

SECHABBA

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JOINT STATEMENT OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO THE O.A.U.

Photo shows Presidents of fighting liberation movements, in Algiers for OAU meeting. Inset is Dr Aghostino Neto of MPLA (in large photo just visible behind O R Tambo). Front row: O R Tambo (ANC); Dr Eduardo Mondlane (FRELIMO); H.E. Hourri Boumediene (Algeria); H.E. Diallo Telli (Guinea). Behind Dr Mondlane, left to right: James Chikerema (ZAPU); Sam Nujoma (SWAPO); Amilcar Cabral (PAIGC).

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1968 is Human Rights Year, they said. In Southern Africa where human rights long ago gave way to human wrongs, very few people seem even to have noticed Human Rights Year.

As Human Rights Year comes to an end, we want to remind readers of one of the vilest of apartheid's human wrongs: the fate of thousands of political prisoners in South Africa and Rhodesian jails.

The ill-treatment of political prisoners has been a standard practice in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since UDI. Gruesome and heartbreaking reports filter through from the various jails where opponents of Vorster and Smith are incarcerated.

Cases of healthy men and women, black and white, old and young, serving long sentences for their beliefs, appear in the world press from time to time when their beating, torture and sometimes even murder is revealed to outrage world public opinion.

Anger and condemnation is not enough. To ensure the health, safety and humane treatment of our comrades in jail, we again appeal to men of goodwill the world over to intensify their efforts and embark on positive campaigns for the improvement of prison conditions and the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa.

The following articles are published in the hope that they can in some measure add to the campaign.

ROBBEN ISLAND p. 10

by Dennis Brutus, Director of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

RHODESIA PRISONERS p. 11

by A Zimbabwean: Covers detainees, restrictees, etc.

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WHAT IS SECHABA?

SECHABA means the NATION and is published monthly.

Sechaba is the official organ of the vanguard national liberation organization in South Africa – the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Sechaba is a powerful advocate and defender of the armed revolutionary struggle now being waged by our gallant freedom fighters of the ANC and its ally, the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION (ZAPU).

Sechaba, unlike other journals, is not an observer, but an active participant in the struggle for freedom and human dignity in South Africa.

Sechaba is a vehicle of truth the racists will not tell, and is an authentic source for the views and aspirations of the victims and opponents of white tyranny in Southern Africa.

Sechaba wishes to ensure informed support for our struggle in all its unfolding phases, both in apartheid South Africa and in the whole of Southern Africa.

Sechaba is the mouthpiece of the poor for, unlike the South African government who through the ruthless exploitation of our people can afford to spend over £1 million a year on pro-apartheid propaganda, **Sechaba** depends entirely on its many friends for its existence.

Sechaba counts you among its friends and appeals to you to:—

BECOME a subscriber

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Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1, England.

(For other addresses, including addresses of all ANC offices abroad, please turn to page 14.)

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EDITORIAL

Editor-in-Chief – Alfred Kgokong
Managing Editor – Joe Matthews
Associate Editor – M. P. Naicker

The Fifth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) held in Algiers from 13 to 16 September 1968 was most successful and historic.

Its significance was further enhanced by the fact that the supreme leaders of the fighting liberation movements of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissao held fruitful joint discussions on common problems.

The following is the joint statement by:
James Chikerema of ZAPU (Zimbabwe)
Sam Nujoma of SWAPO (South West Africa)
Amicar Cabral of PAIGC (Guinea-Bissao)
Aghostino Neto of MPLA (Angola)
Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO (Mozambique)
O R Tambo of the ANC (South Africa).
It was submitted to the OAU Assembly by Comrade Tambo.

WE SHALL WIN!

Mr. President, Your Imperial Majesty, Your Royal Majesty, Your Excellencies and Distinguished guests,

Allow me on behalf of the liberation movements, the revolutionary fighters and oppressed peoples of our countries, to express profound thanks to the Organization for African Unity for the opportunity afforded to us to address this august assembly at this critical moment in the history of our dear continent. The links between the O.A.U., the liberation movements and the peoples they represent are vital and therefore we are affected by every crisis that this mighty organization goes through; we rejoice at its every triumph. When, as now, the O.A.U. completes five years of its existence as a rapidly growing, active and dynamic organization in the teeth of opposition by powerful forces, we cannot but rejoice.

When such an occasion is made more auspicious by the accession to the O.A.U. of the Independent African States of Swaziland and Mauritius, there is cause for even more rejoicing. When in addition, the Fifth Assembly takes place in revolutionary Algeria which has suffered so much for the freedom of Africa and attained so brilliant a triumph in the victory of its revolution, our joy is boundless.

The fact that Africa is faced with great and continuing problems is no reason to minimise in any way the successes that have been achieved to the chagrin of our enemies.

WE ARE AT WAR!

The liberation movements and over thirty million oppressed Africans that they represent are at war. On the one side are the armies of white supremacy united in the unholy alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. On the other are the liberation movements with their guerrilla forces

which are bravely challenging the vastly equipped military machines of White supremacy which have the direct and indirect support of imperialist powers such as Britain, United States, France, West Germany, Japan and Belgium.

The struggle for freedom in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Guinea-Bissau is being intensified. In each case, the struggle involves the training and building of liberation armies; providing them with weapons of war, providing medicines, types of food and equipment necessary to survive harsh conditions such as deserts, floods and cold. We have to build propaganda organizations both inside and outside our countries capable of maintaining the support of the population; inspiring them with noble aims and tasks of the struggle. We have to develop highly efficient underground movements capable of functioning under the noses of our enemies in conditions where the simple distribution of a leaflet carries the death penalty, as in South Africa under the "Sabotage" Act.

The efforts of the liberation movements have been impressive in spite of great difficulties. They have built armies which are holding down thousands of men serving the states of White supremacy. Vast resources are being expended by our enemies in their efforts to frustrate the liberation movements. In Guinea-Bissau, over two-thirds of the territory has been liberated by the PAIGC and the Portuguese forces have been confined to the defence of fortified positions. In Angola, the MPLA controls large tracts of territory and is slowly spreading guerrilla activity throughout the country. In Mozambique, a remarkable National Congress of FRELIMO has recently taken place in the liberated areas testifying to the strength of the liberation movement; in Namibia, SWAPO is intensifying its activity especially in the North and Central part of the country. In Zimbabwe, ZAPU continues to step up the mobilization of the masses of the people for support and

participation in the armed struggle in which the ZAPU-ANC guerrillas have been active since August last year. In South Africa, the ANC is engaged in the intensive preparation for the extension of the armed struggle already in progress in Zimbabwe.

These successes should on no account be treated lightly in their immediate and long-term strategic significance. But, we must not be misunderstood. The struggle is going to be a grim and bitter one. The states of white supremacy in Southern Africa control the wealthiest and most highly developed part of our continent.

They will fight to the last to retain their ill-gotten gains. Therefore the liberation movements and Africa as a whole must be geared for a ruthless struggle in which no quarter can be asked for or given.

OUR AIMS

The aims of the liberation movements are so clear as to further mention especially in an assembly of the O.A.U.

The Charter of the O.A.U. sets out very clearly the demands of Africa regarding every country on our continent. The liberation movements desire to make these demands a reality in their countries. It might seem superfluous to make any reference to the subject of our aims but we do not consider it is so.

These days, it has become fashionable even for some African states to flout or circumvent the obligations of the O.A.U. Charter by referring to their problems and the necessity to have relations in one form or another with our enemies in Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. This is an issue so vital to the future of our people that we must be forgiven if our frankness takes precedence over etiquette.

Let us say at once that we are not unmindful of the problems and difficulties that beset our fellow Africans in many states as a result of the neglect and exploitation by former imperialist powers. Nor are we to be thought as dreamers living in a fairy-cloud cuckooland.

We understand the realities of the situation faced by some countries. But we feel that there should be a scrupulous avoidance of any words or actions aimed at dealing with that situation which may in the circumstances amount to betrayal of our peoples. It is inconceivable that some Africans should achieve happiness on the basis of the tears and grief of other Africans. In any event, the states of White supremacy which appear impregnable today are headed for inevitable defeat at the hands of aroused peoples and we must make it clear that no agreements or arrangements entered into at the expense of our people with our enemies will have much hope of survival.

There exist circumstances that require that we should express ourselves strongly on this matter particularly in the light of what is clearly a well-planned offensive by South Africa and its allies against the liberation movement and the African States.

Because of the tendency to underplay the role of Portugal in the Unholy Alliance of Salazar, Smith and Vorster, the following facts need to be emphasised.

Firstly, Portugal is encouraging massive foreign investments in the colonies. The Portuguese government has declared that "If we encourage the Western Powers in the exploitation of the resources in our territories, these powers shall be more convinced of the need to assume their military defence". Secondly, their trade links with Rhodesia have been used by the imperialist countries to undermine and defeat the sanctions resolutions against the Smith regime.

Thirdly, the Portuguese government has launched a diplomatic offensive aimed at winning their support for its African forces

EXPANSIONIST APARTHEID

The nature of Apartheid as a system of oppression and exploitation of the African people in South Africa is notorious enough. But recently, it has become clear that the Republic of South Africa has embarked on a complex and many-sided offensive against the liberation movements and the independent African states. The policy of South Africa has been a carrot and stick policy.

On the one hand, South Africa has absurdly presented itself as an altruistic state interested only in developing friendship with African independent states with the intention of promoting trade and technical aid. Despite all the inherent absurdities of a policy of oppressing Africans at home while making friends with them across the borders and abroad, white South Africa is pursuing its aim skilfully and relentlessly. The strategic object of this aspect of the South African government's policy is to create a series of client states which will provide a base directed against the liberation movements and the independent states of Africa. So that in fact the aid and trade ultimately have military and strategic aims in view. But in case the carrot of aid and trade does not achieve its aims, South Africa has other weapons in her armoury. In various parts of the continent, there is evidence of subversion supported by South Africa and its allies in Rhodesia and Portugal.

