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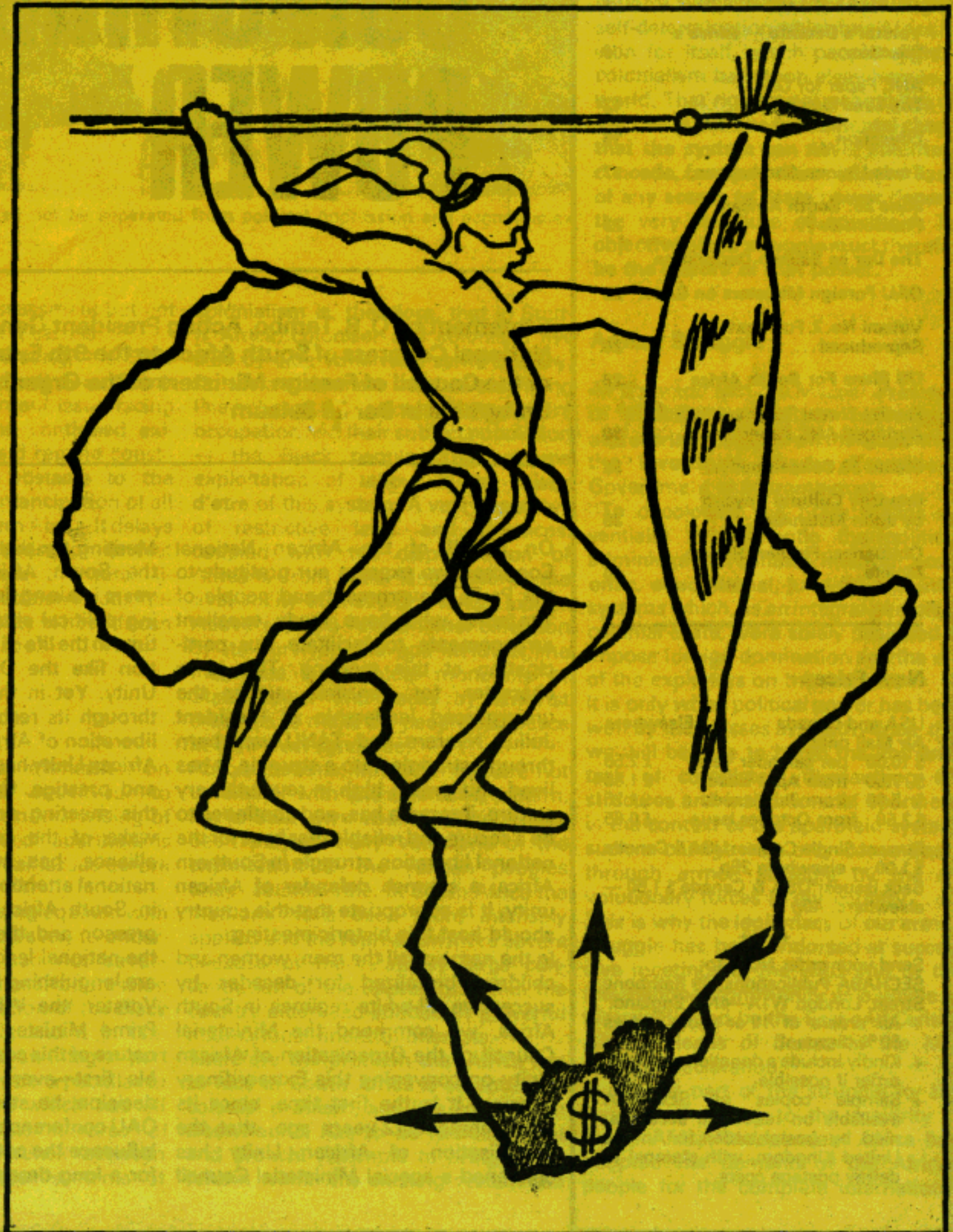
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ANC Calls on OAU to ...

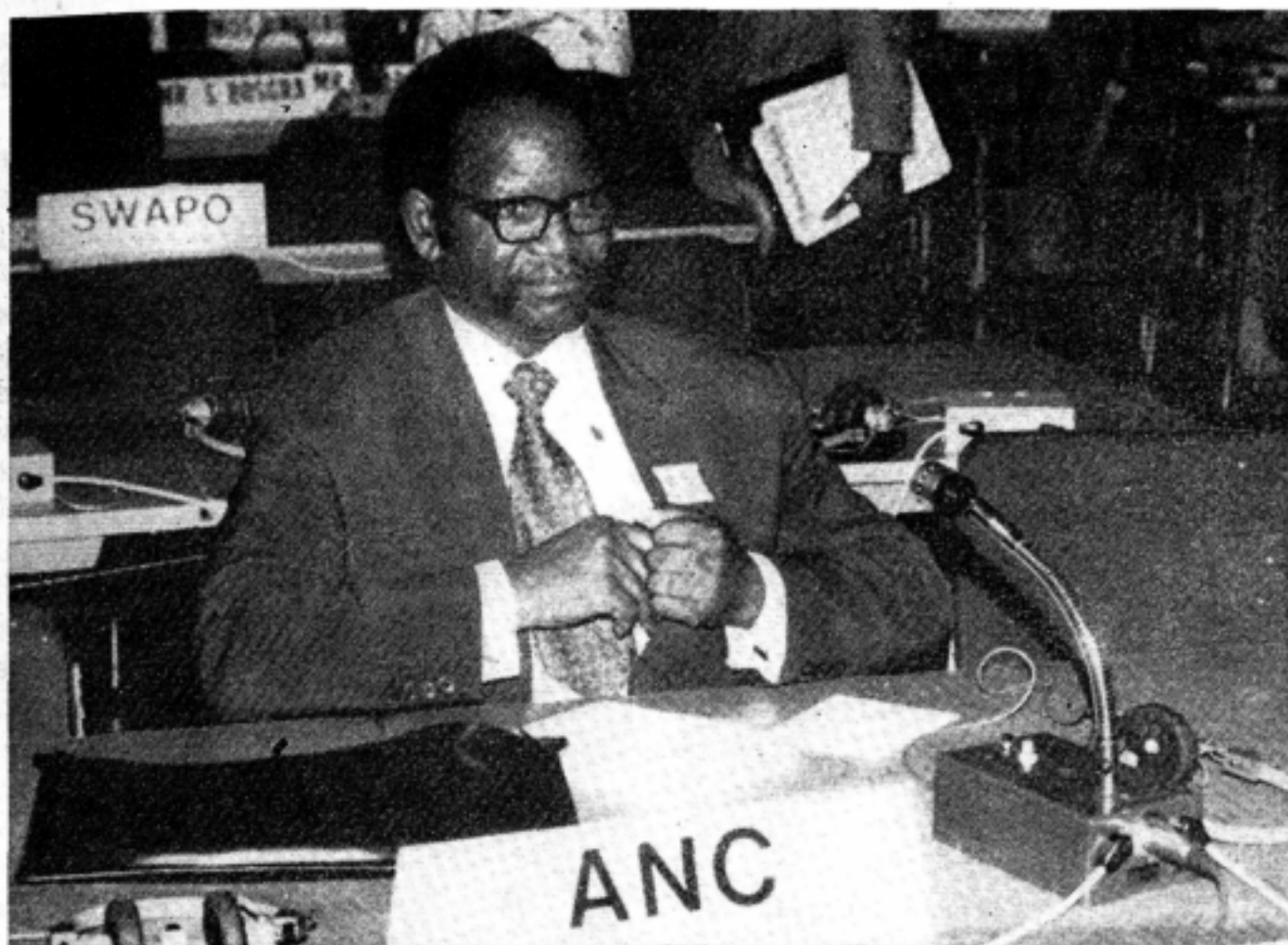
INCREASE OUR STRIKING POWER

Statement by O. R. Tambo, Acting President General of the African National Congress of South Africa to the 9th Extraordinary Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, held in Dar Es Salaam

On behalf of the African National Congress, we express our gratitude to the Party, Government and people of Tanzania, who have made excellent arrangements to facilitate our participation at this meeting. This is in character, for Tanzania, under the unsurpassed leadership of President Julius Nyerere and TANU was born through struggle, into a struggle. It has lived and grown high in revolutionary stature. Tanzania has, and continues to be a secure and reliable rear base for the national liberation struggle in Southern Africa, a staunch defender of African unity. It is appropriate that this country should host this historic meeting.

In the name of all the men, women and children brutalized for decades by successive all-white regimes in South Africa, we commend the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity on convening this Extraordinary Session. It is the first time, since its establishment 12 years ago, that the Organisation of African Unity has convened a special Ministerial Council

Meeting for the purpose of discussing the South African situation. Twelve years is a long time in our rapidly changing political situation. But it is a short time in the life of an inter-State organisation like the Organisation of African Unity. Yet in this short space of time through its record of support for total liberation of Africa, the Organisation of African Unity has developed such power and prestige, that its decision to hold this meeting on South Africa, in the wake of the collapse of the unholy alliance, has attracted intense international attention. This is particularly so in South Africa, among both the oppressor and the oppressed, including the national leaders of our people who are languishing in enemy prisons. John Vorster, the White minority regime's Prime Minister confirmed the crucial nature of this conference, when, making his first—ever reference to an OAU decision, he stated: "The forthcoming OAU conference in Dar es Salaam could influence the course off events in Africa for a long time to come."



Tambo: "...racialism can not be separated from political oppression and economic exploitation of Blacks..."

We agree with his assessment but not with the veiled threat it carries.

In convening this meeting, the OAU correctly focussed attention on South Africa as the most urgent issue facing Africa today. For the continued existence of the apartheid regime constitutes the principal obstacle to the complete and rapid emancipation of all the peoples of Southern Africa. It delays the process of decolonisation in that region and postpones the total liberation of Africa. In addition it constitutes a threat to the security of free African nations and world peace.

Nature of Apartheid

At the outset of our discussion on South Africa let us endeavour to establish a common understanding of what the true nature of apartheid is and hence what the real issues before this meeting are.

Apartheid has often been equated with racialism. We need however, to understand that racialism can not be separated from the political oppression and economic exploitation of the Black people. It serves both, and is in turn sustained by both. It is an integral part of a socio-economic system peculiar to South Africa, but one which has all except the geographic features of colonialism. The difference between South Africa and other systems of

colonialism is, therefore, that in South Africa, coloniser and colonised live side by side within the same country. Colour and race are used as a dividing line between the resident White army of occupation and their subject population — the Black people. The extreme exploitation of labour is the *raison d'être* of this system. A vast apparatus of restrictive laws and practices, coupled with the dispossession of Africans from their land ensures the availability of cheap and forced labour. Above all, as a fundamental condition of its survival, the apartheid regime maintains a complete monopoly of State power and seeks by terrorist methods to make the people acquiesce in their own servitude.

African nations, Mr. Chairman, are not unfamiliar with this colonialist pattern, for in their own countries there have been played many variations of the exploitation of the African peoples under colonial rule. In South Africa the methods have been more intensely applied and the repression more severe because of the relatively large concentration of the oppressor within the country aided and abetted by powerful international financial interests.

Therefore the problem that Africa has to face in South Africa is essentially a colonial problem, and like colonialism elsewhere it has to be removed root and branch. Attempts to bring about reform within the existing system can

never provide a satisfactory solution and can never be a substitute for resolute anti-colonialist struggle for national liberation.

Let us consider then the context in which we have to work for the removal of this colonialist system from our continent. The issue before us, Mr. Chairman, is not how to reform apartheid. The changes we seek in South Africa are not encompassed by being able to share a park bench with a white man, or to be allowed to enter an all-white theatre. We demand a fundamental transformation whereby, in our country, we shall have the same right of self-determination which free Africa has won for itself, which peoples fighting colonialism have won elsewhere in the world. That right is not negotiable.

Yet this is the one fundamental change that the system can never voluntarily concede, for upon the continued denial of any access to State power depends the very structure of apartheid. The objective of our struggle must therefore be the seizure of that power.

Armed Struggle

As Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, stated in his historic and stirring message on the occasion of the Investiture of the Transitional Government of Mozambique:

"To decolonise the State means essentially to dismantle the political, administrative, cultural, financial, economic, educational, juridical and other systems which, as an integral part of the colonial State, were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses."

It is only when political power has been won by the masses in South Africa, that we will be able to begin the immense task of completely dismantling the structures and institutions of apartheid. In the context of the apartheid system, such a change can only come about through armed struggle by the revolutionary forces in our country.

This is why the legitimacy of our armed struggle has been endorsed at successive meetings of the OAU and by the international community as a whole. It was reaffirmed by the East and Central African Heads of States in the Mogadishu Declaration.

Earlier, as part of the struggle for the transfer of power to the majority in South Africa, independent Africa had adopted the demand of the African people for the complete international

isolation of South Africa in all spheres — diplomatic, political, military, economic and cultural. The implementation of this policy which was spearheaded by the OAU and enforced by many countries and organisations throughout the world, led to an increasing weakening of the regime's international ties and aggravated its economic problems by isolating it from extended markets required for its expanding economy.

Vorster was therefore, compelled to try and break out of the isolation into which he was being forced and to extend South Africa's sphere of influence from its immediate environment in Southern Africa into the heart of independent Africa. Overtures were made to free African States with a view to establishing a dialogue.

The dialogue proposed by Vorster specifically excluded dialogue about apartheid and the ways in which this inhuman system might be eliminated. What was demanded of Africa was that it call off its boycott of the apartheid regime and open its doors to the superior economic power of South Africa. This would have the effect of inhibiting support for the liberation struggle. We now know that this policy coincided with the long-term planning of Southern Africa's future in foreign policy-making circles in the United States, as subsequently revealed in Kissinger's National Security Memorandum N.39. However, events in Africa have not followed the pattern envisaged by Vorster and international imperialism.

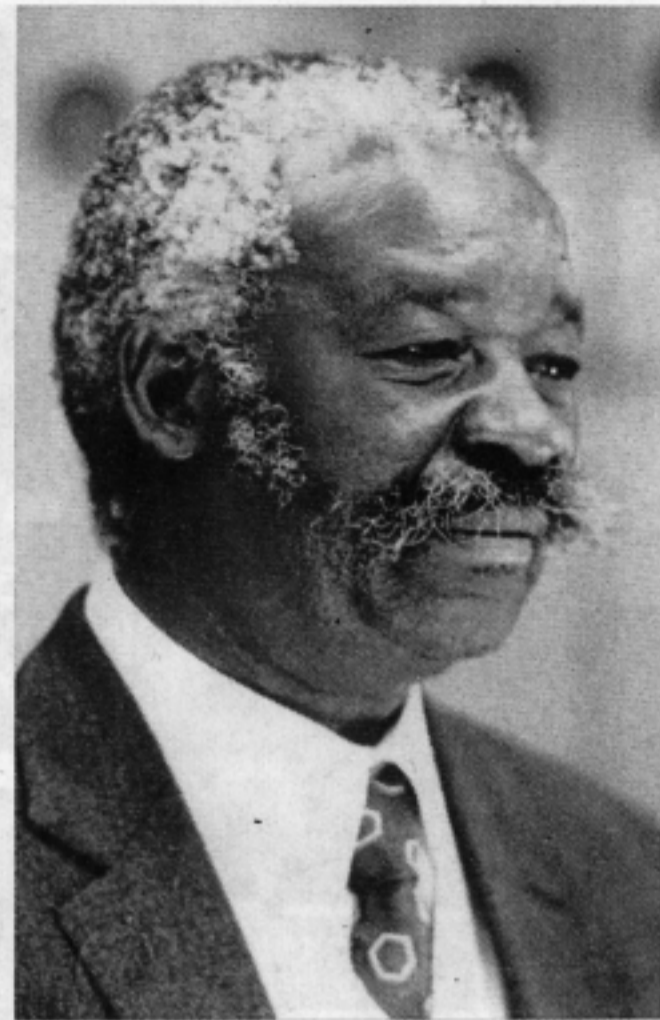
Present Situation

The heroic peoples of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde Islands advanced rapidly to victory; and substantial gains have been made by the revolutionary movements leading the masses in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Inside South Africa there is a revolutionary ferment manifested by a series of mass strikes by Black workers, the growing militancy of the youth and an ever greater rejection of all aspects of apartheid policy..... all these are continuing features of the present situation.

These developments have radically shifted the balance of forces in our sub-continent towards the fulfillment of the objectives of the liberation movement and confirm the correctness of the



Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC (SA).



Moses Mabhida, Secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

stand taken by ourselves and the OAU. In an attempt to contain the internal upsurge, and undermine the growing strength of the liberation struggle, Vorster intensified his brutal repression, and at the same time embarked upon an accelerated implementation of his Bantustan programme. The latter was an attempt to retribalise and divide the African population and thereby to strike a deadly blow at the very foundations of the national liberation struggle. There is no forum in the world today more aware of the dangers of retribalisation of Africa than this. No member of the Organisation of African Unity will accept the principle or practice of Balkanisation.

The Bantustan programme is also intended to divert the attention of the people from the struggle to seize power where it resides in Pretoria by creating the illusion of an unreal independence in an uncertain future. To give credibility to this illusion, it was necessary for the minority regime to install a number of tribal functionaries who would be the instruments for the implementation of Pretoria's apartheid policy. Dignified by the title of 'homeland leaders', they were also to be used as itinerant salesmen for the Bantustan illusion in the outside world. They were to be the bridgehead of a new dialogue offensive — this time called "detente".

Once again Africa's response can only be an unequivocal rejection of dialogue.

For, while playing for time Vorster is simultaneously preparing for the final confrontation. He has escalated his armament programme and is strengthening South Africa's ties with his traditional allies — Britain, the United States and France. This year, the military budget has been doubled to a total almost R1,000 million (£600 million), a sum greater than the annual national income of most African countries. The NATO powers continue to supply South Africa with arms in defiance of UN resolutions. Furthermore, in pursuance of their self-imposed task of protecting the world, the NATO powers have appointed Vorster to a leading role in policing the Indian Ocean without reference to the countries of Africa and Asia, thus underlining the role of the apartheid regime in South Africa as the main threat to the security and peace of Africa.

Despite this, however, the victories being scored against colonialism and imperialism throughout the world, the international and continental conditions have created a situation most favourable for the success of armed struggle in Southern Africa.

The armed liberation movements and peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia are on the verge of final victory. In the Middle East progress is being made towards a just settlement that will vindicate the armed struggle of the Palestinian people for their legitimate

rights supported by the Arab, African States, and the whole of democratic mankind. The Lisbon coup which destroyed the fascist regime in Portugal showed that the victorious struggle of the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, under the leadership of their heroic liberation movements has furthered the process of revolutionary change not only in Africa but in Europe too.

