

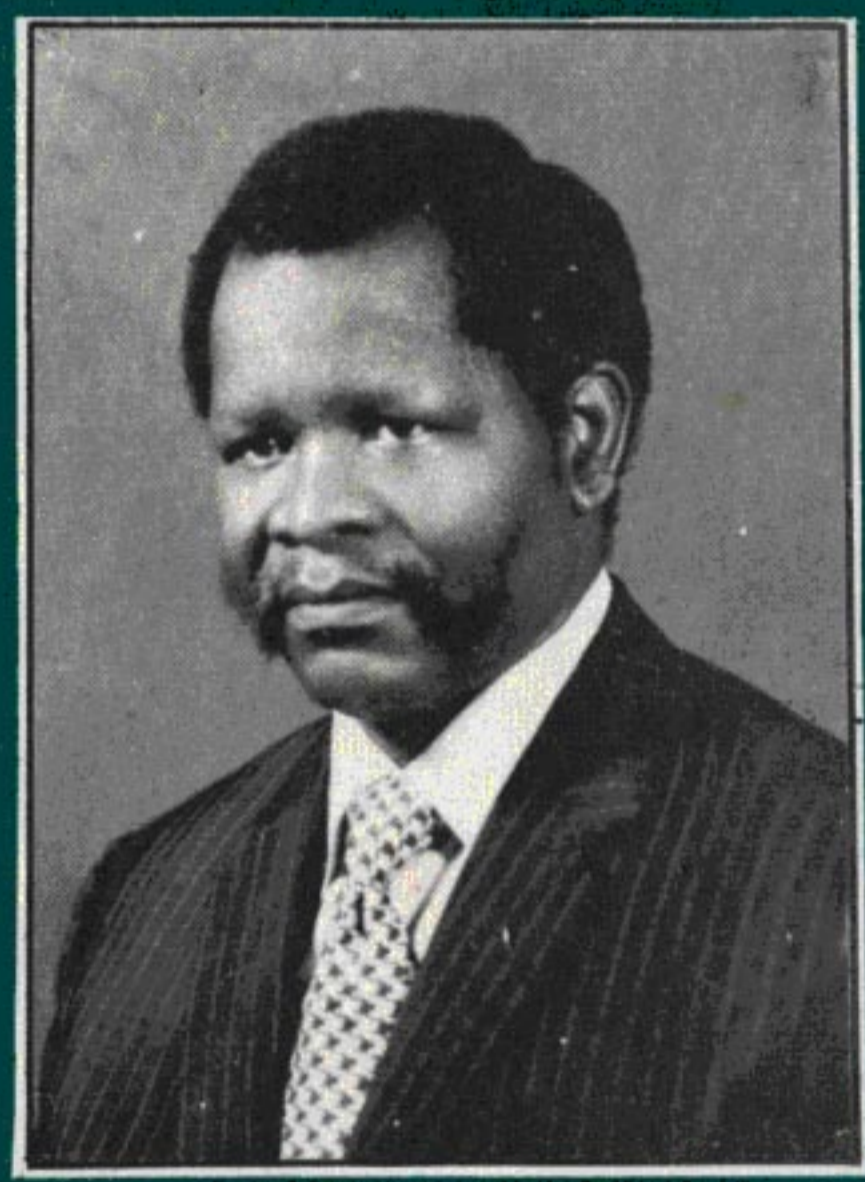
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OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO
President of the A.N.C. (S.A.)

(11)

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Human rights issues are the ground on which the USA and its Western allies have decided to launch a new cold war front against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Previous anti-Soviet campaigns were centred around economic concern, such as the alleged failure of socialism to raise living standards and increase production. Or on fictitious claims of Soviet militarism and the expansion of Soviet power. These are by no means neglected by imperialist propagandists as we have seen in the torrent of abuse against the fraternal aid given to Angola and Ethiopia by members of the socialist world.

At present, however, imperialist propaganda media concentrate on the charge that socialism denies human rights to its citizens. Whatever factual argument is advanced in support, comes from current trials of three or four persons standing trial in Soviet courts for violating security laws and slandering the Workers and Peasants State.

The Carter Administration, which initiated the offensive has to enlist the support of voters in the forthcoming mid-term elections, interprets human rights in a narrow sense to include only freedom of speech and political agitation. No mention is made by the capitalist media of the much wider field of basic rights specified in the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

Capitalist systems compare badly with the socialist record in such areas as the right of employment, social security, family care, medical services, housing, pensions and annual paid holidays.

There is no parallel under socialism to the vast armies of unemployed workers found in capitalist countries or to the rampant discrimination practised against black Americans, or to the public violence committed in England on Indians, Pakistanis and other immigrants from former colonial dependencies.

A significant proportion of the US population is malnourished, the level of malnutrition increasing as income levels diminish. Hospital and medical services are beyond the reach of working people not covered by costly medical benefit societies. The gap between living and housing standards of rich and poor Americans widens steadily each year as giant monopolies appropriate an increasing share of the national income.

The human rights bogey is meant to divert attention from the plight of the jobless, now officially acknowledged approximate seven million in the United States though the actual figure is more like ten million.

There can, however, be no greater disregard for human rights than to deprive people of the right to work and eat.

Because of the unplanned, chaotic nature of capitalist economies, there is a high and rising rate of crime, prostitution, drug addiction, racial discrimination and other social evils. The high incidence of mental illhealth in the USA reflects the stresses imposed by industrial capitalism in its most advanced form.

The United States, like some other Western countries, has failed to ratify certain of the important international conventions such as those for the prevention of genocide, elimination of racial discrimination, and the suppression of apartheid. President Carter admitted to the United Nations in early 1977 that the people's demands for rights and freedoms 'had not always been taken heed of in the United States'. He promised 'to deal with deficiencies quickly and openly'. Instead, however, he has organised a diplomatic offensive against the Soviet Union.

