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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



**WHO IS ON OUR SIDE, WHO? . . . SPEAK!**



Special Trade Union Issue dedicated to the strikers in South Africa  
Also, Zimbabweans Fight Back

Pages 2 & 12

Pages 8-11

# SECHABA

VOL 7 NO 3 March 1973

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## SECHABA

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### READERS PLEASE NOTE

Owing to pressure on space the  
second in the series:  
**APARTHEID AND BUSINESS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA** dealing with  
General Motors in South Africa  
is being held over

## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: More Workers Strike

The chain reaction of strikes by organised and unorganised Black workers in Natal reported in the last issue of SECHABA continue unabated. According to reports appearing in the South African Press, there have been so many that even the highly organised police department say they cannot keep count.

The total number of workers on strike, according to one estimate, is over 35 000, affecting scores of industries. The police raided the offices of two Black organisations, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black Peoples Convention (BPC). Five Indians belonging to these organisations have been remanded in custody on charges of "promoting racial hostility and incitement to strike".

Among those industries that have been hit by this new wave of activities by Black workers for higher wages and better working conditions are the following: -

### Brick and Tile Workers

Perhaps the most militant strike in this new spate of actions is the one organised by the Brick and Tile workers.

The strikers downed tools and en masse marched out of the factory - The Coronation Brick and Tile Factory - to a sports stadium 6 km. away. All traffic on the main road in front of the factory had to crawl behind the strikers who spread over the road and adjoining pavements. They were led by one striker who ran ahead with a red flag in his hand.

Later in the afternoon an official of the Department of Labour, a Mr. J. Skene, asked them to return to work while negotiations took place between his department and the management. (The workers are not allowed by law to negotiate their own agreements and must appeal to the Government-

"STRIKES BY BLACK WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE BEING REPORTED ALMOST HOURLY FROM NATAL . . . WHITE EMPLOYERS IN DURBAN WHO HAVE BEEN PAYING STARVATION WAGES TO THEIR BLACK WORKERS TOOK FRIGHT TODAY WHEN THE STRIKES THAT HAVE BEEN SPREADING SLOWLY BUT SURELY IN THE CITY WIDENED . . ."

Stanley Uys writing from South Africa  
for the London Guardian

### City Council Workers

More than 3000 Blacks employed by the Durban City Council stopped work, bringing road and drain works to a standstill, and disrupting the Electricity Department. A march through the city, stopped a refuse lorry on its rounds and, brandishing sticks, chased the driver and loaders down the street.

In a hastily called meeting, the all-white Durban City Council granted an immediate 15 % pay increase to its 16 000 African and Indian workers. The minimum increase is about £1 per week.

appointed 'Native Labour Bureau' of the Labour Department if they have any complaints).

With roars of "No!" echoing round the field, he then asked the workers to



form a committee to speak on behalf of them all. This was also rejected as the workers feared that elected spokesmen would be victimised.

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## Wages Lower Than Minimum

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The last wage determination in the heavy clay and allied products industry, which covers the activities of the Brick and Tile industry, was made in 1967 and laid down a minimum wage of R7.59 (approx. £3.75) a week in urban areas.

This minimum wage is currently below that of the general unskilled determination of R9 a week for African men over 18 years, and way below the poverty datum line (PDL) of R18.30 a week.

An investigation shows that the Company had made consistently higher profits after tax, since 1967 and last year made R852,380. Profits for the years 1969 and 1968, after tax, were R828,000 and R483,000 respectively.

Its turnover for 1971 was R14,440,000 and in 1972 it was R16,064,000, an increase of nine per cent over the year.

Announcing a 5½ cents interim dividend, an interim report by the Company, made on December 13, 1972, states that the Company "is expected this year to hold its profit at a level similar to that attained last year."

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## Monopoly

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The Coronation Brick and Tile Company has a monopolistic position in the area strengthened by municipal by-laws preventing the use of any other material but bricks in building construction.



Scene of a South African strike

Coronation has interests in 26 companies making bricks and tiles and supplying sand and stone. Nine of these are wholly owned subsidiaries while Coronation has the controlling interest in the remaining 17.

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## Workers Win But...

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As a result of the strike, the Company granted the workers a meagre R2.07 a week more, bringing the basic wage to R11.50 a week, a third of the wages demanded by the workers and still almost R7 below the poverty datum line.

Using the big stick the authorities, quoting the Native Labour (Settlements of Disputes) Act, which makes all strikes by African workers illegal, threatened the workers with arrest unless they accepted this increase.

**"IT IS UNLAWFUL FOR AN AFRICAN WORKER TO TAKE PART IN A STRIKE FOR ANY REASON WHATSOEVER. IF HE DOES HE IS LIABLE TO RECEIVE UP TO THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT PLUS A FINE."**

**Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953**

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: More Workers Strike



Brick & Tile workers march, led by worker with Red Flag

their minimum wage to R6.50 a week. At all the strikes the police in saracen armoured cars and with dogs were extremely active.

## Police Probe

Meanwhile South African press reports indicate that as usual the authorities and company directors affected by the strikes are blaming "communist influences". The South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is, as usual, very active and according to a statement published in a Natal newspaper, Colonel Frans Steenkamp, Natal's chief of BOSS, is reported as stating that his department does not rule out the possibility of "overseas involvement" in the strikes.

This ludicrous assertion, when everyone, including a very large body of employers and economists know, that the majority of the African workers in industry earn far below the poverty datum line, is in keeping with white South African thinking whenever Blacks rock the boat of their apparent tranquility. Half starving workers do not need to be organised by people from overseas, their empty bellies are the best organisers.

These strikes clearly show the alarm felt among South Africa's six-million Black workers over the spiralling cost of living and no amount of police intimidation or liberal economic claptrap is going to stop this trend among the workers. So far organised workers are the only ones who have taken part in strikes. It would not be long before the majority of the other workers who are not organised into trade unions also strike for a living wage.

## ● Stop Press

News has just been received that over 30 industries have been affected by strikes in Durban and its environs. The Pepsi-Cola bottling plant has been brought to a standstill by a hundred per cent stoppage.

A call for a general strike through the boycott of all public transport has also gone out.

The workers have accepted but we have no doubt that we shall hear more about the Coronation Brick and Tile workers . . .

## Textile Strike

Over 7000 workers, employed by the Frame Group of Textile Companies won an across-the-board increase of 90p to £1.50 after a lightning 24-hour strike by the total labour force employed at their Durban factory – the Consolidated Textile Mills.

Police patrolled in riot cars as the workers were told at a factory gate meeting of the proposed pay increases.

## Lock-outs and Suspensions

300 Indian and African women employed as sorters at a wool washing

and processing firm in suburban Pine-town were locked out after they refused an unspecified pay offer after they went out on strike.

At a nearby pipe factory about 600 Africans rejected a 45p a week increase and were also locked out. 200 African workers at another nearby engineering foundry were also locked out after the employers told them that they will not get any increases "at this stage."

All, but one of the departments at the Natal Canvas Rubber Manufacturers came to a halt, and workers surrounded the factory gates before dispersing as police reinforcements arrived. About 180 Sugar cane workers struck to back demands for a minimum wage of £7.50 per month. They receive £4, a month at present.

200 of 240 African convoy drivers were sacked when they went on strike for higher wages and workers in a Tea factory who struck work a week earlier were given a rise of R1.50 bringing

We gratefully acknowledge this unsolicited article by Miss NANCY WESTLAKE, an English student of economics. The writer does not necessarily reflect the views of the African National Congress.

# The Hoax About Skilled Labour

IN 1965 Deputy Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister P. J. Rierket discussed ways Africans could get skilled and responsible jobs "within the framework of Government policy". Despite the homelands, the "interdependence of the South African market will ensure that any improvement in the . . . productivity of labor . . . will render its contribution to an increased overall rate of economic advance."

1966 Leading businessmen of the National Productivity Council, including L. Lulofs, president of the Federal Chamber of Industries, and Capetown industrialist C. S. Marx, agreed that Africans should develop skills so as to increase their productivity to the point where higher wages could be justified.

1969 Former Chief Economist of the Industrial Development Corporation, Laurence McCrystal, claimed that if all labour restrictions were lifted, South Africa could sustain a growth rate rivalling that of Japan.

1971 Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Harry Oppenheimer, maintained that rapid progress with African advancement was the most important challenge facing South Africa. The country was having economic difficulties because industrialists had not been able to make full and effective use of the available labour reservoir.

THESE ARE THE VIEWS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADING INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISTS AND THEIR SPOKESMEN. WHAT LIES BEHIND THESE STATEMENTS? WHAT DO THEY MEAN FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT?

It is widely held, especially by liberal sympathizers with the plight of Black South Africans, that these statements are evidence that the developments in South African capitalism will make possible a peaceful abolition of apartheid. This faith in South African capitalism is based on four main, but false, ideas:

1 **The inevitable stage:** South African capitalism has now developed to the inevitable stage in which intensive use of machines, rather than cheap labour, is necessary to maintain profits.

2 **The self-active individual:** Machine industry requires a large proportion of skilled labour which, being highly productive, will demand a high level of education, high wages, good conditions, and basic contentment.

3 **The economic paradox:** The present system of migrant labour cannot meet such demands, so a free labour force must develop. The immediate cause of this will be the reformist demands of the new skilled workers occupying strategic economic positions. When a 'threshold between white and black functional power in the economy' is reached, accumulations from the ruling class will inevitably lead to the collapse of apartheid.

4 **The Apartheid paradox: Apartheid ideology and 'homelands' policy help African progress:** Firstly, they encourage the growth of their collective consciousness by supporting a new humanizing ideology of 'racialism without racism'. Secondly, they provide opportunities for Africans to have skilled jobs. Lastly, they establish a power base for confrontation with the white oligarchy.

## Reactionary Message

These ideas arose in the current conditions of South Africa. Their central notions though, are not new. They have a history in different times and social conditions. In South African history, capitalists in diamond and gold mining have

always strongly supported these positions. And in nineteenth century England and Europe we can also recognize this ideology. It held that the capitalist economy is rational and produces the best of all worlds. This ideology is always dangerous for revolutionary movements. I shall prove this by showing how it works in its present South African form. I shall first abstract it from the four points given above.

**1 (The inevitable stage)** History is a straight line moving slowly upwards. This line is the economy.

**2 (The self-active individual)** The purpose of the economy is to fulfil the needs of individual humans. The laws of the economy represent the developing universal needs of all men.

**3 (The economic paradox)** The economic function of men in their work place determines their political influence. Politics simply trace the movements of the economy.

**4 (The apartheid paradox)** In the beginning of history, man's attributes – his thought and labour – were separated from him. Separation was necessary for development. In the end of history, man will again be conscious of himself and will repossess what he has produced.

With this abstraction, the reactionary political message of these ideas becomes crystal clear. **They say that the politics of the exploited working people must follow what is best for the capitalist economy! That the politics of the liberation movement must tail after the politics of the bourgeoisie!**

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**"Every skilled or semi-skilled emigrant is filling a desperate need of the minority regime, not only to keep the economy going, but more important, from its point of view, preserving the status quo. The flow of emigrants prevents indigenous labour from obtaining employment".**

Abby Farah – Former Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid. (see elsewhere in this issue for Mr. Farah's full statement)

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In special situations, the political positions of parts of the capitalist class and the exploited peoples may coincide. For example, both the liberation movement and some South African capitalists oppose job discrimination. But the basic interests of the two classes are opposed. If the exploited peoples are to be victorious, their principles and long term aims must not be those of their rulers.