The Lisbon coup deprived South Africa of its colonial ally while the victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola destroyed at a blow South Africa's strategy of surrounding itself with a ring of buffer States.

In assessing the various political, economic and military manoeuvres of Vorster it is important to appreciate that they emanate from a position of weakness and not of strength. The time has clearly come to pursue the retreating enemy, not succumb to his blandishments.

The role of the Vorster regime in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia no longer permits of a tight compartmentalisation of the struggle in these three areas. The solution of the Zimbabwe question today, whether by negotiation or armed struggle, involves the Vorster regime. As Vorster stated brutally when addressing his electorate in November last year:

"The South African troops in Rhodesia

are there to protect South Africa's interests and not anyone else's."

Dominant Role

President Nyerere, in opening this Conference presented a characteristically lucid analysis of the issues in Southern Africa, and stated:

"Whether, therefore, we are talking about Rhodesia, Namibia or South Africa, itself, the effective authority is South Africa."

The OAU in our opinion, must adopt a strategy, which recognises not only the indivisibility of the enemy, but also the dominant role of the South African regime in the area. In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, which share common borders, there are liberation movements and revolutionary forces committed to revolutionary struggle, and capable of confronting the common enemy on the three fronts simultaneously.

The mobilization of African and world support for this three-fronted offensive is the urgent task to which this conference must address itself.

We therefore, call upon this august assembly to reaffirm the correct stand of the OAU and the UN of recognising the liberation movement as the authentic representative of the struggling people in our country and spokesman of the South African people as a whole.

The OAU should reaffirm its condemnation and total rejection of the Bantustan policy and puppet figureheads imposed upon the people by the Pretoria regime. In particular, the OAU should refuse to recognise the projected pseudo-independence of the Bantustans.

Africa must reaffirm its adherence to the diplomatic, political, military, economic and cultural isolation of white South Africa and call upon all Member States to refrain from establishing any such contacts. In particular, Africa must continue to work for the immediate expulsion of the Pretoria regime from the United Nations Organisation.

Finally, and above all, the OAU must call upon all the member States and the world to spare no effort in helping increase the striking power of our liberation movement in the struggle for the seizure of power not only in South Africa, but also the striking power of the ANC and the people of Zimbabwe in the struggle against the illegal settler regime of Ian Smith, and as well as the striking power of SWAPO and the people of Namibia in the struggle against domination by the fascist regime in South Africa.

Comrades

Although we have so far devoted our comments to what Africa and the world can do for us, we know that in the final analysis the liberation of our country is primarily the task of our liberation movement and our united people. The African National Congress, conscious of its historic duty to the people of our country, to Africa and to the whole of mankind is determined to pursue this historic mission to final victory.

In this struggle our organisation is aware of the forces of evil and oppression that are arraigned against it. Events have fully borne out the fact that international imperialism is committed to defend and buttress the regime of terror in our country. We are also aware of the fact that with trickery and duplicity our enemy is frantically attempting to seduce the so-called uncommitted forces all over the world. Time and the irreversible course of events are, however, working in our favour. The revolutionary mood of the oppressed masses of our country is surging forward. The whole of democratic mankind is on our side.

We shall win!

J. Jele, member of delegation to OAU 9th Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers.



J. Makhatini — ANC Algerian Representative, also attending Extraordinary Session.



Vorster's So-called detente...

AFRICA'S REACTION

Extracts from some of the speeches made by leaders of the OAU at the Ninth Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers held in Dar es Salaam



President Nyerere listens attentively to one of the speakers at the conference. Left is OAU Secretary General Eteki Mboumoua and on the right Conference Chairman Ha Mdi Ould Mouknass, Mauritania's Foreign Minister.

"ADVANCING SOUTHWARDS"

President Nyerere

For the objective of this Meeting, like others we have held in the past, is to promote the cause of African liberation and African unity. These are the two major objectives of the Organisation of African Unity, and they are really two aspects of the same thing. Neither is possible without the other.

The connection between unity and the freedom struggle has always been recognised by the OAU, and experience has confirmed that knowledge. For the degree of our success in achieving unity has been reflected in the degree of our advance towards the ultimate liberation of our continent. The increasing international awareness of the Southern

African problem, and the increasing world condemnation of colonialism and racialism, is not the result of any one event, nor of any one nation's or group's activity. It is Africa's steady and united hammering, at conference after conference, visit after visit, and newspaper article after article, which has led to a recognition that world peace and human dignity require justice in Southern Africa. This campaign has not been waged only by Africa, or by Africans. But the unity and common purpose of Africa have been — and still are — essential to its progress.

There has never been any problem about united verbal condemnation of

colonialism and apartheid. But gradually, with some faltering and setbacks, Africa has also secured a large degree of unity in action. There has been many factors involved in the continued isolation of the Smith Regime over nine and a half years; but not least among these factors has been the clear knowledge that recognition of this regime, or open government support for it by any country, would rouse the whole of Africa to angry retaliation. The United Nations decisions on the status of Namibia, and the appointment of a full-time United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, have been achieved after years of official and unofficial united African diplomatic activity. The UN embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa is not yet honoured by all nations — France in particular still seems to be able to sell arms to South Africa and retain the active friendship of many Member States of the OAU. But other powerful nations have obser-

ved the embargo simply because of strongly expressed African-led opposition to its violation. And in the last year we have, again through unity, succeeded in getting South African membership of the General Assembly suspended on the grounds that the delegation cannot be representative of the people of South Africa while racialism is the official doctrine of that state.

Of at least equal importance has been the growing African commitment to support for the Liberation Committee of the OAU. This Committee is no longer regarded with suspicion by African states; it is an accepted part of the Organisation of African Unity, which discharges responsibilities on behalf of Africa as a whole. I do not wish in any way to claim for the OAU credit which really belongs to Frelimo and P A I G C. But I think it is fair to say that Africa's united support for their armed struggles, both through the Liberation Committee and bilaterally, did contribute something to the success which is the basic cause of this meeting.

For it is the success of the armed struggles in the Portuguese colonies which requires Africa to re-examine its strategy in Southern Africa. There has been no change of heart on the part of Africa's enemies. There was a change of government in Portugal so that the Portuguese people's desire for peace in Africa was able to be made effective. But the leaders and supporters of apartheid in South Africa, and the leaders and supporters of the minority regime in Rhodesia, have not changed their desires, their attitudes, their policies, or their beliefs in white supremacy. They still wish to maintain racial domination by whites in Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa.

Yet the change which has taken place is a very important one. Until now, as the liberation struggle has advanced southwards, our priorities have always been concerned with familiar problems of decolonization. We spoke always of Africa in united opposition to all the colonial and racist states of Southern Africa...

Now that Angola and Mozambique are on the verge of independence, the problems facing Africa are different. In the first place the geography of the freedom struggle has changed. It is quite true that both Angola and Mozambique will have many internal problems to overcome, possibly including the problem of attempted subversion by reactionary forces. But their very exi-



President Nyerere making his keynote speech.

stence changes the political and military situation for Rhodesia, and even for South Africa. These two minority-ruled states will therefore inevitably want to re-think, and to take action designed to meet the changed circumstances created by the failure of Caetano's Portugal. This by itself would require Africa also to reassess its strategy.

But there is a second factor too. Africa will in future be dealing with a pattern of administration different from that with which we are familiar. Until now, each nationalist movement has had to contend with a particular colonial power, securely based in Europe, to whose government the maintenance of its colonial authority was just one item in the total of its economic and security considerations. This was true even for the Portuguese colonies. The difference between their situation and that of the rest of Africa was only that Portugal had not accepted the principle of African independence, whereas Britain, France, and even Belgium, had done so. But in Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa there is no effective power external to Africa which is central to the problem. Rhodesia is a British colony. But the Smith Regime does not recognise the sovereignty of Britain, and — what is more important — the United Kingdom

Government has always claimed that it is powerless to enforce its authority in Rhodesia. Thus Britain has responsibilities and rights in international law, and her political support can still be valuable as the situation develops. But more directly important to the present phase of the struggle in Rhodesia is the fact of Rhodesia's economic and military dependence upon South Africa. South Africa has not given legal recognition to the Smith Regime; but without its military and economic support the Smith Regime would quickly collapse. In Namibia also, we have a difference between the *de jure* and the *de facto* administering authority. Legally Namibia is a United Nations Trusteeship Territory, directly administered by the United Nations. In practice, South Africa controls Namibia and excludes the legal authority.

Then there is South Africa itself... Our aim there is to help the mass of the people of South Africa to free themselves from the vicious oppression of apartheid, and to demonstrate that racialism is outlawed by the whole world. The enemy of the South African liberation forces, and of Africa, is thus the doctrine of racialism which is being imposed and enforced by White South Africans.

Whether, therefore, we are talking about Rhodesia, Namibia, or South Africa itself, the effective Authority is South Africa. This fact must be taken into serious account when Africa considers its future strategy. For example, in the past the nationalist movement of a particular colony frequently ignored the local colonial authorities when it was engaged in political campaigning — whether this was replacing or supplementing an armed struggle. Instead it dealt directly with the metropolitan power, its Government or its Parliament. In South Africa there is no such external authority. In Namibia the effective external power is held by South Africa; in Rhodesia too the only external influence which could have any real effect is held in South Africa.

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"ELIMINATE SHAMEFUL SYSTEM OF APARTHEID"

H. E. Victor Sande Maria

Commissioner for Foreign Affairs-GUINEA BISSAU

...The Portuguese colonial problem, which has apparently been resolved with the formation of Transitional Governments in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, and Sao Tome e Principe — governments which are to lead these countries to full sovereignty, will not fail to have direct consequences on the socio-economic and political situation created by the fascist and racist South African regime.

World public opinion is daily becoming more convinced of the need for political change in that country. Moreover, the South African and Namibian nationalists are stepping up the struggle at all levels, and this threatens the very foundations of the racist regime. Economists and statesmen of the racist regime of South Africa, increasingly aware that the system is breaking down, are suggesting that internal and external policy be reviewed with a view to misleading world public opinion. On the home front, Vorster and his Government intend to "modernize" the State structure by creating bantustans with a spurious autonomy which would eventually lead these micro-States to "independence". Thus South Africa, in its efforts to deceive the Africans, is thinking in terms of eventually finding a solution to the Namibian problem. And finally, within the framework of his external policy, Vorster, at the head of the most ailing Government of our continent, has unfortunately found a staunch ally in Ian Smith's crumbling Rhodesian regime, which is even more short-sighted in the conduct of State affairs. Going even further, Vorster is stepping up his visits to Africa, expressing his readiness to improve his relations with African States and pledging to use his influence in bringing down the rebellion of his protege Ian Smith. What, however, does Vorster think of the situation in his own country? And what do we Africans think of it? Have we not heard Vorster since reaffirm his intention to help Ian Smith

to see the necessity of granting independence eventually to Namibia while maintaining his policy of separate development in South Africa?

What confidence can we have in Vorster?

Today we are talking of contact, of dialogue, with Vorster, in order to find a solution to the apartheid system in that country. Opinions differ on this matter... We are in favour of initiatives by States not directly concerned provided they have the consent of those who are fighting and provided such initiatives are taken at the express request of those concerned. Nobody has the right, in the guise of sovereignty, to make any decision on behalf of the struggling peoples. It devolves only on the legitimate representatives of these peoples to take any decision...

We are in a strong position and should make it clear to Mr. Vorster's South Africa that nothing will deflect us from



Above: Guinea Bissau Foreign Minister Victor Maria at the Conference

our historic mission, namely, the total liberation of our continent from all forms of domination, whether it be colonial or racial. On the one hand our stand should be firm and unequivocal, and on the other we should extend all necessary assistance to our fighting brothers with a view to expediting the elimination of the shameful system of apartheid, which has for so long ravaged our continent.

"WE REAFFIRM BELIEF IN ARMED STRUGGLE"

H. E. Munywa Waiyaki

KENYA

... Mr. President, we are gathered here to consider what should be done with the situation in the southern part of Africa. In the last few months Mr. President the word "Detente" has gained momentum in reference to the situation in the southern part of Africa. The word is neither African nor Afrikaner. Therefore, neither Vorster nor ourselves can claim precise understanding of the meaning of this word. We however, now understand Vorster's interpretation of the term. In our view this word in Vorster's own admission and pro-

nouncements has been taken by him to mean making peace with independent African countries in the North while withholding majority rule, maintaining and consolidating apartheid, and balkanizing South Africa and Namibia. Kenya's declared policy enunciated almost twelve years ago remains the same today as then. There have been no developments in Southern Africa to warrant any change of attitude on our part. Our stand in this matter has always been complete decolonization of Southern Africa — based on human

equality, dignity and majority rule. Everything Vorster, rebel Smith and their governments are doing today are diametrically opposed to the realisation of those noble goals. We feel that if the racist leaders of Southern Africa want to talk about the decolonization of that part of Africa they should start talking to the leaders of liberation movements in their territories recognized by the OAU. If however, the racist regimes feel there is a genuine need to talk to the leaders of independent African countries, they should do so through the OAU, after meeting the criteria which have always been demanded by the African countries.

Mr. President, at this point, I would like to say that all indications so far show

that there is no change of heart on the part of the racist regimes in Southern Africa. We therefore, reaffirm our belief in armed struggle. In the present circumstances, we are left with no other alternative but to encourage and assist the armed struggle which our oppressed brothers are waging.

This meeting will have that eventuality to consider, evaluate and strengthen as it appertains to Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

As to bilateral contacts between South Africa and independent African states, Mr. President, we cannot condone these in any way whatsoever. This conference should ask for the total boycott of South Africa by all African governments...

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"PURSUE THE RETREATING ENEMY"

President Samora Machel

... FRELIMO



Comrade Samora Machel — President of FRELIMO, Mozambique.

We all of us want the true independence of Zimbabwe and Namibia, and we all of us want the end of the abominable apartheid regime. Our continent and mankind are unanimous on this point. Contrary to what is claimed in enemy propaganda, no African country, no responsible political force on our continent intends to drive the white man out of Southern Africa. Because we always regard racism, and its variant zionism, as an expression of fascism, we condemn anti-black racism and anti-white racism equally. This stand is also Africa's unanimous stand. People's liberation war in Mozambique and Angola has broken the imperialist chain which extended from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, and has, as a consequence, changed the balance of forces in the region. The progressive regimes

in the zone have emerged consolidated. A people's regime is being established in Mozambique, with the immense mobilising power of its example. Angola will be independent, irreversibly. Thousands of kilometers of free borders are encircling the concentration camp world of imperialism in Southern Africa. The changed balance of forces in the zone has compelled the Pretoria regime to relinquish its traditional policy of threats, provocations and aggression against adjacent countries and to seek contacts with neighbouring States. This retreat is a tactical one and is a part of the global imperialist intention to seek to maintain domination in new forms. However, once the enemy are forced to retreat as a result of our struggle, it is our duty to exploit the situation, transform the tactical retreat into a definitive advance for our forces, and pursue the retreating enemy to annihilate them. This principle is valid, whether it be a matter of armed struggle or of political and diplomatic struggle. One of the essential issues facing Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general, is the presence of the forces of aggression of South Africa in the colonial territories of Rhodesia and Namibia. The new balance of forces allow us to impose immediately the evacuation of these forces from Rhodesia...

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"NOTHING HAS CHANGED"

Lt. Col. Kwame Baah

**Commissioner for Foreign Affairs
GHANA**

... Ghana would like, at this stage, to concentrate attention on two main aspects of the issue, namely;

- (i) Those contacts with Vorster which go beyond the problems of Zimbabwe and which appear to touch on OAU's very basic positions regarding the shameful policies of apartheid.

Viva Frelimo!

Viva the people of Mocambique on the occasion of June 25: Mocambique Independence Day.

(Our next issue will be dedicated to Frelimo's great victory)

(ii) The manifestations of Vorster's current offensives on Zimbabwe. Such an approach would place the discussions in the appropriate context and help us to avoid any confusion which the enemy might wish to create in our ranks.

Mr. Chairman, we are presently being told that the policy of Bantustanisation offers a new hope for the solution of the South African problem; We are also being told that there are new factors which meet the criteria for dialogue between the black population in South Africa and Vorster; That racist Vorster is prepared to withdraw his police and armed forces from Zimbabwe as soon as violence stops; That imperialist Vorster does not want "an inch of South West African Territory and would only be too pleased to get South West Africa off his back". And finally, that the arch colonialist Vorster has entered into dialogue with the people of South Africa by talking to the leaders of the Bantustans whom he has placed in power to serve his own purpose.

Mr. Chairman, all these claims are being adduced to justify recent contacts which have been made to the racist regime and which appear to touch on the very basic positions of the OAU on apartheid. One does not need to delve into the substance of these claims to establish

their validity or otherwise. One may only wish to reflect on questions like

- (i) if these claims were true, why has the attitude of South Africa on Namibia not reflected this change?
- (ii) Why have steps not been taken internally to reduce racial tension at home and to repeal discriminatory laws in labour employment of Africans in South Africa?
- (iii) Why has Vorster not publicly taken a position in favour of majority rule and on the need to reopen a new progressive chapter in the history of apartheid in South Africa?

As far as Ghana is concerned, nothing has changed in South Africa to justify such optimism in support of these claims. We know that the Bantustan policy is still the basis of the apartheid system. We know that South Africa is not prepared to accept the international status of Namibia and its obligations towards the United Nations. We are convinced that South Africa does not accept the principle of majority rule in Namibia and that its utterances on Namibia are intended to create confusion in our camp and to gain time to consolidate its forces at home against the growing pressure from the international community and the Organization of Africa Unity.

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"WE REJECT THESE MANOEUVRES"

Hon. Juma Oris Abdalla

Minister of Information holding the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs

UGANDA

There is no other way for the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle. The whole of Africa is duty bound to give all the necessary support both material and moral to the armed struggle...

Anybody who says that there is a change of heart on the part of our enemy would only be calling for the division of our ranks. The only change we can talk of is the change of tactics on the part of the racist regime. Therefore, the best we can do here is to devise the means necessary to defeat the new

tactics of the enemy, which are meant to divide Africa and to save the racist regime from its isolation, while it continues to oppress our brothers in Southern Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Mr. Chairman, these are tactics, which are meant not only to split the OAU but also to isolate and paralyse the liberation movements in order to leave our people in permanent subjugation under the domination of the imperialists and racists. If these tactics and manoeuvres succeed, not only does the

racist regime hope to triumph as a peacemaker but especially to appear as a friend of independent Africa.