Imperialism invests heavily in fascist states like South Africa, Chile and Argentina, extracts huge super-profits from the exploitation of their workers, makes a pretence of concerning their gross violations of rights, but collaborates fully with their governments and propertied classes.

Capitalists have neither a moral nor factual basis for their campaign against the Soviet Union. Its Constitution enshrines all basic rights, including the right to work, housing, health protection and social welfare. These rights are not merely proclaimed. They are implemented in practice by the citizens themselves who create the material conditions for the realisation of the constitution's aims.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is based on mutual respect, co-existence with different social systems and selfless aid to national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

There can be no higher accord with human rights and world peace. Western warmongers like the United States should sweep their own houses before pretending to clean the world.

By Marcus.

**STATEMENT BY COMRADE ALBERT ISO, A. N. C. SECRETARY
GENERAL AT THE GRAVESIDE OF COMRADE EDWIN JIWANE
MUNYANI ("FURES") - ANC COMRADE.**

Dear Comrades,

Members of the African National Congress
and Umkhonto We Sizwe,
Our revolutionary allies in common struggle -
S.A.P.C and the Patriotic Front,
Fellow mourners and ardent supporters of the
revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa,

We have come here to lay to rest but forever a soldier of the revolutionary struggle of our people a dedicated member of our people's vanguard organisation, the ANC, leader of the struggle for the creation of a future people's democratic South Africa - a patriot and true son of our people, Comrade Edwin Josile Mwanazi, popularly known as "Fures".

We have come to entrust his last remains to the loving care of the people of Zambia until the time when we shall have completed the task for which Comrade Fures and many countless other revolutionaries in our country have laid down their lives - the seizure of power by our people.

Comrades, Fures belongs to that generation of revolutionary fighters in South Africa who as one of the early pioneers in our revolutionary army, Umkhonto We Sizwe took an oath and pledged themselves to spare neither strength nor life itself, in pursuit of the great goal of freedom and human dignity; social justice and progress for our people and the rest of the continent. Hardly a year after the proclamation of the birth of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed fist of our fighting people, in December 1962, Comrade Fures and hundreds of his compatriots had left South Africa in search of political and military skills which would make him a better fighter for the cause of his people.

Those early years of the 60's were witnessing important political developments in our continent whose people were breaking the frontiers of colonial oppression in one African country after another thereby providing a proper atmosphere for the further consolidations of revolutionary ideals in the minds of young revolutionaries from our country. Comrade Fures and his young compatriots of Umkhonto We Sizwe grasped the true meaning of the teachings of the African National Congress on the virtues of revolutionary internationalism as he got exposed to the genuine hospitality of the newly independent African peoples in one of whose countries he received initial military training and further afield in the first socialist country of the world the Soviet Union where he further acquired his military and political skills.

These experiences helped to sustain his revolutionary determination which burnt in his heart and mind throughout the long and difficult years he had to face up to his dying moment when he gathered enough strength to shout *Amandla! Forward with the revolution!*

We are proud of the fact that the African National Congress has been able to raise and nurture revolutionaries of the calibre of Comrade Funes who through incredible difficulties, through periods characterised by stormy winds blowing against the sails of our ship, the African National Congress, clearly understood that the defence of the African National Congress and the strengthening of its ranks against the onslaughts of imperialist subversion was the first task of every genuine revolutionary interested in the furtherance of the revolutionary cause of our people. Comrade Funes was such a man.

Compatriots and fellow mourners, the revolutionary optimism in the eventual triumph of the heroic cause of our people and the boundless faith in the ability of the African National Congress to lead and guide our struggle which was characteristic of Comrade Funes and all South African revolutionaries has been indicated by the present developments in South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole.

Everywhere in Southern Africa the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people have gained momentum. Whether the enemies of our peoples aided and buttressed by international imperialism like to admit it or not, it has become evident that the problems in this region can never be solved outside the course set by the South West Africa People's Organisation in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the African National Congress in South Africa.

The fascist regime of Johannes Vorster has been plunged into a deep crisis. In the face of the relentless onslaught of the revolutionary movement and oppressed people in our country, the ruling circles have been forced to admit that it is impossible to crush the African National Congress. In a desperate effort for survival, the regime has turned South Africa into an armed camp subordinating everything else to the needs of the military programme which is consuming vast economic resources unparalleled in peace time. The military programme of the regime has been extended for the first time to the black people who are now being used as cannon fodder in areas where the regime is confronted by the revolutionaries of Swapo and the African National Congress in Namibia and South Africa.

On the other hand, the repressive machine is working in top gear. Thousands of our people have been thrown into prisons; the armed might of the regime is being employed to crush our revolutionary movement; the murder of detainees continues. A few days ago yet another detainee was thrown through the window of an office of the special branch on the eighth floor of a building in Fort Elizabeth, Cape Province. Over the grave of Comrade Funes, we energetically condemn the latest crime of the Vorster regime. The death of Iungile Tabalava and many others before him shall be avenged.

Our Comrades in arms in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, are intensifying their blows against our common enemies. The treachery of the former nationalist, Sithole and Muzorewa and the tribal chief, Chirawo has been exposed and the vast majority of the people of Zimbabwe have strengthened their faith in the Patriotic Front as the only genuine force fighting for their true independence. The traitors of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference are rejected by the people of Namibia who are rallying in ever stronger formations behind SWAPO.