As a first step, it is necessary to criticize the dominant ideology, which I shall call 'bourgeois economism'. What follows are some tentative indications towards this. Again, I shall take the economist theses point by point.

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## 1 The Inevitable Stage

The replacement of a labour-intensive by a machine-intensive organization of capital is not an inevitable development in any one society in any given time. The capitalist has a choice of maintaining or increasing profits by low wages, long hours, or by greater productivity. The choice of mechanism, or combination of mechanism, depends on the particular complex situation in the society as a whole. For instance, in England in the nineteenth century, the effective organization of workers for the eight-hour day forced capitalists to use machines. In South Africa, in contrast, African wage labourers have been either weakly

organized, as in the first years of industrialization or, as after 1924, African trade union organization has been severely curtailed by the state.

Capitalists in South Africa since the late nineteenth century have struggled against the white proletariat in order to raise the job colour bar, i. e. to increase the number of African workers in relation to white workers. **The crux of these demands has been for a higher proportion of cheap, unorganized African labour.** The present policies of leading capitalists and bourgeois economists can only mean that a cheap proletariat remains an important capitalist alternative. And for South Africa, cheap labour must be unorganized. This is the meaning of the new regimented African ghettos in the cities. This is the message of the 'homelands'. These dominant capitalist measures are summed up in the proposals of the new volume of the **Oxford History of South Africa**. Here are the pernicious views of the main basic textbook on South Africa: '... many economists are reluctant to press for rapid wage increases for the lower-paid workers unless justified by increases in productivity. **They believe that the expansion of employment opportunities to provide jobs for the increasing population and for those moving out of subsistence agriculture should take precedence over more equitable distribution.** Any rapid increase in wages might restrict the rate of growth of the economy with dire consequences ...'

We must ask: dire consequences for whom? While the total economic growth rate of South Africa rose from its average of 5% to 7% through most of the sixties, the share of Africans in the national wealth – which they largely create – dropped from 26% to 18%! **This is proof that increased productivity does not mean higher wages. Higher wages result from the struggle of organized labour.**

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## 2 The Self-Active Individual

Bourgeois economists are right when they say that technology does require a relatively high level of science and skill. But, this does not refer to the abilities of the mass of immediate workers, who in general merely watch over and regulate the machines. Skilled workers – draughtsmen, toolmakers, fitters, adjusters – compose only a small proportion of the labour force. In South Africa this has been filled by white settler and immigrant workers. Moreover, as the use of technology increases, the proportion of necessary skilled labour declines. The training for most workers is for specific routine tasks which demands familiarity with machine culture. For these routine tasks, workers do not have to be very literate.

Modern industry does not nurture the skills of individual workers. Just the opposite. **Advanced capitalism produces a largely undifferentiated, disciplined proletariat.**

The term 'skilled labour' in the history of South African industry has rarely referred to real skills. It has been mainly an ideological concept. For white workers, it functioned to justify 'baaskap'. For capitalists, it served to entice white liberals and Africans to get rid of the job colour bar.

Here is proof of this. In the past few years, the job bar in key industries – like metal and engineering – has been altered. There is a higher proportion now of African workers. The employers and the white union agreed on this. More white workers now have 'skilled' job categories. They also get wage and/or bonus increases and closed shops. In return, they accepted automation and job dilution.

What does automation and job dilution mean to the liberation movement? **It means that skilled African labour is**

less necessary. It is easy to see why employers want changes in the job colour bar. They gain an increased proportion of unorganized African labour to offset rises in total wages. Here is more proof. Despite the increasing proportion of Black to white labour in manufacturing industries, the share of African earning in this sector fell from 25 0/10 of white wages in 1945, to 17 0/10 in 1970!<sup>2</sup>

### 3 The Economic Paradox

The bourgeois economists say that most Africans are migrant labourers. Let's examine this thesis.

When Africans first went to the mines as wage earners, they went for six or nine months. In the rest of the year, they took part in their traditional economies, based on land. But the major portion of African lands were seized in the wars of conquest. The remaining lands became overworked. The 1913 Land Act meant that even African squatters were forced off the land. Since then, wage labour has become the major source of subsistence and urban areas, the main homes for millions of Africans. Between 1911 and 1960, the urban African population multiplied by about seven. Between 1951 and 1960 alone it rose by about 50 0/10.<sup>3</sup>

**These Africans are not migrants. They are the African proletariat.**

Like 'skill', the term 'migrant labour' also has rarely referred to a real economic phenomenon. Why is it used so often by bourgeois economists? Because it justifies low wages and labour regimentation. The bourgeois economists make yet another point. They say that advanced industry provides the best conditions for the struggle of the exploited peoples. They are right for the wrong reasons. We have shown that the idea of masses of skilled individual workers is fictional. Just the opposite is true. In modern industry, the single worker cannot produce a whole commodity. Only **collective labour** is productive. Alone, the single worker has no power. Only the **collective worker** can struggle against the capitalist for higher wages and better conditions.

The African proletariat quickly learned this. The early African dockers in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, the miners on the Rand, even the sanitary workers who emptied the latrines in Johannesburg – acted on this basic capitalist fact.

But, the bourgeois economist is not interested in this fact. What concerns him is the **numbers** of African and White workers in the factory – what he terms the 'threshold between white and non-white functional power'. This is because more Africans means cheaper labour. The liberation movement must be interested in the **political organization of the proletariat** in the economy.

I grant economism another point. Migrancy does tend to impede productivity and thus lower the rate of profit. They don't mention another tendency, however. A cheap and easily substituted proletariat tends to raise the rate of profit. What tendency is South African capitalism now promoting? They are enforcing and increasing migrancy. This is the essence of the 'homelands' policy for the liberation movement, **'Homelands' encourage high profits by turning back the growth and organization of the African proletariat.**

### 4 The Apartheid Paradox

Bourgeois economism has come up with a new slogan – 'racialism without racism'. Behind the rhetoric lurks traditional colonial racism. Races are of course **social categories**. They may have a biological aspect, but they are never non-changing biological givens. In the case of South Africa, its **particular colonial setup** dictated colour differences. Its colonial institutions – its churches, schools, administration and law – all made intermarriage rare or impossible. So colour differences largely remained. Also, extra-marital sexual relations produced what was socially recognized as a new race, called 'coloureds'.

The bourgeois economist believes in 'interracialism'. He believes that separate can be equal. Thus, he can support the 'homelands'. The liberation movement proclaims that it is 'non-racial'. It has always stood for the fact that **any racialism – the social distinction between races – must equal domination by a race. It equals racism.**

This new slogan, then, just functions as a cover-up for 'homeland' racism. It's a dangerous slogan for the liberation movement, for it strikes at a central nerve of African politics: It challenges the ideology of nationalism.

From the birth of the African National Congress in 1912, leading African chiefs, professionals and trade unionists have declared that Africans in South Africa belong to one oppressed nation. Since then, nationalism has been the battle cry of key African economic and political struggles. The Industrial and Commercial Union of the twenties and thirties united the nation of African workers. The great mining strikes in 1921 and 1946 linked African mine workers into one exploited nation under national leaders. J. B. Marks himself was president of the African Mine Workers Union and the Transvaal ANC. The Campaign of Defiance of Apartheid Laws of 1952–53, the 1960 National Anti-Pass Campaign, the armed struggles of Umkonto we Sizwe all marched under the banner of nationalism. Against the concept of One Nation for All Africans, 'homelands' racism announces 'ten nations'. Even Gatsha Buthelezi, whatever his ultimate aims, has been forced by his position as the chief executive of Kwazulu, to support narrow 'Zulu nationalism':

"We think that it is vital, **despite all the doubts many Zulus have**, that we should establish Zulu solidarity . . . so that we can speak with one voice. Once this happens, we citizens of Kwazulu can then be in a legal position to foster bonds of union with other blacks in exactly the same way that whites have established bonds among themselves in spite of different language and cultural barriers."<sup>4</sup>

These doubts belong to many of the millions of legal 'homeland' citizens' who really live and work together in the cities. They recognize that Africans don't need a legal position in the state to be a nation. Africans have been illegally forming their nation for a century! 'Bantustan nationhood' can only be regressive. The South African state has forced thousands of former city dwellers into the 'homelands'. The state, representing the interest of capitalism, is trying to dampen the fire of urban political intellectuals and the organized proletariat. They are thrown into overcrowded, desolate, poverty-stricken regions which are remote from any stronghold of economic and political power. The homelands are handy pockets for the capitalist to store large reserves of labour. For the state, they are easy targets for military control.

**AFRICAN LIBERATION MUST TAKE ANOTHER ROAD.**

<sup>1</sup> X Ray (Vol. VI, no. 2, 1/71), The Africa Bureau, London.

<sup>2</sup> X ray, (July 1971), Africa Bureau.

<sup>3</sup> Sechaba, Vol. 4, nos. 11–12, Nov–Dec 1970, p. 41.

L. Schlemmer, SAIRR, 1968, pp. 6–8.

<sup>4</sup> Fact Sheet, Africa Bureau, July 1972. Quote from speech given at Rongorna, 29 Feb. 1972.

# ARMED STRUGGLE INTENSIFIED IN ZIMBABWE



"THE FIGHTING GOING ON INSIDE OUR COUNTRY IS UNDER THE BANNER OF ZAPU AND ZANU! WE AIM TO DEVELOP THE FIGHTING UNDER EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS . . . We do not distinguish between the people and the men who carry the gun today. The man who is not carrying the gun today will do so tomorrow. The people of Zimbabwe who have not, for one reason or other, taken to arms, assist those who have, as a matter of duty". —

Jason Moyo, Treasurer of ZAPU — Chairman of the ZAPU National Revolutionary Council and member of the ZAPU, ZANU joint military command.

Guerrilla activity broke out with renewed vigour in Zimbabwe shortly before Christmas, just one year since the African majority in the country had decisively demonstrated their opposition to the so-called settlement terms engineered by Ian Smith and Sir Alex Douglas Home, the British Foreign Secretary.

The British government did nothing after this forthright rejection of their "solution" and quietly allowed the Smith regime time to coerce and intimidate the people into capitulating and accepting the proposals.

This was a miscalculation on the part of both Smith and Home. The African Liberation Movements in Zimbabwe have been all along preparing the people for the continuation of the armed struggle. And, on December 21, a new armed offensive by the guerrilla forces of the movement was launched, resulting in the death of three Rhodesian Security forces and injuring 17 other people.

This is the most recent activity in the armed struggle initiated in July-August 1967, when the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) announced its military alliance with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and engaged the forces of Smith and Vorster in several encounters in Zimbabwe.

ZAPU has claimed responsibility for several incidents since the beginning of August last year and, Ian Smith in a recent announcement said that the latest activities were that of ZAPU.

In one of the recent mine incidents, ZAPU pamphlets claiming responsibility were found.

However, a spokesman for ZAPU, in a recent interview with SECHABA said that a joint military command (JMC) between ZAPU and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZANU) was now in operation.

## Underground Activity

Ever since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Smith regime, successive Tory and Labour governments have been capitulating to the white racists, but the Liberation Movements have been developing their underground organisations in all the African areas. ZAPU, particularly since the 1967 encounters in Wankie and on the eastern borders of Zimbabwe, has been intensifying its activity in this field.