Mr. Chairman, will independent Africa fall the victim to this WOLF VORSTER and his collaborator Smith who are appearing under sheep's clothing.

Uganda rejects these manoeuvres. We must look at the experiences of other countries, which have had similar problems in order to know what course to take. In Vietnam, children who were born when the struggle had started are now fighting and winning their war of liberation. In Palestine the struggle is showing similar success. Closer home, the Portuguese territories never laid down their arms until the enemy came to his knees and they never had secret talks through third parties.

In short, Mr. Chairman, in all the above cases, the armed struggle continued and the enemy had to recognize that the freedom fighters are the legitimate people he could talk to and those are the people he had to talk with first, recognizing fully their rights to independence, self-determination and human dignity. In other words it is the successes in the armed struggle which will force the racists to talk to the liberation movements...

If Vorster wants dialogue let him have the dialogue with the freedom fighters. Let him renounce apartheid publicly and declare that our brothers in Namibia and South Africa will also get majority rule and independence. Before this is done we would be betraying our brothers if we start thinking of talking with Vorster.

Mr. Chairman, I hope, you will understand our appeal if we ask other independent sister African countries to check this trend which is now taking all sorts of form; whether the contracts are political, economic, cultural or of any other form, it is not the time for it. The time is now only ripe for the intensification of the armed struggle. I would like to stress that it is not time to disarm the freedom fighters, when they are not even allowed to voice their sufferings. They can only voice their plight by the barrel of a gun and this is the only language which the enemy will understand...

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TOTAL REJECTION BY ALL

The condemnation of Apartheid was total. Many brilliant speeches by such ardent opponents of apartheid as His Excellency Abdul Aziz Bouteflika, current President of the UN General Assembly and Foreign Minister of Algeria, Foreign Ministers — Their Excellencies, Bula Mandongo of Zaire, Kotsokwane of Lesotho, Okoi Aripko of Nigeria, Phily Seseko of Guinea, etc, whose speeches were not available in English at the time of going to press.



Algerian Foreign Minister Abdul Aziz Bouteflika.

the schools they are indoctrinated with tribalism, racialism, and serfdom.

- Our sons and daughters are prevented from seeking employment where they choose and obtaining fulfilment in the career of their choice.
- As mothers and wives we see our husbands and children leaving their homes to seek employment as migratory labour, living in deplorable conditions in "batchelor" barracks; and having contributed the best part of their lives to create the riches of the country, the disabled, the old and the widows are dumped in resettlement camps to waste away the remainder of their lives.
- From birth to death African women are regarded as minors requiring the guardianship of man.

To those who speak of "detente" or collaboration with the racists who have created this system of our enslavement and subjugation we say:

Remember that those with whom you wish to join hands come to you smeared with our blood and tears; the "aid" with which they seek to bribe you was

ANC WOMEN ADDRESS OAU

In a written message to the meeting of the OAU Ministerial Council held in Dar es Salaam, the ANC (Women's Section) said...



ANC Women's representative F. Maphosho.

'International Women's Year' has concentrated the attention of all the countries of the world upon the objectives of promoting equality between men and women, ensuring the full integration of women in the total development effort and recognizing the importance of women's increasing contribution to the development of friendly relations among States and the strengthening of world peace. Yet in this same year, we see with sorrow that there has emerged in some parts of Africa, a trend to re-establish economic political and diplomatic links with a South African regime that remains committed to the continued subjugation of the majority of its citizens. For while apartheid affects all the people of South Africa, no group suffers greater oppression and deprivation than the Black women of South Africa.

- We are denied the right to have a family life, living together with our husbands and children.
- Our children suffer from malnutrition in the richest country in Africa, and in



"IF THE GOVERNMENT ACTUALLY DISPOSED OF DISCRIMINATION IT WOULD BE INTERFERING IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF SA."

extracted from our sweated labour and suffering; the collaboration they offer you is only to allow the repression of 20 million people to continue in "peace".

The women of South Africa appeal to you to extend your hand of friendship and support to us — the suffering people of South Africa — and not to those who continue to oppress us.

THE CANCER OF APARTHEID EATS OUT THE HEART OF SOUTH AFRICAN FAMILIES

BANTUSTANS:

Political Representation and the Land Question

Since the end of the 19th Century, when the various African people of South Africa were finally conquered by the superior arms of European imperialism, the problem of political representation has been inextricably linked to the problem of land apportionment. The one hundred years of wars between white colonizer and black colonized has been aptly described as a period of wars for land and labour. After each war, land was alienated from African possession and parcelled out to white settlers. The former occupants were forced by starvation to hire themselves out to the newly established white landowners. The constitutions granting first the Cape Colony and Natal representative government, to be followed later by the annexed Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, each enshrined their franchise laws in property ownership, thus effectively denying the vast majority of Africans the right to vote. All subsequent legislation affecting the franchise, before and after the 1910 Act of Union, has been associated with land apportionment laws. These include the Spriggs Amendment of 1887 which removed 30 000 African voters from the Voters Roll by excluding all communally-held land from the definition of the 1853 Constitution; the 1910 Act of Union which restricted membership of parliament to persons of European descent only; the 1913 Land Act, in terms of which 87% of the land area of the country was allocated to the white minority (19% of the population); the Hertzog Bills of 1935 which abolished the African vote and the 1951 South African Constitution Act which denied all black people the right to vote. The last two laws were respectively associated with the Native Land and Trust Act and the Group Areas Act.

Economic and political considerations have played a key and interpenetrating role in the determination of the land apportionment laws. Thus as long ago as 1849 the guidelines laid down by the British colonial office stated:

"...that it would be difficult or impossible to assign to the natives such

locations of an extent sufficient for their support as a pastoral people... I regard it, on the contrary, as desirable that these people should be placed in circumstances in which they find regular industry necessary for their subsistence."

This is the basic principle underlying South Africa's land apportionment laws. The present Bantustan scheme is consistent with this principle and seeks to make permanent the inequitable arrangements of the Land Act of 1913 by a political separation. The acute overcrowding of the so-called 'homelands' and the compulsory taxes imposed by the white minority government constrain the Africans living in these areas to seek employment in white-owned commercial, mining, industrial and agricultural enterprise. This direct economic dependency will nullify even the limited political independence envisaged by the "self-government" scheme.

Geographic Partition

In 1950 the present regime appointed a commission under the chairmanship of F.R. Tomlinson. Though the commission was charged with an investigation of African areas and to devise a policy affecting the Africans, the Parliament which set it up contained not a single African member, nor was a single African appointed to serve on the commission. The so-called "self-government" scheme is based on the recommendations of this commission: The report of the Tomlinson commission explicitly ruled out intergration as an option for South Africa and recommended separation along the lines laid down in the Land Act of 1913. The spirit and intent of the recommendations is clearly conveyed by the remarks of Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister for Native Affairs:

"I see the future economic pattern of South Africa being that there will always be thousands of natives on the white farms, in the mines, in industry and also as servants in white homes.

The difference, however, will be that the natives will be there, not as a right but at the bidding and by the grace of the whites. At best they will be visitors in the white area."

This statement was later reinforced by a statement from the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Administration in 1966:

"In the final instance our work is directed at eventual geographic partition."

All these decisions, recommendations and proposals, regardless of whatever meagre merit they may possess in, and of themselves, were undemocratically arrived at and are imposed on the African people without even the pretense of consultation.

The white minority regime's objective of eventual geographic separation is pursued through the Bantustan scheme. The political aims of the Bantustan scheme are twofold:

- a) to legitimize the inequitable apportionment of the land, and
- b) to permanently exclude all Africans, whether resident in the 'homelands' or outside, from the body politic.

For example, the Transkei Constitution Act defines as a citizen of the Transkei "every Xhosa-speaking Bantu person in the Republic, including every Bantu person belonging to any associated

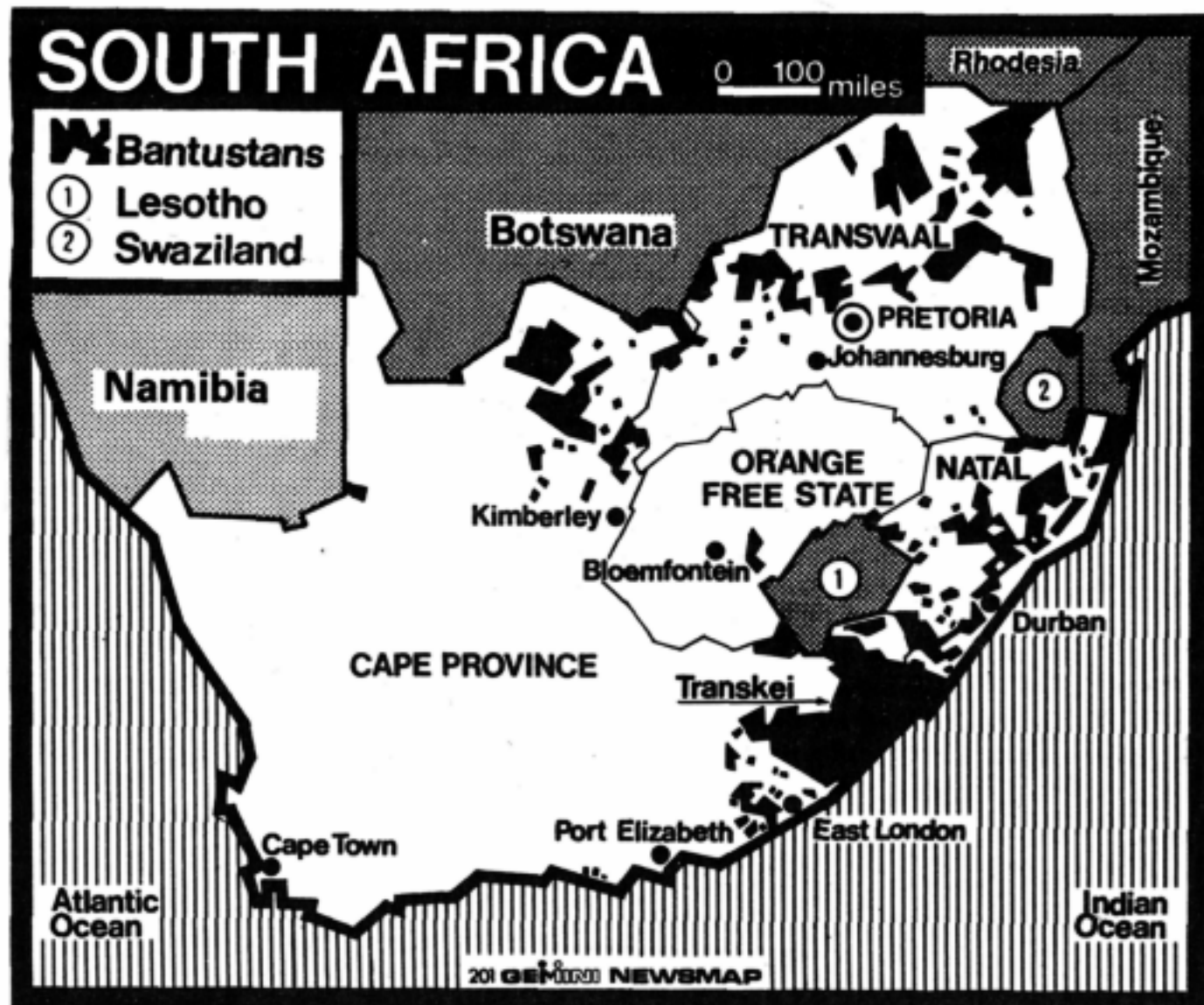
T. N. H. Janson, Apartheid's Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Bantu Education.



linguistic group who normally uses any dialect of the language spoken by what is commonly known as the Cape Nguni...". Thus, whether an African has lived in an urban area outside the Transkei for all his life, he is in terms of the law, a citizen of the Transkei and therefore an alien in any area outside it. Directly related to these political objectives are the economic considerations, which provide for a reservoir of cheap African labour for the white economy of the country.

This is possible because the projected 'self-governing homelands' all fall outside the areas of industrial development, have no major harbours, contain the least productive lands and lack all the facilities of modern transport systems.

The constitutions of the Transkei and other 'homeland governments' are deliberately conceived to render powerless the will of the electorate. The **Transkei Constitution Act (1963)**, for example, provides for a **Legislative Assembly of 109 members. 64 of these are appointed by the white minority regime, the remaining 45 members are elected.** Such an unrepresentative Assembly cannot possibly reflect the views of the Africans it is supposed to govern nor are the majority of its members responsible to the electorate. **Previous legislation also vests the white minority regime with powers to depose any of its appointees without recourse to trial or appeal.** In addition to this the principle of responsible government was abrogated with regard to these 'homeland governments'. **The white minority regime has the power to veto any decision made by the 'homeland legislative assembly'.** It should be clearly understood that any consultations, dialogue or negotiations between the white minority regime and the spokesmen of these 'homeland governments' are not dealings between representatives of the residents of the 'homelands' (let alone representatives of the African people) and the present white South African regime. Neither do these so-called discussions deal with the aspirations of the people which are for full democracy and independence in South Africa as a whole. What does take place between these Bantustan chiefs and the representatives of the white regime are arrangements within the watertight areas of the ethnic and tribal policies of the Vorster regime.



Black Renaissance

The vast majority of the African people have consistently opposed the aim of the white minority regime to geographically divide South Africa and thus monopolise the greater part of our country. A few selected instances are tabulated hereunder:

a) A delegation of the now dissolved Native Representative Council declared, after an interview with Prime Minister J. C. Smuts in May 1947, that

"In our view what is required is a policy which will give the African people a sense of security in the land of their birth... a policy which recognizes that Africans are citizens of this country and not things apart".

b) An African Leaders' Conference convened by the Inter-Denominational African Ministers Federation in 1956 representing the broad masses of the African people, unequivocally denounced the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission on which the Bantustan policy is based. In concluding his report to the conference, O. R. Tambo declared:

"The Tomlinson Report, like the Apartheid policy which gave it birth, will in no way alleviate the suffering of

the African people in South Africa. In fact it is intended to divert the attention of the people from the true and immediate effects of apartheid, under which they are today suffering and to focus their attention on the dreamland of total separation... I am confident that the people of South Africa, and in particular the African people, will reject the Tomlinson Report and Apartheid as honest solutions to our problems, with the contempt they deserve."

c) The Black Renaissance Convention held at Hammanskraal in December, 1974, adopted a Declaration which states: "We the Blacks of South Africa:

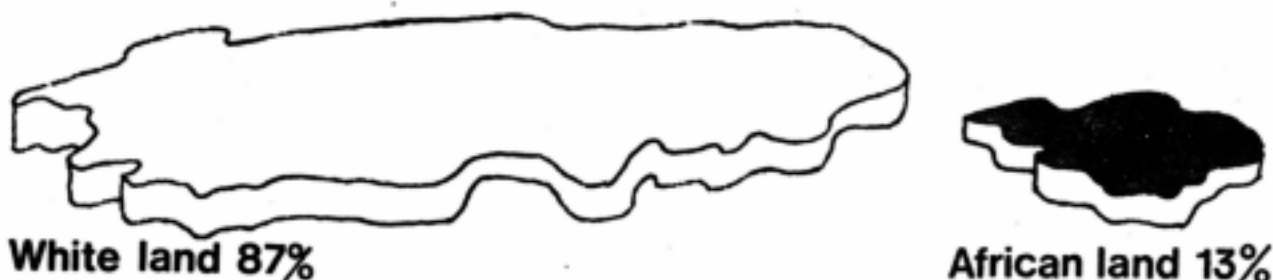
- i) **Condemn and reject Separate Development policy and all its institutions.**
- ii) **We reject all forms of Racism and Discrimination."**

Clearly defining their stand, the participants who represented organised groups of Students, Churchmen, intellectuals, businessmen and others, further elaborated:

"We dedicate ourselves towards striving for a totally united and democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. A society in which all people participate fully in the government of the country

Land.

By the Land Act of 1913, as amended, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



through the medium of one man one vote. A society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth and an anti-racist society."

Deadly Weapon

The Bantustans are a weapon to divide the African people into separate tribes as they existed during the colonial wars fought against foreign invaders in our country. This separateness, together with the fact that the white invaders were equipped with modern and superior weapons, facilitated our defeat and subjugation at the time and since. That separateness is now being resuscitated hurriedly, to stem the current wave of revolution, ensure our defeat again and perpetuate our subjugation.

This division of Africans along ethnic or tribal lines provides the basis for inter-Bantustan hostilities, inter-ethnic, inter-tribal clashes. Already there have been clashes between various tribal groups in the mines, which fall into this pattern of getting the Africans to fight amongst themselves. These clashes were deliberately organised by agents of the SA regime for the obvious reason of keeping the workers divided.

This weapon is also intended to divide international support for the cause of the oppressed black masses of our country. Various leaders of what are supposed to be independent 'nations-to-be' go around the world as spokesmen of the African people. In fact they are spokesmen of a certain number from each of the various sectionalised Africans. The effect is to destroy the concept of a liberation struggle headed by a liberation movement.

Several governments, including some

in Africa unfortunately, international organisations and individuals deliberately, or naively believing in the genuineness of these Bantustan spokesmen are bypassing the national liberation movement and dealing directly with what the African National Congress and the majority fighting peoples of South Africa have always looked upon as mere tribal leaders.

We have, and shall continue to expose and fight this attempted fragmentation of the leadership of the African people, carried out within imperialism's classical policy of divide and rule, at every level in our Motherland. And, we urge our brothers in free Africa to do likewise:

The SA racist regime uses the Bantustans to try and present itself to the world, particularly to Africa, as in line with African and world thinking on decolonisation. This is precisely what Vorster meant when he addressed the Senate on December 30, 1974, within two months of his so-called "Voice of Reason" speech when he stated that:

"The whites have been established here for centuries. They have the right to demand for themselves the preservation of their identity while, on the other hand, granting this to all other peoples, the preservation of their identity along a course of differentiation which they are not only adopting today, but which they have been adopting for a very long time."

Armed Struggle

A Bantustan "state" perforated with numerous interlinking and scattered blots of allegedly white territory, and having no identifiable and continuous territorial boundary, is an incredible and

unimaginable absurdity, incapable of acceptance even by the inane person. What makes Vorster persist in this absurdity is that it serves the serious demands of his political, economic and military strategy and mask his true intentions about the so-called independence of Bantustans.

In any case, whether the Bantustan territory is consolidated or not, it is unthinkable that any African could concede or sign away the historic and inalienable rights of our people to ownership of the whole country by accepting a so-called international boundary.

The Bantustans are intended to serve as part of the machinery of super-exploitation of the workers, to be operated with the co-operation of the Bantustan authority, whose function the racists hope, will be to serve as a shock-absorber of mass African revolt against the regime.

