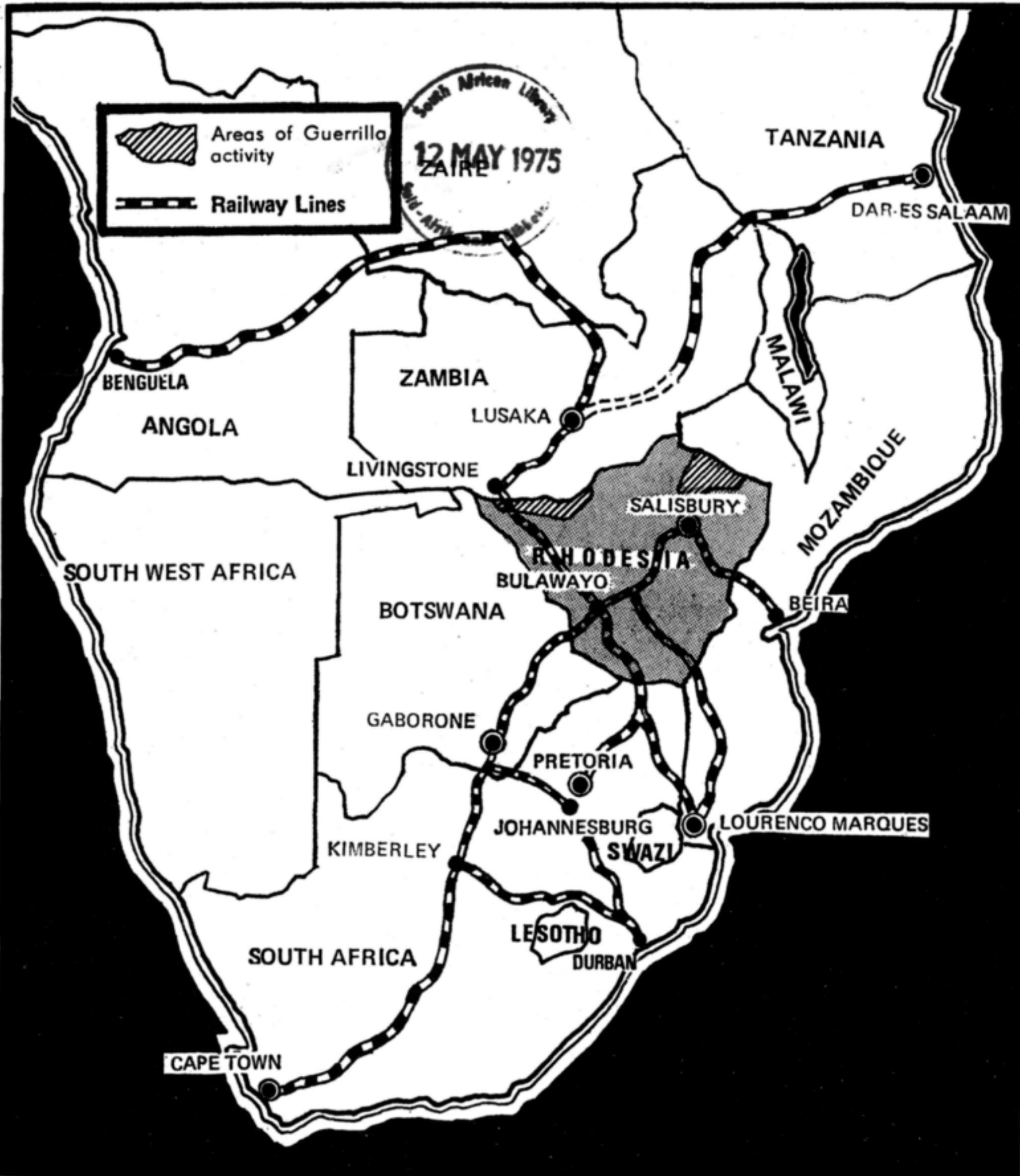




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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

During the recent United Nations debate on a resolution calling for the expulsion of South Africa from the General Assembly, both Prime Minister Vorster and his ambassador to the United States and South Africa's representative at the U.N. Pik Botha, spoke about major changes in policy that were being considered by the regime which would make South Africa acceptable to independent Africa and the world.

Leading Nationalists followed with many more such statements, and the world was agog at the prospect of seeing a change in a country that practiced the most vicious form of racism since Hitler's Germany.

"We shall not hesitate on our side to do away with humiliating measures and practices which harm good relations between White and Non-White . . ." said Dr. Hilgard Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a New Year message "to the nation".

If we understand these words correctly, they are words promising all the people an equal share in the coun-

try's wealth. They are words that signify that the Government will no longer move settled communities to barren wastelands far from their places of work. They must also be words revealing the Government's intention to do away with the hated pass laws and influx control which heap such humiliation on the African people; and the "Whites Only" signs outside public toilets, lifts and in public parks, beaches and elsewhere . . .

They are words which should also mean the beginning of a new dawn in our country; a new era in which all the people, both Black and White, will enjoy full equality, in every sphere of their lives: political, economic, cultural, social et al.

No one will readily believe that this is the real meaning of Dr. Muller's message. For one thing, at the time he was giving his message almost forty young men and women were being held incommunicado and in solitary confinement (See last two issues of Sechaba) in various prison and police cells in many parts of the country.

These men and women - members of the Black Peoples' Convention, the South African Students' Organisation and the Black Allied Workers Union - had been held in confinement, under these conditions, for over three months at the time Dr. Muller was making his statement. At the time of writing these men and women have still not been brought to trial even though the Minister of Justice assured the country as early as in November that they will be charged by December 14, last year.

Meanwhile none of the "humiliating measures and practices which harm good relations between White and Non-White", to quote Dr. Muller again, have been removed.

'Independence' Rejected

Obviously Dr. Muller did not mean what he said. Prime Minister Vorster, himself clarified the situation a few weeks later. In a speech at Zeerust, he said that the Government would "eliminate racial discrimination through the institutions of separate development."