The results of its concentration on building its underground forces within the country are now being seen. Ignoring the almost unanimous rejection of the plans for a settlement



**"WE REAFFIRM OUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE GALLANT PEOPLE  
(in Zimbabwe - Ed.) STILL STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM" -**

President Kaunda of Zambia

between Britain and Zimbabwe, by the African people, Smith, who, in a radio broadcast towards the end of last year said that the African people of Zimbabwe were the happiest on the continent has had to eat his words. The totality of the opposition by the African majority in the country is emphasised by a little publicised section of the Pearce Commission's Report which states:

"It was interesting to note also that a group of African members of an army security unit, including senior NCO's rejected the proposals, largely for the reasons related to a feeling of unjust and racially biased treatment by the government, although they were obviously treated as a privileged group."

The report added:

"Even these men, employed in an important security role and evidently imbued with a high degree of regimental morale and efficiency, expressed political and social reservations about the government no less strong as those expressed by other Africans."

### People's Support For Guerrillas

There is abundant evidence that the people in the various African areas are helping the guerrillas. In one area alone, in the two weeks following a guerrilla raid, on December 21, over 200 people were arrested on charges of collaborating with guerrilla units, and the Rhodesian administration has claimed that many of those arrested had acted as porters.

Having hopelessly misread the peoples anger against the arrogant white racism that is the cornerstone of his policy, Smith has given his administrators even greater draconian powers over the people.

Without proof, without even the necessity of evidence, government officers can now levy fines on communities, seize their goods, and imprison their members if individuals in these communities commit an offence. Under the new regulations a provincial commissioner may impose unlimited fines on any community "if he is satisfied" that one of its members has



President Kenneth Kaunda

committed one of a range of offences against security. The only redress is an appeal to the president, through the provincial commissioner, and the president may defer his decision "for such period as he deems fit."

### Kaunda Defies Smith

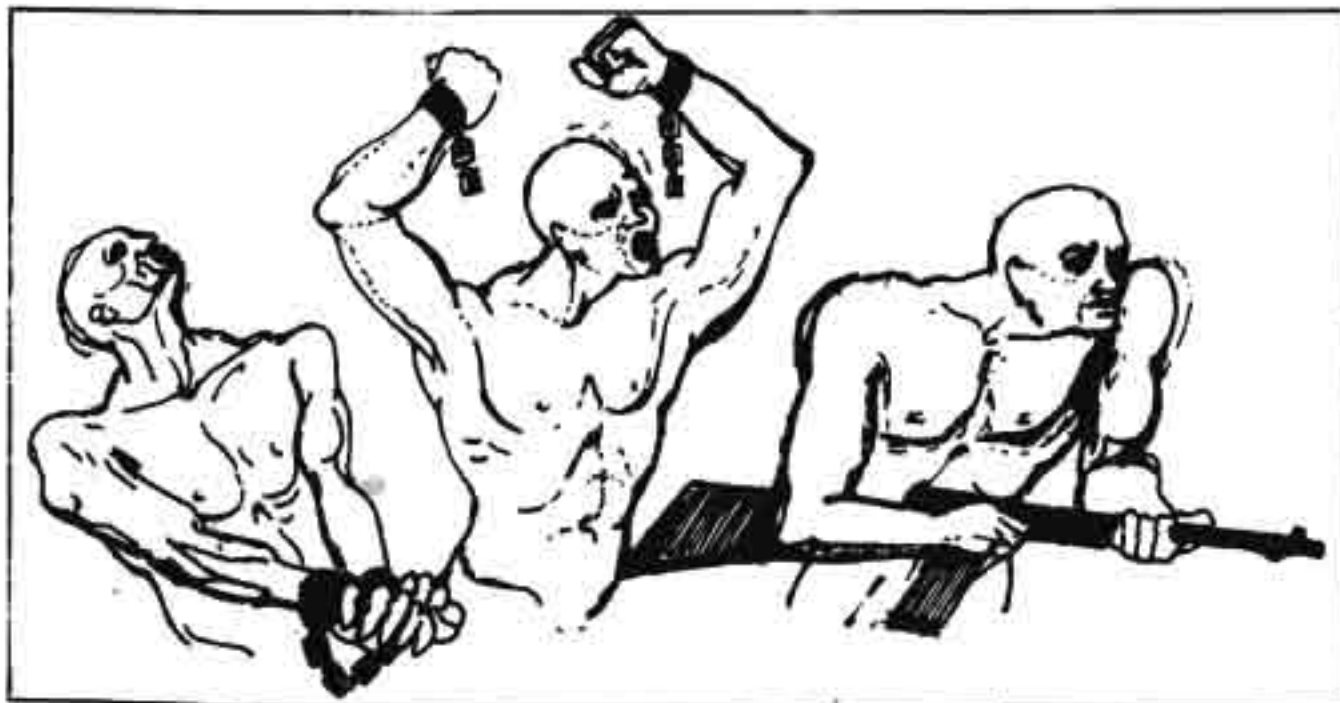
Meanwhile, having let loose a number of white bureaucrats among the people, with such viciously fascist powers, Smith closed the border between Zambia and Rhodesia, on the excuse that Zambia was "harbouring Communist terrorists," although it is clear from the recent build-up of guerrilla arms and stores that the freedom fighters have strong support and organisation inside Zimbabwe.

In his statement closing the borders, Smith said that the border will "be completely closed to traffic of all kinds, except the carrying of copper to the port of Beira, in Mocambique".

Rhodesia earns 12 million dollars from the Zambian copper traffic, and in the present state of its economy, affected by sanctions and serious drought, and with its railways in the red, she could not afford to lose this amount. Zambia's immediate reaction was a contemptuous rejection of the exemption for copper. The government announced the cutting of all foreign exchange transactions with Rhodesia and South Africa, and the copper traffic. In his speech, opening Parliament the day after the blockade began, President Kenneth Kaunda said that the

**"GUERRILLAS SHOT DOWN A PORTUGUESE ARMY HELICOPTER WITH 2 SOUTH AFRICANS ABOARD. THE 2 SOUTH AFRICANS AND 3 PORTUGUESE OFFICERS IN THE HELICOPTER SURVIVED THE CRASH BUT WERE SHOT BY LOCAL PEOPLE".**

MPLA Communique 13/12/72



liberation of Southern Africa is "the unfinished task of decolonisation," and "we therefore reaffirm our solidarity with those gallant people still struggling for freedom."

The people of Africa shall long remember these fighting words. It is all that is finest in independent Africa. The insufferable arrogance of the imperialists and white racists in Africa when dealing with independent Africa has been given a resounding slap in the face.

### Difficult Days

We have no doubt that Zambia faces many difficult days ahead. Landlocked and sharing frontiers with seven Sta-

**"THE DEGREE OF LOCAL SUPPORT THE TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN GETTING IS A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN" -**

Rhodesia Party Spokesman

tes, Zambia is in the frontline, exposed to the harsh pressures of imperialism and especially Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa.

The British sell-out to Smith has placed heavy burdens on the economy of Zambia.

In the years since UDI Zambia has been preparing for just such an emergency as the present one. Resources have been spent on alternative com-

munications and power supply links and the growth of the economy free from imperialist pressures.

The Government took over 51 per cent of the shares of the copper mining giants, the Anglo-American Company and the Roan Selection Trust, in 1969. Copper accounts for 90 percent of Zambia's total exports and for 50 percent of the Government's revenue. Development plans include the diversification and expansion of its agriculture, establishing new industries to save on imports, and developing the infrastructure of roads, railways and electric power.

The most important of these projects is the construction of a rail link between Zambia and Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania. This project which is being built by the Chinese is already a year ahead of schedule and already makes a valuable contribution to providing alternative routes for Zambia's exports and imports.

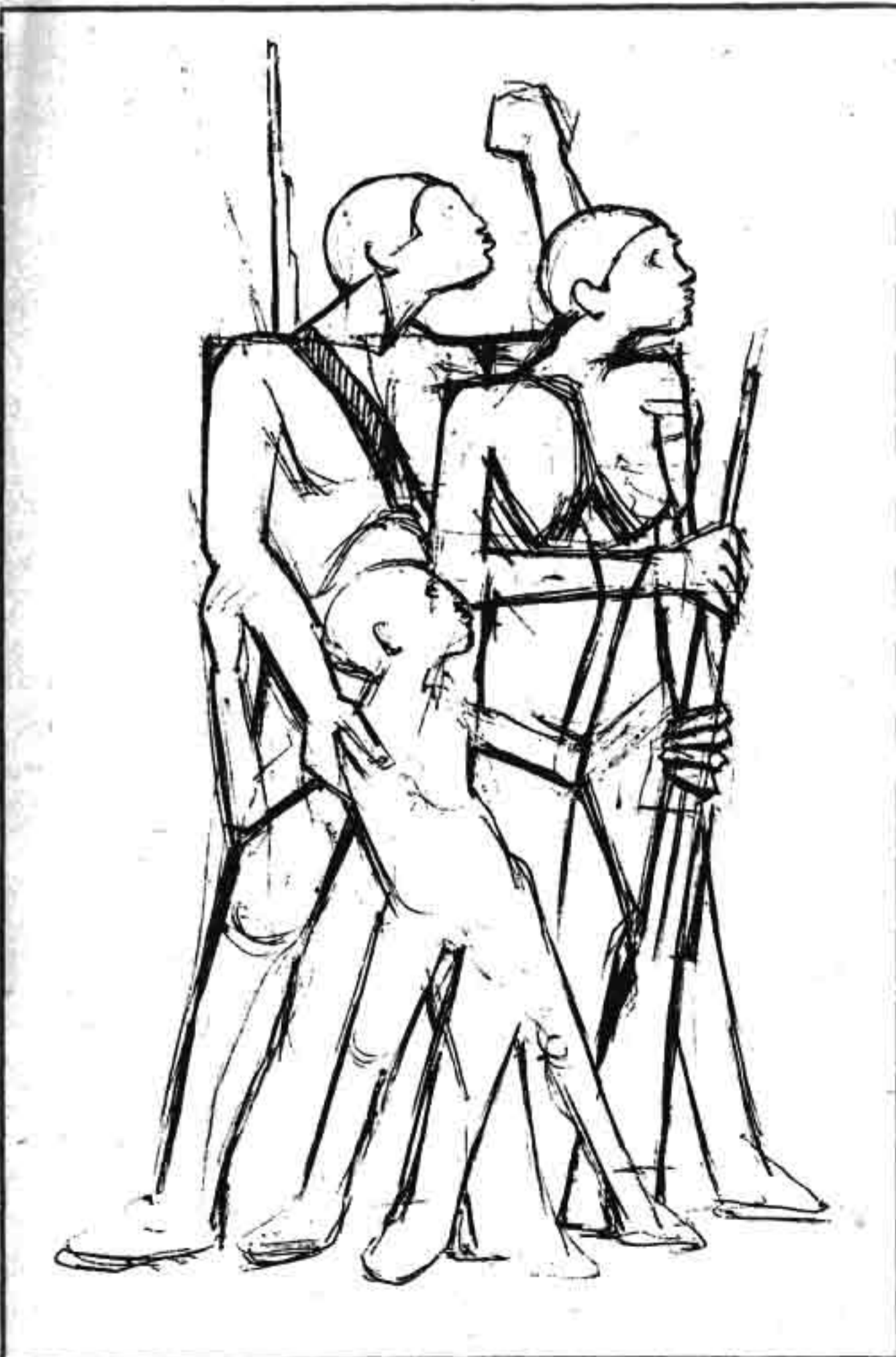
The oil pipeline between Ndola in Zambia and Dar Es Salaam constructed after UDI brings Zambia's oil requirements and a second pipeline is under construction to serve Zambia's own refinery now being built.