Intelligence groups have been set up in many countries: assassins, saboteurs and mercenaries are to be found wherever they can fish in troubled waters. Bribery and corruption of people through offers of aid the enemy will not hesitate to use. We feel that more attention should be paid to this aspect of South African aggression. A powerful propaganda campaign has been mounted by Radio South Africa and other agencies with the aim of denigrating the O.A.U. and supporters of the liberation movement whilst praising to the skies those who are prepared to sell their soul for a mess of pottage. And standing as a grim support for direct aggression against independent states whether in the form of threats or action is the formidable military machine which now costs hundreds of millions of pounds (sterling) to maintain and develop. Already this machine is active in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. In South Africa itself, the military manoeuvres code-named "Operation Sibasa" were obviously intended for sinister purposes. The White supremacists in Southern Africa are bold and aggressive to the point of madness.

This is perfectly illustrated by their attitude on the question of Zimbabwe. South African military forces were requested

by Ian Smith to help in the fight against the ZAPU-ANC forces in August 1967. Since then, the South African forces have been greatly expanded and the intervention has been more blatant.

A few days ago, Vortser, the fascist Prime Minister of South Africa reported that in his talks with Mr Thompson, the British Commonwealth Secretary, he had made it clear that South African military forces will go wherever they are wanted and wherever there are "terrorists". He also made it clear that the forces sent to intervene in Zimbabwe will not be withdrawn. This leads us to another matter which we feel requires careful re-examination by states and governments of Africa!

BRITAIN AND ZIMBABWE

One of the most intractable problems faced by the O.A.U. and the liberation movements in the last few years has been that of Zimbabwe. The question was brought into sharp international focus by the action of the Ian Smith group which engineered the so-called Unilateral Declaration of Independence. In reality this declaration represented the determination of White supremacists to continue the oppression and exploitation of the African people which has gone on ever since the end of the nineteenth century. But the course of events blurred this reality and made it possible to predicate strategy and tactics on the basis that Britain the colonial power was responsible not only for what had happened but had to act against the Ian Smith group by sending troops to put down that regime. The initiatives taken by the O.A.U. at the United Nations and elsewhere were based on this assumption. Britain was afforded an opportunity to demonstrate its good faith in spite of what we all knew of her imperialist policies both past and present.

The past three years have been very instructive. The tactics of the O.A.U. drove the British imperialists into a corner from which they tried to wriggle out by means of evasions and prevarications. As hundreds of Africans were killed, detained and restricted by the Smith regime, Britain held talks with the regime and indulged in fruitless legalisms. In fact, Britain now stands exposed as an accomplice of Ian Smith and his group as an oppressor of the African people.

Furthermore, the people of Zimbabwe are now engaged in a big armed struggle for total independence from both Britain and Ian-Smith. The aim of this struggle is to drive out of the country all foreign and hostile troops.

In the light of these facts, it does seem as if the time has come to examine whether or not we have not accomplished all that could be expected from previous policies and tactics. Perhaps the duplicity and perfidy of Britain has been sufficiently tested and even proved. It might now be dangerous to the development of the liberation struggle to predicate that struggle on the basis of Britain a the sovereigns administering power or to call for *her* troops in this situation. *Any British troops in Rhodesia now could be solely there to frustrate the armed forces of liberation.*

This assembly is an appropriate place and time to examine and possibly make the necessary re-appraisals in this matter.

The General Assembly of the United Nations meets in a few days time. In the New year a Commonwealth Conference is due to take place in London. The pretensions of Britain must no longer be allowed to parade under cover of mandates provided by these bodies.

AID FROM THE O.A.U.

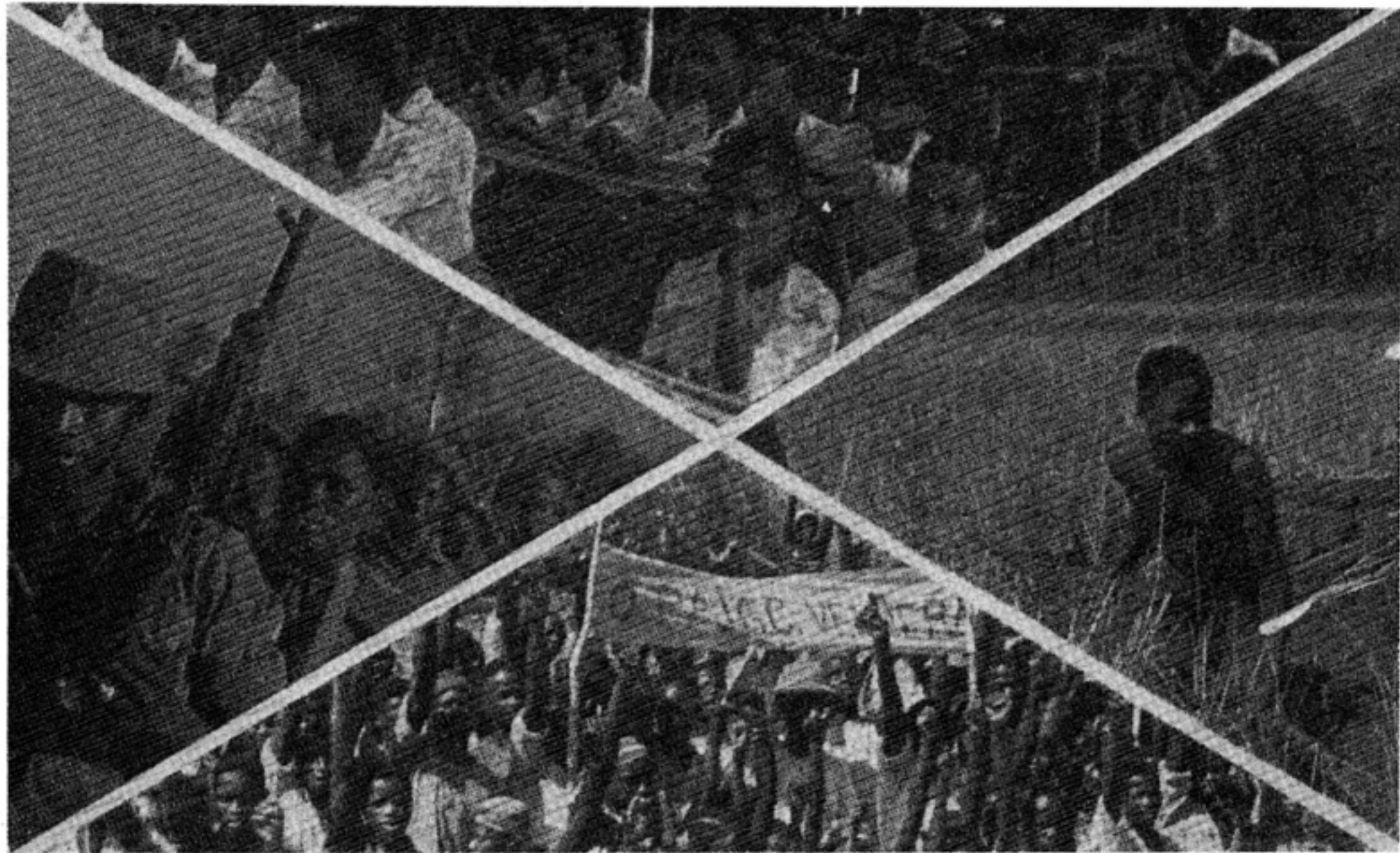
In our struggles the aid and support of the O.A.U. plays a considerable role. It is in our humble opinion vital that such support must be given to real movements that are effective and have support of the masses. This issue need not be surrounded by a whole host of technicalities and complicated reasoning. As the fighting spreads and becomes more developed this issue will be resolved on the basis of concrete evidence. We welcome the practice of sending O.A.U. missions to the fighting zones to see for themselves what is actually taking place. There are also other methods which do not depend on press reports or even the claims of organizations that should enable realistic assessments to be made regarding those movements which are real and those that are bogus and corrupt. As we speak now, new organizations are being announced in various countries in Southern Africa. This technique of apparently revolutionary organizations sponsored by the imperialists to disrupt established movements is one to be watched with extra care. The limited resources of Africa must not be wasted on ineffective movements. An armed struggle particularly requires strong disciplined movements with a single military command and capable of ensuring proper security of operations. This cannot be produced by administrative means. It is a serious political task.

A welcome development is the growing unity, co-operation and co-ordination of the struggles in countries that are still unliberated especially in Southern Africa. The unholy Alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia must be confronted by the united forces of liberation of Southern Africa and elsewhere in Africa. This is a perspective that we are energetically pursuing.

The aid and assistance needed in the war are considerable. And it is not just a question of the volume which must be commensurated with the demands of the struggle. But more and more we are now confronted by the need for speed. The situation in the fighting zones is constantly changing. Africa must therefore find means to ensure that there are swift responses to requests for help and in the facilities provided. Delays and red-tape should not stand in the way of victory in the battles we are fighting.

Over thirty million Africans are not represented as states in the Assembly of the O.A.U. Our faith in the O.A.U. rests in the justified belief that *nothing*, not even national or state interests will ever make Africa forget those oppressed Africans for one minute. If we did not believe this, we would not be here.

On our part, in the name of our people, we are determined to fight and make the kind of sacrifices which made revolutionary Algeria free and independent in a struggle against one of the world's great powers. We shall carry on the fight no matter how long or difficult it may be. We shall win because Africa must be freed.



Left: PAIGC guerillas and people's militia safeguard controlled areas of Guinea-Bissao. Top: Over 20,000 children in PAIGC schools. Right: Workers are protected by their own militia. Below: The people are solid with their movement.

SALAZAR'S AFRICAN EMPIRE CRUMBLES – AND A NEW LIFE STRUGGLES TO BE BORN

26 AUGUST

"After the troops met at the village of Suana Maongo, which had been burnt down, the column set out towards the River Lucata; about 300 metres from there, the eighth vehicle got stuck in the swampy area on the right bank of the river.

"While the vehicle was being attended to, the Company Commander gave orders to slaughter a herd of 20 head of cattle on the right bank of the river, as well as another 20 head on the opposite bank, so that they could not be used as a source of rations for the enemy.

"About 9.30 pm the column set forth again. As the vehicles left the open space on the right bank and re-entered the forest, the enemy began its second action with great intensity of fire, taking the Company completely by surprise.

"The enemy opened the ambush with a burst of revolver fire, followed by a violent salvo of machine-gun fire and semi-automatic rifles. The enemy withdrew while launching a great quantity of grenades towards the stream. Our troops immediately fired back with rifles and bazookas. The enemy, estimated at 15 men, withdrew in one minute 30 seconds. Our troops suffered the following losses. Private Amaral, dead; Sergeant Victor Santos, wounded in the shoulder; and the African guide Sozinho, wounded in the leg..."