The African National Congress programme is the absolute minimum programme that the African people are prepared to accept. Its first clause states the demand for majority rule in no uncertain terms:

"— The people shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

— All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

— The rights of the people shall be same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

— All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government."

It is on the basis of this programme that we declare that in South Africa the land rightly belongs to all our people and is indivisible. It must be returned to its rightful owners, and not to be owned by the white minority as at present. To this end we are determined to pursue the armed struggle until these, and all our other demands for a free and democratic South Africa are achieved.

EDUCATION FOR IGNORANCE

1. The objectives of the Educational System.

(i) The main content of the policy of Apartheid is the maintainance of white supremacy rule in South Africa. According to the architect of this policy, South Africa's former Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd:

"Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white... Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely, White domination — not "leadership", not "guidance", but "Control", "Supremacy".

(ii) The present system of education pursued by successive Nationalist Party Governments, including that of Vorster, is an integral part of the Apartheid policy, and is the logical extension of the economic inequalities between Black and White in SA which the policy creates and reinforces, and the brutal repression of the political aspirations of the Black majority for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

(iii) Educational policy for the Black majority has always been regarded by the Nationalist Party as an instrument to perpetuate White Supremacy and privilege. The cornerstone of this policy lies in the principle of:

- (a) racial segregation
- (b) racial inequality in opportunities of education.
- (c) White control of decision and policy.

2. The Structure of the Educational System (Primary and Secondary)

(i) The Bantu Education Act 1953, the Coloured Persons Education Act 1963, and the Indian Education Act 1965

removed control and administration of Education from a single Department of Education, Arts and Science, and handed it over to the Government-created racial institutions — the Bantu Affairs, the Coloured Affairs, and the Indian Affairs Departments, respectively. Administration is currently being phased out to the Bantustan „Parliaments“, South African Indian Council — and the Coloured Persons Representative Council — again Government-controlled and -created institutions rejected by the masses of Black people.

(ii) Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites are educated as "separate groups" in racially exclusive schools and by teachers of the same "population group".

3. The inequalities in and Consequences of the Educational System.

(i) On May 30th 1972, a large group of leading White South African churchmen, academics, liberal politicians, student leaders, and writers issued the following statement after a conference on Education:

"Our concern is motivated by the grave inadequacies in our present system. We can no longer ignore: —

- The fact that a large proportion of our population can neither read nor write. (A reference to the Black Majority).
- The serious racial inequalities in the present system, especially the differences in the amount of money spent by the State on the Education of various population groups.
- The lack of adequate and sufficient educational facilities for the majority of South Africans".

(ii) **Per Capita Expenditure.**

	Africans	Whites.
Expenditure per pupil	R. 14.48	R. 285.85

Government expenditure on White education is approximately 20 times as high as for the African, underlying the inequality of the system which in turn has wide-ranging effects.

(iii) At present, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations: —

- 70% of African pupils leave school by the end of Standard Two (end of first four school-going years).
- 5% only reach Form 1 (first year secondary-school)
- 0.1% only reach Matric (O level High School).
- Hundreds of African children are turned away from schools because of lack of room.
- Double sessions are held in the majority of primary schools.
- The teacher-pupil ratio at primary schools was 60:1.
- 16% of teachers at primary level have no qualifications at all.

(iv) Distribution of Pupils and Total Enrolment

The following facts emerge from Government-provided figures:

	Africans	Whites
Primary:	1,952,594 (91%)	505,794 (61%)
Secondary:	190,721 (9%)	311,793 (39%)
Totals:	2,143,315 (100%)	817,587 (100%)

Of the Secondary School enrolment for Africans, less than one half percent were enrolled for the Matric (O level) classes. The figures are consistent with previous years and underline the Government's Education strategy of depressing educational attainment to the barest minimum in order to provide a large, readily available unskilled labour-force from the African population.

(v) Pupil-Teacher Ratio

In 1969 the total number of African teachers in all schools was reported as 31,628 primary, and 2,680 secondary. In relation to the total school-going population at that time, (figures above) this gives a pupil-teacher ratio of 1:61 for primary schools. Figures for White Pupil-Teacher Ratio are:

Primary:	1:22
Secondary:	1:19

Education.

per capita expenditure in government schools



Whites £133.22



Africans £8.44



Bantu Education under ghetto conditions — attempting to breed automatons for white kitchens and factories.

(vi) According to the Secretary for Bantu Education, when his Department took over African Education in 1954 only 40% to 45% of the school-going population was enrolled. Today he claims the percentage had risen to 75%. However, according to the Sprucas Education Commission report (9.9.72), contrast this claim with the calculation that 6 million African children started school between 1955 and 1968, but 3 million dropped out by the end of the 4th year.

(vii) The Commission further pointed out that the inequality in the system of education and the weight of numbers on inadequate finances, had further serious, adverse consequences for the education of African schoolchildren. For example:

Double sessions or the "Platoon System" affected 80% of the school children in their first 2 years. Indeed, the effect of the Platoon System is three-fold: the child only enjoys half the benefit of education, the teacher has to do twice the amount of work without any increased pay, and the Government can boast, as it does, of an absolute increase in the number of school-going children without having to pay an extra cent for this.

(viii) An article in the Cape Times (29.9.73), replied to a leading article in the Government-sponsored "Bantu Education Journal" which claimed that

the educational system was "basically the same for all", as follows:

- For the White child, education is compulsory and free; for the African child, if he can get into school, it has to be paid for. The cost of books to African parents varies from R 9 in the primary school to R 37 in High Schools. For the White child it is provided for by the State.

- There are too few schools and classrooms available to Africans and hundreds of pupils in the same area are turned away each year. There is only one Secondary School for every 80,000 African children.

In primary schools, lack of finance means no desks or chairs and children have to sit on the floor with no writing material provided. In many cases, because of over-crowding, classes have to be held in the open.

4. University Education

(i) The Extension of University Education Act 1959 put an end to academic non-segregation in the field of higher education. Higher Education is now provided in ethnically exclusive University colleges for the Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho speaking peoples among the African majority, and one University college each, for the Indian and Coloured peoples.

(ii) 10 years later the enrolment figures at the institutions of higher learning was as follows:

Whites	Africans	Indians	Coloureds
68,549	3,911	3,354	1,598

(1969 Race Relations Survey in South Africa.)

(iii) Political repression of student aspirations in the Black colleges has been increasing rapidly since 1969 when SASO (South African Student Organisation) — an all-Black student organisation — was formed. To date:

- Every single SASO president has been banned by the Government.

- scores of students have been expelled for speaking out against the oppressive nature of student life and the system of Higher Education.

- a number of them are serving prison sentences and a trial of a large number of SASO leaders is at present going on.

- maximum widespread protest and unrest in the Tribal colleges continues unabated because of conditions and dissatisfaction with the quality of education. Whilst the Vorster Government is preaching detente to the African States and the world, it is intensifying its repression of the Black majority in South Africa.

- Although the Government insists that Blacks must live in their own areas and Whites in theirs, most senior posts in the Tribal Colleges are held by Whites who live on the Campuses, even though qualified Black academics are available to take over their duties. In many cases senior staff at these Colleges who are White have lower academic qualifications than many of their African colleagues.

Conclusion

The truth is that White Supremacy racist rule can only be safe-guarded by the suppression of the National aspirations of the Black people.

The Educational System does not intend, nor was it designed, to separate Black and White into two parallel but equal societies, as the Vorster Government claims. Its objective is vertical differentiation, dividing those who command from those who "obey".

While the mind of the White child is being moulded into believing in his "divine mission" to rule, that of the Black child is being regimented to accept the role and place as the "servant(s) of the chosen servants of God".

TRADE UNIONS AND LABOUR:

The limits of detente

Introduction

A close study of the situation inside South Africa today shows a growing revolutionary mood among all the oppressed sections of the South African population, a sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressed masses of our country and the white oppressing clique, with the initiative shifting from the hands of the oppressor into the hands of the oppressed. This revolutionary upsurge has manifested itself in the spate of workers' strikes that hit practically all the main branches of the apartheid economy and struck fear and panic among the ranks of the industrial bosses and the ruling circles of the country. These workers' strikes have been reinforced by similar actions in other sections of the South African population — professional men, youth and students, the churchmen, sportsmen etc. Of course this is a natural response to increased national oppression, intensified exploitation, higher rents, prices, taxes, inflation and the threat of depression, increased repression and terror against our people, militarisation and fascist dictatorship. In short, our conditions have not changed, but instead have worsened. There will be no change unless we ourselves bring about the change; and change can only mean one thing — the overthrow of white supremacy and the transfer of political power to the rightful owners of the country.

In this context, therefore, detente inside South Africa between the oppressed Black masses and the white racist regime or, for that matter, detente between free Africa and Vorster is not only contrary to the will of the people, but meaningless because our people will not accept the extension of the status quo by such exercises as detente and dialogue.

1. The apartheid system is being challenged by all sections of the oppressed, particularly Black workers inside South Africa. As from the beginning of 1972 up to the present period, South Africa has been hit by a series of strikes by African

workers shaking the very foundations of the apartheid economy and white rule in the country. The tremendous power of the Black working people can be seen not only in the strike movement, the growth of the Black trade unions, although not recognised by the government, and the mushrooming of scores of other workers' organisations, associations and groupings, but is also to be found in the trends which must objectively lead to fundamental changes in the character of the working class. This must not be confused with the condition of the African workers. In actual fact his material and spiritual conditions have worsened instead of improving over the past fifty years.

It is against this background that we must review the angry response of the Black workers in the recent past. The strikes, which began in 1972, mostly organised, but many spontaneous, paralysed very wide sections of industry. Beginning in Durban and its industrial environs, it spread throughout the province and also to many other parts of the fascist Republic, particularly the Transvaal and the Orange Free State gold mines (see later).

Despite the fact that all strikes by African workers are illegal in South Africa, in 1973 alone, police were called to 261 strikes, 46 labour disputes and 16 partial work stoppages.

2. Last year the racist regime was compelled by strikes and international pressure to repeal the notorious Masters and Servants Act that tied the farm labourers hand and foot to the white masters. Yet these farm labourers still work under conditions that can only be paralleled by those of classical serfdom and feudalism. The isolation of the farm worker from his fellow-workers, the low wages and high rate of illiteracy and ignorance, the absolute denial of all legal and political rights — all these are the conditions that contribute to the creation of a "worker" much more tied to 'tradition' and less organised.

3. The mining industry, the second largest employer of Black workers, still depends, to a very large extent on migrant and compound labour which is recruited outside the Republic of South Africa — from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland. This labour force drawn from the neighbouring countries accounts for about eighty percent (80) of the African labour force on the mines.

At the same time, most of the South African mines are operating on from 60 to 85% of the labour force as a result of the great exodus of Malawian and other foreign African miners in protest against the inhuman and degrading working conditions on the mines. Underlying this revolt is the growing political consciousness that these workers are becoming aware that they come from politically independent States and must defend their national pride and human dignity. In most cases these workers are leaving against the will of the mine bosses, and in some cases, their respective governments. Thus the mine bosses are compelled to recruit more and more workers from inside the Republic and they recently entered into an agreement with the illegal Smith regime for the supply of up to 20,000 African miners a year from Zimbabwe.

This clearly illustrates how the Vorster regime, far from preparing to cut off links with Smith's Rhodesia, is in fact becoming economically more interdependent with it — as usual, against the interests of the Black man who will have the choice (sic) of being exploited on the inefficient white farms in Rhodesia or being super-exploited on the efficient white mines in South Africa.

4. The mine bosses — including Ernest Oppenheimer, accepted in some circles as a progressive — and the South African Police reacted with characteristic brutality wherever and whenever the Black miners went on strike. After all, these workers were attacking the pillar of the South African economy.

Strikes on the mines have now been going on for almost 18 months and since the beginning of these strikes no less than 130 African miners have been slaughtered in cold-blood whenever the police intervened.

In September, 1973, for instance, 12 miners were shot dead and many scores injured when the police opened fire on striking miners at the Western Deep Levels gold mine, in Carletonville.



John Gaetsewe, the newly elected Secretary General of SACTU with British Trade Unionists.

5. Trade Union Rights:

(i) At present, African trade unions have no legal recognition. The Industrial Conciliation Act which is the main trade union legislation in South Africa defines an "employee" as all workers except African workers.

It is not illegal for Africans to organise or be organised into trade unions, but is virtually treated as though it is, both by the employers and the state.

Employers absolutely refuse to have any dealing whatsoever with organised African trade unions and the state through the Department of Labour and through the Security Police put every possible obstacle in the path of such unions. For instance, between 1955 and 1960 every single Black trade unionist, whose union was affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) a member of the ANC led Congress Alliance, was banned from all trade unions, from entering any factory premises, and from attending any meetings of more than one person, thus rendering SACTU inoperative for all intents and purposes.

(ii) For decades, the African National Congress, SACTU, and more recently, unions formed during the spate of strikes referred to above, have consistently demanded the recognition of African trade unions on the same basis as workers of the other race groups that constitute the South African population. Following the widespread strikes on the mines, the Anglo-American Corporation — South Africa's largest mining group — announced its readiness to

allow and deal with something like a company union for their Black miners with a White official, employed by them, at its head.

Even this sloppy and reactionary attempt to hoodwink the world was sharply rejected by the Vorster regime. On August 15, last year the South African Minister of Labour replied to this announcement thus:

"The government does not intend reviewing the organising of Bantu workers again, and believes that it is in the interests of all concerned that the status quo be maintained. The government feels that the existing statutory channels for Bantu workers should be expanded and properly utilised."

(iii) The existing statutory channels, referred to by the Minister are provided for in the Native Labour (Settlement of Dispute) Act, and take two forms:

(a) **Works Committees:** are plant-based and elected by the African workers in a particular factory at the instigation of the management. They are not organisations, with numerical strength, and therefore have no negotiating power. At best, they may function as a complaints Committee; at worst they become an additional means for the bosses to control the workers as all members of such committees are full time employees in the factory and they constantly face the threat of dismissal should they become militant or represent demands of the workers, whom they are supposed to serve, that are opposed by the management. Hundreds of works committee members have been dismissed ostensibly for

minor offences, but in reality because they defied their employers.

(b) **Liaison Committees:** are similar, but with a partly or wholly management nominated membership. Needless to say both these forms of "representation" are rejected by the workers and they only put up with their existence, in the factories where they have been established, for fear of victimisation.

6. The Right to To Strike

Workers' main means of self-protection is their right to withdraw their labour. In South Africa, where they are denied ordinary political and human rights, the right to strike assumes much greater significance for African workers who comprise nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the entire labour force. This right has never been conceded. But when, in 1972/73/74 the strike movement made the old prohibition on strikes by Africans a dead letter because of its mass character, the government decided to save face by introducing a heavily circumscribed so-called 'right to strike'. In fact, this meant for African workers the right to strike when the government decides to permit it — and only then.

7. Wage and Wage Gap:

Only two of the 13 sectors in the economy pay Africans above the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), according to research recently completed by Mr. Dudley Horner, a research officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The PDL set in June 1972 for an African family of five is an average of R 70.62 per month (with the rate of inflation rising daily in South Africa this figure must be increased considerably today).

Only the banking and insurance sectors, which employ an insignificant number of black workers pay above this rate. They pay these sectors an average R 71 and R 77 per month, respectively.

Addressing the national seminar of the Students' Wages and Economics Commission on African wage movements, Mr. Horner said that the lowest rates were in the mining industry (R 21), Provincial Administration (R 42), retail trade (R 46) and local authorities (R 50). In 1973 the average per capita income for the entire African population was only R 116 per annum. The wage gap between white workers and black workers is extremely wide in every

section of industry. In the mining industry, for instance, the gap between white and black miners has increased over the years rather than reduced. It was 7.5:1 in 1909. Today it is 20.1:1. Real cash earnings for Africans are lower than they were in 1889 and as a proportion to the total cost, the wage bill for African miners has fallen dramatically, from 13.7% in 1936 to 8.9 percent in 1969.

Meanwhile a report recently published by the Wages Commission of the University of Natal Students' Representative Council shows that of all labour in South Africa, farm labour is the most exploited and the least capable of improving, let alone changing, its situation.

Dominated politically, through a system which weights the votes of the white rural population, the white farmers have used all the means at their disposal to demand the fullest state control over labour.

As the state bureaucracy has become more efficient in its control of Black labour in the industrial and mining areas generally, so increased demands are being made to re-allocate Black labour in the interests of the white farming community.

The desires of the white farmers have been carried through to legislation:

- The Native Land Act of 1913, destroyed a vigorous system of sharecropping and reduced African farmers to labourers.

- A later Land Act, ensured a more even distribution of African farm labour.

- The Native Service Contract Act of 1932, reinforced the powers of the white farmer and permitted whipping.

- The Bantu Labour Act of 1964, provided blanket regulations for Black labour generally and also provides for farm labour control boards.

The boards, comprising state officials and white farmers, determine the number of farm labourers required in an area and the form of employment to be adopted. They direct labour to where it is required and are backed by a control registration system in Pretoria where computers are used to record the full employment history of every Black worker.

Peter Niesewand, a correspondent on the London Observer, recently exposed the abominable and sub-human conditions under which Black workers are forced to work in the wattle-growing industry in Natal. His report showed that apart from the inhuman living conditions of the workers, there were wage structures in the industry. Drivers and

foremen received R 8.69 a week. Workers engaged in loading, sawing lumber and stripping bark received an average of R 3.17 per week. Domestic and women employed in hoeing fire breaks, received an average of R 2.06 a week.

After this exposure and arising out of an almost universal outcry in Britain over these inhuman treatment of the Black workers the British owned farming company — Slater Walker — stating that it had been unaware of these conditions, doubled the wages of all its employees.

Even this increase brought the amount earned by the Black workers nowhere near the Poverty Datum Line (at present more than R 70 per month) which is the barest minimum required for the survival of a family.

8. Conclusion:

On the labour and trade union front the essence of detente is: the mixture as before, with marginal refinements forced on the government both by the militancy of the mass struggle and by its own need to try to hood-wink the outside world that real reforms are being under-taken.

Latest move in the search for such refinements and for international acceptability is the overseas tour (in January and February 1975) of the South African Minister of Labour, Marais Viljoen. In many ways this visit expresses clearly the character of the detente operation:

- It is deceitful. It is an official visit, yet it is not admitted as such lest it give rise to an outcry from anti-apartheid circles in Western Europe.