Compatriots, the progressive regime on our continent are successfully defeating the imperialist manoeuvres aimed at their destabilisation. The Peoples Republic of Angola and Mozambique, Zambia, Ethiopia and others are forging ahead overcoming the numerous obstacles placed on their paths by the worst enemies of our continent. The Anti-imperialist movement in general in Africa is becoming stronger and the progressive role of the Socialist countries in defence of our continent is being acknowledged by an ever expanding public opinion and our continent. The bait of the so-called Soviet and Cuban aggression against the African continent has not been swallowed.

This has forced our enemies into a position where they have been forced to adopt openly aggressive tactics in defence of their vast economic and political interests on our continent. Such is the lesson of the recent events in the Shaba province where the Nato countries have even gone to the extent of attempting to use certain African countries to defend the interests of imperialist plunder under the cloak of the fictitious "Soviet and Cuba aggression". Life has however already shown that the aggressive designs of Nato shall not pass. The majority of the African countries have rejected the so-called Pan African Peace Force which bears the label-"Made in France, Belgium and the United States of America".

The African National Congress stands resolutely behind the rest of the progressive forces of the African Continent in the struggle to defeat these dangerous imperialist manoeuvres. We are convinced that the intensified imperialist counter-offensive that has been unleashed is directed at creating the necessary conditions for the further strengthening and consolidation of the regimes of terror in South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa. It has become clear that the path charted by the aggressive Nato circles for the achievement of this counter - revolutionary objective goes through efforts at destabilisation of progressive regimes on our continent, through efforts to disunite the African continent and weaken their United struggle against neo-colonial aggression and above all to isolate our continent from its natural allies, the Socialist countries and other progressive forces of the World.

Compatriots, the African National Congress pledges over the grave of Comrade - Fures and in the lasting memory of revolutionary stalwarts such as Chief Albert Lutuli, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Braam Fischer, Dura Nokwe, J.D., M.F. and Monty Naicker and countless others, that it shall intensify the armed revolutionary struggle for seizure of power by the people of our country. This is the urgent expectation of our people who have already demonstrated through revolutionary deeds their readiness to sacrifice for the attainment of this strategic objective. We pledge to intensify our efforts for the further consolidation and strengthening of the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard of our people, the African National Congress and we shall resist with all our might the ceaseless counter - revolutionary attempt by overt and covert enemies, aimed at disuniting and weakening its striking power. Disruptive elements who do the work of the enemy within our midst shall be exposed and justly punished. We owe this revolutionary duty not only to millions of our people but equally to the victorious march of the African revolution and the consolidation of mankind's progress.

On behalf of the African National Congress and all progressive forces in our country we convey heartfelt condolences to the relatives and friends of Comrade Fures.

Cariba Kahle Comrade Edwin Jezile
Mwanazi'.

Instead of submitting to an already disproved invincibility of fascist arms, the best sons and daughters of our people have responded with enthusiasm to our call to swell the ranks of Ushkente weSizwe, our own people's army, the military wing of the ANC and to confront the enemy with revolutionary arms now. (From our Commander-in-Chief, Comrade President C. R. Tarbo)

In building up our own popular army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and guided by our revolutionary orientation.

(From our Commander - in - Chief,
Comrade President C. R. Tarbo)

U.S. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (MNCs) IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By Sizakele.

(Article is continued from Vol. 1. No. 2.)

US reactions to International Protest

The stunning profits from investments in South Africa, with all apologies offered, including those by the US State Department, have arrogantly pinned down all US MNCs into South Africa, hypnotised and paralysed them to be "there to stay" unless removed by other means. As reported by the South African press, the Chairman of General Motors Corporation, Mr Richard Gerstenberg, visited the GM Port Elizabeth firm in April 1972 for a week of discussion - on ways to improve the conditions of the company's Black workers. He was accompanied by a group of senior executives. At a press conference, he said that General Motors had no intention of pulling out of South Africa, in spite of mounting pressure in the United States for it to do so. (23)

A top three-man delegation from International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) arrived in South Africa in April 1972 "to meet a cross-section of the people". The visit was prompted by a demand by the Black South African Students' Organisation (SASO), concerning the involvement of foreign investors in South Africa. At an IBM annual meeting in Dallas, Texas, at the end of April, the chairman declared that the company would not yield to pressure to withdraw from South Africa. He said that to do so would be an abdication of the company's responsibility and a disservice to the White and Black employees who depended on the company for their livelihood. (24)

What a 'responsibility!' What a 'service!'

Driving home this criminal arrogance and insult to the workers of South Africa who certainly know better about their suffering is US policy as was announced by the US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Mr David Howson, when addressing the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on 14th March 1973.

He is reported to have rejected the fact that withdrawal of investment in South Africa would be an effective contribution to the national liberation of that country and argued instead that "industrialists should increase investment because contact was a far more effective means of contributing to meaningful change than isolation". (25)

Henry Ford II, the sadist and Board Chairman of the Ford Motor Company in South Africa has also joined this orchestra of Black Blood Vampires. He says, "I believe that more will be accomplished for the Black and coloured people of South Africa if foreign companies now doing business there remain". (26)

For further intensification of the process of super profit expropriation out of South Africa and as a form of economic, political and moral backing to the operations of these US MNCs in South Africa, nine US banks (which are in fact affiliates of the above mentioned MNCs) participated in raising a \$ 50 million loan to fortify the South African government assets and policies in June 1972. (Although the purpose of the loan remained undisclosed, we at least know that the largest state budget assignments in all capitalist countries, including South Africa, go for military purposes which are against their political opponents).