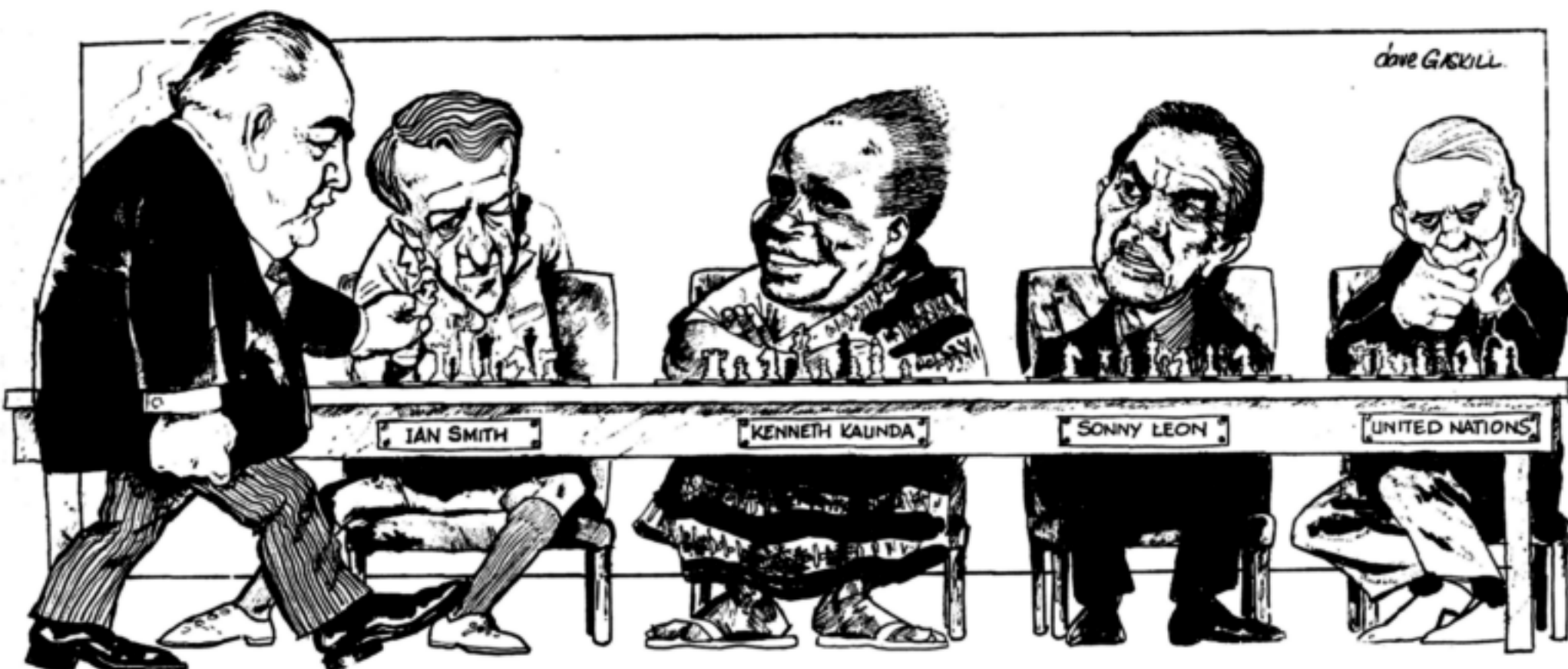
(We are pleased to note that he agrees that there is racial discrimination in South Africa!)

So now we have a clearer picture of what Vorster means when he says that within the period of six months to a year far reaching changes will



Prime Minister Vorster

VORSTER'S FALSE IMAGE



be effected in South Africa. And, what Dr. Muller means when he said that humiliating measures and practices will be eliminated in the country. These measures and practices will be eliminated not in the whole of South Africa but, in the so-called homelands. Blacks living in the "White" urban areas will have to continue to put up with apartheid and all its evils.

Now that we know what Vorster, Muller and others of their ilk mean when they say there will be changes in South Africa, we are sure free Africa will reject with contempt any hand of "friendship" that the racists extend to it. The Vorster regime's purile attempt to appease its critics by appearing to profess friendship for the rest of Africa, while at the same time refusing to budge an inch towards the relaxation of the apartheid vice is clear indication, if any such indication was needed, that the Nationalist Party has no intention whatever to make any meaningful effort to change its ideology which is based four-square on apartheid.

Even the Bantustan leaders see this. Following Vorster's Zeerust speech in which he also made it clear that the Bantustans will be given "independence" if they requested it, seven out of eight Bantustan leaders have come out strongly against accepting the Government's brand of independence. They know, as we do too, that the people will never tolerate a situation in which 70 per cent of the

population will be kraaled off in less than 13 per cent of fragmented, non-viable land.

Vorster had banked heavily on support for his offer of "independence" from the Bantustan chiefs. Their rejection of the offer has dealt a serious blow to his strategy. He had hoped that the Bantustan leaders will accept his offer of "independence" and then apply for membership to the OAU and the United Nations.

This would have meant eight African "nations" entirely dependent on the Pretoria regime would become UN members. In such a situation Vorster hoped to break African sanctions against South Africa. How could members of the OAU or the UN propose sanctions against South Africa without consulting Black South African UN members?

Fortunately the majority of the Bantustan leaders have seen through Vorster's scheme. However, we expect tremendous pressure will be put on these leaders to change their minds. Such pressure will not come from White South African sources only. They will undoubtedly come from some, if not all of the Western countries with investments in South Africa, and especially from the United States. As the economies of the Western world deteriorate, and as international strategy is devoted to oil and the Middle East situation, a realignment of reactionary forces in Southern Africa is taking shape in the wake of the withdrawal of Portugal from Af-

rica. The United States is a major partner in this process.

The Western press has been raving about the statemanship of Vorster in forcing Ian Smith to agree to talks with the African leaders in Zimbabwe. The idea behind this move is not to sell-out Smith but to use him to cool the struggle in Zimbabwe and then to attempt to destroy it. The lure of Angola's riches invites such a strategy from the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the coming months we shall, no doubt, see widespread support by the United States and other vested interests in Angola's oil and other riches for one or other of the liberation movements.

If Vorster really wanted peace in Southern Africa as he claims, he should have reacted positively to the demand by Mr. Axel Jackson Johannes, SWAPO's secretary general who called on the Prime Minister to act in the Namibia impasse. Referring to the Rhodesian situation, Mr. Johannes in his statement to Vorster said: "How can you worry about the mote in the eye of a friend when you have a beam in your own eye."

Meanwhile, while presenting a face of sweet reasonableness in order to hoodwink the world, Vorster tightens his iron grip on Namibia.

Following months of brutal repression, several hundred members of SWAPO, including some of its well-known leaders in Ovamboland have fled into Angola. Inside South Africa as well, the Vorster regime is increasing

its repression and is hell bent on suppressing any show of opposition by widespread intimidation, mass arrests, and deportation as in the case of Malawian and Lesotho mine workers who came out on strike at a number of mines in South Africa during recent months.