- Its purpose is on the face of it, to learn about the works committee systems in the countries visited. If true, it suggests that the government is seeking to adapt its existing policies in the field of labour relations, not to change them in favour of genuine trade union rights for the Black workers.

- But why does a Minister have to go on such a trip when officials could equally well study the problem? And why select three countries with whom South Africa especially values its existing relations, viz. Netherlands, France and Japan? Is not the purpose of the trip as much a public relations exercise rather than a study tour?

It is our conviction that independent Africa will not allow herself to be taken in by these transparent manoeuvres. Central and East African countries have taken steps to eliminate the exploitation of their citizens in the apartheid economy. We are confident they know what it is to be a black worker in South Africa. We are confident that free Africa will stand by South Africa's black workers, and support their struggle for full and unfettered trade union rights; the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike; the removal of colour bar in industry; equal wage for equal work with equal opportunity to all grades of employment and for complete national liberation.

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

South African workers — creating wealth yet getting poorer under dangerous working conditions.



JUNE 26: SOUTH A

Some famous leaders of the liberation movement who were charged for treason because the Congresses adopted the Freedom Charter as their policy...

Nelson Mandela



Abram Fischer
(See back cover. Ed.)



Chief Lutuli receiving the Nobel Peace Price

On June 26, this year, South Africans of all races will observe the 25th anniversary of South Africa Freedom Day. Opponents of apartheid, in many parts of the world, will also join in protest against racism in South Africa at public meetings and demonstrations on the occasion.

We have often given details in these columns of how this day became our national day of rededication and mourning and do not, therefore, propose to go over this issue again. However, let us reiterate, very briefly, some of the highlights of this important day in the history of the African National Congress and the liberation movement it leads, and to all the oppressed masses in our country.

1950: Following the killing by police of 18 people, and the injuring of scores of others in the Transvaal on May 1, for having gone out with thousands of others in a one day protest strike —

against certain proposed unjust laws — organised by the African National Congress jointly with the South African Indian Congress and the Communist Party of South Africa, the ANC called for a national strike throughout the contry on June 26 of the same year.

The first political national strike was a great success and the ANC declared June 26, South Africa Freedom Day, a day of rededication for the struggle for national liberation and independence and of mourning for the many thousands of martyrs who, over the decades, died fighting in this struggle.

1952: The ANC, together with the Indian Congress launhced the famous Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in which over 8000 people were imprisoned.

1955: After a full year's organisation the great Congress of the People was held at which over 3000 delegates, representing all races, creeds and classes

met and adopted the Freedom Charter which enshrined the demands of the people sent in to the Congresses during the campaigning for the conference. The Charter was subsequently adopted as the programme of the ANC and its allies which had by now increased to include the Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Congress and the Congress of Democrats, representing a small gropup of White supporters. **1956:** The entire leadership of the Congress Alliance — 156 leaders and leading personnel — were arrested on December 6, and charged with treason. The basis of the charge was that the Freedom Charter was a seditious document and the demands made in the Charter were treason.

1961: Following a general strike called by the Congresses for March 31, the previous year, in protest at the establishment of a Republic without the

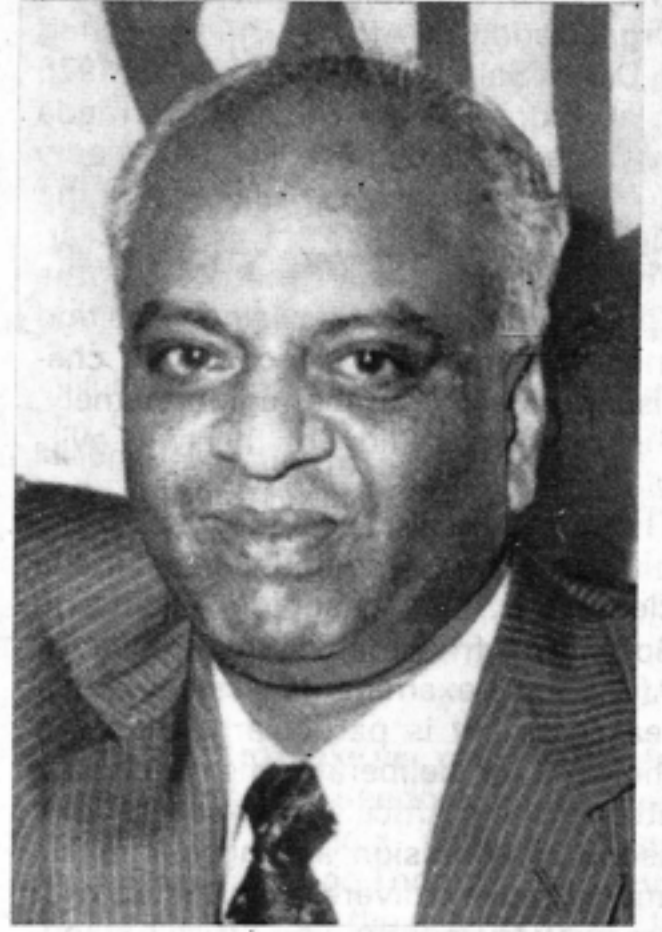
AFRICA FREEDOM DAY



Walter Sisulu



Dr. G. M. Naicker



Vuyisile Mini



consultation of the Black majority in the country, the ANC decided to establish Umkhonto we Sizwe — the Spear of the Nation — and to launch armed struggle. On December 16, the first of many sabotage actions were carried out in many parts of the country.

THE DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION

THE COUNCIL of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Dar es Salaam from April 7—10, 1975 in an Extraordinary Session has made an in-depth study of the developments in Southern Africa in general and the situation in South Africa in particular. This evaluation was made with the specific objective of devising ways and means of realising Africa's long cherished objective in the region, namely, the total liquidation of the twin evils of colonialism and racism.

Though Africa's position on these problems has repeatedly been made clear, the fast changing events in Southern Africa make it imperative for Africa to re-examine its strategy. Such reassessment is particularly crucial in the light of deliberate and calculated attempts by Africa's enemies to sow seeds of confusion among our ranks, and employing diversionary tactics with the view to undermining Africa's stand. It is therefore to the re-examination of Africa's strategy for the liberation of Rhodesia and Namibia as well as the abolition of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa that the Ministers have devoted their Extraordinary Session in Dar es Salaam. And they accordingly declare as follows:

The decisive defeat of Portuguese colonialism by the African liberation movements and the imminent independence of Mozambique and Angola has radically altered the balance of forces in Southern Africa. The resultant fatal blow inflicted on the "Unholy Alliance" of the government in Pretoria with the Smith regime and the Portuguese colonialists has seriously undermined the geopolitical position of the South African regime.

Freedom has come to the borders of South Africa and Namibia with the independence of Mozambique, and Angola respectively. The buffer zones for the consolidation of colonialism and racism have ultimately crumbled. Vorster's government is faced with

The Foreign Ministers after their four-day OAU Session adopted the following declaration...

intensified international isolation as demonstrated by the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to bar the South African delegation from taking part in the proceedings of the twenty-ninth Session.

Recognizing that the liberation of Angola and Mozambique brings with it a radical change in the geography of the African freedom struggle resulting in the intensification of the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia and Namibia, South Africa has been forced to review its policies towards Namibia and its client state of Rhodesia.

The apartheid regime is therefore now engaged in new manoeuvres in an



Zambia's Foreign Minister, H.E. Vernon Mwaanga and Mwalimu Nyerere at State House reception for heads of delegations to the conference.

attempt to reduce, if not neutralise, the impact of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the region. It is desperately attempting to undermine international opposition to its illegal occupation of Namibia.

South Africa is trying to camouflage the reality of the obnoxious system of racial oppression in South Africa by resorting to such highly orchestrated propaganda on the removal of 'petty apartheid.' The aim of Vorster's government in this exercise of white-washing apartheid is clear: to deceive world public opinion into believing that some radical changes are taking place in the Republic and thus reduce the regime's international isolation.

Africa's full commitment to the objective of total liberation of the continent is unequivocal and unquestionable. There can never be any surrender or compromise on this goal. But the developments in Southern Africa necessitate that Africa re-evaluates its tactics for the purpose of achieving the desired goal. Such a re-examination becomes all the more urgent by the evidence of new tactics on the part of Vorster's government in South Africa.

Above all, it is of the utmost importance that such a reassessment should have as its important prerequisite the maintenance and strengthening of unity and solidarity of Africa in confronting the new situation in Southern Africa. The enemies of Africa realise that this unity is the most powerful weapon in the continent's arsenal. It is that unity and solidarity which Vorster, with his collaborators and supporters, are attempting to undermine. Therefore Africa's urgent need to close its ranks in facing South Africa's new tactics becomes self-evident.

There are two main areas of conflict in Southern Africa. The first is the confrontation with colonialism. The second

is the conflict with the system of apartheid which has rightly been declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. But whether we are dealing with the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia or illegal occupation of Namibia or racist domination in South Africa, the main opponent of Africa is the same: the South African regime and the power it wields in the three areas. Thus the Southern Africa problem is firstly South Africa as a colonialist power, and secondly South Africa as a racist society.

Africa's objectives in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa have never changed. These objectives flow from Africa's commitment to achieve the total independence on the basis of majority rule with respect to the two colonial territories.

Concerning South Africa, the objective has been, and still is, the ending of apartheid and the total elimination of racial discrimination. While the strategies and tactics in the attainment of this objective may, change from one situation to another and from time to time, the objective itself is constant and nonnegotiable.

Africans never acquiesce in the perpetuation of colonial and/or racist oppression in their continent. That is why any talk of detente with the apartheid regime is such nonsense that it should be treated with the contempt it deserves. For if the spirit of detente is to have any meaning at all, it must first and foremost be promoted in South Africa. Such an understanding and accommodation will require dismantling the institutions of oppression and repression against the non-white people by the racist minority.

Otherwise, Vorster's outcries about detente can have one meaning in so far as the situation within South Africa is concerned. And this is that Africa should collude with apartheid and thus acquiesce in the daily humiliation, degradation, deprivation and repression of the African people in South Africa.

Africa has on many occasions declared its desire and willingness to promote peaceful settlement to the problems of Southern Africa including that of South Africa. The liberation movements themselves have a long history of non-violent struggle. It is only the obduracy, intransigency and recalcitrancy of the colonialist and racist regimes that forced them to resort to the armed struggle.

The laughing faces of fascists...



The five generals who will lead the South African Army this year. Seated is 44-year-old Lieutenant-General Magnus Malan, Chief of the Army. Standing are from left, Major-General Andre van Deventer, 44, of the

infantry Corps; Major-General Jack Dutton, 46, Chief of Army Staff (Operations); Major-General Gert Boshoff Chief of Army Staff (Logistics) and Major-General Neil Webster, 57, Director of General Resources.

Yet even at the eleventh hour, Africa proclaimed the Lusaka Manifesto in order to seek once again a possible peaceful solution. That Manifesto was unambiguous in asserting Africa's preference to achieve freedom and human dignity for our continent by peaceful means. But Africa has also made it clear that while peaceful progress towards its objective is blocked, Africa will support the armed struggle carried out by the peoples of the oppressed areas. This remains the unshakeable position of the African States.

COLONIALISM

In recent years Africa has adopted and carried out several strategies against colonialism. When in 1969, the racist and colonial regimes ignored the Lusaka Manifesto, the African States adopted the Mogadishu Declaration in 1971 calling for the intensification of the armed struggle. This was followed by the Accra Strategy of 1973 concentrating on the liberation of the Portuguese colonies.

The victory over Portuguese colonialism which vindicated the Accra Strategy led Africa, this year, to adopt the Dar es Salaam Declaration by which the OAU

has resolved to make use of the victories achieved by the freedom fighters of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe for the advance of the freedom march further south with particular emphasis on the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers while unequivocally reaffirming this Declaration, wishes to highlight the following:

ZIMBABWE

Africa's objective in Zimbabwe is independence on the basis of majority rule. This can be achieved either peacefully or by violent means. Either way, Africa will lend its unqualified support to the freedom fighters led by their nationalist movement—the African National Council.

As long as the objective of Majority Rule before Independence is not compromised, Africa would support all efforts made by the Zimbabwe nationalists to win independence by peaceful means. This may mean a holding of a Constitutional Conference where the nationalist forces will negotiate with the Smith regime. If that takes place, free Africa

has the duty to do everything possible to assist the success of such negotiations, until and unless the Rhodesian nationalists themselves are convinced that talks with Smith have irretrievably failed.

In the consideration of Africa's objectives in Rhodesia, it is important to properly evaluate the role of South Africa in that territory. South Africa has troops in Rhodesia which help to maintain the white minority rule. South Africa has frustrated the efforts of the international community by being the major sanctions buster. Both in its military and economic support of the Smith regime, South Africa continues to defy Africa's and the United Nations position. The apartheid regime must put an end to the military and economic support.

While Africa accepts help in genuine negotiations in order to facilitate the transfer of power to the African majority, it must remain absolutely vigilant and undertake the necessary preparations for the intensification of the armed struggle should peaceful solution to the Rhodesian conflict be blocked.

NAMIBIA

Africa's and the United Nations position on the question of Namibia is unequivocal. South Africa's continued oc-

cupation of that land is illegal and all member states of the United Nations are under obligation to refrain from doing anything which implies the legality of its administration. Africa must fulfill strictly this obligation to abstain from any action which may be construed as recognition or acceptance of South Africa's right to be in Namibia.

Africa and the United Nations hold the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia sacrosanct. They are working for the independence of the territory as a whole and are totally opposed to its fragmentation. Africa and the United Nations recognise SWAPO as the legitimate and authentic representative of the whole of Namibia. Despite the specific and unanimous demand of the Security Council, South Africa has not yet agreed to undertake withdrawing from Namibia. In fact the apartheid regime has consolidated its repressive rule in the territory and proceeded with its bantustanization.

The Council of Ministers reiterate their conviction that the only possible solution to the problem of Namibia lies in the implementation by South Africa of the Security Council Resolution of December 17, 1974. The African States considering that the Security Council by its own decision is scheduled to convene on or about the 30 May, 1975 to consider the question of Namibia, call upon the Council to take the necessary

measures including those envisaged under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to effectively overcome South Africa's defiance and contempt of the United Nations decisions.

In the absence of South Africa's willingness to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia, Africa must assist the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, to intensify the armed struggle in Namibia. SWAPO should also be supported in every way possible.

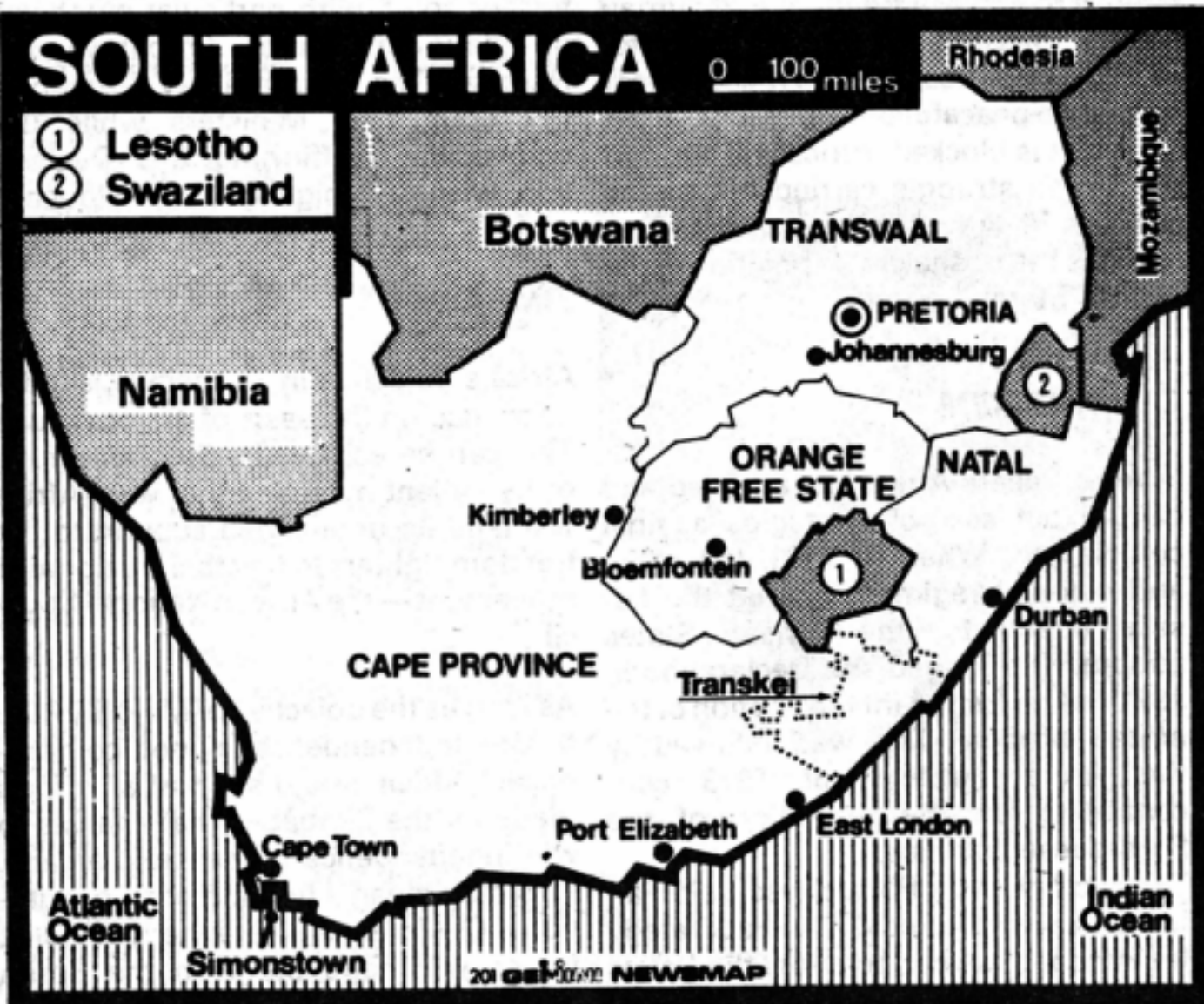
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

As regards South Africa, both the OAU and the United Nations are dedicated to the principle of full equality for all the people of the country, irrespective of race or colour. It is impossible for free Africa to acquiesce in the denial of human equality and human dignity which is represented by the philosophy and system of apartheid. Thus the OAU like the United Nations, opposes the regime in South Africa, not because it is white, but because it rejects and fights against the principles of human equality and national self-determination.