28 AUGUST

"About 4 kilometres from the river, at a turning in the path, a native was sighted on a motor scooter who set off immediately in the other direction.

"When the guide Zebedin ordered him to stop, he quickly abandoned his scooter and fled into the bush. Private Ramos fired at him and he fell; it is not known whether he was hit or whether he was trying to protect himself..."

31 AUGUST

(After a further ambush on 29 August when another member of the Company was killed and 5 more injured.)

"About 7 am the column set off back towards base by the same route.

"According to orders, the Company took the opportunity of setting fire to the villages along the route."

19 SEPTEMBER...

The above extracts are from a combat diary captured from the dead body of a Portuguese soldier by guerillas of the MPLA (Movimento Popular Liberacao Angola) on their

Eastern Battle Front in Angola, on 19 September 1966. The dead man, Rui Pereira Agostinho, was an Officer in a Commando Company comprising 140 men. His diary record bears vivid witness to the daily frustration of anti-guerilla operations in the vast forested stretches of Eastern Angola, where the people living in the area vanish into the bush rather than encounter the Portuguese troops. The Chiefs are co-operating with the freedom-fighters; and small groups of guerillas, by laying ambushes and disappearing as suddenly as they came, can inflict damage totally disproportionate to their numbers, and hamper the heavy Portuguese transport vehicles by destroying bridges and blocking paths.

The diary also records the casualness of Portuguese brutality, the total destructiveness of their campaigns.

ANGOLA OLDEST STRUGGLE

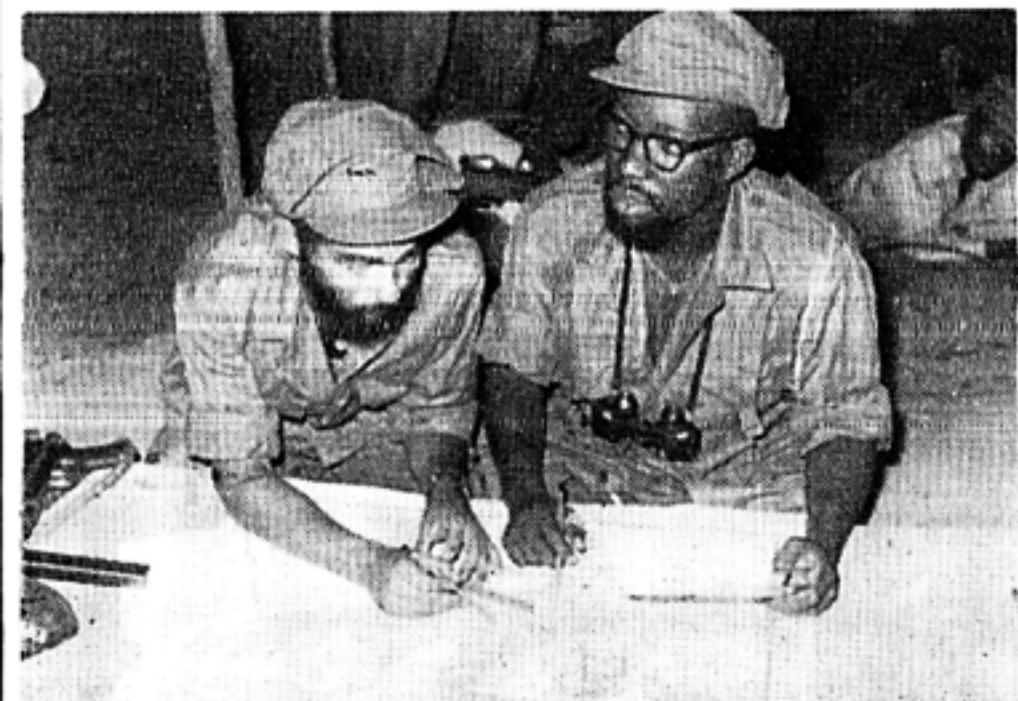
The armed struggle in Angola is the oldest in the Portuguese African territories and the oldest in Southern Africa, for it was launched more than seven years ago with the historic attack on 4 February 1961 on the prisons and police stations of the capital, Luanda, by militants of the MPLA. Soon after, rebellion broke out in the northern region of Angola, among the Kikongo people supported by their relatives in the recently independent Republic of Congo (Leopoldville, now Kinshasa). The Portuguese reply was massive repression. The Portuguese 'security' forces, already 30,000 strong in 1961, increased to 45,000 by 1964 and involved indiscriminate bombing of villages, napalm bombing and defoliation, on the pattern of American strategy in Vietnam. Thousands of refugees streamed across the border into the Congo.

Popular support was at the time divided between MPLA and the UPA led by Holden Roberto who in 1963 announced the formation of an Angolan Government in Exile (GRAE) which was recognized at the time by the OAU (Organization for African Unity).

But Roberto's UPA proved neither ready to co-operation with MPLA nor able to sustain the war; and by 1965 the areas under their control had shrunk to small areas near the Congo border.

The practical initiative had shifted to the MPLA, which had opened a battle front in Cabinda in 1964. By October 1965 MPLA was able to set about establishing schools and

Commandants Lima & Ferreira of MPLA plan an offensive



An MPLA demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnam struggle, taking place in a liberated zone of Angola.

medical centres in liberated areas of Cabinda and recruiting a popular militia to defend the military and political gains.

In May 1966, a second military front was opened in the east of the country bordering on Zambia, followed by a north-eastern front.

Today, the whole of Moxico province, parts of Cuando-Cubango and Lunda provinces, northern Cabinda, and a large area around the capital, are war zones in which MPLA's effective control is spreading and, in the organization's own words, "a new life is being born".

Between October 1966 and August 1967 alone, the MPLA claims to have put 1,939 enemy soldiers out of action; destroyed 30 military vehicles; brought down 5 enemy planes, destroyed 7 gunboats; captured quantities of enemy supplies including Israeli, Belgian, American, Italian and West German armaments; and freed 250 Angolans from a "regroupment" camp.

The situation in Angola has thus been transformed in the past few years.

GUINEA-BISSAO

Equally dramatic has been the transformation in Portugal's two other African colonies, Guinea-Bissao and Mozambique. The war of liberation in 'Portuguese Guinea' was launched by the PAIGC five years ago. The revolutionary forces now control over one-third of the country, and the guerillas, combined with a trained popular militia, now comprise a fully-fledged peoples revolutionary army.

It has held down some 40,000 Portuguese security forces which have failed to contain the growing movement, and PAIGC leaders believe that the Portuguese military staff are now considering a strategic withdrawal to the offshore Cape Verde islands, in preparation for a massive campaign of air bombardment aiming to break the revolution by a policy of sheer annihilation. They point out that Portugal no longer has much to lose — the colonial economy has come to a virtual standstill and the civil administration has largely broken down.

Medical services and education are now in the hands of the revolutionary forces. Some 20,000 children are reported to be attending PAIGC-run schools — nearly 8 times as many as were in Portuguese-run schools before the war began.



Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, attends OAU meeting in Algeria. On his left: O R Tambo of the ANC.

MOZAMBIQUE

Finally, in Mozambique the war of liberation launched in October 1964 by FRELIMO holds down 30,000 Portuguese troops. In July this year they pulled off the considerable triumph of holding their Party Congress, attended by 170 militants from deep inside Mozambique, for the first time on Mozambique soil: in the liberated area of the northern province of Niassa.

This year too they have taken up guerilla activity in the Tete province near the Zambesi River, where the politically crucial Cabora Bassa dam is to built.

Like their comrades in Angola and Guinea-Bissao, FRELIMO is developing a programme of training cadres for administration of the liberated areas, setting up schools and medical centres, and aiming at building a revolution meaningful to the people not simply in terms of military victory but of building a new life.

COMRADELY CO-OPERATION

To all three organizations — MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO — who have been developing close comradely co-operation since 1962, the political content of the revolution is crucial. This conviction is reflected in their concept of a Peoples Army which shall itself be a democratic institution. Decisions are taken after discussion in which the newest recruit is free to speak. And political education is part of the continuing training of every guerilla cadre. The people living in the areas, whose trust and co-operation are essential to guerilla success, are drawn into this process of democratic discussion and political education.