These are Wells Fargo Bank (N.A.); Central National Bank, Chicago; Merchants National Bank and Trust Co., Indianapolis; City National Bank, Detroit; Republic National Bank, Dallas; First Israel Bank and Trust Co, New York; First National Bank, Louisville; Maryland National Bank; and United Virginia Bank. The first four are said to have requested that their participation remain "undisclosed" (27)

In his report to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee early this year, Senator Dick Clark also noted that, "by the end of 1976, South Africa's overseas debt equaled \$ 7.6 billion of which \$ 2.2 billion, or nearly one third of all bank claims on South Africa, was owed to U.S. banks... "This \$ 2.2 billion is roughly equivalent to the amount of foreign exchange required to cover South Africa's defence and some import costs for the same year". Who then and how can one deny the murderous purpose and role of the MNCs in South Africa?]

All this also confirms our conviction that there can be no practical difference between US state interests and those of its MNCs. US State Policy and actions in South Africa are there to clear the way for the operations of US MNCs, and in fact, US State action is at the behest of MNCs' financial cliques whose top representatives are, of course, also top US State executives. These carbon copy policies are not accidental, but a general law of common class origins and nation profit purposes of both State Monopoly and MNCs. US MNCs are basically the real power behind every US State policy, strategy and action; and all their Presidents and Ambassadors are merely emissaries carrying out the dictates of this cliqued group of a capitalist class.

We of course draw a line of qualitative difference between the Vorster regime and US State Department and US MNCs on the one side; and the people of America and South Africa, on the other. As one veteran American political writer puts it (28), in the United States the struggle by the Black Americans and their white allies to eliminate the cancer of racial discrimination and persecution is essentially the same as the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. They are interwoven, not only in their moral aspects but because the same forces are involved in oppression in each case. South Africa and the United States are the two foremost areas of racial oppression on earth. They share the common background of the enslavement of Black Africans by White businessmen. American ruling groups that adhere brutally and tenaciously to discrimination and segregation at home are leading supporters of a "realistic" and 'businesslike relationship' with the South African regime that perpetuates the even more brutal system of apartheid.

Trade and Investments

there is an umbilical cord between foreign investment and foreign trade. Both are today two sides of the same coin - they cannot be separated. US official opinion acknowledges that fact.

'A report to the President', by the special US Representative for trade negotiations in 1969 for example says: "foreign trade and foreign investments are becoming increasingly interwoven in the conduct of world business. In recent years, this inter-relationship has been emphasised by the dynamic growth of multinational corporations... US exports are affected by the investment policies of others. US investments also affect our trade. A significant portion of our exports and a growing share of our imports, for example are in fact shipments between US firms and their affiliates abroad". (29)

The result is that, as the Deputy Chairman of the South African Board of Trade and Industries, Dr P.S. du Toit Viljoen, noted: "American interest in South Africa has never been lower, though there is much disagreement with the policy in South Africa". (30)

That was as early as 1962.

The Johnson Administration officials also noted with satisfaction that this "American interest" in trade and investments in South Africa "results in a healthy credit balance to the United States - sometimes as much as \$150 million - which is settled in gold, for which Washington has a certain affinity". (31)

It is also true to say that gold is a product of inhuman, slave working conditions and exploitation of the producers of that gold. Almost each month and each year scores of these workers risk and sacrifice their lives in these deep, care-free constructed dungeons, all to the satisfaction of the MNCs profiteers. That gold is a product of the Black, rightless and cheap labour power of migrant labourers not only of South Africa but also from other countries of the whole Southern Africa, as follows:-

THE S.A. MINES*

COUNTRY	Nov. 1977	Nov. 1978
AFRICA	5/1	305
BOZVANA	21,575	21,000
BRITAIN	52,871	57,152
FRANCE	5,121	15,755
GERMANY	11,657	32,871
INDONESIA	15,510	13,275
S. W. A.	2,757	1,500
SWITZERLAND	5,655	5,255
SOUTH AFRICA	221,522	221,550
TOTAL	318,575	320,550

* SOURCE:- Financial Mail, Johannesburg, 23/578.

In this respect, it is also relevant to note that, today to South Africa go over one third of US exports to Africa and over 50% of American foreign investments on the continent. (32)

South Africa - launching pad for US MNCs

The operations of US MNCs in South Africa are first and foremost for an economic objective - super-profits. The other objective is political; and perhaps that is the most important of the two since it is only so long as that exploitative racist regime exists in that country and is propped up that US MNCs can invest and reap super-profits.

But since the quest for more and more profit can never be quenched, US MNCs together with their South Africa allies, are now spreading their tentacles to regions outside that country. The Wall Street Journal says that 260 US companies reported that their investment in South Africa is "the most profitable overseas investment they have had anywhere proportionate to the capital involved", but that South Africa was also a "convenient base for exporting to other areas in the Southern hemisphere". (33)

This trend is further disclosed by a report to the effect that Mr J. Rimmer, President of the Pacific division of the industrial chemicals side of the W.R. Grace group of America, said in August 1972 that US industrialists were showing increasing interest in South Africa. His company came to South Africa in 1962 and has two branches there; the company said South Africa is a 'stable base' for its operations in mid-Africa. (34)

At the same time, South Africa has investments to the value of R333 million in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Six of the largest companies in Zimbabwe are either controlled by, or connected with South African companies. (35)

MNCs immigrants would vote for apartheid

For the economic, political and eventually military goals, it has been the South African regime's strategy to import large amounts of not only money capital, but also technocrats and "skilled" white labourers to share in the enjoyment of the immense white privilege in that country.