Africa has repeatedly warned that the apartheid regime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. This threat assumes graver proportions as the apartheid regime feels insecure. Despite Vorster's claims at the end of last year that given six months or so the world would be surprised by the changes that would be initiated from within the apartheid republic, the situation has taken a turn for the worse as evidenced by the mass trial of students, the consolidation and strengthening of the "Bantustans" and the vast increase of South Africa's military budget. Clearly, Vorster's Government is not about to depart from the doctrine of apartheid. Indeed, if anything, Vorster's measures have been designed to strengthen the security of the system of apartheid within South Africa.

Confronted with this unabashed determination of the apartheid regime to maintain its white supremacist system, Africa's responsibility is clear. We must ostracize, and urge the rest of the world to ostracize, the South African regime as at present organized.

Africa must maintain the economic, political and cultural boycott of South Africa. The OAU and the United Nations must work in concert for the extension





Augustino Neto's (centre in APC) triumphal return to Luanda. (Reported in our last issue.)

of the boycott. We must, in brief, work for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

There is no justification at all for changing this policy. **Nor is there anything for free Africa to talk to the leaders of the apartheid regime in connection with their policies in South Africa. If current or future leaders of the apartheid regime should desire to begin to move away from the policy of racism in South Africa and to seek the cooperation of the Africans to that end, they could initiate the necessary contacts and negotiations from within.**

They would find the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of racism led by their national liberation movements, ready for such negotiations which should enable the people of South Africa as a whole to determine the destiny of their country. The apartheid regime could initiate such a dialogue by the release of Nelson Mandela and derestriction of Robert Sobukwe, as well as hundreds of other nationalist leaders who are now languishing in South Africa's jails or under Restriction orders.

uishing in South Africa's jails or under Restriction orders.

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity resolutely reaffirms free Africa's total rejection of apartheid and all its ramifications, including any so called independent home lands within South Africa.

The Council underscores the importance of all independent African States to remain firmly united in the policy of isolating South Africa and ostracizing its apartheid regime: The Council reiterates its support to the national liberation movements of South Africa in their struggle in all its forms.

It also calls for the intensification of international efforts — with the cooperation of Governments, Inter-Governmental and non-Governmental organisations for eradication of apartheid.

Unprecedented opportunities and challenges prevail in Southern Africa subsequent to the collapse of the 500-year-old

Portuguese colonialism. Free Africa is determined to capitalise on the opportunities in order to bring closer the day when every inch of African soil will be free from colonial and racist domination. While being cognisant of the fact that South Africa stands as the final major obstacle to Africa's march to liberation, the Council of Ministers reaffirm their unflinching determination to realise the freedom and independence of Rhodesia and Namibia and the total destruction of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

The Council of Ministers, conscious of the important contribution made by African friends and supporters all over the world in its quest for the liberation of the continent, launches a fervent appeal to them by urging them to continue and intensify their support for SOLIDARITY with the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as for ending of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa.

We reproduce in full hereunder, the latest issue of **VUKANI/AWAKE!** an Organisational bulletin published somewhere inside fascist South Africa in which, the views of the resistance movement inside the country are expressed. Our Underground cadres face the full brunt of the day-to-day police terror, intimidation, repression and brutal persecution. Their voice deserves to be heard and respected by all.

VUKANI! AWAKE!

No. 2. March 1975

**For the liberation of South Africa and all her peoples.
NO DIALOGUE WITH APARTHEID!
LIBERATION THROUGH INTENSIFIED STRUGGLE!**

The leaders of right-wing African states, such as Liberia, Central African Republic, Senegal, Ivory Coast and of course Malawi, have again raised the nauseating slogan of "dialogue" with the racist South African regime. Their new opportunity is the recent, much lauded (in imperialist circles) "statesmanship" of Vorster. Their dim concern with reality is reflected in press reports claiming that South Africa would be admitted to the Organisation of African Unity. Equally bizarre, certain journalists named Vorster "Statesman of the year". All of this is surrounded by the mystique of "detente" in Southern Africa. While we are concerned and find it desirable to achieve peace and independence **under majority rule** in Zimbabwe, our reservations, here, are restricted to wider implications which the imperialists and their press-hacks are trying to draw from these meetings.

Sudden Fascist Respect for Human Rights?

Let us be clear about South Africa's involvement in Zimbabwean negotiations: It has nothing to do with concern for human rights nor African advancement. Her terroristic enforcement of racism shows continued contempt for Black aspirations for more than three hundred years.

RELEASE OF ZIMBABWEAN PATRIOTS MAY HAVE BEEN URGED, BUT MANDELA, SISULU, MBEKI, KATHRADA, GOLDBERG AND COUNTLESS OTHER SOUTH AFRICANS REMAIN PRISONERS. WHAT OF PASS LAWS, SLUMS, "RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES", LAND HUNGER?

That is our side of "detente".

Vorster negotiates over Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, he shoves Smith towards settlement because he hopes that this might postpone his day of reckoning in South Africa; He nurses the slim hope that the nascent Zimbabwean and Mozambican states will feel indebted to South Africa for its role at this time — for its **proclaimed** peaceful intentions — and thus refuse support to our freedom fighters.

One other matter must be clear: South Africa is not pushing Smith out of a situation where he has a "sporting chance". He does not operate from strength: it is conceded, even in

our press, which is not noted for sympathy towards what it calls "terrorism" that the **Rhodesian regime has no chance of defeating the freedom-fighters.** It is not the negotiators, with varying motives, that will cause the birth of Zimbabwe. **THE PATRIOTS OF ZIMBABWE WILL THEMSELVES BE ABLE TO CLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR FREEDOM!**

Cocktails in Liberia — Fascism At Home?

All major political parties, businessmen, local and overseas, support "dialogue" between South Africa and independent Africa as well as international capital investment and greater contact on cultural, sporting and other levels. In regard to both of these means of ending South Africa's isolation, all Bantustan leaders are very vocal supporters. Continental "dialogue" is urged as peaceful persuasion. The businessmen, not usually distinguished for their humanitarian considerations, noted for cold calculation, claim in this matter, to prefer contact and persuasion to conflict — to practically weep at the thought of blood being shed here. These are the same men who make profits out of the arms trade! They earn dividends while our men bend gathering gold out of the bowels of the earth! It is these men who supply the chemicals that have poisoned crops and caused the birth of abnormal babies in South-East Asia! That is the way of capitalism and imperialism! It is death, death, death — in Vietnam, the Middle East, Algeria, Kenya, Phillipines, Chile — now or in the past. There is no part of the world that has not felt or had to evade the loathsome grip of imperialism! That is why the voices of these men ring hollow. What value is there in a visit from a Black leader or even ultimately some tourism for the few "rich" Blacks to and from South Africa, when apartheid remains? What value, such visits, when local Blacks have never had any real discussions with any white South African government? The African National Congress (A. N. C.) repeatedly called for a national convention during the 1950s and early 1960s — these calls were met by gunfire. It was only after these attempts at meeting had failed that preparations for armed struggle were started. The only meaningful interaction that there has been on a mass national scale has been in the Congress movement, most notably in the great Congress of the People, held at Kliptown on 26 June 1955. It was here that the historical revolutionary programme of the liberation movement, the Freedom Charter, was adopted.

It is hardly a matter of chance that the "dialogue" advocates in independent Africa are themselves distinguished in their own countries, for indifference to popular aspirations (sometimes coupled with considerable brutality), general encouragement of cults around their leaders and (these being lackeys in reality) their subservience to imperialism. Who wants to repeat a boot-licking visit of "our friend Banda".

South African Capitalism Needs "Dialogue" and we Dont Need South African or International Capitalism.

South Africa needs "dialogue" to export her manufactures. She needs African markets since she cannot compete with European countries in Europe. Economic contact between a relatively powerful, industrialised, capitalist country, like South Africa, and independent Africa, at its present stage of economic development, is typically neo-colonial, that is it creates a relationship of dependence on the more powerful "partner". South Africa invests, "aids" and generally tries to become indispensable to these regimes. This sometimes leads, as in Malawi, to granting special military facilities. The dangers are clear:

Any South African foothold in independent Africa is a threat to all freedom loving states!

If the South African fascists cannot speak to their own people, if South Africa can't be governed with internal dialogue, then let there be no debasing contact between independent Africa and the racist south!

Isolate The Apartheid-Regime

For fifteen or more years the South African liberation movement has struggled with increasing success, to isolate the regime in as many areas as possible. With the development of this campaign, international support for racism is undermined and it is not easier to rid the continent of Apartheid. Investment brings only short-term benefits and this is on the assumption, only recently and partially true, that overseas firms pay better. The investment provides jobs but the investment arises only because it is profitable: It is profitable because labour is cheap in South Africa!

It is sometimes less cheap nowadays because of international and local worker's pressure. People who see international contact as the road to change close their eyes to the real force, the mass of the people who will accept nothing less than is their right, the people who view the whole South Africa as their homeland, who expect a full share in this, their own country! That is why the movement of Lutuli, Mandela, Sisulu and other great patriots, unified in the process of decades of struggle has continued to lead the people in the new conditions demanded by underground work. **Armed struggle is now accepted as tragic, yet inevitable.**

Since this is a correct evaluation, since real attempts at dialogue and discussion have been exhausted, we again pledge our total support for the A. N. C., its allies and the heroic fighters of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

The A. N. C. fights for the mass of the people who do not want short-term inadequate solutions (halfloaves). **THE PEOPLE WANT NOTHING LESS THAN THEIR RIGHT, ENSHRINED IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER:**

"THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH. The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts, and professions. The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger ;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seeds, tractors and dams to save soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished."

End "dialogue"! Full support for freedom struggle!

Free the SASO trialists! Free all political prisoners!

At the time of writing, Bram Fischer, leading Communist, great symbol of the united multi-racial South African revolutionary movement, has been released briefly while he dies of cancer.

At the same time, a number of young people associated with SASO and related organisations face trial in what seems nothing less than a colossal "frame-up". The defendants have conducted themselves with a defiance and deserved contempt for their jailers — in a case that does not seem to concern any but the very minute technical offences. The indictment speaks of vague allegations of speeches, poems etc., intended to create a climate suitable for revolution. This is in some ways analogous to the five-year long Treason Trial where the Freedom Charter formed the basis of the charge and all 156 of those originally charged were acquitted.

The "political climate" has, however, worsened in the last twenty years of intensified repression and we cannot be certain that a court dealing with legislation intentionally couched in vague terms, will necessarily acquit.

There are lessons to be learnt from this trial, the fact that these brave young men stand in the dock and what we have to say

is not meant harshly but rather in order that our people can draw correct lessons and harness their strength against the enemy most effectively.

... The fact that many of those arrested are **alleged** to be willing to act as state witnesses (in contrast to the exceptional nature of such testimony in the Congress and Communist trials) IF TRUE, says something about the lack of political discipline in these movements.

Political discipline is something abstract and invariable; what is required depends on the concrete situation in which one works, in our case, a semi-fascist state. It is not surprising that when a movement using militant, radical **phrases** does not couple this with adequate political training of its followers that such weaknesses emerge. If this has happened (we say "if" because the police are known to spread lies in order to try and engender disillusionment amongst our people) it is not so much a reflection on the individuals who decide to aid the state as on the inadequacy of the response of the particular movement to the demands of our state. (These remarks about discipline hold whether or not the rumours regarding state witnesses are true.)

... This trial has re-emphasized that all democratic opinion is to be stamped out. Surely this dispels any illusions (if any remain) about "dialogue" in **South Africa**. It is to be noted that many SASO leaders by acting publicly became "sitting ducks" for the security police. They could track them down from press reports!

This must not happen again! We cannot afford to lose any true patriots! Stand behind the SASO trialists! Pressurise bantustan and indian council leaders to call for their release! At the same time we say that public agitation is generally no longer viable for revolutionaries in present-day South Africa. Congress has now operated underground for fifteen years, the Communist Party for longer. Umkhonto has been in existence since 1961. Congress leaders have repeatedly stressed that there is a place for all those who unconditionally accept equality and brotherhood — the principles enunciated in the Freedom Charter.

Thus the Acting President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo has said:

"The enemy will do everything to divide and cause confusion among the oppressed with the help of the few traitors ready to sell themselves for money and favours from the oppressors. But our policy will be to secure unity in struggle amongst all oppressed people.

"Also worthy of mention is the small group of whites who have been prepared to turn backs unreservedly on white privileges to fight side by side with the oppressed masses. Although they are few, such whites are the salt of the earth and our armies will welcome the support of honest white supporters who have proved themselves in years of struggle against oppression.

It is a description of the facts of the situation to say that There is only one path to liberation — full support for the African National Congress and its allies!

Do not expose yourself to the police and their informers!

Do not go to jail for nothing!

Form secret discussion groups of trusted friends to discuss this and other documents supporting the liberation struggle! Prepare to assist the movement! Know the enemy and his devious methods! Use every opportunity to become better acquainted with the principles of the A. N. C.! Find out the correct path to liberation!

Study! Study! Study! Follow the movement that will unlock the prison gates!

Follow the movement that will set up a free democratic South Africa!

Long live the South African revolution!

US PLANS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The new situation which obtains in Southern Africa following the defeat of the discredited fascist regime of Caetano in Portugal, and the emergence of independent Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and the impending independence of Angola, has dramatically altered the balance of forces in our region in favour of the national liberation movements.

Noting this change, the National Executive Meeting of the ANC held in Morogoro, Tanzania, recently, adopted a Declaration (a full copy of which was published in our last issue) which stated:

"World imperialism, led by the USA, together with its South African outpost, had studied and prepared for this situation with great care. They have decided that unless they capture the initiative, white minority domination faces immediate doom."

As far back as 1969, Henry Kissinger was commissioned by the then President of the US, Richard Nixon, to present a top-secret memorandum on the foreign policy options the administration had in relation to the whole Southern African region.

Kissinger produced his memorandum — **The National Security Study Memorandum 39: Southern Africa; after consultation with the CIA, the Pentagon, the State Department, and a host of other experts.**

The existence of this memorandum was first exposed sometime last year by a journalist on "Esquire".

We have now obtained a copy of this 56-page document which has five sections and ten annexes, and shall here deal with some of the sections relating to South Africa.

The Problem

Under the sub-heading: **The Problem**, Memo 39 states: "Racial repression by white minority regimes and the black African opposition to it pose two problems for US interests in the area:

1) Our interest in the white states to the degree they are seen as at least tacit acceptance of racism affect our standing with African and other states.

2) The prospect of increasing violence in the area growing out of black insurgency and white reprisal could

jeopardize our interests in the future." In a section dealing with **"US Interests in Southern Africa"** the document states, in part:

1. Political

"Racial repression by white minority regimes in Southern Africa has international political ramifications extending beyond the region itself. Politically conscious Blacks elsewhere in Africa and the world deeply resent the continuation of discrimination, identify with the oppressed majorities in Southern Africa and tend, in varying degrees, to see relationships of outside powers with the white regimes as at least tacit acceptance of racism. Many others in the non-white world tend to share this view in some measure.

"Because of the multi-racial character of our society and our own racial problems, other countries tend to see our relationships with Southern Africa as reflections of domestic attitudes on race. This situation is exacerbated by the extension of South African racial discrimination to Black Americans who may be refused visas or who are subjected to segregated facilities in South Africa.

"If violence in the area escalates, US interests will be increasingly threatened. In these circumstances the US would find it increasingly difficult without sacrificing interests to find a middle ground in the UN on questions of insurgent violence and counter-violence in the region and to resist demands for more positive actions against the white regimes."

2. Economic

"US direct investment in Southern Africa, mainly in South Africa, is about \$ 1 billion and yields a highly profitable return. Trade, again mainly with South Africa, runs a favourable balance to the US. (Our exports to South Africa were about \$ 450 million in 1968 against imports of \$ 350 million.)

"In addition the US has indirect economic interest in the key role which South Africa plays in the UK balance of payments. UK investment in South Africa is currently estimated at \$ 3 bil-

lion, and the British have made it clear that they will take no action which would jeopardize their economic interests. The US has an important interest in the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold production which is important to the successful operation of the two-tier gold price system.

3. Defense

"Southern Africa is geographically important for the US and its allies, particularly with the closing of the Suez Canal and the increased Soviet activity in the Indian Ocean. The US uses overflight and landing facilities for military aircraft in the Portuguese Territories and South Africa. There are major ship repair and logistic facilities in South Africa with a level of technical competence which cannot be duplicated elsewhere on the African continent. We have not permitted US naval vessels to use South African port facilities since early 1967, except for emergencies. Regular use is made of ports in Angola and Mozambique, however, but these ports cannot accommodate aircraft carriers. The DOD has a missile tracking station in South Africa under a classified agreement, and some of the military aircraft traffic involves support of this station. The future need for the DOD station is under review. The tentative conclusions are that the station is no longer required for research and development of missiles. We also finance a UK atmosphere testing station for nuclear materials located in Swaziland which helps us monitor nuclear atmospheric explosions worldwide."

4. Scientific

"NASA has a space tracking facility of major importance in South Africa, and overflight and landing rights for support aircraft are utilized in connection with various space shots. The NASA station is particularly oriented towards support of unmanned spacecraft and will be of key significance for planetary missions. We have an atomic energy agreement with South Africa initiated under the Atoms for Peace program; this relationship is important in influencing

South Africa to continue its policy of doing nothing in the marketing of its large production of uranium oxide which would have the effect of increasing the number of nuclear weapons powers."

Option 2

Of the five options of American foreign policy towards the region outlined in this memorandum, Nixon, and subsequently President Ford accepted Option 2, an edited version of which reads as follows: —

Premise:

"The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modifications of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states (a total of about \$ 5 million annually in technical assistance to the black states) help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence in both for peaceful change. Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region, and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost.

General Posture

"We would maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states. We would begin by modest indications of this relaxation, broadening the scope of our relations and contacts gradually and to some degree in response to tangible — albeit small and gradual — moderation of white policies. Without openly taking a position and undermining the UK and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith regime.

We would take present Portuguese policies as suggesting further changes in the Portuguese territories. At the same time we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states."

As with his policy in relation to Indo-China and the Middle East, Kissin-



Kissinger and former Israeli War Minister Dayan...
Smiles and handshakes, bombs and napalm — all in a day's work.

ger has once again bitten dust in so far as his policy towards the former Portuguese colonies is concerned. Within four years since he prepared Memo 39, these colonies are now free, and in two of the three territories, there is already majority rule while the third is working towards this goal.

Operational Examples

- Enforce arms embargo against South Africa but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes.
- Permit US naval calls in South Africa with arrangements for non-discrimination toward US personnel in organised activity ashore; authorize routine use of airfields.
- Retain tracking stations in South Africa as required.
- Remove constraints on EXIM Bank facilities for South Africa; actively encourage US exports and facilitate US investment consistent with the Foreign Direct Investment Programme.