Coalmines have been opened to take the place of Rhodesian coal.

The unsurfaced road with pot-holes, some three feet deep, often washed away by torrential rains, from Dar to Zambia which was in use during the oil sanctions imposed by the UN on Rhodesia is now completely tarmaced. Despite this, the cost of transporting copper and other essentials to the Zambian economy will be tremendous and in this situation while full support must be given to Dr. Kaunda's demand that Britain must bear the full responsibility for this situation, the peoples and governments of independent Africa, Asia, Latin America and progressives the world over must stand four-square with the Zambian government and her people in this great and honourable struggle.

### South Africa and the Crisis

Although it appears that South Africa was not consulted by Smith when he decided to close the Zambia-Rhodesia border, within a few days of the



increased guerrilla activity in Rhodesia, South Africa sent in 4000 members of its para military force to reinforce its unspecified number of "police" on border patrol in the Zambesi valley and the Mocambique-Rhodesian border.

Commenting to the press on the guerrilla attacks in Rhodesia, South Africa's Deputy Commissioner of Police, Lieut.-General Venter, warned white South Africans that increased guerrilla activity in Rhodesia could spread to South Africa. Referring to recent court cases in which trained ANC men have appeared on various allegations under the "Terrorism Act", General Venter said that the police were on the alert as will be evident from court cases which are due to be heard in the near future (see report elsewhere in this issue).

"However", he added, "I would not venture to say that there are no terrorists in South Africa. We must also admit that there are a certain amount of subversive activity in the Republic . . ."

Asked to comment specifically on the effect of the increased guerrilla activity in Rhodesia, General Venter said that all indications showed that the activity against neighbouring states would not end at South Africa's borders and that it would be fatal to believe that the same activity was not intended against South Africa.

"For example, if we were to approach the situation from the view that subversion and terrorism were on the decline in South Africa, we would be making a grave mistake."

ZAPU guerrillas on sentry duty somewhere in Zimbabwe



ZAPU guerrillas advance against the racist forces in Zimbabwe

**"IF A NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE IS ON FIRE WE WILL GO TO THEIR RESCUE"**

Piet Botha - SA Minister of Defence

There is every indication that South Africa will become more and more involved in the situation developing not only in Rhodesia, but also in Angola and Mocambique as well. In this situation it behoves the various movements involved in confronting the white racist regimes in their respec-

tive areas to close ranks and to fight on with determination. On the international front, democratic and freedom loving forces the world over must support the Zambian president's demand that Britain immediately bring about a settlement in Rhodesia based on independence for the African majority.

Further, we must demand the intensification of sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa and the international boycott of South Africa in all spheres of life - economic, cultural, sporting etc., - must once again become the focal point of international solidarity campaigns.

Urgent pressure must be put on the British government, whose primary responsibility lies in the successful settlement of the Rhodesian situation to give massive economic aid to Zambia to defeat Smith and to protect the African people from the brutally repressive laws that have been enacted by the illegal regime in Rhodesia.

The African National Congress, which still has a military alliance with ZAPU, pledges its fullest and unconditional support to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe in their struggle to free their Motherland.

As result of intensive discussions between the new chairman of the United Nations Special Committee On Apartheid, Mr. Edwin O. Ogbu of Nigeria and the officials and members of the Workers Group at the International Labour Organisation a preparatory committee met in Geneva on February 26, to decide details for the holding of an international conference to discuss a plan for international Trade Union action against apartheid. The committee would consist of representatives of the Workers Group of the ILO Governing body, The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), The World Confederation of Labour (WCL), the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, The Pan African Workers Congress, the African Trade Union Confederation and members of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

The following is the text of an address delivered by the former Chairman of the Special Committee, Mr. ABDULRAHIM ABBY FARAH, at the 10th Congress of the ICFTU, held in London, last year, which set the tone for the present development.

# THE UNITED FOR CONCE ACTION AGA

First let me express, on behalf of the Special Committee on Apartheid, our sense of satisfaction that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has agreed to support the International Trade Union Conference to be held next year, to work out a common programme of action against apartheid. The Committee has long believed that the great interest and concern of the international labour movement in southern African questions can be channelled into even more productive action than in the past and that a labour conference devoted exclusively to a discussion of apartheid and the means to combat it is of major importance to the international campaign against racism and colonialism.

The international trade union movement has an impressive record in exposing and opposing the exploitative minority regimes in southern Africa. As early as 1953 an Ad Hoc Committee of the ILO made this judgment on the situation in South Africa:

"The Committee is convinced of the existence in the Union of South Africa of a legislative system applied only to the indigenous population and designed to maintain an insuperable barrier between these people and the inhabitants of European origin. The indirect effect of this legislation is to channel the bulk of the indigenous inhabitants into agricultural and manual labour and thus create a permanent, abundant and cheap labour force."<sup>1</sup>

This was a remarkable judgment at a time when the detailed application of the apartheid plan had only just begun. This clear and concise description of the essential nature of apartheid has been more than validated by the developments of the past twenty years. But of course the international trade union movement has not only been active in defining the injustices of apartheid and in expressing solidarity with the aims of the United Nations campaign to eliminate this evil. Trade unions have been prominent in taking action against the

widespread collusion between many countries of the world and South Africa.

It was the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which called for a two-month boycott against South Africa in May 1960 – the kind of action, incidentally, which our Committee would like to see renewed on a permanent basis. Since that time various trade unions have taken specific actions to deal with particular situations. Recently, for example, the Longshoremen's Association in the United States refused to offload cargoes of chrome ore which were illegally imported from Southern Rhodesia. This is the kind of action which we welcome and we are aware of the difficulties involved. In this case, the chrome was offloaded by non-union labour. In Australia, many of the unions were prominent in refusing services and other facilities to racially-selected sports teams from South Africa. In Britain, the Trade Union Congress in 1971 pledged support for any worker who, for reasons of conscience, refuses to work on the production of arms for South Africa. There have been many other cases where the unions have been very helpful to the movement against racism in southern Africa. But I should like to suggest that the time has come for a more extensive, more sustained and more cohesive programme of action aimed at the liberation of the oppressed workers of southern Africa.

## No Tokenism

We are working in a climate that is increasingly favourable to our cause. Public opinion is much more aware of the issues than it was ten years ago, even after the massacre of peaceful

<sup>1</sup> International Labour Office, Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour (1953), p. 80, para. 375.

**Drive to step up union action against apartheid**

**Union action urged on SA exploiters**

**TUC MUST SELL ITS SHARES IN FIRMS WITH S. AFRICAN LINKS**

**LABOUR DON'T TAKE JOBS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

**Who'd be a docker in South Africa - and non-white at that!**

**South Africa investment links to end**

**2nd TRADE UNION CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA**  
MARCH 23-25th  
PLAW HATCH TRADE UNION CLUB,  
EAST GRINSTEAD, SUSSEX.

# NATIONS CALLS UNITED TRADE UNION AGAINST APARTHEID



Mr. Abby Faroh

demonstrators at Sharpeville in 1960. The international trade union movement itself has done much to increase public awareness of the injustices of the Southern African situation, and we at the United Nations greatly appreciate your help in the vital information and education campaign.

We at the United Nations have rejected tokenism — the kind of tokenism that some foreign corporations in South Africa are advocating as a public relations gimmick, while their African, Asian and Coloured workers are still deprived of their basic rights and equality of opportunity, just like European workers in the 19th century. What we want is radical change in South Africa, and the basis for this must be human rights for all. The key to achieving justice in South Africa is obviously pressure — and this includes economic pressure, which is where the unions can be most effective.

## Shortage of skilled labour

The system imposed by the racist regimes is probably well enough known in general not to need a detailed survey. But it may be useful to point out that this is not just another theoretical international issue. Apartheid is based on the exploitation of African, Asian and Coloured workers. It always has been. South Africa is built on the profits from the mines — gold, diamonds, copper, iron, coal and many other minerals. The enormous profits were made possible by forced labour, with very low rates of pay and inhuman conditions. The same applies now: African gold miners earn no more now, in real terms, than they did in 1911. It is worth reminding ourselves that gold mines in Britain, the United States and a number of other countries would be working today if they could get labour as cheap as in South Africa.

Of course, with the emergence of the

manufacturing industry, South Africans have a big problem: labour is just as cheap, but since apartheid keeps the majority of workers undereducated and unskilled it also creates a shortage of the skilled labour necessary to support South Africa's status as a growing industrial power. This shortage has been a factor in the slowing-down of the phenomenal economic growth of the 1960s. In this situation, the international campaign against apartheid has an opportunity to increase the pressure on the minority-ruled economy and to increase South Africa's difficulties in maintaining the present system.

## Fantasy

But it must not be imagined that either South Africa's overall economic growth or her economic difficulties will serve, of their own accord, to mitigate or end the injustices of apartheid. On the one hand, the South African Government has clearly decided that a relatively slower rate of growth is preferable to any weakening of the apartheid structure. All the legislation of recent years and the stringent application of the apartheid plan bears this out. On the other hand, it is clear that even during the 1960s when the economy was booming, African wages went down in real terms, not up. It is a fantasy, maintained by those who profit from apartheid, that helping to make South Africa prosperous will help to accelerate the defeat of apartheid and make its African people prosperous also. Among the factors they neglect to notice is that economic growth does not apply to the poverty-stricken

Bantustans into which the Africans are being herded; and the migrant workers have no rights of any kind in the white industrial areas. Such legislation as the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1970<sup>2</sup> intensifies the force of the job reservation system which keeps Africans out of decent jobs. The control of the economic prospects of Africans is completely in the hands of the white minority.

As you know, Africans, who form 70% of the South African Labour force, are forbidden to form registered trade unions, and it is a criminal offence to strike or in any way attempt to bargain with their employers. They exist, as far as the Government is concerned, only as labour units. The Minister for Bantu Affairs, Mr Botha, has said:

"It must be understood very fundamentally that the Bantu who are working in the industries in South Africa on the basis of our policy ... are not here on an integratory basis ... to become equal workers, equal entrepreneurs or equal partners."<sup>3</sup>

And Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister, has underlined this by stating: "We need them, because they work for us ... but the fact that they work for us can never ... entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, nor in the future."<sup>4</sup>

Another Government Minister, Mr Froneman, has elaborated by saying that workers must not be "burdened with superfluous appendages like wives and children."<sup>5</sup>

Workers' families are therefore removed to camps where conditions are intolerable — although the Government takes good care not to allow too many observers to get near enough to describe them.

All these are signs that apartheid, far from being undermined by South Africa's prosperity, is being steadily entrenched. In fact the attraction of

<sup>2</sup> Act No. 19 of 1970

<sup>3</sup> House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 6 February 1967, col. 744.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 24 April 1968, cols. 4037-4038.

<sup>5</sup> Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, 28 March 1969.

investments and trade which yield quick returns because they are based on the slave labour conditions in southern Africa is part of the vicious circle that locks in the apartheid system. But let us also keep in mind that while apartheid is basically a system where a rich minority owns all the wealth of the country, and the majority live in grinding poverty in the midst of wealth, apartheid cannot be defined only in economic terms. It also means that the most dehumanizing form of racism that exists in the world today; it means the absence of all political and most social, legal and economic rights. In short, it is as the United Nations has labelled it, a "crime against humanity". It is on two counts, therefore, that we ask for your increased support - as workers in protest against the flagrant violation of the principle of workers' rights, and as human beings confronted with a large-scale attack on humanity.