Encouraging the new strategy, Dr E.F. Verwoerd, the arch-ideologist of apartheid said, "South Africa welcomed foreign capital not only for the sake of investment, but also for the skills that come with it". (36)

Welcoming the strategy, Mr Marcus D. Banghart, Vice-President of JS Newmont Mining Corporation described the advantages of investing in South Africa in the following words: "Foreign enterprises frequently wish to bring part of their labour force to South Africa and there are no restrictions regarding the percentage of foreign enterprises labour which a company may employ - whether they be in the clerical, manual, technical, specialist or management field. Foreign personnel are promptly granted permanent resident visas.... Fringe benefits such as pension and group insurance plans, medical benefits, paid vacation and recreational facilities, are common to most employers in the country. (37)

Even if that be a Prime Minister's idea of "skilled labour", we nevertheless hasten to say that, in practical terms, such privileges do not refer to Black labourers be they immigrant or indigenous to South Africa.

In a survey by a firm of American management consultants it was claimed that 40 per cent of American business personnel living and working in South Africa would vote for the ruling Nationalist Party if they were eligible to vote in South Africa. (38)

The operations of US MNCs in South Africa, therefore, theoretically and practically lead to the support and defence of apartheid.

Partnership is entrenchment

The local counterparts of US MNCs in South Africa are now clamouring for mergers, joint-ventures, partnership and a share in the US loot in the country. For political, strategic, security and profit motives these overtures and demands are more than welcome to US MNCs in South Africa simply because they also mean entrenchment.

As early as 1968, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, an organisation of Afrikaans businessmen, asked the South African government to persuade American motor companies to make shares available to South African investors. The 500 delegates to the Instituut's congress (the same year), voted unanimously in favour of the proposal. Together they command more than half the market for motor vehicles in South Africa, through their wholly-owned subsidiaries.

The South African Ambassador to the United States, Mr H. Taswell, made the Afrikaans businessmen's demand known in several speeches he delivered in the United States. In return, Mr William G. Slocum, Jr., managing director of General Motors in South Africa, issued a special statement explaining the company's policy. He emphasised that General Motors' success in South Africa depended upon unified ownership. (39)

A year later, in 1967, the United States Steel Corporation, the world's largest steel concern, purchased a 31 per cent interest in South African Ferralloys Ltd. and Zeerust Chrome Mines. (40) This was followed by a joint venture of the United States Steel Corporation with the Anglovaal group of South Africa in copper prospecting rights in Namibia over an area stretching for 5,000 square miles. (41)

These strong ties between the US MNCs and the South African regime and business convinced a leading New York stockbroker, Mr Walter Hirschorn, who specialises in the shares of the American-South African Investment Corporation on the New York stock exchange, that "South Africa is one of the safest places in the world in which to invest (42)".

These common business ties for common motives have, since 1947, been cemented and crowned by "private" visits of top and significant South African Government cabinet ministers to the mother base - the USA. These were first, the Minister of Information, Dr C.F. Mulder,

followed by the Minister of Defence and then the Minister for Economic Affairs. The South African press called these visits "a diplomatic offensive to strengthen US-SA ties". (43)

US-SA mutual interests versus liberation

In conclusion, it is necessary to explain the nature of these mutual state interests or these "US-SA ties". The interests of South Africa in the USA are too clear to elaborate upon. In simple terms, South Africa desperately needs US diplomatic, economic and even military support and security in order to carry out the policies of racism and exploitation for the common good of the ruling class of both countries.

On the other hand, US interests in South Africa and the essence of US State Department understanding of "support" for majority rule and liberation in S.A. are clearly and aptly summed up in Memorandum NO 39 of the US National Security Study - the notorious "Operation Tar Baby".

Those interests are:

- * Direct investment in South Africa, yielding a high return;
- * Trade with South Africa yielding a highly favourable balance to the US, and the US's direct interest in the key position held in Britain's trade balance by South Africa;
- * US interest in orderly marketing of South African gold;
- * South Africa's position as the world's third largest supplier of uranium;
- * Strategic importance of South Africa in relation to Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean;
- * Overflight and landing facilities for US aircraft bound for the Indian Ocean;
- * South Africa's major repair and logistic facilities, including ports able to take aircraft carriers;
- * Importance of the NASA satellite tracking station in South Africa. (44)

Support for majority rule and liberation in South Africa means that;

- * "US should maintain public opposition to racial repression, but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on South Africa". (45)

In deeds, they have been true to their words. And it is also true and clear that as international opposition to the apartheid regime in South Africa intensifies, and confrontation inside South Africa itself assumes qualitative forms, the USA (overtly and covertly) and the South African regime will stand in one united front to defend their common interests of super profits from repression of the Black people of that country, leading to mass tragedy not only in South Africa but in the whole of that sub-region of Africa.

Nyerere and MNCs in South Africa

It is for this reason that all genuine democratic people, and all those who want to care or know, should practically take heed of President Nyerere's views on the question of MNCs in South Africa. He says:

"All those who invest in South Africa, or trade with South Africa, or otherwise treat it as a respectable member of the international community, are giving support to apartheid, and everything that follows from it. Institutions and individuals do not invest in a foreign country out of philanthropy. They invest to make profit or to get interest on their money, and by investing for these purposes, together with their stocks or shares, have an interest in what is called "political stability" - which in this case means the maintenance of apartheid. Their interest in this will be, the greater or larger the amount they invest, the greater will be the return on their investment. And the stronger the South African economy, the larger the resources which the South African government can devote to upholding racial privilege.

The more South Africa can attract outside investment, therefore, the more allies it obtains - quite regardless of any fine words about opposition to apartheid. And investment is attracted by high returns. So the greater the surplus South Africa can extract from the labour of its working people, the greater will be the attraction to new investment. Far from undermining apartheid, foreign investment's contribution to expanding the South African economy makes the intensification of exploitation on racial grounds the more inevitable. We would hear a greater deal less of the argument that economics must be separated from morality if the dividends from South Africa were to fall.

"The investors in South Africa, and the traders with South Africa, help to pay the cost of apartheid. They contribute to the growth of the economy of apartheid, at the same time as they benefit from it. And in the process they are themselves corrupted by apartheid; they are participants in it however far distant they may be in their personal relationships.