- Conduct selected exchange programs with South Africans in all categories, including military.
- Without changing the US legal position that South African occupancy of South West Africa is illegal, we would play down the issue and encourage accommodation between South Africa and the UN.
- On Rhodesia, retain consulate; gradually relax sanctions (e.g. hardship exceptions for chrome) and consider recognition."

Vorster's Role

It is in the context of this policy that Vorster is operating. His move towards so-called detente with Free Africa; his relaxation of apartheid so as to enable foreign Black sportsmen, like Arthur Ashe, to play against whites while spectators are still strictly segregated; his decision to pay Black and white soldiers the same salaries; are all operational plans to further his own and US policy in Africa.

FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA: A Threat To World Peace

Abridged version of a Paper Submitted by the African National Congress of South Africa to the Bureau of the World Peace Council Meeting on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascism, held in Berlin, G.D.R., 18-21 April 1975.

1. The Historical Significance for the Peoples of Africa of the Defeat of Fascism.

The defeat of fascism in Europe on May 8, 1945 was a great historic victory for all progressive mankind. The glorious sacrifices and relentless struggles of the Soviet armies and people, of the resistance movements in Nazi-occupied Europe, of the revolutionary working class movement and all democratic forces throughout the world ensured the defeat of the monstrous Nazi juggernaut which had sought to dominate the world.

For the peoples of Africa, ensnared in the colonialist system and no longer content to rest until it was destroyed, the defeat of fascism in Europe had a deep significance. It must be remembered that the African experience of German colonialism had been an extremely disastrous and painful one. In Namibia the German colonists carried out a policy of genocide against the Herero and other indigenous peoples; a policy which was without parallel even in the bloody history of colonialism in Southern Africa. In the former German colony of Tanganyika, and in a few other parts of Africa, the historically brief but bloody impact of German colonialism left an unforgettable mark.

The redivision of Africa among the colonial powers after the First World War put an end to the German colonial presence but solved none of the basic problems facing the African peoples. Africa watched with growing alarm the march of the fascist jackboots to power in Europe, not only because this threatened yet another world-wide conflict and yet another attempt to redistribute the colonies once again, but also because its ideological and spiritual programme was openly and unashamedly racist. The barbaric ideas of racism have always been anathema to the peoples of Africa, who have suffered under the implementation of these fascist ideas — and are still suffering today in Southern Africa — perhaps more than any other peoples in the former colonial and semi-colonial world.

When fascist Italy marched into Ethiopia in 1935, African opinion was outraged by such a blatant act of colonial plunder and lawlessness. The failure of other Western powers to take effective measures to compel a return to the previous situation — an experience which has been repeated in the past decade in relation to sanctions against the illegal

rebellion of the white minority settler regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); the C. I. A.-initiated fascist coup in Chile, and US military intervention in Indo-China — disgusted the freedom-loving peoples of Africa and alerted them to the dangers of appeasing fascism.

Thus it was that the Nazi onslaught in Europe found in Africa a mass consciousness of the dangers posed to all mankind by the mad ambitions of Hitler's Germany. It was only a small and unimportant minority which held in some cases that the war in Europe was a white man's war of no interest or concern to the peoples of Africa. Nor did the erroneous view hold sway which briefly infected some national liberation movements in Asia, that the defeat of the British and French colonialists could only be an advantage to the peoples struggling against the colonial might of these metropolitan powers. This view proved short-sighted, for it took no account of the rival colonialist ambitions of the Axis powers. On the whole, the peoples of Africa rallied to the fight against fascism, and volunteered in their tens and thousands, coming from all parts of the continent to fight in all the main arenas of the second world war. They were often denied arms by their colonial rulers, and made to serve in non-combatant roles or to face the enemy unarmed. But nobody can deny that Africa made a contribution to the defeat of fascism, and that that contribution could have been much greater had the reactionary circles in the West allowed it to be so.

But the reactionary circles in the West could not escape from the fundamental contradiction of their position. They could not defeat Nazism and its imperialist aims, and at the same time preserve intact and unscathed their own imperialist positions throughout the continents of Africa and Asia.

Fascism in Europe and Japanese imperialism in Asia could only be defeated by the mobilisation of wide democratic forces in these continents, as well as in Africa and the world over. This ensured that the defeat of fascism on a world scale also entailed a mortal weakening of the entire colonial system. Indeed, the defeat of fascism in Europe dealt a fatal blow to colonialism and ushered in the whole period of decolonisation which has been one of the great historic advances of mankind in the past 30 years and which has greatly augmented the forces of the world revolutionary movement.

2. The Fundamental Unity of the Struggle Against Fascism And The Struggle Against Colonialism

For the peoples of Africa there was no contradiction between the struggle against fascism and the struggle against colonialism. On the contrary, these struggles were closely interlinked. The Western powers claimed to be fighting the Axis powers in the name of freedom and democracy. It was this very freedom and democracy which Africa was demanding. If the nations of Europe were entitled to their self-determination and independence, were not also the nations of Africa and Asia?

Nowhere was the fundamental unity of the anti-fascist and anti-colonial struggle more clearly demonstrated than in South Africa. The African National Congress, spear-head of the African liberation struggle, the Communist Party and other progressive organisations in South Africa, called for equal rights for all South Africans, and in particular demanded that the African and other Black soldiers whom Field Marshall Smuts, "elder" statesman of the British Empire at the time, sent to the battle-fields of North Africa should be armed just like the whites. But in war-time, as in peace-time, the racists were not prepared to grant equality in any field to the black majority. The Smuts government prided itself on supplying much needed foodstuffs and munitions to the Allied armies, but for the black workers whose labour actually produced these things, and on whose backs the whole economy of South Africa is built, there were to be no trade union rights, no permanent status or rights in the cities which the racists arrogantly claim to be part of so-called "white" South Africa.

Thus it was that despite a rapid growth in the national working class movements of the African and other oppressed peoples in the war years; despite the growing unity of the African movement with the oppressed Indian and Coloured minorities; despite the upsurge in the same period of the trade union movement, the Smuts government, by adhering to its racist and reactionary policies at home while joining in the struggle to defeat fascism abroad laid the basis for its own demise and opened the door to the coming to power of the Nazi-orientated Nationalist Party in 1948 which has tyrannised South Africa ever since.

The Nationalist party was and is the agent of Afrikaner nationalism. Its

electoral platform in 1948 can be summed up as: apartheid (then a new word), anti-communism, so-called national socialism and the 'protection of Christian civilisation'. These remain today its fundamental programme. The architects of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, its advocates in the 1940s, are today the rulers of South Africa. These men, many of whom studied in pre-war Germany, deliberately sought and created links with the ideology of the Nazi movement in Germany, taking over from it all its anti-communist, anti-working class elements, all its racist notions, and even some of its pseudo anti-capitalist demagoguery, and applied these ideas in the colonial conditions of South Africa where the white minority had already for centuries ruled and exploited the African and other oppressed peoples. Constantly whipping up anti-black hysteria, taking advantage of the economic consequences of the Great Depression upon working whites, and assiduously building up Afrikaner capital as a rival of British mining and finance capital, until at a later stage the junior partner, through control of the state, became the senior partner, the Afrikaner nationalists proceeded steadily to develop their insidious plans. They hoped to lead South Africa into the Second World War on the side of fascism, but their plans were narrowly defeated in the all-white parliament by the greater strength of British imperialism's position in South Africa at that time. Undeterred by this set-back the fascists sought to sabotage the economic contribution of the country to the Allied war effort, and to force a position of neutrality upon the South African government. In the forefront of such actions, conducted clandestinely and with direct assistance from Hitler's Germany, were the present rulers of South Africa, including Prime Minister Vorster and his right-hand man General van den Bergh, head of the notorious state security apparatus BOSS (Bureau of State Security), both of whom were interned during the war on account of their disruptive, treacherous pro-Nazi activities. These are the men who today are seeking, and in a few shameful but isolated instances, gaining entry into the capitals of independent African states, wearing the mask of peace and seeking to 'normalise' South Africa's relations with free Africa, i.e. to gain acceptance of apartheid.

Thus it was that although fascism was routed in Europe in 1945, in South Africa fascism came to power only three years later. The wider, underlying reason for this apparent paradox lies in the fact

that in South Africa only the minority white population enjoy the franchise and fascism is essentially a form taken by imperialism in certain circumstances, and while imperialism suffered a resounding rebuff as a consequence of the defeat of fascism in 1945, it was far from being eliminated from the world stage. So long as imperialism exists, so long as monopoly capital holds sway, in some parts of the globe, so long will the danger persist of fascism taking power and establishing the most brutal, ruthless and open dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist circles of finance capital. Gravely weakened by the popular democratic and revolutionary struggles of the war years and immediate post-war period, and by the extension and consolidation of the world socialist system led by the Soviet Union, imperialism's hold was nonetheless still intact in South Africa, and to maintain itself moved into an undeniably fascist stage.

3. Anti-Fascism and Anti-Colonialism: Portugal and Africa

Before looking more closely at fascism in the South African context we should consider the close inter-connection and underlying unity of the anti-fascist and anti-colonial struggles as borne out by the recent developments in Portugal and its former African possession — now either independent or on the threshold of independence. There can be few people now who do not realise that it was the determined struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, under the leadership of their respective liberation movements, which led directly to the crisis in which Portuguese fascism was finally overthrown. The democratic revolution in Portugal in turn opened up a solution to the crisis of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and created conditions for the possibility of a rapid transition to independence in all three territories. Whereas before, fascist terror in Portugal and colonialist terror in Africa marched hand in hand, today the progressive forces in Portugal are reaching out the hand of friendship to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau and new relations of mutual respect and cooperation are being forged. The racists in Zimbabwe and South Africa were panic-stricken at this historic turn of events. They can see the march of history and they know their turn is next. This is why they are so busy deepening their military, political and economic links with the West, most

notably with Britain, the United States, France and West Germany. And this is why Vorster, the butcher of the African people, has put on the mask of peace and sought to 'normalise' South Africa's relations with the rest of Africa.

Deliberately misusing international detente and peaceful co-existence as advocated by the world forces for peace, he has, with the aid of international imperialism and its control of the news media in the West, impudently termed his neo-colonialist offensive on the continent a policy for "detente and peaceful progress". We shall return to this aspect again.

4. Fascism In The South African Context:

The Struggle Against Racism and Colonialism

The South African regime is not only fascist, but it is also racist and colonialist. It perpetuates the colonial-type

domination by the white minority and maintains the extreme national oppression of the black people. It preserves the super-exploitation of the black working-people and the concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of the white minority; it seeks to suppress at all costs and by all means the movement for national liberation; and it aims to establish its neo-colonialist hegemony not only in the adjacent countries of Southern Africa, but also throughout the African continent, using the methods of neo-colonialism and working in partnership with the major imperialist powers. These are the essential features and distinguishing characteristics of fascism in its present-day South African form.

The democratic revolution in Portugal and the victories of the fighting peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau have created a new situation in Southern Africa. At the same time the masses have been moving into action

in South Africa itself on an unprecedented scale in recent years. The African working masses since late 1972 have turned the strike weapon into a mighty hammer which is repeatedly striking at the productive sources of the white minority's wealth. The strike movement has spread from one area to all industrial centres, and it has penetrated that infamous bastion of finance capital in South Africa, the mining industry, where over 130 African workers have lost their lives in militant struggles in the past two years. Most notoriously, but far from being the only such case, was the cold-blooded shooting of twelve African miners at Carletonville in September 1973. This typical act of terroristic thuggery, so typical of a fascist regime, completely failed to intimidate the miners, and since then the scale of the African miners's struggle has increased enormously. No less significant has been the growth in organisational strength and maturity of the African

MEMO 39 CONDEMNED

The World Peace Council draws the urgent attention of the peoples of the world to the secret U.S. policy document — the National State Security Memorandum 39 — prepared by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in consultation with the C.I.A., the State Department, the Pentagon and a host of other "experts".

In terms of this document which is U.S. policy for Southern Africa, the following main points are made:

1. The whites are in Southern Africa to stay... There is no hope for the Blacks to gain their political rights through violence which will lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists.
2. While enforcing our arms embargo there was to be liberal treatment of dual-use equipment which could serve both military and civilian purposes.
3. Removal of constraints on Export-Import (EXIM) Bank facilities and encouraging investments.
4. The U.S. has a NASA tracking station and an air force tracking station in South Africa. The NASA station continues to be of primary importance... South Africa's port facilities are of long term strategic importance to the conduct of operations in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. These port facilities are the best in Africa and their availability to the Navy would be useful in peace time and essential in wartime.

Imperialism's agent in Africa for the prosecution of this plan is John Vorster, South Africa's fascist Prime

Resolution adopted at the Meeting of the Bureau of the WPC Presidential Committee to mark the 30th Anniversary of the Victory over Hitler Fascism (Berlin, GDR, 18—20 April, 1975)

Minister. Within the context of this plan, Vorster has launched a much publicised and well-orchestrated campaign around what he terms "a policy of detente with the rest of Africa", with a view to not only fulfilling US aims for this area but dividing independent Africa; dividing the Liberation Movements and the African countries; and, driving a wedge between the progressive African countries, the Liberation Movements and their allies in the socialist countries.

U.S. policy has steadily aimed at fulfilling the objectives of this document. Recent events in Southern Africa have forced the imperialists to hasten the process.

This meeting of the World Peace Council, therefore, taking note of:

1. the dramatic change of the balance of forces in Southern Africa following the democratic revolution in Portugal and the victories of the fighting peoples of Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique;
2. the intensified struggle for liberation in Namibia and Zimbabwe; and
3. the heightened level of confrontation between the oppressed and their oppressors in fascist South Africa calls for the mobilisation of progressive and democratic forces the world over to support and protect the victories of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and to intensify solidarity actions with and support for the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.



On Detente Farm. "while breeding doves train hawks" — Kissinger's advice to Vorster.

trade union movement, under the influence of the only trade union centre which seeks to unite workers of all races, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Amongst the black youth and students there is mounting impatience with the manoeuvres of the racists and their handfull of black puppets. Student militancy has been at an extremely high level in recent years, and has stimulated solidarity action on the part of a section of democratic white students. The black intelligentsia together with other strata amongst the oppressed people, have advanced, under the general slogan of 'Black Consciousness', progressive ideas on the need for unity amongst Africans as such, and between the Africans and the other oppressed minority racial groups, namely the Coloureds and Indians. In December last year, despite great police harassment and the detention of over 40 black militants allegedly for the so-called crime of having demonstrated their solidarity with the Frelimo-led transitional government in Mozambique, over 300 delegates representing various student, church, cultural and other organisations met in a Black Renaissance Convention. Its decisions, rejecting the Bantustans and all fraudulent institutions established by the racists; pledging

to fight for a democratic non-racial South Africa, and calling for the complete international isolation of the racist regime in all spheres, reflect the correctness of the political line of the African National Congress, its deep influence not just on the 'Black Consciousness' movement but on all sectors of the oppressed, and its close links with the masses. The underground voice of the African National Congress is speaking out ever more loudly to the people, and preparations for armed struggle in the new, more favourable situation created by the victories of our brothers in Mozambique and Angola, are progressing.

5. The Reaction of The Racists

Meanwhile, the Vorster regime, basing its new image of so-called Detente with Free Africa, on the US administration's view as enunciated in its National State Security Memorandum 39 — (NSSM 39), has launched a counter offensive against independent African States and the national liberation movement in South Africa. The author of document NSSM 39 is Henry Kissinger. He had been commissioned by the Nixon Administration to draw up a policy document towards the minority

regimes of Southern Africa. After consulting the CIA, the Pentagon, the State Department and a host of 'experts' he submitted five options to his President. It was Option Two which Nixon accepted and which President Ford is now prosecuting. The important points made in the memorandum are:—

- The whites are in Southern Africa to stay and any constructive change can come about only through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain their political rights through violence which will lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists.
- "Public criticism of the white minority regimes' racist policy but private support'. Thus it said: "While enforcing our arms embargo there was to be liberal treatment of dual-use equipment which could serve both military and civilian purposes. Removal of constraints on Export-Import (Exim) bank facilities and encouraging investments.
- Permit naval calls on South Africa and authorise routine use of airfields.
- "The US has a NASA tracking station and an air force missile tracking station in South Africa. The NASA station continues to be of primary importance... South Africa's port facilities are of long term strategic (a fuller report on this document

appears elsewhere in this issue) importance to the conduct of operations in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Their port facilities are the best in Africa and their availability to the Navy would be useful in peace time and essential in wartime."

The dangers inherent in the tripple tasks allotted to Vorster under the policy envisaged in the NSSM 39 are:

- 'To stop the armed struggle of the liberation movement and guide them along constitutional and non-violent means'.
- To cut ties between the liberation movements and progressive African countries.
- To drive a wedge between the progressive African countries, liberation movements and their allies in the socialist and other countries.

It is in this context that the African National Congress sees the policy of Vorster's detente. And it is in this context that the ANC denounces the fascist apartheid regime as a threat not only to the peace, security and integrity of independent Africa, but also as a danger to world peace. Never has this threat, this danger been so acute as it is today. World imperialism, led by reactionary circles in the USA, has seen its reactionary plans shattered by the triumphant onward march of the peoples of Indo-China. In the Middle East US schemes for partial solutions of the crisis there have been roundly defeated by the unity of the Arab peoples, the growing political strength of the Palestinian people and the wider international recognition of the justice of their cause. So it is no accident that the imperialists, facing defeats on all these fronts, launched a vicious and bloody counter-offensive to wipe out the democratic gains of the popular unity government of Salvador Allende in Chile, and are today seeking to make a last-ditch stand in Southern Africa.

In the face of these manoeuvres, and the committed support US imperialism is giving the racists in South Africa, the utmost vigilance of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces is called for, to preserve the unity of the African peoples, to isolate and rebuff the apartheid regime in all spheres, political, diplomatic, military, economic, and cultural, and to greatly intensify the moral and material support given to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. There can be no doubt that the struggle against apartheid is today one of the vital fronts in the struggle against latter day racism, and that the destruction of apartheid will wipe out one of the mainsprings of racial conflict in the

world, opening the path to the rapid development of Southern Africa and Africa in conditions of racial harmony, democracy, peace and social and economic progress.