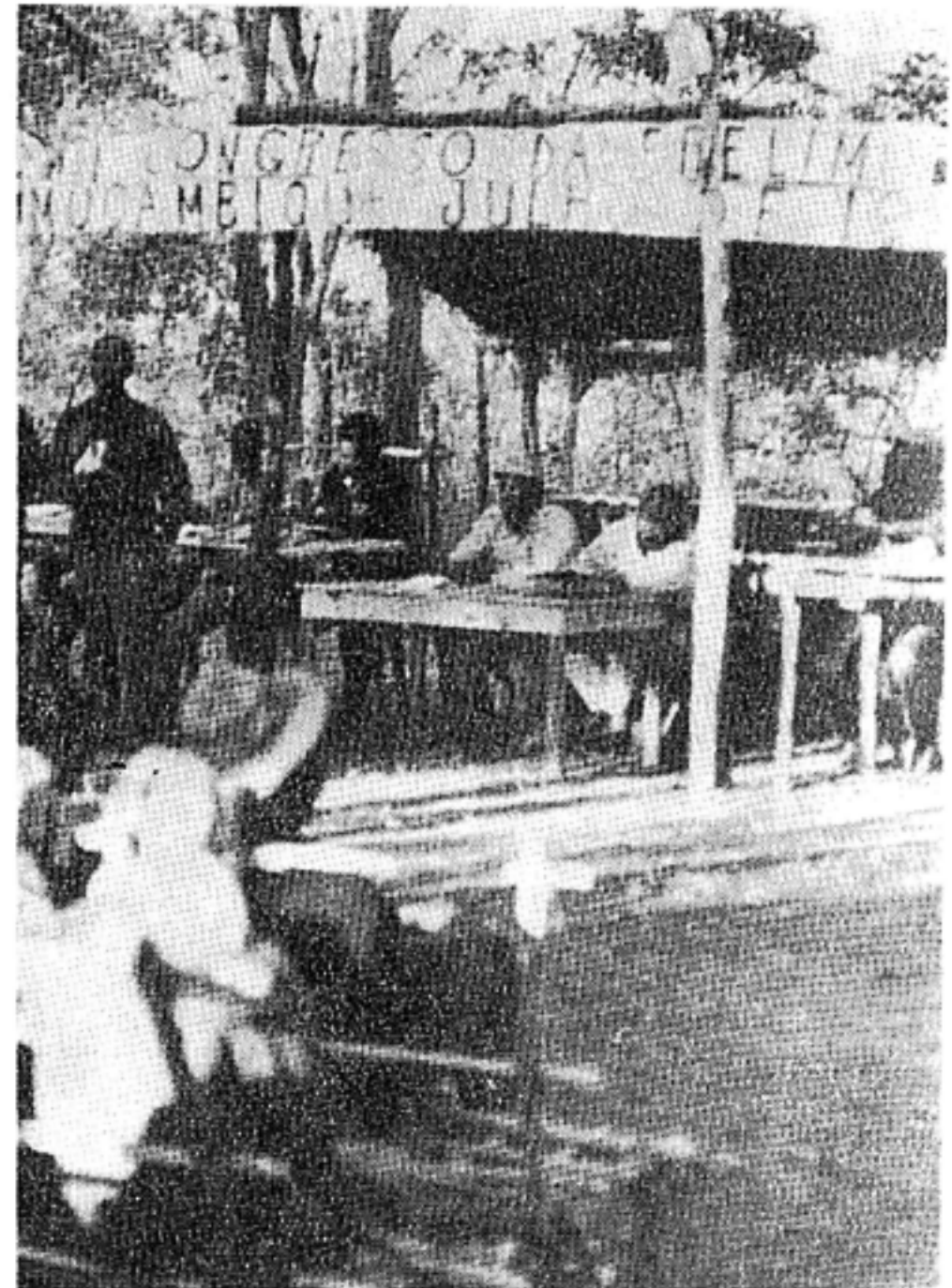
Education for the children, medical assistance to the villagers, become a part of the guerilla's daily life — and in the liberated areas the slow rehabilitation of the economy is part of this necessary concern.

Internally, the revolutionary organizations stress the need to break down tribalism, local loyalties and prejudices. Externally, they express their solidarity with revolutionary struggles everywhere, in particular in Vietnam and in their near neighbours South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). In particular, they express that their struggle is not a racial one but a political one, their quarrel is not with white men but with imperialism. And in this spirit they welcome as allies in a common struggle the people of Portugal who are ready to fight fascist rule in Africa or at home. As Agostinho Neto, the great Angolan poet and President of the MPLA said in a broadcast in June 1968: "We invite the Portuguese, the sons of the people who are kept under arms in Angola, in Mozambique and in Guinea, to desert the ranks of the colonial army, not to soil their hands with the blood of men, women and innocent children whose only aim is to be free, who are acting just as the Portuguese heroes did during the Spanish occupation... We appeal to the Portuguese soldiers to desert with their arms, and come over to the nationalist side."

PORTUGAL & WORLD IMPERIALISM

With some 120,000 troops in Africa, and no less than 40% of its budget spent annually on "defence", Portugal at last has its back to the wall in Africa. Since Portugal is one of

Presidium of the 1968 FRELIMO Congress, held within Mozambique itself in one of the controlled zones.



the poorest and least developed countries in Europe, why, and how, does one carry on the battle?

A recent analysis by a Frelimo militant (Jose Monteiro in a paper presented to the Conference 'For the Liberation of Southern Africa', Berlin, May 1968), concludes that it is Portugal's very backwardness that "enforces the maintenance of a system of direct domination". Neo-colonialism — the granting of formal independence and the development of new links of exploitation through exclusive trade, aid and investment alliances with an indigenous ruling class — is not a policy open to Portugal which has not the surplus capital. And this "incapacity for neo-colonialism" also helps to throw her into alliance with that other colonial force in Africa from which there is not retreat across the sea — apartheid.

There is a sense, indeed, in which Portugal is already the prisoner of apartheid. The economic dependence is considerable. In 1960, 400,000 Mozambican workers in South Africa and Rhodesia produced one-fifth of the foreign currency earnings of Mozambique. The current Cabora Bassa dam project, the biggest-ever development plan for Mozambique, (the dam is expected to exceed the hydro-electric product of Aswan by 70%) not only depends on South African investment and expertise, but on her custom, The Republic of South Africa is to buy HALF the power produced.

South Africa's military support may be even more crucial. Co-operation at a 'security' level dates back many years, military contact at General Staff level at least to 1962. And today, Frelimo reports the presence of S.A. troops inside Mozambique, along the Zambesi and further north in the guerilla battle zones. As the Frelimo writer already quoted says: "The participation of South African troops in the field of action in the Portuguese colonies, robs Portugal of any autonomous decision-making ability in its colonial policy. Since Portugal leaves the 'defence', indeed the fate of Angola and Mozambique, in the hands of the Rhodesians and South Africans, she has opted willynilly for the road to the 'defence' of the colonial territory well within the framework of a definite strategy which belongs essentially to South Africa." This 'strategy' is not, of course, purely a South African one — it has its place within the context of Western Imperialism. (NATO, it should not be forgotten, still trains all Portuguese army officers and supplies the principal armaments which enable Portugal to carry on her colonial wars.) And the theory has its allies in Europe, notably among British Tories such as Alec Douglas-Home and J. Amery. The argument runs as follows: The Cape Route round Africa is of increasing importance to the West, in the defence both of the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, not only at times when the Suez Canal is closed, but continually to oil tankers for instance too large to use the Canal. It is therefore in the interest of the West to keep the Cape permanently in "anti-communist" hands — and to assure this becomes the sacred mission of White South Africa and its Portuguese allies.

The PAIGC believe that this phoney 'strategic' argument is a major factor in the obstinacy of the Portuguese over Guinea-Bissao, where they have no longer an economic stake at all. Guinea-Bissao and Cabo Verde are seen as an aerial and naval west-coast base for the 'protection' of the Cape Route.

THE FUTURE

What changes can be expected in Africa, following the end of the 36-year stifling dictatorship of Salazar, the man who



At the FRELIMO 1968 Congress: Jozina Matemba, political commissar of the women's fighting unit.

was determined that the first imperial power in Africa should also be the last?

Few African revolutionaries expect sudden changes, for they know that Marcelo Caetano, the new President, was the architect of the notorious "unitary state" policy enshrined in the law of 1951, which declared Portugal's colonies to be not colonies, but "overseas territories" of a single State. By this device Portugal was able to argue to the United Nations that it had no obligations to encourage Guinea, Angola and Mozambique to independence, since they were already independent as part of Portugal!

More than this, they know that Salazar ruled through the Army and the PIDE (secret police) — and that his successor must be the creature of both. In itself, the end of Salazar means a weakening but no transformation.

The changes when they come will come through popular struggle; and when Portugal finally loses its nerve in the face of the great revolutionary advances in so-called 'Portuguese' Africa, apartheid too will tremble.

Our comrades in MPLA, Frelimo and PAIGC are not our comrades in solidarity alone — they are comrades-in-arms in a united struggle against a single enemy in Southern Africa. Their victories are our victories, and our victories are theirs.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and comment
from apartheid South Africa

FORT HARE RESISTANCE

It was back in 1916 that those stern (mainly Scottish) missionaries set up what they called the South African Native College. (Later, that offensive was changed to the University College of Fort Hare.) Under the missionaries, it had many faults. Discipline was rigid. Daily chapel was compulsory. Out-of-class contact between staff and students was, to say the least of it, discouraged. In fact, a young couple from overseas, who made friends with students, were summarily deported.

In 1955, when students organized a boycott of a segregated graduation ceremony, the then-Principal (a missionary type, if not a missionary, called Dent) panicked. He called in the police, closed the College and expelled some outstanding and politically active students. But all the same, Fort Hare gave a university education (despite a lack of equipment and a pretty rotten library) to many Africans, from all over the country and beyond its borders, who could not have got one anywhere else.

Nat Take-over

Then, in 1960, the Nats (*the regim's ruling Nationalist Party — Editor*) took over the College and turned it into a 'Bantu Tribal College' for Xhosa students. Anti-apartheid members of the staff either resigned at once or were

dismissed — to be succeeded by a mob of hard-line Nats from South Africa's real (*Boer*) tribal colleges — Potchefstroom and Pretoria. Latest of these appointees was a Potchefstroom engineer, J M de Wet selected presumably on the basis of his 'sound' political record, which Fort Hare students didn't appreciate one bit! When he was installed as rector earlier this year, he was greeted by pithy student-painted slogans on the walls. Such as 'Potch scum, go back'.

As a result of this, the rector picked out 17 students at random and warned them that they would be held personally responsible for any future trouble at the College. (He could not call on a Students Representative Council because, ever since 1960, Fort Hare students have refused, with complete solidarity in their ranks, to form one. Refusing to act as Government 'tribal' stooges, their hostility has remained implacable.) The students, moderately describing the rector's behaviour as "arbitrary", started a protest sit-in — which they did not abandon even when a raging De Wet threatened to close the College. So, once more, police arrived. This time with dogs which they used to round up the demonstrators, herd them into their hostels and later pack them home in railway buses.

Now, any student who wants to be readmitted must sign undertakings that if they take part in any 'political' action, they recognize that they will be immediately expelled. To ram his authoritarian message home, the rector even insists on returning students being accompanied by their parents (and I cannot think how most of them, spending every cent they have on their children's education, would ever be able to afford the fares).

Demonstrations protesting against these measures were organized by white English-speaking students in the major centres — and have been greeted with streams of hysterical abuse and threats from Government spokesmen. Also with considerable attention from the press which, as is its way, had previously virtually ignored the African students' stand. *Blacks, unless there's (black) violence involved, aren't news.*

BOOM WHITE, CURB BLACK BABIES

Yes, that's the positive programme (or negative — the attitude depends on your opinion) of the so-called South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SAB-RA) as expressed by its Director at its annual congress in Bloemfontain.

The theme of the Congress was 'White Population Growth'.

The Director (his name is Dr Jooste) said that if national resources could be devoted to retarding population growth of the 'less developed peoples' (that means us) rather than to accelerating their economic production, the result would be 100 times more effective in raising prosperity and production per capita.

