau am Harz, set up a rocket observation station near Tsumeb in South West Africa in 1964. The Aeronomics Institute is financed direct from the West German Defence Ministry, according to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The station is controlled on the South African side by Dr. Theo Schoemann, a rocket specialist who works in co-operation with the Atomic Energy Board. South West Africa is a mandate territory under the League of Nations, and South Africa is specially forbidden under the mandate from using the territory for military purposes.

A West German firm, Henschel Diesel, have a large plant near Johannesburg which services South African armoured vehicles.

BLACKMAIL FOR ARMS

The South African Government has not hesitated to use blackmail in its efforts to obtain arms. When Britain and the U.S. announced support for the arms embargo, South Africa warned that she might have to divert her normal trade away from "unfriendly" countries. This, combined with the large stakes that France and West Germany have acquired in the South African economy, has probably led to the watering-down of the embargo by both the U.S. and the U.K.

DETERIORATION OF SITUATION

The effect of western investment and support has been to strengthen white supremacy in Southern Africa. From the point of view of the liberatory movements, the international position in relation to South Africa has seriously deteriorated over the past 2 to 3 years, and unless urgent action is taken it may be expected to deteriorate still further, at the expense of the lives and liberties of the millions of South Africans who must daily toil under apartheid.

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

The African people of South Africa are a militant and revolutionary people. Although they were defeated militarily (the last armed struggle having been waged by Bambata in 1907), they were never completely subdued. They sought and found new methods of struggling against their racialist oppressors and exploiters. The unity which was created amongst the whites by the Act of Union of 1910 underlined for our people the need for their own united action, hence the formation of the African National Congress in 1912.

In the past each tribe fought the invading whites. The African National Congress was founded by people from all walks of life; intellectuals, professional men, workers, business men, chiefs, ministers of religion and clergy. It is a broad national liberation movement and a political organisation in whose ranks are found men of different philosophical outlooks, communists and non-communists. Peoples from different social strata and religious beliefs. The only condition and test laid down for

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membership is the belief and unswerving loyalty to the cause of African liberation.

The African National Congress is the true expression of African Unity, the mouth-piece of the oppressed people of South Africa and the instrument for their national liberation. It is an organisation of a new type created to meet/new, complex and difficult situation arising from foreign domination and exploitation. The A.N.C. was established for the purpose of destroying foreign domination and injustices in political, economic and social spheres in order to win back for the people of South Africa their rightful position as controllers of the destiny of their country.

The A.N.C. wisely and correctly leads the people along forms of militant mass action which was peaceful and non-violent. The very first mass action launched by the A.N.C. was against the notorious Land Act of 1913. Since its formation the A.N.C. has led the African people through almost every conceivable form of mass action. Petitions, deputations, protest demonstrations, strikes both local and national, pass-burning campaigns, civil disobedience, non-c-operation and defiance of the racialist laws form part of the history of resistance of our people in both urban and rural areas.

The struggles of our people in the rural areas against Bantu Authorities, the pass laws in Natal, Sekhukhuniland, Zeerust, are a record of the grim conflict between the oppressed and exploited and the white racialists. Verwoerd's government replied to the rise of resistance and revolt by our people with more laws whose purpose was to curtail and curb political activity. Thousands of people have been arrested during the political mass action of resistance.

From its very inception the A.N.C. realised that the unity of all the oppressed people of South Africa was important for the final defeat of the racialists who rule the country. The unity of the Coloured people, the Indians and the progressive whites in South Africa with the A.N.C. was a direct result of the implementation of this policy. Their unity arose from their common suffering, and was fortified by their joint struggles.

The historic Freedom Charter which was adopted on June 26th, 1955, jointly by the A.N.C., the South African Indian Congress,

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the Congress of Democrats, Coloured People's Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, expressed the common aspirations of the people of South Africa.

The Charter set out objectives which, if achieved, would wipe out once and for all the scourge of racialism, white domination and fascism.