In the meantime, in keeping with the National Security Study Memorandum 39, the secret document leaked last year, which outlined "selective relaxation of US policy towards Southern Africa's White regimes", Kissinger has made several moves which point towards a more active role by the State Department in Southern African affairs.

Nathaniel P. Davis, ambassador to Chile when Salvador Allende's Government was overthrown, is to be appointed to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. William Bowdler has been appointed as new ambassador in Pretoria. Dean Hinton has been installed as ambassador to Zaire, Angola's northern neighbour.

All these men have Latin American and National Security Council backgrounds. Dr. Kissinger is moving his heavies into place and Africa should be aware of the danger that US strategy poses for the Continent.

* * * * *

Apartheid Army

For the first time in its history South Africa has created a special African army unit with arms. It is being done, as the army brass announced, "within the framework of Government policy". This means, to start with, there will be no integrated units - so no Whites will run the risk of having to take orders from Blacks.

(In the South African police force Black members of any rank are expected to take orders from any White policeman. An ordinary white constable can give orders to a Black Warrant Officer. No Black of any rank, can give orders to any White policeman).

And, of course, it also means that Black soldiers will get lower rates of pay than their White counterparts.

It is all "within the framework of Government policy".

* * * * *

We Are At War

The following are extracts from a circular sent to members of the Second Transvaal Scottish regiment. This circular which was sent to us from South Africa is dated July 1, 1974 and is signed by Officer Commanding the regiment, Commandant Peter Middleton . . .

"By now you are probably wondering why I sent you a notice regarding camp and the one for volunteers for the border. I personally think that the



Colin Eglin . . . could lead his Progressive Party to take over as the dominant political movement in English urban areas

Sunday papers provided the answer, but should that not be sufficient for you, I will quote General Malan's statement to us, which was given last Wednesday night.

"We are no longer preparing for war, we are at war". Fortunately for us, a low density one "at this stage". "Those of you who read the daily papers and magazines will by now have built up your own intelligence picture, but for those who don't take an interest, I will give a brief resume.

ZAMBIA

Pres. Kaunda - pro West, but his two possible successors are socialists / Communists. Zamanglo plays an important part in Kaunda's attitude towards South Africa at present. Terrorist transit camps.

RHODESIA

Army almost fully extended. All young men do three months active service a year, the older men doing two months. With limited European population, economy being affected, and military require support in depth.

TANZANIA

A large build up of troops, trained and armed mainly by Chinese. Actively training terrorists. The Tanzanian army is being trained on conventional lines to follow up on terrorist successes.

PORTUGAL, ANGOLA, MOCAMBIQUE

The coup in Portugal and the resultant postings of personell to the Afri-



Sir de Villiers Graaff . . . United Party leader, helpless amid a political brawl

can Territories, poses probably our biggest threat. President Spinoza is pro West, but Genl. Gomes with most of the coup commanders are pro East. Similarly, the two Governor Generals of Angola and Mocambique also lean towards communism.

While Spinoza holds power, we are fairly secure, but how long will he last? Already the SWAPO people are pouring into Angola for training, and a build-up of tension in S.W.A. can be expected.

WHAT ARE WE DOING

The defence force is at present being completely reconstructed, and defence and army headquarters are now operational in their new format. Commands start restructuring shortly, and then it will be our turn.

"Each of you will shortly be controlling men's lives, and I am sure your riflemen will feel very dubious of you should they realise that you have not been attending regular training. From now on I expect to see all officers and NCOs every Tuesday. MEN'S LIVES DEPEND ON US, and it will be too late to start training in action.

"Possibly I sound dramatic, but not all the military intelligence briefings have impressed me as much as a talk from Bob Hitchcock, the Rand Daily Mail correspondent, who has just spent the last seven weeks visiting Terrorist groups in the West. As an ex-serviceman he realises the threat, and in a number of instances was verbally told by the Terrorist leaders of their intentions".

South Africa's...

INFORMATION OFFENSIVE

In the last two to three years the propoganda activities of the South African Department of Information have been considerably stepped up. This is part of a deliberate, overall policy: the South African Government has decided that the best way to defend itself against a hostile world is to attack, and the Information Department is a key element. The Information Minister, Dr. C.P. Mulder, frequently uses the language of warfare when talking about his job:

"My department will not remain on the defensive. We have now gone over to the offensive. We are now equipped with an area map, so to speak, on which we can intelligently base our strategy – a map which shows up enemy strength and weakness and their respective positions".

(South African Parliamentary Debates 2. 10. 74)

Dr. Mulder joined the Nationalist Government in August 1968 as Minister of Information, Social Welfare and Immigration. Earlier, he had been the Nationalist Party's Information Officer. He has been regarded as Mr Vorster's special protege, particularly after he was appointed Minister of the Interior in July 1972 despite his relatively junior status. Currently, he is Minister of the Interior and of Information.

Mulder's first years in Information were quiet. In 1970 he made a parliamentary statement in which he urged that the Department "must have every means at our disposal in order to present the image of South Africa as it is, namely that of a beautiful, prosperous country in which law and order prevails . . . where democracy is being practised in the full sense of the word and where political parties are represented in Parliament, as elected by the people – an example to the whole world" (Debates 23. 9. 70) – but such eulogies are the stock in trade of most South African politicians.

South African panorama

VOLUME 19 NUMBER 9 SEPTEMBER 1974

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Bettie van Wyk

LAYOUT: Attie Driessen, Talitha Hart, Marina Erasmus

FRONT COVER: Old Johannesburg. (Page 50)

PHOTOGRAPH: Roger Madden

Panorama . . . one of the many propoganda magazines dished out from the SA Embassy in Berne to countries of Central Europe and is printed in many european languages

The Change

It was not until the end of 1971 that the draught of change began to be felt in the corridors of Information. Earlier that year Mulder visited Europe and America (USA, Canada, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, West Germany, Netherlands, Britain, France). Though the visits passed without incident, since they were not publicised, Mulder spoke on his return to South Africa of a "vociferous minority overseas" who were "trying to create trouble for South Africa" (Star, Johannesburg 10/17. 7. 71) – presumably the anti-apartheid campaigners in the various countries.

He went on to say that although the Information Service was very effective in some countries, there were some offices where he would have to introduce changes.

Within a year Mulder had found the man to do the job. Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, BA, MA, PhD. Born in 1933 and educated at the University of Pretoria, Rhoodie is a professional. He first worked on Nationalist newspapers before joining the parliamentary staff of the Information Department. He served in Information abroad, at the South African Embassy in Australia and the USA and in 1963 was transferred to the New York Information office. In 1965 he returned home to head the American desk at Information Headquarters before going abroad again to the Information office at the Hague. He then left government service for a while, only to return at Mulder's invitation in 1972 and taking a drop in salary to become Secretary (i. e. Permanent head) of the Department of Information.