Whose capita (*heads*) would those be, your may wonder? The answer wasn't long in coming. Dr Jooste went on to urge a higher rate of growth in the White population, where "the situation is quite different" and where "and advanced stage of development has been reached". (*Must admit I haven't really noticed it.*) He informed his audience that a higher rate of growth in this section would have the effect of *stimulating* the economy.

Yes, the economics and statistics of apartheid are strange indeed. Dr Jooste urged planning for a reduction of 50% in the birthrate of non-White peoples over the next 25 years. This would enable more provision to be made "for

factories, roads, irrigation projects and other development schemes which add almost immediately to the national product".

How? By "reducing the pressures for schools and housing".

Then, plaintively mentioning the decline in White birthrate (and noting on the way that the murder rate among Whites was the highest in the world (and they call *us* savages!) he concluded by wondering whether a special Whites-only system of family allowances would be sufficient to achieve the "ideal" of a White population of 7,000,000 by the year 2000...

Yes, SABRA certainly gets out the facts in black and white.

»CURRENT AFFAIRS«

Here are some titles from talks in the 'Current Affairs' programme, described by the SABC as a "radio leading article"...

Attacks on the Press entitled: "A Challenge to Gandar" (Mr Gandar is editor of the Rand Daily Mail); "Freedom of the Press and Assassinations".
Attacks on English churches: "The Church and Politics". "Political Priests".
Attacks on the right to hold opposing views: "Moment of Truth for Liberal Theorists". "Subversion at Universities".
Straight regime propaganda: "Implementation of Apartheid can Proceed Apace". "Integration Fosters Hate".

Attacks on Western Nations: (leaving out the attacks on others!): "Britain's Problems with Integration".

"Liberals in the American State Department". (Wonder where *they* hang out — I didn't listen to the talk.)

United Party MP Etienne Malan has been getting really steamed-up about all this. Protesting about the disproportion between Afrikaans and English-speaking members of the SABC board. Recalling how, in 1966, Minister (Hitler-was-his-

idol) Hertzog described 'opposition' requests for radio time as "ridiculous". It's odd that Mr Malan feels just the same as Dr Hertzog — he joins him in utterly rejecting the idea of *any* voice speaking for the mass of South Africa's population.

"Ridiculous!"

At the Natal Nationalist Party Congress, MP Ben Pienaar was really up in arms, demanding the total removal of Coloureds (*people of mixed race — Editor*) and Indians from Zululand. He also hit out at the large numbers of Indians who "poured" into the tourist areas of Zululand at weekends. Apparently "carloads of them" thronged the resorts (*What are these coolies doing with cars?*), "crowding out" the Whites and making conditions for them "intolerable".

INDIAN »CANCER«

An English-speaking delegate then said: "Although the Indian is a human being and has every right to breathe our God-given air, he is like a cancer which will spread right into the White areas."

More motoring trouble at the Congress. The construction of a road through White residential areas and along which Indians would travel to get to their (inevitably) outlying township, was bitterly criticized. Apparently, Indians driving through this White area would "destroy its character".

Minister of Planning Carel de Wet promised the congress a full investigation of the background to the planning of this road, which he described as *contrary to policy*. So it looks as if Indian citizens will just have to stay at home — or never get there.

Surely, by the way, now's the time to start looking into some restrictions on that "God-given air"? Science could make a real contribution to apartheid planning by directing it, like everything else, to 'Europeans Only'.

SPECIAL DISEASES

Some White nurses at the Johannesburg General Hospital who wanted to apply for working nursing posts at the Baragwanath non-European Hospital were firmly told that their applications would not even be considered unless they applied for "administrative nursing" posts.

One of the White nurses who wanted to apply told a newspaper reporter: "We all know that getting an administrative post at Bara is a short-cut to becoming a matron, but we do not want to become matrons — we want to become good nurses."

"Africans suffer from some diseases more than Whites," she said. "The only way we can gain experience in such cases is by nursing people suffering from them."

She continued: "I am specifically thinking of malnutrition..."

It seems there's an apartheid in diseases as well as in the nursing echelons.

NEW HOPE

As you see, the Whites are stamping harder all the time. Stamping on us. But (behind closed doors) in the townships, there's something else. There's a new hope. Since the tremendous news of the ANC/ZAPU attacks on the strongholds of the Smith regime (and the Nat's subsequent yells of panic about the tough times lying ahead) I've heard discussions, plans, suggestions. All in all, adding up to a surge of confidence that hasn't risen so strong since Umkonto's 1963 sabotage campaign. Must get this off, friends. But things are on the move. Greetings! Amandla Ngawethu! Power to the People!

(Editor's Note: — This column, which we began last month, will be a regular feature depending on our maintenance of present channels of communication. In it, South African correspondents will write on issues arising in the current scene in South Africa.



Photos: Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela of the ANC, both serving life sentences on Robben Island. One in every 2,000 people in South Africa is at this moment in jail for political causes. We print below, extracts from an article by Dennis Brutus on his experiences on Robben Island.

ROBBEN ISLAND

by Dennis Brutus

Always so much to say. And always so little space. Like cramping your fingers around a pencil-stub and staring at the single sheet of prison paper for the six-monthly letter; the brain cramped by the effort to say all in that space and short time. And then to ask what is essential to say? As now I ask, what was universal in my experience — mine and the thousands of other prisoners? What is central to being on Robben Island?

LEEUKOP PRISON

For most, it begins a long way before. For me at the Fort, a thousand miles away, travelling down to Leeukop prison in chains after being sentenced in Johannesburg. And then later the other journey from Leeukop to the Island, 120 in our batch, in chains, travelling squeezed in four trucks. A few half-hearted attempts at resistance songs, some disultory dispute between African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress; but generally the quiet faces in the dusk of the truck, their faces grim or strained with foreboding.

Leeukop, halfway house for most of us, where we were observed and classified before being sent on to the Island, has for most of us special memories — Kriel the young warder who had stood in the entrance of our cell and aimed vicious kicks at the genitals of prisoners after quietly ordering them to come within kicking range; Chief Warder Venter who dismissed my complaints of assaults on our cell's thirty-five: "Evidence? Blood on a tunic is not evidence. In this prison all the tunics are stained with blood."

But the horror etched most deeply in my memory of Leeukop is of Billy Nair, one of South Africa's leading trade unionists, and all his group from Durban, newly arrived with sentences of roughly 20 years, running in wild circles round the concrete quad stark naked, while the warders' batons fell with joyful thwacks and Lieutenant van Zyl urged them to greater effort. That I remember vividly. That and the chains, from the Fort to Leeukop and from Leeukop to the Island.

Then our arrival on the Island, where we covered in blankets — clothes having been removed with the chains at our wrists

and ankles — and the warning shout: "You think you've come to Robben Island. But you'll find this is Hell Island." We found it in the next few days.

A Day on the Island

On the very next day all hell broke loose. As newcomers we watched from a cell as the Masondo group were brought in from the quarry for alleged defiance. (Later Andrew Masondo was to win an action for assault as a result of this.) We saw dozens of prisoners running wildly or crawling vainly under barbed wire fences while the batons, staves and pickhandles of the warders fell indiscriminately and mercilessly after Lieutenant Fraser had quietly given the order for the carry-on. Masondo, brilliant mathematics lecturer at Fort Hare University College, had been convicted together with two of his students for attempted sabotage and sent to Robben Island where, perhaps because of his standing, he became the target of a special hostility from the warders which led to protests from him and others who were working with him in the quarry. What we witnessed was the rest of these protests.

And later on the same day we found ourselves in the thick of it when we were forced to join the Masondo group in quarrying stones at high speed at a quarry under a rain of blows from warders — building workers' planks being used as freely as batons — and the warders who were off-duty came along to help out, or join in the fun.

Day of Terror

But on the Monday things were worse. I do not think I will ever be able to erase from my mind the images of that day of terror and violence by the sea with the bright water and the bright sunlight, and the men struggling with

slimy masses of seaweed and on the sharp slippery rocks. We carried rocks from the sea. Or dug up sand and stones and wheeled off barrowloads to building embankments or sealing off inlets around the shore. And all the time men were beaten and kicked and the batons thwacked. For some it was worse than for others; those who had been school-teachers or had applied for permission to study were generally singled out; and I was both. Of the sixty who arrived with me, not one escaped assault. Many ended in hospital for cuts on the slippery rocks — the bruises from warders' blows did not count.

For me, the treatment had climaxed with kick in the stomach which brought me to hospital in Cape Town months later — not, though, from a warder, but from one of the criminals who were used as bossboys over us. Days later warders were coming over from other sections to whistle at my naked body — my entire back having turned green and purple with bruises. Their attitude was much the same as those who asked earlier to see the bullet marks on the front and back of my body: "What an awful job — they should have made a clean killing."

Horror. Physical and mental. Horror upon horror. But for some, memories infinitely more horrible than mine. Youths beaten until they submitted to sexual assaults. The sight of gang warfare among the criminals; of prisoners kicked to death by order of the Big Five — the criminal gang which ruled the prisons with the co-operation of the warders.

Some of this horror is common to prisons in many parts of the world. The torture under interrogation was often worse than anything after sentence. But the hostility towards prisoners because of their political beliefs was special. And so was the fact these prisoners were men who had risked prison for their beliefs.

The men who were condemned to end their lives in prison were men who had already elected to give their lives to the service of the country. Which had meant fighting Verwoerd and Apartheid. And it is these men who must now live out their lives in the desperately sterile concrete of the Island.

The men on the Island wait, and the years of their lives drag by.

RHODESIA PRISONERS

BY A ZIMBABWEAN

Prisoners in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are classified in three grades. These make no mention of race, yet in practice all white prisoners are placed in Grade One, all Africans in Grade Three, while Grade Two is for Coloureds and Asians. This is typical of Rhodesian settlers; to deny racialism in the letter of the law, and to practice it in the execution of the law.

For there is gross discrimination between the prisoners in the different grades.

DE-GRADED

Grade One prisoners, being White, get a 'European' diet that includes more proteins and a greater variety of food-stuffs than the diet of Grade Two and Grade Three prisoners. Grades One and Two have beds with sheets and blankets, while Grade Three has only mats on the floor and blankets. Prisoners in Grades One and Two wear unmarked white shirts and trousers; Grade Three prisoners wear shirts and shorts stamped with arrows.