6. Western Support For Apartheid Endangers World Peace

The destruction of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa is the historic mission of our people. They have never flinched from shouldering this burden. Its weight is doubled by the support the racists get from the international monopolies, and from the ruling circles in the major western countries. The very same ruling circles in Britain and France that appeased Nazism in Germany 40 years ago, that connived at the defeat of the democratic revolution in Spain, and which thereby helped to create a monster which nearly destroyed them — these are the same people who today are pouring capital into South Africa, stepping up their arms supplies and joint military collaboration with Pretoria, increasing their trade links with South Africa and relying more and more on its gold in the deepening monetary and economic crisis in which the world capitalist system is finding itself. This is the sort of backing, coming not only from Britain and France, but also from the United States, West Germany and Japan, which has encouraged and enabled the Vorster regime to more than double its military budget within the past 18 months, and which is fully supporting and assisting Vorster's so-called 'detente' offensive in Africa.

This collaboration of the Western powers with the South African fascists has reached dangerously new levels since the collapse of Portuguese fascism and colonialism. This collaboration represents a formidable challenge to all anti-fascist and progressive forces in these countries to halt and reverse the growing involvement of the West in support of apartheid. Unless this is achieved, unless the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in the major imperialist countries develop into a powerful force capable of blocking the reactionaries' moves, the imperialists will become directly involved militarily in the crisis in South Africa and in the genocide against the African people which the Pretoria racists are ready and willing to unleash should their power be threatened. In this situation lie the element of an international conflict no less dangerous, no less bloody than the recent situation in Indo-China and the present situation in the Middle East —

with the additional explosive element of race which the enemy invokes constantly to develop a war psychosis in the white minority. We must therefore issue a very sober and grave warning to the reactionary circles in the West — to get out of our way before it is too late. And to our friends in the West, we appeal once again to double and treble their efforts to bring about the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa in all spheres, and similarly to step up their support for the liberation struggle.

Conclusion

The lesson of history is clear. To appease fascism and racism, to encourage such primitive, anti-human and terroristic ideas and forces, is to play with fire and to endanger not only the lives of millions of peace-loving people, but to endanger world peace itself. The deepening economic crisis of the capitalist world, the sharpening class struggles not only in the West but throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America, the rising tide of revolution on a world scale which is rolling back the sphere of influence of imperialism, these developments are creating the conditions in which the reactionary circles are more tempted than before to seek a way out of their crisis by resorting to ruthless repression, suspension of democratic rights; and to full-scale fascist terror. So while the danger of fascism is growing today in many parts of the world, at the same time the democratic and peace-loving forces are growing stronger. They have greater opportunities and more resources for defeating fascism than they had in the 1920s and 1930s. The world socialist system, led by the Soviet Union, has grown in strength and stature. Most of the countries of Free Africa, Asia and Latin America are firmly opposed to fascism, racism and war. There is an evergrowing awareness among the peoples in the imperialist and other western countries to the dangers inherent in the growth of fascism.

All these forces recognise that the militant struggles for national liberation and the struggle for world peace are inextricably linked and are part of a single struggle against the forces that perpetuate and profit from war.

We are, therefore, living at a time in history that is both dangerous and exciting. Imperialism's lease is running out and in its death throes one can expect it to gamble, as it tried to do in Indo-China, to embroil the world in yet another holocaust. In this situation we

must, all together, meet the situation. With the utmost coolness, objectivity and thoroughness, seek out and develop the ways and means of blocking the roads to fascism today, of routing the

fascists who are in power, and of hastening the demise of the imperialist system which spawns fascism like some grotesque monster. This is why the African National Congress is parti-

cipating in this important meeting, and why we attach significance to its outcome in terms of plans and activity for the future.



O. R. Tambo, 4th from left with the Vice-Premier of the PRC Chen Wu Kuei on his right and members of the Foreign Ministry and officials of the Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

ANC VISITS CHINA

Recently a two-man delegation of the African National Congress, led by Comrade O. R. Tambo, accompanied by Comrade Johnny Makatini, visited the Peoples Republic of China at the invitation of the Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. The delegation met leading members of the Government and Party during their visit and report that the discussions held were frank, friendly and fruitful.

Prince Sihanouk, head of the Revolutionary Government of Cambodia, drinking a toast with Comrade Tambo, when he said, "We dedicate our Victory to the struggle of the people of South Africa."



INTENSIFY THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT

by John Matshikiza

The issues responsible for the unexpected diplomatic initiatives of the apartheid regime, both in relation to its apparent efforts at resolving the situation in Zimbabwe, and more vaguely in terms of promises on the future of South Africa and Namibia, have been the dramatic events of the Portuguese revolution and the subsequent events in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola; the escalating political and military battlefront in Zimbabwe, and the increasingly clear expressions of abhorrence by the majority of member states in the UN, leading to white South Africa's suspension from the current session of the world body.

Yet the innumerable efforts in other spheres have played an equally important part. The continuing work of international solidarity has been in operation over many decades now, and the significance of pressure being placed on apartheid South Africa by the international community, in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa, has not been lost on the South African regime. Despite the White regime's circle of international friends, who have carried out counter-offensives on its behalf, the South African regime has been very deeply affected by demonstrations against it, and the more lasting boycotts in the fields of culture and sport. This is in addition to the pressure being applied on other international fronts. Indeed, the fact that the

friends of apartheid, as well as the South African regime's agencies, have been obliged to spend so much time and money in putting a "good" image on South Africa as it stands today is clear evidence of the effectiveness of these campaigns.

With the Southern African situation now openly in a state of change in favour of the liberation movements there have been recent arguments from some circles in favour of relaxing this pressure, the basic argument being that this will bring reactionary South Africa into closer contact with the world outside, and so bring it to realise the advantages of being on good terms with those in the outside world who have been putting pressure on it up to now. At this point in time, as much as at any previous time, it is very relevant to discuss this argument to some depth: this article concentrates on the significance of the cultural boycott.

The cultural boycott began to take shape in the early 1960's, when, following brutal events like the Sharpeville massacre, the treason trials, the banning of freedom movements in South Africa, and the increased legal institutionalisation of apartheid, workers in the field of the arts outside South Africa determined to react strongly. Two main reasons for this action can be pinpointed. First, they were resolved to reject discriminatory treatment for workers in the same field who could not function effectively in South Africa because of their skin colour, or their political beliefs, or, very frequently, both. Secondly, South Africa's Publications and Entertainments Act, one of the



Sithole's "Mother and Child". His works form the bulk of a London exhibition.



Lucas Sithole with his R10,000 statue of a wounded buffalo which stands outside the Black recreation club at Union Corporation's Brakpan Mines. Cast in Pretoria, the statue took two years to complete.

Acts ammended in favour of more restriction in the post-1960 era, affected them directly, in that authors were subject to having their works banned, and playwrights, actors and musicians were subject to being forced to perform to irrationally restricted audiences.

Boycott Grows

By 1963, more than 80 British authors had individually inserted clauses in the contracts for the publication of their works, preventing their publication or staging of their plays in South Africa as long as apartheid was applied in that country. From that time on the action of these authors was consolidated, and is still being applied by most of those who made the original declarations; they have been joined by scores of others. Arguing that their action already showed signs of great justification some ten years later, writers of high esteem like J. B. Priestley, Iris Murdoch, John Osborne and Harold Pinter have continued to make their stand clear, and because of their authority have had wide influence among others in that field. Their counterparts in other parts of the world had taken these initiatives earlier, for example writers in Africa, Asia and the socialist countries, and had as a whole been unshaken in their

isolation of South Africa. But the significance of the action of the above named authors and others like them is

Executed in pen and pencils is Leonard Matsoso's "Man with Burden". His work has already been seen in a group exhibition in London, and he was awarded a special price for drawing at the Sao Paolo Biennale.



that they are regarded, ideologically and historically, to a greater or lesser extent, as the brethren of white South Africa. At least, this is the association which apartheid propoganda emphasises.

At the same time as writers were taking such action, workers in the rest of the cultural field were also making their stand clearly known. In Britain the Musicians' Union and the Association of Cinematographic, Television and Allied Technicians have been consistent in their boycott. And in 1971 the International Federation of Actors called for a similar boycott of South Africa by actors, which led the British Actors' Union, Equity, the powerful theatre and film workers' union, to call for and gain the partial banning of association with reactionary South Africans in the same field. The consolidation of Equity's decision came with the announcement in 1971 that South Africa intended to start running its own television service at the beginning of 1976, with segregated channels for black and white audiences. Equity has placed a highly effective block on any British-made film being sold to South Africa for televised transmission. It has also campaigned widely for the prevention of any British-made commerical film being shown in South Africa. And to prevent any British film technician from as-



"Flight" by Lucky Sibiyi, whose paintings, incised on wood panels, are already represented in public and private exhibitions in England and the USA.



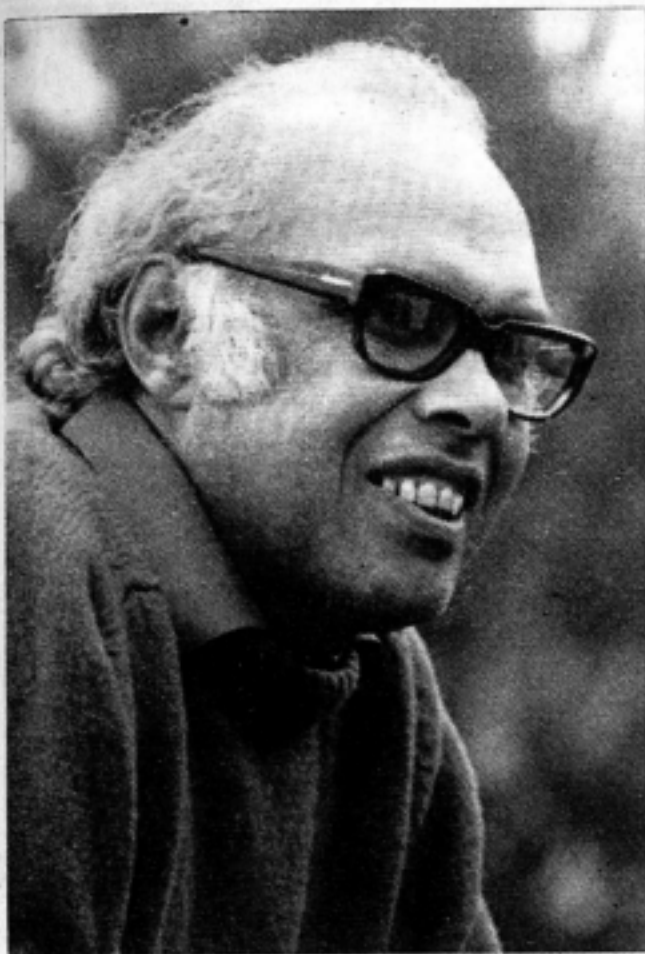
Miriam Makeba, internationally famous South African singer — in exile.

sisting in the making of any film in South Africa or from assisting in the development of the apartheid TV network, Equity made it clear that any member contravening its ban would be liable to losing his membership, without which it is all but impossible for any professional to work in films or the theatre in Britain.

"Miss World" Contest

The Equity ban is part of general Trade Union policy affecting South Africa, notably discussed in detail at the annual Trades Union Congress in 1971 in Blackpool. The potential militancy of such action by Equity and other unions is evidenced in the strong moves which were made to have all night clubs and entertainment houses run by the promotional organisation, Mecca boycotted by Equity workers in Britain, because of that company's acceptance of the segregated selection of South Africa's "representatives" in the "Miss World" contest. Mecca sponsors the annual contest, and thus accepts that South Africa, uniquely, should have two representatives separately representing black and white South Africa. Although this initiative to boycott Mecca has not yet been won, the threat is significant, and demonstrates the sort of effect concerted action by such organisations could have.

For groups such as Equity, and its sister organisations in other parts of the world, and for authors and others in the cultural field, maintaining and strengthening this commitment is very often a matter of complex decision making. Apart from the obvious difficulties in deciding to cut off a considerable source of profit, these individuals and groups have to make what is for them a morally correct decision, and must take into account the many sides of the argument for and against the cultural boycott. One point of view is that which claims that, as in every other kind of boycott, the people most affected are those the boycott is seeking to assist — the black people of South Africa. The opposite point of view is that this can be disproven by the fact that the boycott has already had very positive effects. To support the first point of view, two British artists have made their views known in the British press after working in the theatre field in South Africa. Charles Marowitz, for example, a director with the Open Space Theatre in London, toured South Africa in 1973 with a production of *Macbeth* sponsored by a South African government agency. He came back with the words: "The boycott serves no purpose.

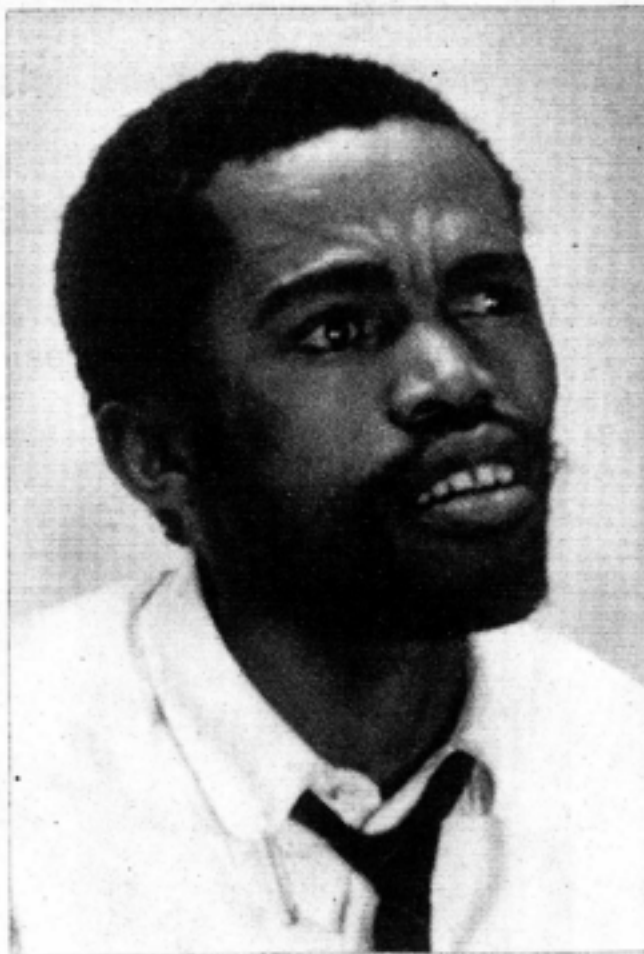


Alex La Guma,
writer in exile.

It harms those who are struggling on a day to day basis to change the South African Government's attitude to apartheid... There are practically no playwrights in Johannesburg, so they depend on plays from outside."

And Mr Tony Jay, a British actor who worked in South Africa from 1965 to 1972, and feels that he saw enough of the situation there to make comment on it, said, in a letter to the London "Times" in April 1974, which he directed at authors maintaining the boycott: "...if they are under any delusion that the Nationalist government of South Africa, the 17 million African natives, and about 90% of the white population either care one jot or have even heard of any British playwright, with the possible exception of Shakespeare and Shaw, then they are overstepping the value of their own importance."

He goes on to say that the only people



Zakes Mokaie,
actor in exile.

affected by the boycott are the "genuine artists" who "wish only to pursue their chosen calling and to whom apartheid is as iniquitous as it is to decent minded people all over the world."

From the point of view of the British authors to whom Mr Jay referred, the best counter-argument to these claims was stated in an open letter signed by forty British writers, published in March 1974, which said, in part: "Words and ideas only influence people who are willing to understand, or who have enough goodwill at least to listen seriously to what you say." The basic fact of apartheid, let alone the way in which it is implemented in South Africa, shows that the laws of censorship and general prohibition of free cultural expression promote neither the desire nor the ability to willing understanding or even consideration of progressive cultural ideas." Under the repressive framework of South Africa as it is today,



Nathan Mdledle,
actor in exile.

the statement quoted here has a powerful relevance, and basically expresses the purpose and foundation of the cultural boycott.

But what is more important is that statements for the elimination of the boycott can be refuted by the evidence of positive minded South Africans working in the cultural field within the confines of apartheid. Hugely talented black playwrights, like musicians, poets and other artists, abound all over South Africa. Their talent is stimulated by their experiences, sometimes amusing, often tragic, and always strong of life in South Africa. And because it is black South Africans who are most affected by the apartheid system, their recounting of their experiences is almost always realistic and critical, and thus far more expressive of the people of South Africa than the writings of comparatively isolated white writers.

BLACK AND WHITE TV

Like everything else in the South African way of life, Blacks will not be allowed to view the same programmes as whites when television is introduced in the country in January next year.

As a matter of fact they will not be able to buy a TV set or see any programme for some five years after their fellow white South Africans.

The site for the provision of TV for the Blacks, which was recently handed over, will take this long, at least, to develop and build.

Programmes will follow strict govern-

ment supervision: that is, it will endeavour to sell apartheid to the people; brainwash them, everyone, both Black and white.

Black programmes will show Blacks that they shall always be under white tutelage, while of course, whites will be "educated" about their "God-given" right to rule because they belong to the master race.

On the 30th Anniversary of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, we still have our little Hitlers, but like their Führer, they shall suffer the same fate.

OBITUARIES

The African National Congress of South Africa regrets to announce the deaths of three South African patriots and freedom fighters...



Bram, at time of arrest.

● **Abram Fischer** — popularly known as Bram amongst the millions of people, especially the Black people of South Africa, who died in Bloemfontein at the age of 67.

● **Govan (Dingo) Hashe** — leader of the Orlando East Branch of the ANC for many years, founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe in SA who died in Morogoro, Tanzania, aged 63.

● **Jacob (Bushy) Molefe** — popularly known among all his colleagues both at home and abroad as "Action" who died in Dar Es Salaam aged 38.

Bram, Dingo and Bushy, died as they lived — fighting and sacrificing their all, including their lives — for the liberation of the working and oppressed people in racist SA.

Dingo, who had been arrested under the notorious 90 Day Law in March 1964, was tortured and then released because charges against him failed, was ordered by the underground movement to leave the country. He held many positions in MK including being a member of a special Military Committee of the ANC and at the time of his death was a Camp Commander.

Bram sacrificed wealth, fame, comfort, high positions, a privileged life in an already privileged white society for the hazardous role of working with our cadres in the underground movement inside the country. It was as he was thus occupied that he was arrested and imprisoned for life.

Bushy held several positions in MK. He was among the first group to be trained militarily. As his nickname — Action — indicates, he was always extremely active, while in training or in the base camps. South Africa has lost three of its great and courageous sons and their loss to the liberation movement is irreplaceable.

The African National Congress calls on all its members, wherever they may be to re-dedicate themselves to the cause of our struggle and to our people so that a fitting tribute could be paid to these martyrs by the final overthrow of the fascist-racist regime in South Africa.

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