I appreciate that no society is perfect. There is racial discrimination in many parts of the world. But South Africa is unique in showing no commitment to improving conditions, or working towards a situation where the ordinary citizen can by his own efforts aspire to anything he chooses. In fact, there is a definite official commitment to inequality, which is enforced with all the force at the disposal of a modern police state. As individuals with a concern for human rights this is the challenge that must be taken up with unfailing vigour. As workers you are confronted with the fact that the registered unions in South Africa, serving the minority of non-African workers, are partly responsible for the situation. It is union pressure, for example, that preserves the colour bar against skilled Africans. Any increase in general prosperity goes exclusively to the employers and the unionized elite. The international labour movement cannot maintain its integrity if it is in any way associated with these whites-only unions.

#### Demonstration against Apartheid laws



**"IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD VERY FUNDAMENTALLY THAT THE 'BANTU' (BLACKS) WHO ARE WORKING IN INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF OUR POLICY ... ARE NOT HERE ON AN INTERGRATIONARY BASIS ... TO BECOME EQUAL WORKERS ... EQUAL ENTREPRENEURS OR EQUAL PARTNERS ..."**

Botha, Minister of Bantu Affairs,  
House of Assembly Debates 6/2/67

#### International Trade Union Conference

What we in the United Nations are trying to do is to keep the issues of southern Africa before the eyes of the world, and to involve as many people, organizations and governments as possible in positive action to eliminate racism in southern Africa. In this task, we count on the support of certain countries, and many groups of people in all countries who are strongly committed to justice and human rights. It was an indication of the importance which the United Nations attaches to the role of the trade union movement, when in 1970 the General Assembly in resolution 2671 D (XXV) requested the Special Committee on Apartheid:

"In consultation with the Organization of African Unity and the International Labour Organisation, to report ... on the possibility of holding an international conference of trade unions ... for promoting concerted action against apartheid by the trade union movement at a national and international level."

I am happy to say that the Workers' Group of the ILO has voted unanimously in favour of the proposed conference. The projected conference would consider such action as: a) discouragement of the emigration of skilled workers to South Africa; b) taking appropriate action in connexion with the infringement of trade union rights and the persecution of trade unionists in South Africa; c) exerting maximum pressure on foreign economic and financial interests which are

profiting from racial discrimination against non-white workers in South Africa, in order to persuade them to cease such exploitation; and d) cooperating with other organizations engaged in the international campaign against apartheid.

It is for the trade union movement itself to decide with what action it is prepared to answer the appeal of the General Assembly. Some of the possibilities I have mentioned have already been tried out. I should just like to elaborate on a few of the others.

#### Discourage Emigration

One of the valuable tasks that the unions can undertake is to help slow down the rate of emigration to South Africa. Every skilled or semi-skilled emigrant is filling a desperate need of the minority regime not only to keep its economy going but more important from its view, preserving the status quo. The flow of emigrants prevents indigenous labour from obtaining employment who would otherwise get it - although of course under another name, and at a very much lower rate. And emigrants bring with them valuable training and experience, which is a straightforward gift to the regime. It is interesting to note that last year, for the first time, European emigration to South Africa fell. This was probably due to the slackening in the growth rate, which has reduced the attractiveness of the country for emigrants; I would dare to hope that possibly the decision of many unions to discourage their members from emigrating was also beginning to have an effect. What is needed now is to increase the deterrent, perhaps by putting teeth into the resolutions to stop emigration. The unions themselves know best how to do this; one possibility is to suspend or expel a member who emigrates to Southern Africa.

If the advertising of jobs in South Africa could be stopped, this would make it very difficult for that country to get the particular skills that it needs. In Britain, the Race Relations Board has been asked several times to enforce the Race Relations Act in this respect, banning the advertising of jobs which are not available to people of all backgrounds. It refuses to act. Perhaps the unions could approach the Board, or even take the matter up in the courts themselves. The printing unions could also ask their members to refuse to handle advertisements for South Africa.



As a result of Apartheid laws, Blacks are forced to live under inhuman conditions

### Assist the Oppressed People

There is always a need for direct financial assistance to the victims of apartheid, whether workers in jail or their families, and also financial support for the political campaign. Examples of what can be done have been given recently in connexion with the general strike in Namibia: leading British Trade unionists sent a letter to **The Guardian** appealing for contributions to the Namibia strike fund; and the Austrian trade unions have contributed to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. That fund, together with the United Nations Trust Fund for Southern Africa and the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern African refugees, are possible channels for trade union help for their oppressed brothers in southern Africa.

### Help Enforce Arms Embargo

We should very much like to see unions refusing to take part in manufacturing and exporting arms for South Africa, in violation of United Nations resolutions. At the United Nations the overwhelming majority of states regard the implementation of the process of apartheid as a continuing act of aggression against the non-white population. Even the few states which insist on maintaining relations with the South African regime accept the view that apartheid is a criminal affront against the dignity of mankind. Yet arms manufacturers from those states continue to provide the power by which the racist regime is able to maintain its grip over the population.

Workers involved in the production of these arms, seamen and others involved in the carriage of the arms to South Africa cannot escape responsibility for this sad state of affairs. The arms embargo is the result of a decision of the Security Council to which no state has dissented. Surely all of us, in our different roles, have a responsibility to ensure that this rule of law prevails!

### Refuse to Handle Imports

We should also like to see unions refuse to handle imports from South Africa. Agricultural products, for example, are often produced by prison labour, or under a system where part of the payment is in daily rations of alcohol, so that the workers become alcoholics and therefore cannot leave the farm where they receive these rations. This is known as the "tot" system, and has caused a great deal of misery to farming families. Dockworkers could refuse to unload some or all of the imports from South Africa, produced by measures such as these.

This would also apply to goods which are from Rhodesia, where the government of the importing country refuses to take action in spite of its pledge to support international sanctions. We in the Security Council Sanctions Committee have decided that information on sanctions violations will be welcome from non-governmental sources, and obviously the trade unions can be very useful allies in this ... Imports from Namibia should also be given special attention. This is an occupied territory, from which

South Africa is removing all the natural resources. If the unions could embargo Namibian products, this would be very useful. Even better would be a court case, where the unions would have standing in national courts to call for the application of the law which exists in many countries, forbidding the import of goods from an occupied territory, since they constitute "plunder". These laws were passed in Europe after the Second World War, in order to allow the recovery of goods looted from occupied territory by the Nazis.

Namibia is of particular concern to the trade union movement, because labour conditions there are as bad, perhaps even worse, than those in South Africa. In December and January last the contract labourers staged a very courageous general strike. Even now, only a minority of the workers have gone back to work, and there are continuing disputes over wages, conditions and civil rights.

And what are the basic demands of the Namibian workers? They could be applied with justice to all the non-white workers of southern Africa. They have asked for the abolition of the contract labour system - abolition of the pass system - the right to freedom of movement throughout the country for workers and their families; an end to the separation of families by the migratory labour system - the right of free choice of jobs - increased rates of pay and an end to all job discrimination on the basis of race and colour and the right to be represented at all labour settlement talks. It is ironic that companies which originate in areas of the world where the rights of workers have long been established should be so devoid of conscience as to cooperate in and profit from labour conditions which, in their own countries, were outlawed in the nineteenth or early part of the twentieth century.

**"WORKERS (BLACKS) MUST NOT BE BURDENED WITH SUPERFLUOUS APPENDAGES LIKE WIVES AND CHILDREN".**

Froneman, Govt. Minister Rand Daily Mail 28/3/69

## Professional Organizations

The professional organizations ought to be just as concerned about the position of their colleagues in southern Africa. A coloured nurse, for example, has the same training and does exactly the same work as a white nurse, but is paid half the salary. The same goes for lawyers, teachers, doctors and others. There are many cases of these people being arrested, detained without trial and even tortured for activities which would be quite legitimate in any free country. Ahmed Timol, for example, an Asian teacher, died under interrogation in a South African prison recently. What will the teachers' union do to protest such barbarity? If internationalism has any meaning, then the professional organizations should act as watchdogs. And it is time that some of the Trade Union Internationals cut all affiliations with those South African registered unions which make race a qualification for membership.

## Withdraw Investments

Perhaps the most valuable contribution the trade union movement can make to the international campaign against apartheid is to shape its investment policy in such a way as to militate against and publicize adversely those companies which are involved in the exploitation of southern Africa. Trade unions should ensure that they have no monies invested in firms with South African subsidiaries. For example, in the United Kingdom, it has been estimated that 18 unions alone have between them over £12 million invested in firms with South African interests. In the United States the amount is much more. In Western Europe it could be as much. Up to now, it is the churches which have taken the initiative over questioning their investments in firms dealing with southern Africa. Many student groups also have their investments in firms dealing with southern Africa. Many student groups have also made great efforts to force

**"WE NEED THEM BECAUSE THEY WORK FOR US BUT THE FACT THAT THEY WORK FOR US CAN NEVER ENTITLE NON-WHITES TO PROCLAIM POLITICAL RIGHTS. NOT NOW NOR IN THE FUTURE."**

Vorster, Prime Minister

House of Assembly Debates 24/4/68

their colleges and universities to remove their investments from these companies. If the ICFTU could take up this issue, coordinating information on trade unions' portfolios, and the activities of the companies involved, this would be a big step forward.

## Support the African Workers

The motivation for action and the measures I have outlined are not only made from the point of view of those of us looking in on the Southern African situation from the outside. They are underlined and emphasized by the voices from inside Southern Africa and we must not fail to take account of what they are asking us to do. In this regard I would ask that particular note be taken of a recent memorandum recently submitted by the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

As I interpret the memorandum, there are three major areas in which they are asking the trade union movement to exert the pressure of its undoubted moral and material force. They have asked that pressure be exerted on governments to come out clearly in the United Nations in support of measures aimed at ending injustice in South Africa. They have asked for your full cooperation with all non-governmental organizations, such as anti-apartheid movements and sports organizations, which are taking practical measures to oppose apartheid. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, they have asked you to bring pressure to bear on employers who have subsidiary companies in South Africa, to breach the wall of apartheid, rather than to carry out token improvements within the apartheid structure. They

want equal pay for equal work; equal training opportunities for black and white; the right of Africans to form legitimate trade unions with the power to strike and collective bargaining; and the removal of the colour bar in employment. There may be companies with the courage and integrity to undertake such a programme, but the initiative, the pressure, the drive for such action will only come from the workers.

In 1969 the Organization of African Unity adopted the Lusaka Manifesto setting out the African position on questions relating to the problems of racism and colonialism in southern Africa. The Manifesto, which was unanimously endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly, formulated a rational basis for action by the international community when it said:

"South Africa should be ostracized by the world community until it accepts the implications of man's common humanity. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient if it can. The South African Government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations."

This is the philosophy which motivates United Nations action against southern Africa. It underlies the measures we have put forward for your consideration. It underlies our conviction that the international labour movement — itself a symbol of man's common humanity — will continue to be a potent force for supporting the struggle of the African workers in southern Africa for their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Police are always called in whenever workers strike. Here, Sweet Workers are confronted by the police at the factory gates





The following is from an article in SEARCHLIGHT, an underground newsheet published in South Africa, it is dated November-December (Vol 2. No 3)

# Unite - Organise - Mobilise!

It is well, at the end of the year, to look upon the South Africa we live in, and to consider the state of our nation as we seek ways to better it in the year ahead.