Rhodie immediately announced his intentions of streamlining the department and presenting a new, dynamic image of South Africa overseas. "Our enemies are far more sophisticated than they were even two years ago – and we must fight back with equal sophistication and

modern publicity methods" he said. (Rand Daily Mail 24. 10. 72)

The Department was vigorously re-organised, several senior staff serving abroad being recalled or transferred. According to Rhodie, information officers needed to be expert salesmen, competent technicians (to handle the news media) and 'meticulous political scientists'. Such men would be trained and sent abroad to man the Department's 16 foreign offices (attached to embassies but apparently administratively independent - at least up to a point).

In order "to put across to a hostile world the picture and aims of a strong government", Information needed to expand, said Rhodie. Its budget was "puny and negligible . . . After all, we cannot expect to use an air-rifle against tanks." The Department's new motto became: "dynamic action, enthusiasm and efficiency."

Learning the Answers

During 1973 the new broom took effect at Information. A training school was established which, among other things, teaches television techniques to those likely to be interviewed either abroad or by foreign correspondents in South Africa, and which helps information officers, politicians and other public figures to cope with 'awkward questions' about South Africa's policies. (Mr Jan Marais, chairman of the Trust Bank, one of South Africa's ablest spokesmen abroad, recently presented Dr. Rhodie with a list of 20 such questions mainly touching on the racial inequity of South Africa, saying they were frequently asked and difficult to answer satisfactorily. Dr. Rhodie immediately responded with official 'answers' (RDM 21. 6. 74) which did nothing to help Mr Marais).

Evidence of the new Information's professionalism was also apparent in the commissioning of a market research survey by the US Mandeville Corporation of all the countries where South Africa has Information offices in order to discover people's attitudes towards South Africa and to "delineate the so-called hard and soft areas" for a marketing operation. This, Mulder said later, helped the Department "to take the basis to criticism from abroad." (Debates 2. 10. 74) Rhodie denied that the survey had been commissioned; Mandeville's results had merely been purchased, he said.

One of the findings of this survey was "the effectiveness of the guest programme". Every year the Department invites an assortment of foreigners to visit South Africa under its auspices. The purpose of the invitations is to enable the guests to see South Africa 'for themselves'. The hope is that they will present a favourable picture to their countrymen. Under Drs. Mulder and Rhodie the Department has acknowledged the impossibility of reaching a wide audience: it therefore concentrates specifically on "the opinion makers and decision takers" in each country. To this end, Information's official guests in 1973 totalled 82, of whom 32 were journalists or editors. (In this connexion it is worth noting that Mr. G. Sparrow, spokesman for the 'Club of Ten', was among the Department's guests in 1972).

Another finding was that there was a divergence of opinion (more probably a lack of opinion) on the World Council of Churches' role in Southern Africa - a role

that enrages the South African government who claim as it does that all the liberation movements and their supporters are communists. This divergence, said Mulder, was "put to good use" in a series of advertisements placed by Information in West German newspapers.

The offensive began to take shape. Between July 1973 and June 1974, 103 ads were placed in newspapers in ten foreign countries. (The main countries: UK 34; France 18; USA 11; West Germany 9) plus eight pages in a supplement to an Iranian newspaper. The total cost was £93,300. In Britain some of these were defences of Nationalist Party policy on Bantustans, comparing South African Blacks favourably with citizens in other parts of Africa, under the headline "Should South Africa's Blacks rule themselves? The South African government answered 'Yes' years ago". Others were straightforward appeals to businessmen to trade with and invest in South Africa: "British companies investing in South Africa can look forward to increased profits in the future."

Other direct tactics by Information have been the production (for the first time since 1960) of an official year-book, *South Africa 1974*. This, complained the *Star* newspaper (*Star* 31. 8. 74 Johannesburg) was more concerned in its 1000 pages with presenting Nationalist policy in a favourable light than with presenting the facts about South Africa.

A selection of newspaper opinion is published in the *Press Mirror* (GB), whose functions are to present the (normally pro-Government) views of Afrikaans newspapers to those (in embassies; abroad; etc.) who cannot read the language and to demonstrate the freedom of the South African press to criticise the government - despite the many regulations already in existence circumscribing that freedom. An "education kit" for use in schools has also been produced.

The Search for Credibility

From the beginning, Rhodie understood Information's major problem: that of establishing credibility. His Department is engaged in what his critics tell him is an impossible task, that of selling an unsaleable product - apartheid. However 'sophisticated' and aggressive the department's official actions, it is still regarded as an instrument of propaganda. In 1972 he said that publicity methods would have to change: he foresaw a time when 50-60 % of the Department's methods would be 'hidden', i. e. indirect. (RDM 24. 10. 72)

Some of these we have already seen:

- advertisements featuring Black 'leaders' such as Chiefs Buthelezi and Mangope, pleading against economic isolation and placed by the Trust Bank of South Africa (Chairman, Mr Jan Marais);
- advertisements attacking the *Guardian's* investigations into starvation Black wages in South Africa and the World Council of Churches support for the liberation movements, placed by the Club of Ten;
- publication of *To the Point International*, a glossy *Time*-style news magazine which began in South Africa with the object of "informing the rest of the world about Africa and Africa about the rest of the world" and was launched as an international offshoot in 1974



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Transvaal

Mr A. C. van Wyk, 63, who last month officially assumed duty as Administrator of the Orange Free State in succession to the retiring Administrator, Mr G. Froneman. A farmer-lawyer, he was born and educated in the Orange Free State. He served the Provincial Council from 1959 to 1970. He served Parliament as M.P. for

SOUTH AFRICAN DIGEST

WEEK ENDED JANUARY 3, 1975

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER



Dr Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs

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Dr C. P. Mulder - Minister of Information

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...e Prime Minister said.
...espite a world in which inflation,
...ror and lawlessness were rife, the
spectre of hunger and food shortages
loomed and the Communists posed an
ever-present threat, South Africa had
shown a substantial growth rate,
underlining its overall stability.
Though there might be a slow down
in the coming year, the country could

with any country) can only be effected if the influential groups - i.e. the Press, politicians, academics, businessmen, scientists, and others, do

PEACE PROSPECTS: MULLER

The measure of detente that had been achieved in Southern Africa over the past two months was gaining momentum, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr H. Muller, said in a New Year message. He pointed out that the chances of thwarting those forces who did not wish to see peace and prosperity in the sub-continent would be far greater if the states of Southern Africa presented a united front, particularly in the economic field.