"Opponents of apartheid, and racialism as a state doctrine, have no honest choice but to isolate South Africa. By doing so, they will be at least refraining from adding to the present strength of the South African state. That seems to be the least which a non-racialist can do to help those who are, and will be, fighting racialism on our behalf and at great cost to themselves". (45)

We have nothing more to add except that that gallant strength stemming from unity in abhorance of apartheid recently demonstrated at the U.N. (Oct.-Nov. 1977) by the Africa Group, the "Third World" and other international progressives against the Pretoria regime and its supporters must be raised to even a higher level - by winding up all deals with monopolies that have investments also in South Africa.

It can be done! It must be done! Nigeria has already taken the lead by expelling Barclays Bank. Polaroid in South Africa has also bowed down to international pressure.

Such solidarity with toiling and struggling masses of South Africa coupled with increased diplomatic and practical material support to the National Liberation Movement of South Africa, the African National Congress is about all our people expect from progressive mankind. The rest, the timing and type of verdict on U.S. and other MNCs that so bleed the material and human resources of South Africa and refuse to leave our country peacefully and now is a legitimate right and duty of the people of South Africa themselves to decide upon.

PEOPLE'S VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

FOOT NOTES

23) "Evening Post", Port Elizabeth, 10/4/72., 12/4/72.

24) Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 11/4/72., Star, Johannesburg, 29/4/72.

25) Quoted in Star, Johannesburg, 13/3/73.

26) The CTC Reporter, Vol.1, No.4, 1978 U.N. New York, P. 17

27) CTC Brief, Corporate Information Centre, National Council of Churches, USA.

28) W.J. Pomeroy, Apartheid Axis, (United States and South Africa) New York, 1973, pp. 76-77

29) Future United States Foreign Trade Policy (Report to the President, the special representative for trade negotiations), Washington, DC, 12/1/69., p. 70

- 30) "Digest of South African Affairs", Pretoria, 5/3/62, F.2
- 31) Quoted in Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 1/10/67.
- 32) G. Fasulo, The powers behind apartheid, Cambridge, Mass., F.1
- 33) Quoted in Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 21/6/70.
- 34) Star, Johannesburg, 12/8/72.
- 35) "Hocfstad", Pretoria, 13/9/72.
- 36) South African Digest, Pretoria, 9/10/64 F.13
- 37) Digest of South African Affairs, Pretoria, 16/4/62, F.7
- 38) Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 1/10/67
- 39) Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 5/5/68; 19/5/68
- 40) Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 24,25/11/67.
- 41) Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 27/7/70.
- 42) Sunday Times, Johannesburg, 21/5/67.
- 43) Star, Johannesburg, 19,26/1/74.
- 44) Quoted in Star, Johannesburg, 25/10/74.
- 45) Ibid.
- 46) Speech given by President Nyerere at Oxford University, on a state visit to Britain, as quoted in Daily News, 20/11/75.

Experience has shown that one can attack apartheid in the fiercest terms and call it a crime against humanity - and still give it military, economic and political support. So the loud protests that we have been hearing lately from a number of government leaders in imperialist countries does not necessarily mean the end of these countries' support of the racist regime in South Africa.

Comrade Tambo.

In Angola, imperialism along with its multi-national corporations also worked extremely hard to set up an alternative third force which would pose as liberation movements while at the same time remaining in the pay of exactly the forces against whom they would claim to be waging "liberation wars".

Comrade Tambo.

AN OMINOUS CONSPIRACY.

by Marcus.

The recent years have seen links between Israel and the Republic of South Africa grow diversify. The nature of these links will be readily apparent from the fact that Tel Aviv and Pretoria have common goals in combating the national liberation movement and opposing the progressive states in Africa and the Middle East. Israel and South Africa have made Zionism and apartheid, which for all the outward differences are both forms of racism, the vehicles of their policy. Resolution 3379 adopted by the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly qualifies Zionism as a form of race discrimination, thus equating Israel with the racist regime of Pretoria. As a British paper wrote, the condemnation of Israel and South Africa by the world community made them international outcasts and put them in the same company.

The idea of racial exclusiveness which underlies both Zionism and apartheid, is at once a justification and a motive for the policies of aggression, expansion and colonial enslavement of other people, pursued by both states. Influenced by the similar ideologies of national exclusiveness, writes journal, 'African Communist', "the attitudes and actions of a South Africa racist and an Israel Zionist vis-a-vis the indigenous majority among whom he lives, are marked by inhumanity characteristic of those who regard other peoples as inferior race".

Both regimes have been using South Africa's 150,000 - strong Jewish community to promote their cooperation. On the contrary, many of them are active in the national liberation movement, oppose apartheid and racism, incurring cruel persecution by the South African authorities.

However, the Zionist leaders have managed to enlist in their organisations many South African Jews who share the racist views of the country's rulers and support their policy. For example, Abrahams, the rabbi of Cape Town, has described the former Prime Minister Verwoerd, one of the most rabid racists, as "an honest politician who was the first to attempt to put apartheid on a solid moral foundation". Percy Yutar, a prominent South African Zionist, President of the joint Jewish congregation of Johannesburg, has been prosecuting counsel at many political trials in South Africa, including the Rivonia trial.

The South African billionaire Oppenheimer, who is a citizen both of South Africa and Israel, is a secret patron of the Zionist community in South Africa. He is regarded as the uncrowned king of South Africa; suffice it to say that his Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa and its branches mine 40 per cent of South Africa's gold and De Beers Consolidated Mines, which is under his influence, is virtually the sole extractor of diamonds in South Africa. Oppenheimer and the western tycoons, derive huge profits from the exploitation of the natural

resources and African labour. Active supporters of Tel Aviv's policies, the South African Zionists render Israel moral as well as substantial material assistance.