Grade One prisoners who are on 'Hard Labour' work on book-binding, carpentry and other workshop trades. Grade Three prisoners do Hard Labour by digging gardens, clearing ground, and all other heavy labour required in and around the prison.

There are libraries and recreation rooms for Grade One prisoners, but none in the smaller jails reserved for Africans. Prisoners are also classified in another way, for security purposes so-called, under Standing Orders which have not been published and are not made available to the public.

SECURITY LABELS

The specified categories are labelled A, B, C or D. In principle, prisoners with 2-year sentences or less are placed under B on admission, and can be promoted to A. Those serving longer than 2 years, or convicted of violent crimes, or likely to attempt to escape, are put under C. The D class is for top "security risks", naturally including 'saboteurs', 'politicals', and hard-labour prisoners who try to escape or defy prison authorities.

Africans in the D class are isolated from other prisoners in Salisbury, and are not allowed to communicate even with one another. They are confined in a separate part of the prison which has a small, exercise yard attached to it. They may not enter the library, mess hall and places to which prisoners of other grades have access. Men in class D get no reading matter and spend much of the day and all of the night locked in their cells.

The D class is not only for Africans and not only for political offenders. All persons known to be opponents of the regime, regardless of race or crime for which convicted, go into D. Let us remember then that White and Coloured enemies of oppression also sit in prison and that they too, like Africans, are being treated as a major security risk.

VISITORS

When a visitor interviews a D-class prisoner in Salisbury Prison, Black or White, the conversation takes place in a

special room intersected by two walls of fine steel mesh which is so fine that it cannot be seen through. To make things worse, the walls of the grid are three feet apart and a warder mounts guard in the corridor between them.

Visitor and prisoner are expected to look at each other through small glass panels inserted at face level in each grid, but the glass is virtually soundproof. They must shout to make themselves heard. When, as often happens, six prisoners are lined up at the same time for an interview, and all are shouting simultaneously, the noise is both frightening and deafening. Small wonder that wives and other relatives of prisoners sometimes break down after a visit, or that prisoners themselves often find it more of a nervous trial than a comfort.

DETAINEES

Not only convicts and awaiting-trial prisoners, but also detainees are being confined in prison. There are probably more than 100 detainees in Salisbury Prison, 70 in Gwelo, 20 in Bulawayo, 12 in Connemara, 12 in Que Que and Sinoia, and an unknown number of others in the smaller prisons like Selukwe and Fort Victoria.

Most detainees are held under emergency regulations which have been in force since 5 November 1965. Some are held without trial on ministerial orders, some are being detained on police suspicion for maximum periods of 30 days at a time. Many Africans fall in the second category, and are released without charges being laid against them after being imprisoned for 'questioning'.

All detainees are kept in prison under strict discipline although they have not been charged let alone convicted.

RESTRICTEES

Restricttees, on the other hand, are held in camps heavily guarded by the police within the restriction areas.

Restricted persons live in galvanized iron huts which they must furnish with the help of relatives. They receive neither clothing nor bedding from the regime. They are issued with rations which they cook themselves. There are no library or recreation facilities in the restriction areas' camps, and visits are usually limited to one every six months.

Most of the restricttees are held in three of four camps in the remote hot and dry Gonakudzingwa restriction area on the borders of Mozambique, 400 miles from Salisbury. ZAPU leaders, like Joshua Nkomo, Lazarus Nkala, J Musika and Marembo are isolated in one camp, and have not had visits for well over six months. When wives and relatives are given permission to visit restricttees, the latter are transferred to a 'visitors camp' for 24 hours which they spend with their visitors, who are stripped, searched, on arrival and on departing.

Restriction can last for up to five years and is then renewable. For some people it means a living death.

DEATH CELLS

But death is closer and a more actual threat to the 75 men who now occupy the death cells in Salisbury Prison. Among them are men who were sentenced to death two or three years ago, and whose execution has been stayed for the moment because of the constitutional dispute over the Royal Prerogative.

With death hanging over them day and night, they occupy cells measuring 4 ft by 7 ft, do no work, have no occupation, receive few books if any, and exercise for one hour twice a day in a small enclosed yard.

ALL AFRICANS A 'RISK'

Prisoners, detainees, restrictees are 'security risks' — and so is the entire African population.

Even Harper, former Minister of Internal Affairs, has been declared a 'security risk' by no less an authority than Ian Smith, but for other reasons. Harper's alleged affair with a young blonde civil servant supposed to have been leaking confidential caucus reports to the press, made him a security risk, it is said.

Africans have a far more valid claim to that distinguished title. They are a risk to the entire regime, to the whole system of discrimination, to every oppressor in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Africans are fighting back as best they can, in the courts, in the prisons, in forests and valleys, and out of this struggle will come the end of the Smiths and the Harpers, and the liberation of our comrades in prisons and camps.

The success of Chief Tangwena's appeal is a great victory over the regime, and so is the success of Mrs Stella Madzimbamuto's appeal to the Privy Council. Let us look for a moment at the importance of these two cases.

Chief Tangwena refused to obey the regime's order, which was that he and his people should leave their ancestral land because it had been alienated by the Crown in 1905 and was subsequently declared "European land" in terms of the segregation Land Apportionment Act. The Chief was prosecuted and convicted for defying the regime. But the court set the conviction aside because, it said, the Chief's people had been in possession of the land before it was alienated and because no Proclamation had been issued to order them off. Will other Chiefs and peasant communities follow Chief Tangwena's example?

In the case of Daniel Madzimbamuto, the Privy Council ruled that he and hundreds of other detained and restricted persons are being held unlawfully because the Smith regime is unlawful and its emergency regulations are invalid. The Rhodesian High Court Judges, or most of them, will defy the Privy Council and refuse to order Madzimbamuto's release; but the prisoners, detainees and restrictees will know, as will the entire African population, that they are being jailed, detained, and oppressed by a regime that has no moral or constitutional authority, that can rely only on force of arms, and that must be swept aside by force of arms.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Finied For Staying Home

Another 98 members of the Bakubung people of Rustenburg were each sentenced to a fine of R100 (£55) or 3 month's imprisonment on charges of residing illegally on government property. 51 members of the tribe were previously convicted because they had ignored a court order about the same offence. The Bakubung have occupied the land for the past 100 years. They were ordered in 1966 to vacate the land as part of the nation-wide application by the white regime of apartheid policy, which requires the ultimate segregation of all Africans into the so-called 'homelands' or 'Bantustans'.

White South Africa Flag

S. A. Prime Minister Vorster was accorded a standing, almost frenzied ovation when he announced to a White audience that the time was now ripe for South Africa to have a new flag. He said the necessary steps towards the introduction of a new flag would be taken when Parliament met next year. The new flag would be a flag for White South Africa, he said. The Transkei already had its own flag and other homelands would get theirs when they reached the appropriate stage of development.

Removals Facts & Figures

Thousands of Indian people all over South Africa have been moved from their homes and places of work in terms of the notorious Group Areas Act.

In the Transvaal only 7½% of the Indian and Coloured populations have not been affected by the Group Areas Act. Only 10% of Indian businessmen have

been able to re-establish themselves in the new areas.

Johannesburg's Indian Community is gradually being moved to Lenasia — 22 miles from the city where these people must work and trade.

The Coloured people in the Cape have been hard hit by the Government's forced removal legislation. For example, the fishermen of Simonstown and Kalk Bay have lived for generations in cottages overlooking the sea — source of their livelihood — but are now to be 'removed' from these areas which have been declared "White" harbours. 50% of the shops in Simonstown are run by Coloured people (i. e. people of mixed race) and the town's voluntary fire services are manned mainly by Coloured people.

More than 31,000 African women were "endorsed out" of urban areas in South Africa in 1965 and the number is increasing yearly. Some of them have entered urban areas "illegally". There is a total embargo on the entry of African women into most urban areas — including those country-born women whose husbands work and live in urban areas. This is because of Pass Law technicalities or when they have been widowed, divorced or deserted. The plight of these women once removed with their children is desperate. Employment opportunities in the areas to which they are sent are generally negligible and those who do find work are lucky to earn R3 (under £2) per month.

Killing Chickens and Men

Ronald William Evans of the Rietfontein Smallholdings walked out of court a free man after hearing Mr Justice Ludorf tell him: "The accused had no

intention of killing. He was merely preserving his father's property and was under the impression that he was arresting a fowl thief."

Mr Evans, a White man, was accused of killing a farm hand, Mr Jim Sibiya, aged 60, by holding him round the neck in a scissors grip. According to medical evidence, Mr Sibiya died of asphyxiation.

Evans told the court that he and a younger brother, Raymond Evans, arrived at the house and heard a commotion at the fowl run. He went to investigate and saw an African in the darkness sitting over something.

"I asked him what he was doing and he said he was plucking a fowl. I told him that it was an odd time of the night to do it and ordered him to put the fowl back. It then looked as if he was coming for me."

Evans, aged 42, said he then held the African in a scissors grip with his legs round the man's chest and neck. He suddenly felt the African going limp. He thought it was a "trick" but released pressure and saw that there was really something wrong.

"I had no intention of killing the man. I did not know that my father had instructed him to clean a fowl," stated Evans.

Death For Theft

According to medical evidence at an inquest in the Klerksdorp Magistrates Court, Mr Leslie Tsuela aged 19 of Jouberton African Township near Klerks dorp, died of impairment to his respiratory system caused by water on the lungs and pneumonia, a few hours after quistioning by detectives. Mr Mischack Tau, who had been detained with Mr Tsuela, said he and Tsuela were taken from their cell to the veld near Klerksdorp by three policemen. It was in connection with an allegation of housebreak and theft.

"When we arrived at the place, we were ordered to remove the spare wheel, a crowbar and a piece of tube from the boot. I was then locked in the boot while the policemen talked (sic) to Mr Tsuela," said Mr Tau. "From the boot, I heard the deceased screaming and groaning. He shouted that he knew nothing of those things."

When they were finished with Mr Tsuela, continued Tau, they took him (Tau) out of the boot. He saw that Mr Tsuela was lying on the ground. His clothes were dust-covered. Two detectives then put him in the car.