Dr Muller foreshadowed a number of possible developments which could give tremendous impetus to international co-operation in many fields of common interest among all the independent states of this part of Africa.

An effective cease fire, for example, could lead to peace and the consequent withdrawal of South African policemen from Rhodesia. A possible solution to the Rhodesian question,

South African Digest, January 3, 1975

One of the scores of SA "Information" publications

with offices in Antwerp. Its current advertising does not seem sufficient for financial survival and its content seems to suggest South African backing. In June the *Guardian* claimed that *To the Point's* senior editor was formerly director of the London Information Office.

Rhodie's demands for more money have been successful: *Information's* budget is currently running at £6,562,500 a year. This is only £1,875,000 less than the Foreign Affairs Department's budget. The comparison, made in the South African Parliament, was intentional.

Early in 1974, there was speculation that Mulder was poaching on the territory of his senior colleague, Foreign Minister Dr H. Muller.

Information vs. Foreign Affairs

The story is rather complicated but illustrates the tendency of the South African Information Department to operate in a wider field than normally accepted. (The extent

to which this reflects Mulder's personal ambitions is, clearly, a matter for speculation, though it is equally possible that the strategy is deliberate and concerted).

Briefly, this is what happened:

Admiral Biermann, Chief of the South African Defence Force, anxious to convince US defence policy-makers of the importance of the Cape route in keeping an eye on Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean, but unable, for political reasons, to obtain an official invitation from the US, decided to go privately. He applied for a tourist visa but the application was refused by the state department. The South Africans then engaged the services of a professional Washington lobbyist, lawyer Don DeKieffer, who canvassed support for the application. Senator Henry Byrd and others took up the case, and Biermann got his visa. What aroused the speculation was the fact that the matter was not handled through the normal diplomatic channels and that the Information Department appears to have been involved in arranging the details of this indirect or 'backdoor' diplomacy. Mulder himself was in the US in January, four months before Biermann, officially to meet information staff working in the Americas. He also met Vice President Ford, Ronald Reagan, Senator Hugh Scott (leader of the Senate), Congressman Thomas O'Neill and other leading officials and politicians. The trip was clearly purposeful and Mulder's movements more those of diplomacy than information.

In Parliament Mulder denied this allegation, saying that the Information and Foreign Affairs Departments "supplement each other abroad". (Debates 2. 10. 74) He had, he said, conferred with the Prime Minister before going to the USA and had "received the instructions on which I then based my actions in America." Backdoor diplomacy was evidently a deliberate tactic.

Recently, Information's role in these affairs became even wider. In October Rhodie visited the US and while he was there tried to arrange a meeting with President Ford. Despite the efforts of several different people, this failed and there were suggestions that the Americans, particularly the State Department were annoyed at Rhodie's behaviour. (Star 23. 11. 74)

Television

Thus, while it looks as if the Information Department's attempt to move into Foreign Affairs territory may have misfired (though there were indications that Mulder was involved in Vorster's recently-revealed trip to Black Africa), the Department's work in its traditional field is as energetic as ever. One of the skills Rhodie brought when he joined the Department was a proper understanding of the importance of television as an influence on opinion. This he has conveyed to his boss Mulder. In general the South Africans are suspicious of television and Mulder is on record as having told a communications media symposium in South Africa in 1972 that the BBC was the target of a 'liberalistic' minority group who had learnt how to use television for their own subversive goals. He left it to his audience to imagine the problems that faced his Director of Information in London when the 'wrong people' used the weapon of television against South Africa. (RDM 26. 10. 72)

In October this year, when asked why Information had

declined to participate in a discussion to follow the television screening of **Last Grave at Dimbaza**, Mulder told Parliament that a verbal reply, within the confines of a studio discussion, was generally ineffective against the visual impact of a film; he stressed the power of the medium several times. "We are only prepared to answer a visual misrepresentation with a visual reply", he said. (Debates 15. 10. 74) The London office therefore prepared a visual reply and demanded of the BBC their right to reply with it. The BBC complied.

This is certainly the strategy of taking the offensive. And with each success, the Information Department congratulates itself: "More and more people, organisations and governments" said Rhodie recently "are now prepared to listen to South African spokesmen and take a fresh look at the situation in this country".

(Financial Mail 18. 10. 74)

Doubtless Drs Rhodie and Mulder have further initiatives up the Information sleeve. The current speculation of rapprochement with certain Black African states seems to bear out Mulder's recent statement of intent:

"South Africa must have more frequent contact with the rest of Africa as soon as possible. After all that's where the key lies. If we can convince Africa of our integrity, we will then be more readily accepted by the rest of the world . . . The challenge is to convince the bulk of the Black African states that the divisions should not be Black-White but Communist and anti-Communist." (FM 18. 10. 74)

Misleading

Apart from the intervention over **Last Grave at Dimbaza**, the latest stage of the Information offensive is the announcement that Black information personnel are being trained by the Department and several are shortly due to be sent abroad to Information offices in New York, London, Paris and Cologne.

These, according to Mulder, are the current centres of priority. This announcement, which was given a lot of publicity, may be misleading to those unfamiliar with South Africa's methods, in that it gives the impression that the Information Service is about to become desegregated.

In fact, the Black officers are being trained by the Department not to work for the Department itself, but so that they can become information officers for the "homelands" in their pseudo-progress towards 'independence'. Their job - as with every white officer - is to sell the ideology and structures of apartheid, both to their own people and abroad. Temporary service for them in foreign capitals gives Information the opportunity to create a smokescreen which helps to obscure its fundamental task and provide a tool with which to deflect criticism.

Mindful of foreign susceptibilities in these matters, the Department has ensured that Black and White Information officers will be on the same salary scales while serving abroad. The fact that this will not apply within South Africa and the Blacks will - as usual - be paid less than the Whites for doing the same job only demonstrates the fraudulent nature of the whole Information operation.

Prepared by Southern Africa Information Service, London.

Church held stockholder resolutions will be filed with seven different corporations doing business in southern Africa this spring.

Fourteen churches and Roman Catholic orders are co-filing a resolution with IBM corporation, seeking to prevent the sales, leasing or service of its computers in the Republic of South Africa.

The IBM resolution marks a major change of policy with regard to that corporation by these religious bodies, holding approximately \$8,951,000 worth of stock in IBM.

The churches state that while computers cannot literally be called "arms," which are prohibited under the U.S. embargo on arms shipments, "we believe computers sold to the South African government ostensibly for peaceful purposes are of real assistance militarily and strategically."