The preamble of the Charter states:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The radical changes which the oppressed people sought in South African society were detailed under the following headings:

- * THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN
- * ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS
- * THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH
- * THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONGST THOSE WHO WORK IT
- * ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW
- * ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS
- * THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY
- * THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED
- * THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT
- * THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The adoption of this Charter by 3,000 delegates, representatives of all sections of the people of South Africa shook the fascist government of Verwoerd. The Charter was declared a treasonable document. Shortly thereafter, in 1956, 156 members of the Congress Alliance were arrested and faced a charge of treason alternatively the violation of the Suppression of Communism Act. The accused represented a cross section of our South African people. The main contention of the State Prosecution led by the late Oswald Pirow, a great apostle of Hitler, was that the scale of mass action which the A.N.C. had organised together with the Freedom Charter constituted a treasonable conspiracy to overthrow the Government by violence and to establish a communist State in South Africa. The Treason Trial dragged on for more than 4 years and ended in a failure.

The Nationalist Government, however, driven by fear and desperation, resorted to naked violence and tyranny to suppress the African National Congress and the resistance of the people. In addition, the white racialists tried fraudulent solutions like the Bantustans. All peaceful forms of mass action were made illegal, the A.N.C. was banned and had to continue its activities underground. Violence and terrorism against the Africans, the Coloureds, Indians and progressive whites who opposed racialism and fascism became the order of the day.

In these circumstances the A.N.C. had to seek new methods of struggle to meet the new situation. After a careful examination of the situation, it was decided that in order to attain the objectives of the progressive peoples of South Africa they would have to resort to violence. This was a grave decision having regard to the strength of the enemy and the support it receives from the imperialist powers.

But our people had confidence in their own courage and strength and the powerful reinforcements they would receive from the mighty anti-imperialist forces in the world. It is these factors which have further steeled and fortified the thousands of heroes who are now languishing in Verwoerd's concentration camps. It is the vision of victory which made Mini, Khayingo, Mkaba, Bongco and Harris march to the fascist gallows with freedom songs on their lips.

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Many of the glorious leaders of our struggle have stood with inspiring fearlessness in the fascist docks and have indicted the very fascists who are their accusers. Amongst them, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Bram Fischer and many others. Nelson Mandela in his address to the Court in the Rivonia Trial was expressing the feelings of the overwhelming majority of our people when he said:

"The A.N.C. has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy. This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

The African National Congress has always considered the unity of the peoples of Africa as a vital force in the struggle against racialism and white domination. Colonialism in Africa has left a deep scar of racialism in Africa. It is for this reason that in its anthem and its activities A.N.C. has always regarded pan-African unity as a vital factor in the struggle for the complete and genuine liberation of Africa. A delegation of the African National Congress participated in the very first Pan-African Conference.

The African Revolution and the Revolution in Asia and Latin-America have been an inspiration to the people of South Africa, and a striking blow to the racialists and imperialists.

The heroic struggle of the Afro-American people against rabid racialism is an important contribution to the struggle against racialism, colonialism and fascism throughout the whole world.

The Organisation of African Unity which unites the independent African States against racialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism is capable of being a mighty shield and sword which could accelerate the doom of colonialism in Africa and the world. It is for this reason that the imperialists are resorting to all intrigues to undermine the Unity which the O.A.U. is seeking to forge.

The United force and action of all the anti-imperialist peoples of the world, the independent states of Africa, and Asia, the Socialist countries and the 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 today is vital and crucial. Whenever these forces show a sign of disunity in their ranks, the fascists, racialists and imperialists immediately take advantage of the situation to try and consolidate their crumbling positions.

The firm and solid unity of the anti-imperialist forces is far more powerful than the combined forces of the imperialists. The historic victories are proof of this.

All efforts to secure international action against South African racialists, have been sabotaged and undermined by the imperialist powers. These powers must be regarded as more guilty than the Verwoerd government for the existence of racialism and the growth of fascism in Southern Africa. The United Nations has almost been rendered impotent by the intrigues of these powers. The demands by the peoples of South Africa which have been reiterated by the O.A.U. for economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa have been rejected by these powers who value their profits more than human rights and human life.

If this important Seminar on Apartheid is to succeed, then we consider it is essential and timely for the United Nations:

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 by making sanctions against South Africa mandatory.
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.

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