"Then it was my turn," said Mr Tau. "They told me to sit on the spare wheel. They put the crowbar under my arms and through the bend of my legs. The piece of tube was pulled over my face and then someone slapped me in the face."

The two of them were then taken back to the charge office. Mr Tau said he was taken to a cell immediately and Mr Tsula joined him there later.

"When Mr Tsuela entered the cell he said that those people had finished him. He said his stomach was sore and rubbed his chest all the time."

Mr Tsuela died about 9 in the evening, in the cell. Other prisoners were present.

Multi-Segregated Sport

The South African regime not only does not permit sport between White and Non-White — it is against sport between African and Coloured. Permits are issued for such sport in Coloured and African areas only if there are separate entrances for Coloureds and Africans, separate seating and, if possible, separate toilets.

Games between Coloureds and Africans in White areas are not allowed at all. This is disclosed in a Government directive received by the Port Elizabeth School Feeding Fund, which wanted to organize a rugby match between Coloured and African teams to raise funds for needy children. The organizers asked for permission to hold the match in the centre of Port Elizabeth, a 'white area'. After waiting until the Rugby season had nearly ended, the secretary of the P. E. School Feeding Fund received this letter from the Town Clerk:— "I enclose for your information a copy of a memo dated November 13, 1967 from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Pretoria, which is self-explanatory. In view thereof, I suggest that you submit an application to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Port Elizabeth, for permission to arrange the Rugby match."

The memo ran as follows:—
"The Minister has decided as follows

regarding mixed sport between Bantu and Coloureds:

"a. It should not be encouraged at all.
"b. It should not be allowed in White residential and group areas at all.

"c. In Coloured areas, a permit may be issued for games between Bantu and Coloureds; on condition that separate entrances and seating facilities are provided and if possible, also separate lavatories.

"d. In Bantu residential areas, provided that the local authority also agrees, and under the same conditions as (c) above.

"e. Coloured Affairs and Coloured Councils (local authority) when in existence, should also be consulted and if they have any objections it should be refused.

"f. Applications received less than 14 days before the games are to be refused. "The same conditions are to be applied where Indians are concerned.

"Until suitable golf courses are available, this arrangement does not affect golf tournaments. Please enquire how far the golf courses in Section B have progressed.

"Kindly notify all persons concerned, including Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioners.

"Signed: Deputy Secretary (White Area)."

"White By Night" Towns

The S. A. regime has declared Pietersburg the first "white-by-night" town in South Africa. This means that in future on Africans may "live in" as servants in white areas there. Warmbaths will be the next town to be 'white by night'.

The declaration of white towns and cities as areas in which Africans servants could not sleep in, was the logical consequence of Government policies, said Dr Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration. Pietersburg was now "free and clean" as a result of the declaration.

At the Nationalist Congress in Natal, Mr Myburgh of Malvern, commenting on the move, said: "Any (White) housewife who is a real 'volksmoeder' (mother of the nation), whether she works or not, will not mind doing her own housework after 6 pm." This was accompanied by loud cheers from the bulk of the all-white Congress.

ADDRESSES

Sechaba may be obtained from these bookshops addresses and ANC offices.

TANZANIA African National Congress of South Africa, P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam.

TANZANIA African Bookshop, P.O. Box 20837, Dar es Salaam.

ZAMBIA African National Congress of South Africa, P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka

ALGERIA African National Congress of South Africa, 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers.

U.A.R. African National Congress of South Africa, 5 Ahmad Hishmat Street, Zamalek, Cairo.

INDIA African National Congress of South Africa, A 66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3.

INDIA Manisha Granthalaya Ltd, 4/3B Bankim Chatterjee St, Calcutta 2, West Bengal.

ENGLAND African National Congress, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.

ENGLAND Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road, London W.C. 2.

IRELAND Anti-Apartheid Movement, 173 Barton Road East, Dundrum, Dublin 14.

HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Leidsestraat 25, Amsterdam.

HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Hoogstraat 143, Rotterdam.

FRANCE Michele Vial, 19 Villa de L'epid'or, 78 Saint-Cyr-L'ecole, Paris.

NORWAY Mr Lars Allden, Holtegt 24 Oslo 3.

JAPAN Far East Booksellers, Kanda, P.O. 72, Tokyo.

JAPAN Maruzen Co Ltd, P.O. Box 605, Tokyo Central, Tokyo.

AUSTRALIA Third World Bookshop, 35 Goulburn Street, Sydney 2000.

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FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA



Part 2. USA, West Germany

American investors have for some time had interests in Southern Africa, particularly in mining. Much of the capital in the Central Mining Rand Mines group, for instance, is American. The Tsumeb copper mines in South West Africa are exploited by a subsidiary of the giant American Metal Climax (New York) which also controls the Rhodesian Selection Trust, one of the two groups dominating copper-belt mining in Zambia. And US trade with South Africa has been considerable, particularly since the last war. America was, until replaced in the last few years by Britain, the principal source of motor vehicle imports into South Africa. But massive US financial involvement with apartheid is a comparatively recent phenomenon. The significance of US investment lies not so much in its size — amounting to about 500 million dollars in 1963 and still a bad second to Britain — but in the fact that it is rapidly increasing.

Opening After Sharpeville

Politically, the single most important fact about US financial support for apartheid is that its most dramatic growth dates from 1960, the year of the Sharpeville Massacre. It was the US that bailed South Africa out of the financial crisis that followed Sharpeville; the US that helped restore the confidence of overseas investors at a time when this 'confidence' had been badly shaken by the imminent threat of country-wide violence provoked by the brutal massacre of innocent people at Sharpeville which had the effect of reducing South Africa's foreign reserve to the lowest level in years.

In 1960, direct US investment in South Africa amounted to some 286 million dollars, and this sum was almost doubled by 1963. A recent estimate published by the American magazine Newsweek puts the total as high as 600 million.

Dollar Backs High Profits

Profits from investments in Vorster's Republic are indeed, as Marcus D Banghart of the ubiquitous Newmont Mining Corporation once remarked, "tantalizing". They are in fact

among the highest in the world for American investor groups, rising from an average return of 19.7% in 1961 to 26% in 1963. In some cases, ratio of earnings to investment has been 30% or higher, and the average return over the period since 1958 has been 12½%. These figures can be compared with the average return of 6.6% for American investment in Western Europe, and 5½% for its overall average. Since 1958, according to the Moorgate and Wall Street review in 1964, profits from US investments in South Africa have been higher than in any country. Mr Banghart boasted in 1962 of his connection with South Africa. "We know the people and the Government", he said, "and we back our convictions with our reputation and our dollars."

Mr Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange, held similar views. In the same year he stated: "The whole Western world and all the nations of the free world, of which South Africa and the US are two outstanding examples, will have to work together more in the coming years."

And the extraordinary Mr Charles Engelhard, adviser to the US State Department, major donor to Democratic Party Funds and a magnate mining in South Africa second only to Mr Harry Oppenheimer perhaps, believes that "there are not many countries in the world where it is safe to invest, and South Africa is just about the best of the lot."

And finally, economic self-interest and political strategic opportunism combine in the opinion of General Luris Norstad, former NATO Commander in Europe and later President of the Owens-Corning Group which in 1965 launched a 1.4 million dollar expansion scheme in the Republic of South Africa: "This country's record of economic and industrial expansion is outstanding. We have great appreciation of South Africa's importance as an ally and as an economic force in the free world."

Number of US Companies

Over 180 major US companies were operating plants or subsidiaries in the Republic in 1965, compared with 85 in 1960. Among recent investments are 30 million dollars by General

Motors, 11 million by Fords, 35 million by Chrysler, 3 million by Goodyear and 7½ million by Crown-Zellerbach. Singer sewing machines and Xerox have increased their investments by unknown amounts.

In 1952, a list of US firms operating in South Africa published by the US Department of Commerce included

- 2 advertising agencies
- 10 motorcar companies
- 13 drug and cosmetic companies
- 12 electrical concerns
- 10 food and beverage firms
- 6 import-export companies
- 14 industrial machinery companies
- 9 mining companies
- 5 motion-picture companies
- 2 office-machines companies
- 4 oil companies
- 5 rubber goods concerns
- 5 steel companies
- 9 tractor and farm equipment companies
- 7 transport and insurance companies
- and 11 others.

Loans After Sharpeville

This list however made no mention of the large banking and finance companies whose loans to South Africa since 1961 revived South Africa's economy from the post-Sharpeville crisis. The major private institution involved was the Chase Manhattan Bank, which loaned 10 million dollars to the SA Government followed by the First National City Bank with 5 million. Chase Manhattan has since actually joined with a South African bank, the Standard Bank, to form a joint concern to take care of its interests in Africa.

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

Talons of Engelhard

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

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

In 1958, while the United Nations was voting to condemn South Africa's policy of apartheid, Engelhard organized the American-South African Investment Company, which raised 30 million dollars in the US to be invested in South Africa. Engelhard's investment banker in these ventures, Dillon Read and Co, is also the traditional US investment banker for the SA Government. The Chairman of Dillon Read and Co is still a Director of Engelhard's South African Investment Adviser Ltd.

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

USA Opposes Sanctions

The US Government, at the UN elsewhere, has repeatedly denounced apartheid. According to the late Adlai Stevenson, "Time is running out" to avoid "a racial conflict which could seriously trouble peace and progress throughout the world". And since the start of 1964, following the Security Council resolution of 1963 urging an international arms embargo against apartheid South Africa, it has imposed an embargo on the sale of arms and munitions to South Africa. But parallel with this stand the USA, together with Britain and France, has opposed every move to use economic sanctions against the apartheid regime, voting against the November 1962 resolution calling for the total isolation of South Africa, and against the 1963 resolution proposing an oil embargo against the Republic, etc etc.

Far from sympathizing with sanctions, the US Government has over recent years given every encouragement to the South African economy. In addition to the transactions involving the IMF and the World Bank in 1961, the US Government authorized a loan in September 1958 of 24 million dollars for long-term South African projects, followed by a further loan in September 1960 and other loans since, guaranteeing American exports to South Africa. South Africa enjoyed some 40 million dollars worth of "revolving credits" through US banks in 1963.