Thus the spirit of the embargo is compromised, they state, while the computers increase the government's ability to control its citizens, and implementing its policy of white supremacy.

In addition, sixteen churches or Roman Catholic orders are variously filing resolutions with Phillips, Standard Oil and Getty corporations in Namibia and with International Telephone and Telegraph, Union Carbide and the Southern Company in South Africa.

Standard Oil and Getty are being asked to withdraw from the illegally governed Namibia, and Phillips is being asked to set up a committee to review its involvement there.

The review resolution comes to Phillips because last year the churches just missed the necessary six per cent vote needed to have a withdrawal resolution filed again.

According to Dr. Howard Schomer of the United Church of Christ, of all the oppressed people of the world, we know of none more oppressed than the people of Namibia. They have no legislature and no one at all to mediate on their behalf in the South Africa government."

Speaking at a Press Conference at the Church Center for the United Nations, where the resolutions were announced, was Canon Burgess Carr, General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

Expressing strong support for the actions of American churches, he said "the freedom forces of Africa at last are seeing the fruits of their struggles against colonialism and white minority rule."

But the U.S. government, "since 1967, followed a deliberate policy of calculated hypocrisy regarding Southern Af-

U. S. Churchmen tell investors to . . .

GET OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA

rica. While condemning white supremacy at the United Nations, it was acting quietly to build closer relationships with racist governments.

"U.S. corporations have done business as usual . . . unmoved by the massive racial oppression."

Canon Carr called the IBM resolution "the minimum."

"South Africa makes use of computer technology to implement its notorious pass laws under which the movements of blacks are restricted to the demands of the system for their labour.

"IBM computer technology is being used for an expansion of this system to Asians and Coloureds.

"The All Africa Conference of Churches welcomes the use of advanced technology as an enabler of fuller and richer human life in community, but we condemn the use of technology to foster alienation of families."

Also speaking were Brother Robert Taylor, associate treasurer general of the Atonement Friars and Dr. Donald Wil-



son, chairman of the Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa.

Brother Taylor said he was speaking on behalf of six Roman Catholic religious orders, five of whom were filing resolutions for the first time this year. "In addition, dozens of other orders, all of whom are stockholders in these corporations, have pledged their support of these resolutions and will vigorously campaign on their behalf."

Thus the support of the Roman Catholic communities is a growing force in the ecumenical corporate responsibility movement.

Dr. Taylor underlined this new force on the multinationals: "Never before has such a broad-based coalition of churches filed stockholder resolutions of this kind.

"We believe this increase mirrors deepening concern in the churches, minority communities, unions, universities, the Congress and nation about U.S. economic involvement in southern Africa.

"Denominations, which are multimillion dollar shareholders, are looking beyond dollar returns on investments and exercising responsibilities to make corporations more responsive to the needs of people," he said.

In addition to filing shareholder resolutions, church people meet with management, write letters of inquiry or support for certain corporate programs, speak about industrial irresponsibility in public places and attend stockholder meetings (instead of being content with absentee profit-making).

The following church agencies are participating in this year's shareholder efforts concerning southern Africa:

1. American Baptist Home Mission Society
2. Atonement Friars
3. Christian Church (Disciples)
4. Home Mission Sisters of America, of Cincinnati
5. Mt. St. Joseph Female Ursuline Academy, Inc. of Kentucky
6. National Council of Churches
7. Protestant Episcopal Church
8. The Province of St. Joseph of the Capuchin Order
9. Reformed Church in America
10. Sisters of Charity, Cincinnati
11. Unitarian Universalist Association
12. United Church of Christ, Board for World Ministries
13. National, World and Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of United Methodist Church
14. United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
15. Tressler Lutheran Service Associates
16. Glenmary Home Missioner, Cincinnati, Ohio

Over 300 delegates to the Black Renaissance Convention held in Hammarstrand, last month, called on the Black people of South Africa to reject apartheid and demand one man one vote for all.

The declaration adopted at the end of the convention included:

"We the Black people of South Africa at the Black Renaissance Convention hereby declare that we condemn and so **reject separate development and all its institutions**; we reject all forms of racism and discrimination.

"We dedicate ourselves towards striving for a totally united and democratic South Africa free from all forms of oppression and exploitation."

The Convention dedicated itself to a society in which all people could participate fully in the Government of the country through the medium of one man one vote.

The Convention also wanted a non-racial society in which there was an equitable distribution of wealth. "We call upon our people and all their organisations to organise their efforts towards securing the release of all political prisoners, detainees and banned people."

The Convention resolved that legalised racism in South Africa was a threat to world peace.

"Therefore, we call upon all the countries of the world to withdraw all cultural, educational, economic, manpower and military support to the existing racist government and all its racist institutions."

Bantustans Denounced

Strong feelings against Bantustans were expressed from the very first morning of the two-day convention. The Lebowa Bantustan's Minister of the Interior, Mr. Collins Ramusi, who was invited to deliver a paper on "The political situation of Blacks in South Africa", was jeered and booed.

Before he could speak, Mr. S. Ngobeni tabled a motion "to expel all protagonists of separate development and its institutions from the Convention."

The motion said that there were strong sentiments against apartheid, its protagonists and its institutions and those who did not identify with the sentiments expressed at the convention should leave.

The motion also asked "those separate development protagonists to denounce and dissociate themselves from those institutions that are militating against the progress of the Black people."

When the motion was adopted Mr. Ramusi left.

Later, he released copies of his speech to the press in which he said that he rejected and condemned separate development. His "government was against the policy too", he said. Mr. Ramusi's speech also . . .

- Referred to Prime Minister Vorster as "embarrassed and a spent force."
- Sketched the history of apartheid from the ideas of former Prime Ministers such as D.F. Malan, H.F. Verwoerd, and said they all tried to stifle Black consciousness.

Mr. Ramusi said in his speech that there could be no justification for anyone in the country to declare that urban Black citizens were temporary sojourners in the land of their birth, and in the towns and cities they built with the sweat of their brows.

In a statement to the press, Mr. Ramusi said that he bore no ill-feelings against those who had him expelled from the convention.

Instead, he said, the convention was a success for the struggle towards the liberation of the Black man. "However," he added, "I regret the fact that I was not given a chance to speak and expose the policy of separate development to be the fraud that it is."