The South African Jewish Community, says Zehy Karcaby, the Secretary of CC of the Communist Party of Israel, is one of the main bases of world Zionism and a major source of financial aid for Israel. There is a number of Zionist associations in South Africa which are members of the World Zionist Organisation.

Immediately after Israel's aggression against the Arab countries in 1967, the South African Zionist community gave a huge grant to Israel. To open the channels for the flow of South African assistance to Israel, Prime Minister Vorster lifted restrictions on the export of capital. At present, direct South African investment in Israel's economy amounts to 20 million rands (one rand is equal to \$1.15), according to the Israel Ambassador in Pretoria, Itzhak Una. The ambassador has said that excellent results could be achieved if South African raw materials are combined with Israel's know-how.

Among important channels of financial aid to Israel are the secret fascist organisation Droederbond, fostered by the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa, the South African Foundation, in which South African and British Capital are involved (founded in 1959 by that same Harry Oppenheimer), and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa which gives Israel credits and loans.

The imperialists do not conceal their interest in stronger links between Israel and South Africa which occupy a special place in their policies and military plans. They do everything to bolster these countries' economic and military potential, seek to create an axis between Tel Aviv and Pretoria in order to oppose "to counterpose a united front of imperialism, Zionism and apartheid to the just and legitimate struggles of the Arab and South African people for national self-determination and independence".

Tel Aviv and Pretoria have been developing diverse links between them since the foundation of Israel in 1948. In recent years, however, as both regimes found themselves in increasing isolation as a result of worldwide condemnation of their policies of aggression, apartheid and racism, these links have gained unprecedented scope. There is more active economic and technical cooperation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. South Africa is committed to take part in the building of a railway from the port of Eilat to the Inland areas of Israel, which is to be viewed as Pretoria's contribution to Israel's economic and military potential. The two countries have agreed to jointly use Israel's technical resources to tap South Africa's natural wealth, which is another evidence of the desire of the two regimes to foster links between them.

As the demand of world public opinion to strictly enforce the UN arms embargo against racist South Africa mounts, Tel Aviv as an intermediary in this matter is becoming more, important to the RSA. As the Pretoria newspaper 'Financial Mail' notes, Israel and South Africa are linked not only by mutual goodwill. In the conditions when an arms embargo could become real, South Africa's strategic needs, writes the paper, could be met (at least in part) by Israel.

Last year's official visit to Israel by the South African Prime Minister Vorster, gave a boost to cooperation between the two countries, including /ⁱⁿ the military field. Under a new deal, Israel is to build for South Africa six missile-carrying vessels and train South African personnel to use them, and to supply Kfir Combat aircraft and Gabriel Missiles.

This policy of Tel Aviv helps South Africa to build up its military machine and encourages it to fresh sorties against the liberation movement in the South of Africa. Israel has made available to Pretoria a license for the manufacture of the UZI machine gun - Pivov, has helped it to build Mirage fighter-bombers and sent advisers to train South African Troops. According to the International Herald Tribune, Tel Aviv has sent many nuclear physicists to South Africa. In exchange, the Vorster regime will supply Israel with uranium. This aspect of cooperation between the two regimes assumes sinister implications in the light of the recent reports that each of these states is creating a nuclear potential. Both South Africa and Israel have refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

A TASS news agency statement issued in August 1977 said that work to create nuclear weapons in South Africa was nearing completion and preparation was under way for testing them. The statement stressed that the development of military production and acquisition of modern weapons by South Africa was backed by some Western states who are members of NATO, as well as Israel, despite the UN resolutions prohibiting arms aid to South Africa.

The world press reports that South Africa and Israel, have launched joint manufacture of military hardware. The Israel Company Tradiran which manufactures communications equipment, opened a plant in Rosslyn near Pretoria jointly with a South African firm from the Kalan group. The bulk of its products is electronics gear for the ground and naval forces.

Undoubtedly, Israel, plagued by a chronic economic crisis, would have been unable to shoulder the extra burden of manufacturing arms for South Africa but for the generous American aid in the shape of military supplies and numerous credits and loans. The United States, writes the Washington Post, helps the Vorster regime through Tel Aviv, and does not deny press reports which say that it has a hand in arming the racists of Pretoria. Commenting on the military cooperation

agreement between South Africa and Israel, signed during Vorster's visit to Tel Aviv, the Christian Science Monitor wrote that the US Administration had not officially objected to the deal. The US tacit approval of cooperation between South Africa and Israel unmasks the hypocrisy of the Washington's much publicised "new African policy" aimed at safeguarding interests of the South African white minority regime and undermining the national movement in Africa.

Significantly, the heads of the Zionist community and the ruling racist elite in South Africa hailed the victory of the Right - Wing Likud bloc at the May 1977 parliamentary elections in Israel. Thus Markus Arkin, Director - General of the Zionist Federation of South Africa, described the victory of the Likud, led by Menachem Begin, as "good news", and Julius Weinstock, a Zionist leader in Cape Town, declared that Begin entertained great affection and attachment for the South African Jewish community.

Ezer Weizman, one of the leaders of Likud, said he favours the sale to South Africa of all the weapons it needs that Israel could make available.

Israel's continued policy of aggression and expansion with regard to the Arab peoples, and its subversion against the African liberation movements expose Tel Aviv's true face as an active force against the freedom and independence of the peoples, contribute to its international isolation which became particularly pronounced after the October war in the Middle East. (The Algerian paper, el Moudjahid wrote, for example, that there were many Israel advisers among the Portuguese punitive units in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and that Portuguese servicemen receive training in Israel.) By the end of 1973, 24 African States had broken off diplomatic relations with Israel.