The cancerous system of apartheid keeps spreading. Not only does it determine where our children may be born or buried, where we live, what work we do, how little reward we obtain, and every other physical aspect of our lives, but it seeks to spread its insidious tentacles into our minds and to direct our thoughts.

For this, propaganda and persuasion are necessary, for all power of the state does not enable it to legislate to take away our right to think and to determine what our thoughts should be. So we have had foisted upon us a system of education designed to create a subservient people, and adults are subjected to a propaganda barrage engineered to so blind us to our condition that we acquiesce and even collaborate in our own oppression. Unfortunately there are some who are so weakminded that they have already succumbed without a fight, and have become the voice of the Nationalist Party, but speaking with an Indian accent. Such is the fantasy land in which they now operate that members of the South African Indian Council and other collaborators blatantly urge us "to co-operate with the officials", "to work within the system", and to keep politics out of our daily problems!

They suggest that if we help to deny our children a full education, sports, social and cultural facilities; if we collaborate in depriving our people of proper housing, transport and health; if we co-operate in restricting opportunities in employment and advancement; and if we acquiesce in the denial of all political rights to the Black people and remain content while they play in the dummy, powerless and puppet institutions, then in some unexplained way the policy of apartheid, far from being strengthened, will wither and fall away.

It is of course being charitable in the extreme to suggest that all those who advocate co-operation with the apartheid system and its institutions have merely lost their minds or been befuddled by propaganda.

As we all know, however, most of them do the Nats dirty work in anticipation of benefit to themselves.

Their masters are expected to show their gratitude by providing passports and even facilitating free sponsored trips to Europe and America; by exercising the vast discretionary powers of officialdom in favour of those who are the "good boys"; by granting licences when they are difficult to get; by appointing them to positions of limited power and by bestowing the ultimate accolade of recognising them as "leaders" with whom Ministers and even the Prime Minister will on occasion deign to shake hands, talk and consult.

Nero fiddles while Rome burns - our new found Emperors cry hosanna and sing Hail To The Chief while exhorting us to make obeisance and give thanksgiving for our enslavement.

But the majority of us are not unaware of the fires that have been lit around us. Whatever the propaganda

## WE KNOW:

- That whilst some individuals are accumulating more wealth, the economic conditions of our people are not improving relative to the toil we put in and the prosperity of the country.
- That we are being herded into ghettos with poor or non-existent facilities though we are taxed at the same rate as the whites. Even there we have no security.
- That we are being subjected to an education system designed to dull our minds and kill independent thought and initiative.
- That our employment opportunities are being artificially restricted, our advancement curtailed by the denial of skill and our reward inequitably kept low.
- That we are being deliberately isolated from the majority of the South African people and denied our place as an integral part of the South African nation.
- That the only institutions we have are allowed no say in decision and policy making, and can only administer apartheid for the benefit of the minority.
- That we are permitted no political rights, and freedom to organise and express ourselves is severely restricted by police action.

**BUT IS KNOWING THIS ENOUGH?** Is it enough to keep our minds free and allow ourselves to remain oppressed? If we allow ourselves to be intimidated, to give way to despair, apathy and helplessness, then our enemies will have won - for even if they do not succeed in converting us, **SO LONG AS WE ACCEPT THAT THE SYSTEM CANNOT BE CHANGED, APARTHEID WILL REMAIN.**

It is clear that until we have full political rights in a free and democratic South Africa our grievances cannot be put right. But the battle for these rights is made up of many skirmishes - and for these we must prepare and act now.

- Let us come together in group areas, townships, factories, schools, workshops, hospitals, streets, for in unity and organisation we will find strength.
- Let us speak out against all those of whatever colour who help to apply apartheid.
- Let us organise action against every application of apartheid, however small, and against all attempts to isolate us from the majority of South Africans.

**ORGANISE! UNITE! MOBILISE!  
ACT AGAINST INJUSTICE  
SO THAT JUSTICE MAY  
PREVAIL IN A FREE SOUTH AFRICA!**

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

## SIX ON TRIAL

Further to our report in the February issue of SECHABA, the following is a fuller report on the background of the arrest and detention of six men facing charges of being members of the African National Congress.

In June and July last year six men and a woman were arrested by the South African Security Police and held incommunicado in solitary confinement for a period of over 120 days. They are: Theophilus Cholo and Gardiner Sijaka, both from the Transkei, Justice Mpanga and Aaron Mtembu from Natal, John William Hosey, an Irish citizen, and Alexander Moumbaris, an Australian, and his wife, Mrs Marie-Jose Moumbaris, a French citizen.

All except Mrs Moumbaris appeared for a formal remand in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on 11 November 1972, on allegations under the so-called Terrorism Act. No charges were made and they were not asked to plead. They were brought back to Court towards the end of January and committed for trial in the Supreme Court. Their trial began on March 14.

Mrs Moumbaris was released after four months in solitary confinement and deported to France.

In an interview datelined Paris, published in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 25 November 1972, Mrs Moumbaris said that her middle-aged French parents were unaware of where she was for four months during which period she was held in solitary confinement in a Pretorial gaol.

"As far as they knew, I had vanished from the face of the earth," she said.

Mrs Moumbaris, who was seven months pregnant at the time of her release, said that her parents only learnt that she was in prison a week before she was released. Although she is a French citizen, she was not allowed to see the French consular representatives and only saw her husband twice during her four months in prison. She said: "I kept asking them to charge me formally with a crime, but they never did. I saw absolutely nobody from the outside".

"One day my cell door was opened and I was told that I would be expelled. I saw husband for the second and last time and a strong police escort took me to the airport and put me on a Paris bound plane."

The South African government do not only appear to disregard normal diplomatic norms by allowing Mrs Moumbaris access to diplomats from her country, they went further.

### London Flat Raided

According to a report which appeared in the *London Sunday Times* of January 7, 1973, on 5 August, a fortnight after Mr & Mrs Moumbaris were arrested, Mrs Helen Amiel, Mr Moumbaris's mother, received a caller in her Paris office. A South African aged between 25 and 30, who spoke good French, told Mrs Amiel he was on his way to continue his studies in England. The *Sunday Times* report continues:

"He said he had just arrived from South Africa and was a friend of Alex. I was very excited because I hadn't heard from the children for several weeks, and this man had seen Alex only four days before," Mrs Amiel recalls.

"The visitor produced a letter from Alex. It was dated '29/6/72', but Mrs Amiel did not notice the 'error' of the June date at the time. The letter was headed 'Blue Marlin Hotel, Scotburgh', where the couple had been staying five weeks before. It was unusually formal. The second paragraph read: 'The bearer of this letter is a man whom I met here and he has asked me if he can spend a couple of days at our place in London. I accordingly ask you to kindly give him the key of the house which I believe to be in your possession.'"

"Meanwhile, Alex and Marie-Jose had vanished without trace. Repeated efforts to find them by the French and Australian embassies in Pretoria produced no results. The South African police, security police, Department of the Interior and Foreign Affairs Department all denied knowledge of the couple, who were in fact being held in solitary confinement."

"From the beginning, Marie-Jose asked to see the French consul, but under the Terrorism Act consular access is not permitted. For the first six weeks she was interrogated from 9am to mid-afternoon. She speaks hardly any English and no Afrikaans, yet for long periods she did not have an interpreter."

"In Paris, the couple's families grew increasingly worried. When she still had not got the borrowed key back, Mrs Amiel phoned the caretaker of her son's flat, but he had nothing to report. Then, desperate for news, she and Marie-Jose's mother came to London."

"They found the flat in a mess. 'There were papers all over the show, drawers were ransacked, chairs on their side,' says Mrs Amiel. They thought the young man had found himself a girl friend, gone wild for a couple of nights and forgotten to return the key. They did not go to the police."

"Weeks before, in the Pretoria prison, Marie-Jose's interrogators had shown her a picture of her husband. 'You have been to my flat,' she shouted angrily."

Mrs Moumbaris denied that her husband had written the letter about the key while at the Blue Marlin Hotel.

Not only have members of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) flagrantly walked into a private flat in Britain and ransacked it with impunity, they went even further.

### Lesotho Kidnapping

They violated the sovereignty of Lesotho by kidnapping a South African political refugee, Mr Herbert Fanele Mbale, from their territory at about the same time. Four members of Boss were assisted in this criminal deed by two members of the Lesotho Troopers.

The Government of Lesotho, unlike that of France and Britain, were naturally outraged by this action and rightly demanded the return of Mr Mbale. The South African government was forced to return Mr Mbale to Lesotho and apologise for "the excessive zeal" displayed by her police.

### Arrogant

In an extraordinarily arrogant statement, even by white South African standards, published in several South

African newspapers on 30 November 1972, Police Commissioner, General Gideon Joubert, commenting on the kidnapping, said that the policemen involved were only "doing their duty". Asked whether he supported policemen who crossed foreign frontiers to apprehend people wanted in the country, Gen. Joubert said: "They did contravene certain regulations, but they acted out of a sense of duty." He added that he saw no reason to take action against his men and, when asked if the kidnapping was carried out with his knowledge, he replied: "I'm not going to be cross-examined any further. I have no further statement to make." Meanwhile, one of the Lesotho troopers, Jobo Molofo, who helped in the kidnapping, has been granted political asylum by the South African authorities and is at present working in South Africa. The intransigence of the South African government, which persistently ignores resolutions of the United Nations Organisation and the Organisation of African Unity and international public opinion for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, is further highlighted by the fact that some of our political prisoners, like Nelson Mandela, who have been

sentenced to life imprisonment, have now served ten years of their sentence. In terms of statements by officials of the South African government, life imprisonment, in so far as political prisoners are concerned, means exactly what it says – imprisonment for life. Even murderers and rapists sentenced to life imprisonment in South Africa are entitled to a review of their sentences after approximately 10 years. However, in the case of Mandela and others this will not be so.

The African National Congress urges all its many supporters throughout the world:

- to mount a massive campaign for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and to call on the government of South Africa to implement UN resolutions on the subject of political prisoners in South Africa.
- Urge the United Nations Organisation to expel South Africa from the World organisation if it fails to implement U. N. decisions;
- Bring pressure to bear on their respective governments to support such a campaign.

# BOOK REVIEW

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the view of the African National Congress

Kenneth W. Grundy:

## «Guerrilla Struggle in Africa»

A World Order Book, Grossman Publishers New York 1971.

Grundy's book is an inflated seminar paper. One feels that if it were pricked by something sharp, it would collapse like a popped balloon. From a narrow academic point of view the only motivation for its publication could be the personal advancement of its author, who without having done any real research can add another title to his string of publications and bore his unfortunate undergraduates with his very own printed words.

Academic ambitions aside, any book on guerrilla struggle in Africa is bound to have political implications, wider perhaps than the author's intentions. In this case, the author's intentions are not immediately apparent. We have to infer them from his approach. We have to ask why, for example, he lumps together anti-colonialist and anti-racist guerrilla struggles in Southern Africa, with others of a quite different political character, e. g. that waged for several years in the Southern Sudan. Guerrilla struggle as one method of armed struggle, which in turn is only one form of political struggle, does not lend itself to comparisons which glide lightly over the content, and the aims, of a political movement. Grundy's method inevitably has the effect – whatever his intentions – of not just blurring, but actually obscuring the aims of the progressive and revolutionary movements using armed methods of struggle amongst other methods.