A MIGRANT IN MY OWN LAND

Valley of a thousand hills
the Garden Route and Devil's Peak
Table Mountain, Seapoint Bay
the Drakensberg, to name a few
denied to me by circumstance
look but do not touch

Muizenberg Beach with its shocking blue sea
sundrenched
but denied to me
migrant labourer passing through
from my bantustan home to the cities of work
milked by my warders
who bar me from grazing
the lushest per cent of my land

Sixteen million dispossessed
condemned to the arid per cent
— thirteen to be exact —
neatly esconced from four million
who've snatched
eighty seven per cent of my land

Zarina Chiba

The opposition United Party in South Africa's parliament recently issued a joint statement with Bantustan leaders committing itself to the abolition of influx control 'in its present form'. The party's commitment came after almost 30 years after its own action, when in government, it entrenched the control of the movement of Africans through influx control and the pass laws.

That legislation carried forward the apparatus inflicted on Africans down the years – and in turn has been still further developed and refined by the governing Nationalist Party.

The people who suffer under this system are not foreigners from far-off places but South Africans (whatever nonsense the government might say about the migrants coming from "homelands" separate from South Africa). And the numbers involved are staggering: there are an estimated 1-million South African migrant workers, who together with their families account for nearly 20 percent of the total population of South Africa.

The harshness of apartheid decrees that the families must remain in the rural reserves while the men go to the towns to work. Thus husbands are separated from their wives and children for extended periods, creating ever-wider sufferings and social problems . . . promiscuity, venereal disease, illegitimacy, homosexuality, violence, poor eating habits. In the reserves . . . instability, fatherless children, malnutrition.

Apart from the destruction of family life, influx control, is a gigantic mechanism used to determine where an African can live and work. In fact, it determines the life of every African from cradle to grave.

No other law is more hated by the African people. No other law perpetuates the terrible mass evils which influx control does. **About 1700 Africans are arrested on average each day for falling foul of the system.**

What is more, it is a fundamental pillar in the application of apartheid and South Africa's slave labour economy.

It was the United Party-appointed Stallard Commission which stated in the early 1920s that the "existence of a redundant Black population in urban areas is a source of the gravest peril" – and defined a redundant



A SA scene which repeats itself thousand times over each day

person as a "native, male or female, who is not required to minister to the wants of the White population."

The commission went on to recommend the establishment of a special tribunal with power to "deport, repatriate, or settle in labour colonies, idle, dissolute, or undesirable natives."

The Stallard Commission provided the governing United Party with the framework for the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which – among other measures – provided for tighter control of the inflow of Africans into urban areas.

Between then and 1948, when it was defeated by the present government in the elections of that year, the United Party took other steps to prevent the inflow of Africans from their scattered poverty-stricken reserves (except, of course, those who were needed to work in the cities).

Chief among them was the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937, which

enables local authorities to "proclaim" areas closed to entry by Africans.

In 1945, the United Party amended the Native (Urban Areas) Act by adding a new section – section 10 – which limits the rights of Africans to be in urban areas to those born there, or to those who have worked there continuously for one employer for not less than ten years, or lived there continuously for not less than 15 years. Even after the United Party was ousted from power in 1948, it continued to advocate the "necessity" of influx control. The only tangible difference was in terminology: the blunt language of Stallard gave way to talk about "humane application" of the pass laws.

The Nationalist Party did nothing to oppose the UP influx control laws while it was in opposition – and when it came to power it added to them with the finesse of a master.

The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 did not – in spite of its "double-talk" title – abolish passes. It extended them to introduce new restrictions on the free movement of African women.

The Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1956 provided for deportation of Africans "whose presence in urban areas was deemed to be detrimental to peace and order."

Over the years, Nationalist Party legislation closed one loophole after another in the network of laws restricting the entry of Africans into urban areas. The net all but closed with the gazetting of the Bantu Labour Regulations Act of 1968. Its effect was to make it practically impossible for Africans to enter urban areas, except as one-year contract labourers obliged to return to the contract.

The struggle against the pass laws is a glorious chapter in the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

From 1910 to this very day the struggle against this obnoxious law goes on. No single leader of any political hue has ever supported this nazi measure. From Jabavu to Lutuli, from Mandela to even the Bantustan leaders, opposition to the pass laws is the cornerstone of their policies.

Like the desire for the return of the land of their forefathers to their rightful owners, the desire for freedom of movement is a continuous and unbreakable thread in the history of the African people of South Africa.



Prime Minister Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano introducing ANC Comrade Joe Nhlanhla during a State Reception at his residence



The delegation was met by large crowds wherever they went

Thousands of Mocambicans crowded Lourenco Marques airport to greet a four-man delegation from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Committee (AAPSO) which visited their country towards the end of January. The delegation which was led by Dr. Vassos Lyssarides of Cyprus, Vice-President of the Presidium of AAPSO and including Mr. Kamal Bahaa El Din of Egypt, Dr. Kamandar Kalandorov of the Soviet Union and Mr. Joe Nhlanhla of the ANC - South Africa, went to Mocambique at the invitation of the Frelimo Party. The delegation visited many parts of Mocambique and had repeated talks with the Vice President, the Prime Minister and other ministers of the Transitional Government and also several Party Committees at various levels. A full report of the visit was not as yet available at the time we went to press. But, in a short but enthusiastic statement, the delegation said that they were overwhelmed by the hospitality of Frelimo and indeed the

peoples of Mocambique. Wherever they went, they said they were greeted by crowds of peoples. At several gatherings people carried banners condemning colonialism and expressing solidarity with the liberation movements. One banner that was often seen at these gatherings bore the legend: ANC: VICTORY IS NEAR! The delegation also said that they were shocked to see the terrible legacy of illiteracy and poverty left behind by the colonialists. They, however, expressed their confidence in Frelimo solving the problems that exist. "Frelimo is completely identified with the people and is in complete command of the situation," said Dr. Lassarides. "But," he added, "the struggle in Mocambique continues . . . the progressive world must continue their solidarity with Frelimo and continue to give our comrades in Mocambique both moral and material support to eradicate the devastation they have inherited from the colonial regime," he added.