The South African regime, too, finds itself in growing international isolation due to its policy of Apartheid and race discrimination against the black people, its occupation of Namibia in violation of the UN resolutions, and its systematic acts of aggression and provocation against neighbouring African States.

All this makes Tel Aviv and Pretoria seek closer coordination of their actions in order to overcome international isolation. Support for these regimes were resolutely condemned by such representative international forums as the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non Aligned States held in Colombo in August 1976, the international symposia to expose the racist essence of Zionism in Tripoli (July 1976), and Baghdad (November 1976), the First Arab-African Summit in Cairo last March, the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Lisbon (June 1977).

Whatever manoeuvres they resort to, the rulers of Tel Aviv and Pretoria will not hide the essence of the collusion between the two regimes which poses a threat to international peace and the freedom of the peoples.

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STATEMENT ON

AUGUST 5TH SOUTH AFRICA'S

WOMEN'S DAY.

1956/78.

The women of South Africa together with all progressive mankind the world over will once again be commemorating August 5th, South Africa's Women's Day. Of great significance to this date this year 1978, is the fact that it falls within the programme of International Anti-Apartheid Year, as declared by the United Nations.

For over three hundred years of colonial rule, African women in South Africa have, alongside their menfolk stood granite in their opposition to racial discrimination as practised in our country and has reached fascism in Africa.

Oppression and repression of the indigenous population escalated in 1948 when the new ruling Nationalist clique of white racists took power. As repression increased so did the resistance of our people, with the formation of the African National Congress in 1912, as their spear and shield. In 1913 our women positively launched the first mass protest demonstration against the repressive pass laws. Since then our women were never found lacking in the midst of all protest demonstrations launched by our liberation movement, such as the 1952 massive campaign in defiance of all segregatory and unjust laws.

This consistent general participation in political struggle by the women, led to the formation of the Federation of South African Women in 1954 an organisation which for the first time in the history of our country embraced women of all nationalities without distinction as to race and colour, and became a united front for women's political calamities after the arbitrary banning of the ANC in 1960, which automatically affected its Women's League.

The Federation of South African Women, under the leadership of Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, was born at a time when the present racists of the Nationalist Party in South Africa were once again planning to extend the notorious repressive laws to the African women - the pass laws which send millions of Africans to prisons daily.

Two years after its formation, the Fed. of South African Women organised a nationwide mass demonstration courageously challenging the regime on extension of passes to African women. It was on August 5th, 1956 when Pretoria - the citadel of racism - witnessed a scene of more than 20,000 women of all races converging on the Union Buildings, wearing colourful blouses of green and black of the Federation, Indians wore saris and other women were in their different church uniforms. Under the leadership of Lillian Ngoyi23/

Lillian Ngoyi as President and Helen Joseph, Secretary, the Fed. of South African Women came from all walks of life and racial groups to warn Strydom and his henchmen, that they representing the women of South Africa shall never rest until they have won for their children the fundamental freedoms and human dignity, now enshrined in the United Nations Charter for women.

Ever since that great demonstration against the extension of passes to African women in 1956, the courage and determination demonstrated by women in South Africa opened a new phase in the history of our struggle. August 5th became officially recognised by the ANC as South Africa's Women's Day and is now observed by progressive and peace loving people of the world as a day of women's rededication to fight for a free democratic society, where all will be equal before the law to bring about peace in South Africa and the world as stated in our Freedom Charter.

This symbol of revolutionary spirit demonstrated by women continued with the years, integrating young women into the struggle especially since the 1976 uprising of our youth. Evidence of this is demonstrated by their continuous presence in all sections of the liberation movement including Umkhonto We Sizwe - the military wing of the ANC.

African women are doubly oppressed and exploited by the system and are victims of murders of patriots in detention, they live in perpetual anxiety of children who disappear from homes with out trace, if found they are detained in solitary confinement, where parents are only allowed to change their clothes without seeing them, some have joined the long list of those murdered in detention. Young children of seven (7) years appear in political court cases!)

Demonstration of fascism in our country is the massacring of our children, parents and workers in peaceful demonstrations. In no society especially which claims false Christianity are children of 14 years old sentenced to serve long terms of imprisonment in the notorious Robben Island of maximum security.

The women of South Africa have been challenged by the Apartheid system as never before in its long history of militant struggle.

On August 5th, we rededicate ourselves to avenge the lives of **martyrs** of our revolution, fresh in mind are widows and orphans of our revolution. No sacrifice is too great in the protection and security of our children.

We greet and register our sincere appreciation and gratitude to our friends and supporters the world over, for the consistent inspiring material and moral support that has been rendered to our movement by progressives in capitalist countries, particularly socialist countries.

That support has enabled us to meet the enemy squarely and compelled it to admit our liberation movement as the genuine opponent to its colonial system of Apartheid.

In view of the demands of our revolution escalating towards people's victory, we once again appeal to all our friends and supporters to observe August 9th - South Africa's Women's Day particularly this year in response to International Anti-Apartheid Year:

- a. Consolidate and increase solidarity and support for the struggle of the South African people;
- b. Demand the release of Dorothy Nyembe, Esther Maleka and all political prisoners, detainees and a halt to massacre;
- c. That as the struggle of South Africa is a war of liberation, the captured cadres must be treated as prisoners of war under protocol No. One of the April Geneva Convention;
- d. Recognise the ANC as the sole legitimate representative of the people of South Africa;
- e. Mobilise the people of your respective countries, to demand the isolation of fascist South Africa militarily, economically and culturally; urge your Governments to sever all diplomatic relations with that regime;

MANDLA NGAMWENZI!

MAATLA KE ARONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!