Since 1960, when Cuba was struck off the US quota of sugar imports, the South African quota has risen from zero to over 100,000 tons in 1965. The US has a large surplus of uranium; yet the Atomic Energy Commission (with its British equivalent) has an agreement with South Africa to deliver 5,480 tons of uranium oxide per year until 1970. According to the London publication AFRICA 1964, 12 dollars per pound is being paid for this uranium, although America producers would be willing to sell for 4 dollars a pound.

This is the price US imperialism is prepared to pay to buy itself into a position in which it can draw more profits based on the exploited mass of African and non-white workers.

WEST GERMANY

Whereas the US uses the above tactics, West German imperialism relies on the fact that South Africa is ruled by people who supported and still support fascism.

West German monopoly capital has established some of its closest ties with the South African nazi superstructure through its participation in the State Trusts. The capture of state

power was vital to the growth of Afrikaner (Boer) capital. State Trusts played a central role in bringing it to its present position.

IsCOR, Escom, Sasol & Bonn

On ISCOR (steel trust), the memorandum entitled 'The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance' reports:—

ISCOR's first technical and office personnel came from the Ruhr area. In South African engineers were trained in the Ruhr area. Down to the present day, the 'Guetehoffnungshuette', 'Demag' and other West German blast furnace firms deliver SM furnaces, rolling-mill trains and everything needed for further expansion of ISCOR. Technical innovations, such as the rotor process developed in the 'Guetehoffnungshuette', are also placed at the disposal of ISCOR on the basis of contracts." (p. 19)

"ISCOR is also the State Trust with which Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation came to an agreement. The Deutsche Bank (West German) under Abs also supported ISCOR in a transaction of this kind with Oppenheimer by granting a credit of 50 million Marks (£5.3m)." (p. 21)

The West Germans also play an important part in another State Trust, ESCOM, producing electric power.

"The West German AEG (one of the two giant West German electrical industry trusts) has already provided most of the generators for the ESCOM power plants and in 1965 alone it built equipment for ESCOM valued at 30 million Rand (138 million Marks — £14.6 million)." (p. 21)

The other West German electrical trust, Siemens, is also involved in ESCOM through the expansion of the latter's 'hydro-electric and heat and atomic power stations'.

With the help of the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner (West German) Bank, ESCOM had obtained advances amounting to £348 million by the end of 1964. Since then more advances have been obtained including 50 million Marks from the Dresdner Bank.

In SASOL, the third State Trust, the role of West German capital is even more prominent. The first liquefying plant at SASOL was set up on the basis of the West German Fischer-Tropsch process.

"85% of the machines and technical equipment came from West Germany. Licences came from the Ruhrchemie AG and the Lurgi Society for Thermal Technology (Frankfurt-on-Main), which alone planned and built more than third of the SASOL works. The experts came from West Germany, including poison gas specialists and rocket fuel specialists. Dr Felix Prentzel, Ministerial Direktor in the Federal Economics Ministry, acted as organizer, adviser and liaison" (p. 22)

Further evidence of the alliance between state and private capital in building up the bastion of nazi power in South Africa, is provided by the intervention of Ludwig Erhard, then Economics Minister, in the affairs of SASOL. This was in the mid 1950s when the South African Government ran into some difficulty in obtaining the necessary construction steel in West Germany. The 'Afrika Post' (Pretoria 1956) stated:—

"Only after the intervention of the Federal Economics Minister... were the necessary quantities (of steel) allocated from German production and placed at the disposal of South Africa."

The tactics of the "secret ally" extend to falsifying of statistics of camouflage the real purposes behind the Nazi coalition. The South African racists have taken over some of these techniques. For instance, they have changed their categorizations of goods so that the lists cannot be compared with any others in the world. By this means they seek to disguise the import/export trade which they are handling for Ian Smith.

Old Nazis Together

The dependence of the Afrikaner capitalist on the West German ally is crucial. The dominance of the Afrikaner (Boer) would not have been achieved so quickly if it had not had this ally. Indeed, historical experience would suggest that the giants of South African monopoly capital such as the Oppenheimer trust would have continued to increase their lead. This, however, has not happened and the intervention of West German capital is crucial in understanding this. One should not, of course, omit to mention that at the end of the war substantial Nazi capital flowed to South Africa, where its safety was assured by the Nationalist take-over in 1948.

Behind the growth of this co-operation between West Germany and South Africa stand people who are old acquaintances, united in a Nazi kameradschaft. This is perhaps one of the most startling aspects of the whole thing. The 'Bonn-Pretoria Alliance' memorandum exposes the fact that Hitler's Nazis are still pursuing the demented designs of their grand master.

Vorster's part is well enough known. Alongside him however stand other old Nazis like Diederichs, South African Finance Minister. A graduate of German universities and leader in the secret Boer society, the Broederbond, Diederichs has been one of the main architects of the West German/South African alliance. He has risen to a position of prominence from beginnings as a student in the Nazis' 'Anti-Komintern' training-school.

In West Germany he has a close colleague in Hermann Abs, head of the Deutsche Bank, leading West German bank. The same man had been described by the US Department of Justice in 1945 as one of the big financiers and industrialists who exercised the strongest influence on the orientation of Hitler's policy. Abs was a member of the Nazi party from 1933 to 1945. Today he is the most powerful single person in the monopolist capitalist structure of West Germany, in banking, industry and armaments.

The Nazi scientists who are developing gas in Sasolburg and the brain imports into the SA State Trusts are not the only West German agents in our country. South Africa is also shielding Nazi war criminals, a number of whom were introduced into the South African defence forces. Thus it was that ex-SS officers could publicly meet West German Finance Minister Strauss in South Africa and present him with 'a badge of honour of the Kameradschaft'.

West Germans in South Africa

More important however, as the 'Bonn-Pretoria Alliance' discloses:— "The decisive posts in South Africa's stateowned trusts are almost without exception occupied by men who come either direct from the West German monopolies or were trained in them." (p. 61)

There is a string of doctors — Meyer, Kruger, Jordan — in ISCOR's management; Strassacker at the head of ESCOM, Rousseau and Thomas in SASOL, etc etc.

A part of the expanding sphere of state monopoly capital is the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC). Over the past few years the IDC has been involved in almost every major project undertaken in South Africa. IDC President is Dr H J van Eck, who studied in Berlin and Leipzig. But the actual management and power of decision in this key organization lies with Dr G S J Kuschke, German financial expert and Director-General of the IDC. (p. 62)

German representatives are to be found also on the Atomic Power Board, in the Afrikaner mining trust 'Federale Mynbou Beperk', and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Head of the latter is Dr S M Naude, who is German-trained and a member of the West German Physical Society. According to the Bonn-Pretoria memorandum, almost all important departments of the CSIR are headed by German experts.

South African Nazis

From the South African side, van den Bergh, former Police Chief (Security) and now special security adviser to Vorster, is a notorious Nazi. In October 1966 he gave the Nazi salute at the funeral of his friend Hans van Rensburg, avowedly the top man in the fascist organization the 'Ossewabrandwag'. M C Botha is now Minister of Bantu Administration and a leader of the extremist clique in the Nationalist Party, together with his friend Albert Hertzog.

Others known for their Nazi sympathies include men like Piet Botha (Minister of Defence) and his Commanding Officer in the Armed Forces, Hiemstra, who refused in 1939 to fight against the Nazis. There are J F Biermann (head of ground forces), H H Biermann of the Navy, and Hartzenberg (head of Armed Forces Administration).

So brazen have the neo-Nazi forces in South Africa become, that in March of this year West German Minister of the Interior Luecke, on a visit to South Africa, could express his thanks that South Africa "opened its doors to my countrymen who had lost everything in the fatful war. A friendship which has survived the most bitter want and despair will not be forgotten."

Propaganda and Investment

Finding not only willing partners in South Africa, but also labour conditions best approximating those they had grown accustomed to in Hitler Germany, the West German monopolists have also launched a general economic offensive, striving for positions of leadership where other monopolists used to rule the roost.

The West German press is continuously trumpeting forth about South Africa's "attractiveness" to industrialists and financiers. It is a "paradise for investors", a country where capital can be "profitably invested", and where there is "still scope for business enterprise". Diederichs himself told his West German friends: "There are still golden opportunities on the South African coast". Therefore it was not surprising that the West German paper 'Die Welt' declared on 24 June 1966: "Nowhere do coloured people have it so good as in South Africa".

This propaganda barrage is accompanied by increasing West German investment in South Africa. The most dramatic of these ventures is copper-mining at Palaborwa in the Transvaal. Here is found Africa's largest copper mine. Most of its output goes to West Germany. This is not surprising as the West Germans are at the head of the international consortium which finances Palaborwa. The 'Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau' has sunk 108 million Marks (£11m) in the project. Abs is Chairman of the Board of Directors. Apart from this, West German participation is guaranteed by the Deutsche Bank (also Abs's) and the West German government.

West German Expansion

Two factors should in time come to the fore in this continued onslaught by the West German monopolists.

Firstly, the West German economic recovery since the war is palling, with increases in production costs, balance of payments problems etc, i.e. current problems indicating contradictions within the capitalist system. So West German capital will more readily 'emigrate' to South Africa where the 'Aryan race' is in alliance with the 'white race' in favour of the maximum suppression of the African and other non-white workers.

Secondly, to an increasing extent, it should be expected that more and more government contracts will go to West German firms or firms jointly controlled by West German and Afrikaner (Boer) monopolists. In this way the West Germans should enjoy advantages over competing monopolists. This can also be done by manipulation of import licences which the South African government operates.

Already we have examples of what is to come. Rheinstahl, second biggest West German steel firm and controlled by Abs, has joined the Federale Mynbou/General Mining Group and will in future conduct its South African business through this joint enterprise. The Lurgi company has also founded a subsidiary which is to attend to the filling of its big contracts for the State Trusts.

Clearly then, the 'financial powers' of West Germany are not intent on 'selling out' the white man.

There is no certainty about the West German share in total foreign investment in South Africa. During 1966 two differing estimates were given. Dr O Schedl, Economics Minister in Bavaria, gave the figure as 85 million Marks. The Vice-President of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr D G Jantzen, has given the figure as 330 million Marks. Further, the South African estimate that West Germany has a 3% share would put the figure at 600 million Marks.

What is clear however, is that West German state monopoly capitalism is intent on quietly strengthening its position in the system of brutal exploitation of South Africa's black workers.

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