Having buried the aims and essentially political character of the liberation movements, Grundy is then able to take certain organisational features of their contemporary situation and add his solemn and pretentious judgements to the journalistic hearsay that prevails about them in the Western press. Thus he uses the fact that the liberation movements have (in several cases) temporary headquarters outside their own countries to brand them as 'exile' movements, 'by no means self-sustaining', 'heads without bodies' etc. This line of attack, for all its studied 'academic

objectivity', is really a gross calumny of the liberation movements, which are deeply popular movements, with long histories of struggle, rooted in the soil of their native lands, and enjoying widespread support within them. This is well known on the ground in Southern Africa, both by the oppressed masses, and by their oppressors, who use every available measure of legal suppression, police brutality, military force, corruption and intimidation to suppress the movements, with conspicuous lack of success. If this truth were not already obvious, the recent successes of the Zimbabwe guerrillas and the admissions of the Smith regime of the popular support they are getting, amply bear out the correctness of our statements. Similar evidence can be produced from South Africa, Namibia, Mocambique and Angola.

Not content with trying to smear the liberation movements as 'alien', Grundy goes on to try to provide respectable, academic cover for the hoariest old lie about the movements, namely that they are simply tools of the foreign policy of Communist powers. Part of his technique here is to provide a neat little appendix giving an apparently handy and authoritative run-down of the movements: who their leaders are, their principal sanctuary, training grounds, source of funds and material, by whom they're recognised etc. From this we learn for example that the ANC's main source of funds etc. is the USSR, and Frelimo's is the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic. The striking thing about this table is that unlike the rest of the book, it completely lacks the paraphernalia of scholarship – no footnotes, no references, no acknowledged sources of information. Where has Mr. Grundy got his 'facts'? From the liberation movements themselves? Obviously not. From the socialist countries? Even less likely. From the CIA, from the offices of PIDE and the South African Special Branch? We can only speculate, and put aside any lingering doubts as to what Mr. Grundy's real political motives are.

Nobody need be surprised to see Mr. Grundy joining the select band of academic advisers to the US State Department in the near future. Along with Edwin Munger, Gwendolen Carter and the rest, he has certainly earned his place.

A. B.

Youth In The Fight

# FOR FREEDOM

Extracts from a Report on the Meeting of the Commission for Support to Liberation Movements held in Conakry towards the end of last year, under the auspices of the Pan-African Youth Movement and the Guinean Youth.

Among those present at the opening session of the Commission, which was performed by the Prime Minister of Guinea-Conakry, His Excellency Lansana Beavoigui were, the Guinean Minister of Youth and Sport who chaired the meeting; Ministers for Information and Justice in the Guinean Government; members of the Central Committee of the ruling Democratic Party of Guinea; representatives of Women, Youth and other organisations in Guinea, including representatives of the National Army and the National Militia.

Also present at the opening session were the Secretary General of the Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM) and his assistant, Hintsu Tshume, ANC representative on PAYM and Chairman of the Commission for Assistance to the Liberation Movements; and members of the Diplomatic Corp accredited in Guinea.

The opening address by the Prime Minister dealt mainly with the necessity to increase aid to Liberation Movements as well as a call to the latter to close ranks and unite in the interest of African freedom and progress.

This was followed by three days of se-

rious discussion on the problems facing the various Liberation Movements in their respective areas of action.

On the closing day all the delegates were received by the President of the Republic and Secretary-General of the PDG, His Excellency Ahmed Sekou Toure. Delegates had a friendly and constructive discussion with him on the problems of African Liberation and the role to be played by the Independent African States.

## Resolutions

Resolutions adopted by the commission . . .

- denounced vigorously all imperialist and neo-colonialist systems which dominate peoples in Africa;
- Condemned all crimes and barbarous actions perpetuated by racist regimes in Africa;
- Warned against manoeuvres by puppets and enemies of Africa who were trying to divide the fighting peoples;
- Urged the black – listing of all "defeatist traitors," who support the shameful call for dialogue with the racists in South Africa and reaffirmed that reactionary violence against the

people must be met with revolutionary violence by the people . . .

The Commission further urged all member organisations of the Pan-African Youth Movement to . . .

- Constitute National Solidarity Committees and to extend this initiative to progressive organisation in Europe;
- Organise systematic information campaign in order to inform African and World public opinion on conditions in these territories;
- Organise and develop concrete actions of financial and material aid;
- Grant Scholarships to youths of the Liberation Movements;
- Provide Liberation Movements with voluntary cadres qualified in health, education and agriculture;
- Effect celebration of anniversaries of Liberation Movements in accordance with the pre-established calendar;
- Commit African Youth to celebrate with vigour the dates of the 21st March (International day of struggle against Racial Discrimination and Apartheid) and the 22nd November (International day of struggle Against Portugese Colonialism)
- Campaign at the level of Heads of States and Governments of neighbouring countries in order to facilitate the passage of combatant material, food-stuffs, medicines etc., towards the fighting zones.

The Commission also asked the Secretary-General of the Pan-African Youth Movement to establish contact with international Organisations in order to increase aid to Liberation Movements. It urged the African heads of States and Governments to increase their aid in all fields, materially, politically and morally to fighting peoples.

## ANC Speaks

Among the speakers at the first session of the Commission was Thami Sindelo, who represented the African National Congress – Youth and Students Section. Among the points he made in the course of a lengthy speech he said:

" . . . The situation in South Africa is characterised by increased repression against the African population. A neo-nazi regime is in power and is implementing the blueprint of Hitler's Germany. The African people are victims of mass removals which are also applied by Portugese colonialists and by

the Rhodesian racists in the Kunene River and the Zambesi areas of Angola and Mozambique respectively. This reduces the Africans to aliens in their own country and makes the African people perpetual refugees in their own Fatherland.

"... People are imprisoned daily and sold as cheap labour to vicious farmers under the notorious pass laws which is an instrument for the exploitation of the Black man.

"... South Africa has one of the biggest prison populations in the world. She is responsible for 47% of executions in the World. Detention without trial, long prison terms, torture and murder are standard methods of silencing the opposition in our country...

### NATO and South Africa

"South Africa is strongly supported by the NATO Powers. France is the principal supplier of genocidal weapons to South Africa despite all UN Security Council resolutions on the embargo of arms sales to South Africa. France also sells licences for the manufacture of armoured vehicles and she also supplies South Africa with the technical know-how for the manufacture of Nuclear Weapons.

"... Britain supplies skills to South Africa under the pretext of the Simons-town agreement under which Britain and South Africa jointly allegedly defend the Indian Ocean. West Germany supplies skills and the know-how for the manufacture of arsenals of weapons and poisonous chemicals...

West Germany has very strong economic ties with South Africa, while the United States boosts the South African economy. American economic interest in South Africa are greater than American interests in the rest of the Continent put together...

### Israel and South Africa

"There is very close cooperation between South Africa and Israel. The king-pin in this cooperation is the multi-millionaire diamond and gold mining chief, Harry Oppenheimer, who enjoys dual citizenship namely, that of South Africa and Israel. He is consi-

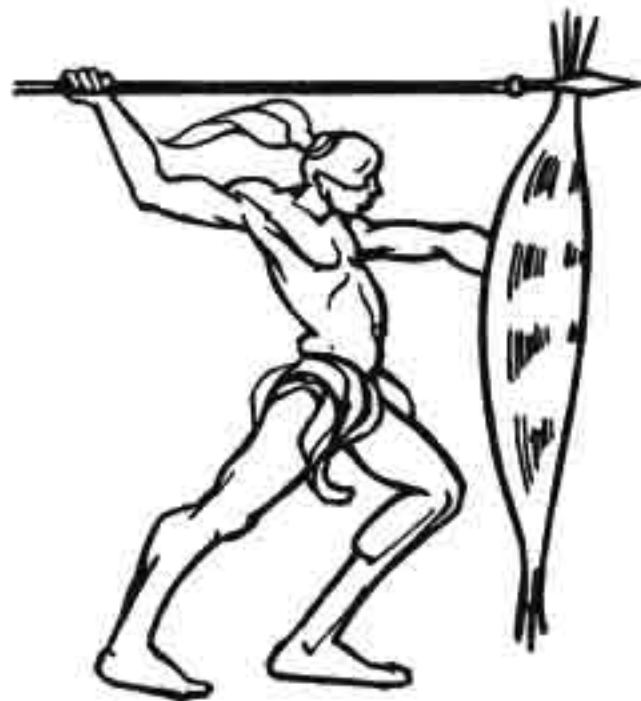
dered one of the main links between these countries not only in the economic but also in the political field. Within one week of the 1967 aggression by Israel against its Arab neighbours he helped raise ten million pounds. South Africa's strategic importance to the imperialist powers has increased after, the closure of the Suez Canal. The Cape route to the east is vital to its interests...

### Dialogue

"The talk of her Outward looking Policy characterised by the sudden desire on the part of Vorster for a dialogue with African States is part of a carefully planned and calculated manoeuvre to divide Africa and facilitate her recolonisation. Fortunately the African leaders did not fall for this trap...

### Bulwark of Oppression

"The racist regime in South Africa is a bulwark of oppression in Southern Africa. She is occupying Namibia in defiance of UN resolutions calling on her to hand over the territory to the people of Namibia. She strangulates Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland economically. She sent troops, war materials, so called technicians and financed Rhodesia during the 1967-69 joint operations of the ZAPU and ANC guerillas. Her troops are present in Angola and Mozambique and chemicals manufactured in South Africa are used in these territories against the struggling peoples. South Africa is the



pivot of the unholy Alliance of Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria...

"We are convinced that the only solution to this South African problem is the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist state by revolutionary violence. As we have no friendly borders on the North and have two oceans surrounding the remainder of the country our preparations have been somewhat slow. However, many of our cadres are in the country and are performing the hard and difficult task of re-establishing our underground machinery with a view to mobilising our people for the bitter struggles that lie ahead.

"Leaflets have been distributed calling on the people to prepare themselves and support the guerillas... Workers have been taking strike action in many industries for higher wages and better working conditions; students have refused to accept an inferior status, and there is general tension inside the country. The situation is explosive. Even some leaders of Bantustans which were created by the government to try and dupe the African people are now turning against their racist bosses. They demand more land, access to the sea, representation at the OAU and the UN, the right to have their own army etc. This has resulted in them being banned from making statements without the written permission of the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs...

"The liberation of our country is our most fervent aim. We see this as our historic mission and we as the youth of South Africa, will not fail to accomplish this task...

"I would like to take this opportunity to express our strongest solidarity with our brothers of Palestine who are engaged in a bitter and heroic struggle against Zionism and Imperialism; our brothers of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia who are engaged in a valiant and bitter struggle against US imperialism; to our brothers in Latin America and other parts of the world who are fighting for freedom and national liberation.

"Allow me also to express our sincerest thanks to the African and Socialist Governments and progressives in the capitalist world for the indefatigable aid and support they continue giving us thus enabling us to continue the struggle which we have set ourselves to wage until final victory..."

# THE SO-CALLED SOUTH AFRICAN MINI- OLYMPICS

South Africa has claimed to have invited 550 sportsmen, all expenses paid, to the so-called multi-racial games to be held in Pretoria in March-April this year. The event has so far been shrouded in secrecy but it is known that a number of countries have accepted invitations to attend. Among them are: Britain, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, West Germany, Japan, Portugal, Brazil, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the U.S.A.

However, athletes in the U.S. and Australia have refused to go and the West German football team has decided to withdraw.

Several British athletes have accepted the invitation and so has the Welsh Bowls Association. The English Football Association have said that they will send a team of 15 players plus other officials.

The Football Association's acceptance was made possible by FIFA's decision to temporarily lift its suspension against South Africa. What is less known are the manoeuvrings that have been taking place to bring this about. Timing, it appears, was all important.

As long ago as September 1971, reports in the South African press indicating that 'six major countries gave their promise to support South Africa's case at the 1972 FIFA Congress in Munich.'

Other reports subsequently stated that FIFA had given the go-ahead to South Africa. The next move was purely diplomatic. It was unofficially made known to the Johannesburg Sunday Express on December 24, 1972 that FIFA had written to the Chairman of the South African Football Association.

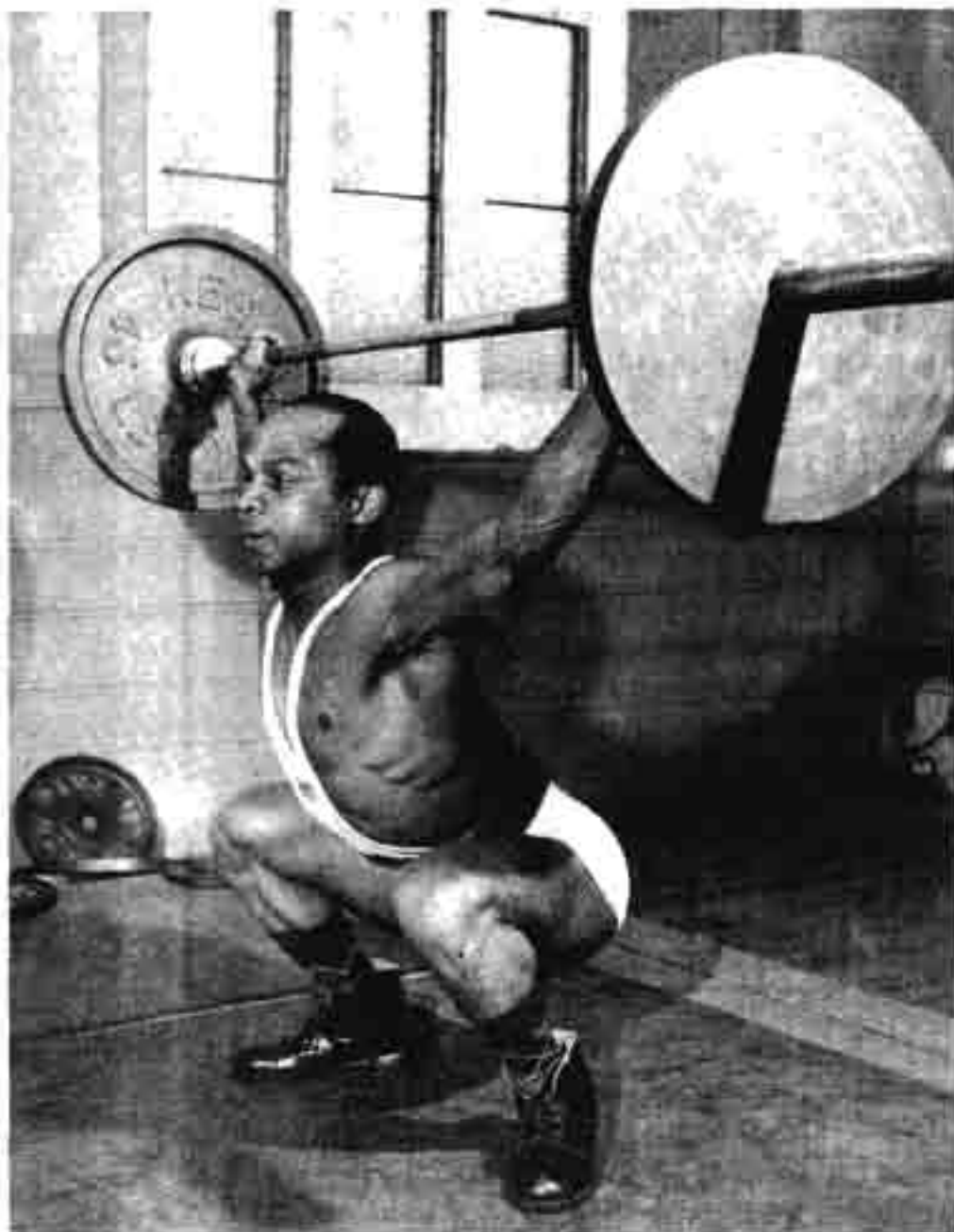
The point of the letter was to ask "whether audiences would be segregated" and "whether the South African team to take part will be selected on merit or split into ethnic groups."

Dave Marais, the Chairman of the SAFA is reported to have said that the teams that will take part will be selected on an ethnic basis and on the question of segregated audiences, he was silent.

At about the same time FIFA announced that it had conducted a postal ballot of its executive members and that the voting was in favour of lifting the ban on the South Africans.



The sensation of Munich - Akii-Buo of Uganda, he won't be there



Precious McKenzie, the Black sportsman who was forced to emigrate from South Africa because of his colour. He became Empire weightlifting champion as a member of the British team. He will not be there.

The timing of the postal ballot was manipulated in such a way that in terms of FIFA's constitution it was impossible in the time available for member-nations to call for an extraordinary Congress.

As a matter of fact the timing of the Executive's announcement meant, in terms of FIFA rules, that the earliest the Congress could have been held was on April 1, – the day after the games end.

### Socialist Countries Refuse

So confident were the South Africans of gaining recognition for their so-called mini-olympics that even the Soviet Union was sounded out on the possibility of sending their gymnasts. According to the Johannesburg Star (September 30, 1972) Yuri Titov, one of the world's foremost gymnasts, was personally approached by the South African Gymnasts Union. Titov emphatically turned down the idea and the Soviet Union, along with other Socialist, Asian and African countries will not be going to Pretoria.

In order to attract entries, South Africa launched a massive propaganda campaign spearheaded by glossy brochures proclaiming the existence of multi-racial sport among South Africans. Invitations further gave the impression that the games would be multi-racial and newspapers reported that Black officials such as Stan Wright (USA) and Hassan Agabani (Sudan) would be in Pretoria. Publicity has also been given to the handful of Black South Africans who will be competing. What is made less clear is that the terms of their entry will be dominated by strictly apartheid conditions.

All seating arrangements will be strictly segregated, whites sitting in their own stands and Blacks in theirs.

Entrances, ticket windows, lavatories, dressing rooms, in fact every aspect of the games will be run strictly under apartheid conditions.

Black sportsmen will not be in the South African team, they will not wear the same uniforms and will not be housed with the white team.

We support the stand taken by the South African Non-Racial Olympics Committee (SANROC) that under these conditions the IOC must "surely challenge the right of an expelled member to organise international games on its (South African – Ed.) territory to which champions are invited."

SANROC added: "Under normal conditions the IOC would not allow Olympic athletes to compete under conditions contrary to Olympic rules."

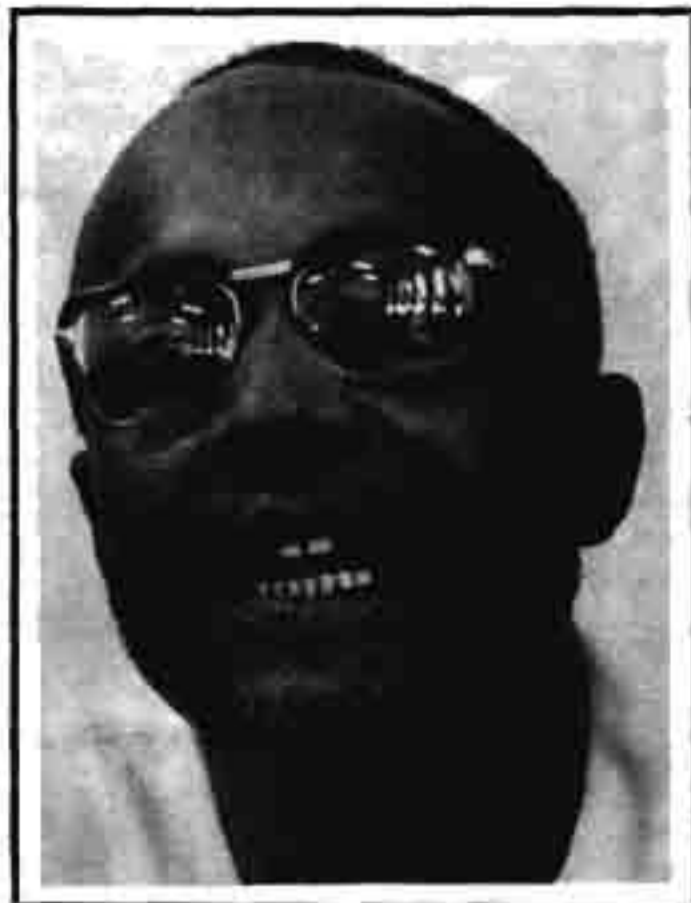
The chief deterrent to international participation will undoubtedly be the consequent African retaliation following their decision at Lagos early this year to boycott all countries supporting apartheid sport.

Africa's wonder-athlete, Kip Keino, he most certainly won't be there



# AMILCAR CABRAL

"I am a simple African man, doing my duty in my own country in the context of our time." Cabral



The shocking announcement by His Excellency Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, towards the end of January, that Dr. Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) had been assassinated outside his home in Conakry, comes at a time when the Portuguese government was on the verge of complete defeat in this African outpost of Portuguese colonialism.

The death of Cabral caused by the despicable agents of PIDE, the fascist secret service of the Portuguese government, is a loss, not only for the struggling peoples of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, it is a loss to the revolutionary movements engaged in a life and death struggle in Southern Africa. Indeed it is a loss to the whole of our continent and to freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

If those responsible for this criminal act think that they can save their colonies from the onward march of the revolutionary forces in Africa, they shall find that they are sadly mistaken.

## Demonstrators at the Portuguese Embassy in London



Just as the murder of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO did not stop the Mocambique revolution, the killing of Cabral will never stop the struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

Amilcar Cabral was born of African parents in 1926, at Bafara, in what was then the Portuguese West African colony of Guine. He spent part of his youth in the colonial capital of Bissau, but was able, thanks to his family's relatively comfortable position, to go to secondary school and then to the University of Lisbon, and qualified as an agricultural engineer in 1951.

Already determined to find ways of working for his country's independence, he served for two years in the Colonial Administration of Guiné. His opinions became offensive to the governor of the colony, and Cabral transferred to Angola. There, late in 1956, he helped to form the earliest important nationalist grouping of that colony – the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

A few months earlier, during a visit to his mother in Bissau, he also formed, with five others, a nationalist movement in Guiné – the PAIGC. This small clandestine grouping pressed for political concessions by organising strikes and demonstrations, but decided in September, 1959, after the particularly violent repression of a strike in the Bissau docks, to prepare for armed action.

Launched eventually in January, 1963, the armed uprising of the PAIGC survived all Portuguese efforts at repression, and has gone from strength to strength. Cabral always saw the war strictly as a political instrument; and his main effort went into creating a new political and social structure in the wide regions which the guerrillas of the PAIGC successfully cleared of the Portuguese army. The African National Congress of South Africa dips its banner in memory of this great African patriot and pledges its full support for the struggle being waged by the PAIGC for the liberation of their Motherland!