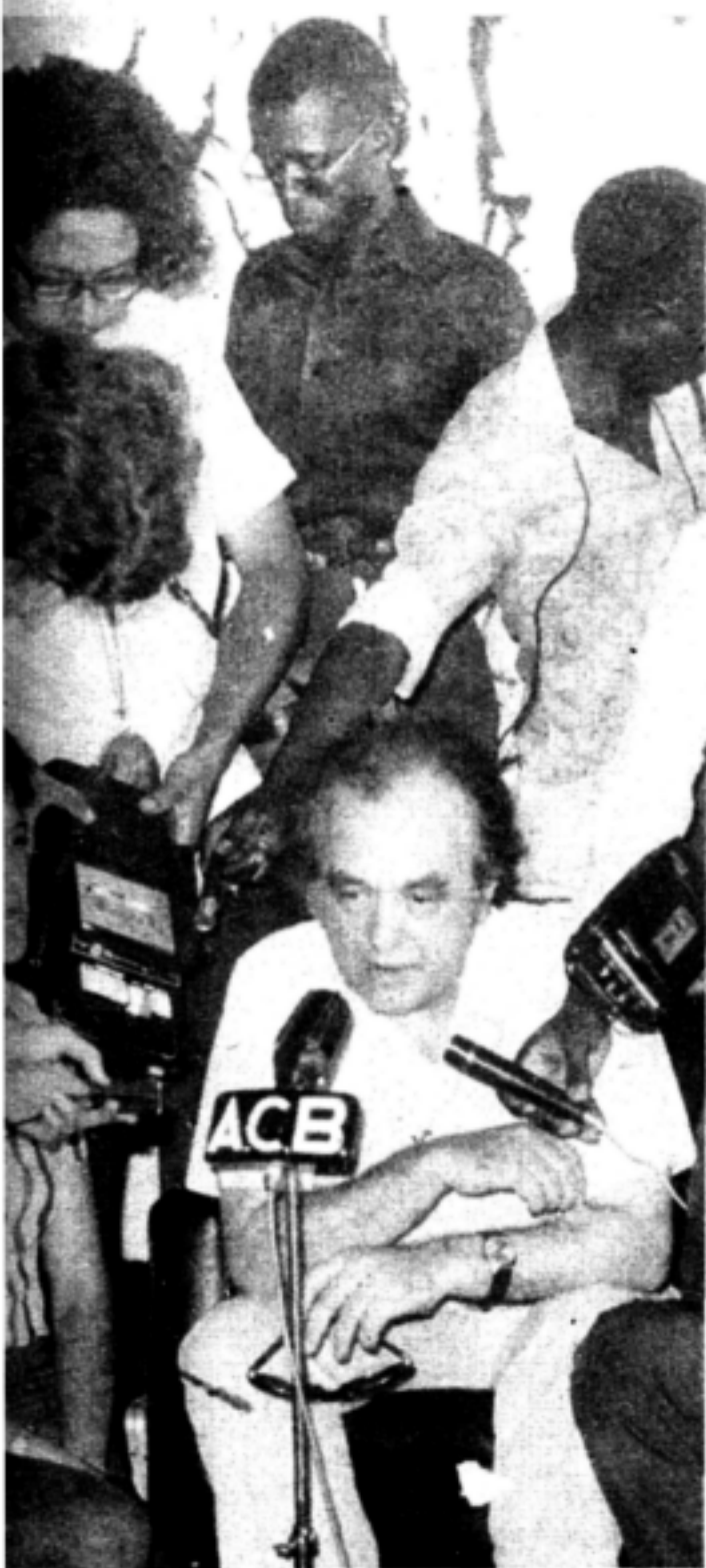
Frelimo says . . .

ANC Victory is Near





Crowds at Lourenco Marques airport meet AAPSO delegation



ANC victory is near



Long live the people of South Africa. The struggle against racism continues
Dr. Lyssarides with Joe Nhlanhla (left) at a press conference on their arrival in Beira

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS IN CHAINS

Recently John O'Malley, Editor of the Natal Daily News, the province's largest circulation daily was unceremoniously arrested by two members of the South African secret police while he was at a cocktail party.

O'Malley is no friend of the Black oppressed in the country. As a matter of fact he is a respected member of the White, English - speaking establishment in South Africa. His newspaper belongs to the Argus group of newspapers, the biggest publishing group in the country. Of the eight directors of the Argus Company, four are nominees of powerful South African mining interests - The Rand Mines Group and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company.

Despite all this O'Malley was arrested and charged under the recently amended Riotous Assemblies Act, first enacted in 1914.

O'Malley's "crime" was that his newspaper carried a statement by the (Black) South African Students Organisation (SASO) stating that they were going to defy a Government banning of a meeting they were organising to celebrate Frelimo's victory in neighbouring Mocambique. From as far back as one could remember this is the first time that an editor of an establishment-orientated newspaper has been arrested in this way and charged under this law.

What is the significance of O'Malley's arrest? Why, when the racist regime, faced with ever mounting international criticism of its apartheid policy, wants to put on a new "more moderate, progressive" face, did they take such a blatantly harsh step?

Having effectively silenced the progressive and democratic press from publishing legally in the country, the South African regime has, in recent years, been campaigning to get some form of agreement with the so-called white opposition newspapers to impose self-censorship on themselves. The idea is to get these newspapers to totally and uncritically support the views of the fascist regime in power, des-

pite the fact that any criticisms that are made are feeble and not in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people of South Africa, and in particular, the aspirations of Black oppressed masses. Furthermore, the growth of the progressive Black students and workers movement in the recent past has brought in its wake a new realisation among some sections of the white South African population that there is need for some change away from total apartheid. In the most recent general elections the white electorate, which is the only section of the South African population that enjoys the right to vote and be elected to Parliament, returned 7 members of the Progressive Party to Parliament. In the past this party only boasted one member of Parliament.

Of the three parliamentary parties represented in Parliament, the Progressive Party is the most "radical". It is against what it calls petty apartheid, that is apartheid in public places, such as parks, bus queues etc. It also demands a form of loaded franchise for the Black population. Although these demands are nowhere near the demands of the vast majority of the Black population, it is revolutionary in terms of white public opinion.

Meanwhile, on the white student front, there is a significant growth of progressive thinking. For instance, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) demands a dialogue between the racist regime and the genuine leaders of the Black peoples. It also demands the release of all South African political prisoners languishing in prisons. It supports the demands of African workers for higher wages and better working conditions. It exposes the gross exploitation of the Black workers in the country.

These trends, together with the events in neighbouring Mocambique and Angola have frightened the racist regime

FIGHTING TALK . . . a journal in the struggle for our freedom in South Africa was hounded out of existence by the fascists

FIGHTING TALK

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
Vol. 12 No. 8 Price 6d.
AUGUST, 1956



TIME OFF FOR MUSIC
(A drawing in a township by Arthur Goldbrack)

"I CALL STRIJDOM'S BLUFF"
By MOSES KOTANE

PHYLLIS ALTMAN ON THE
WRITERS' CONFERENCE

TREVOR HUDDLESTON REPLIES
TO AN OPEN LETTER FROM
JOHN GILD

SPECIAL
5 Pages of Documents on
The Soviet "Cult of the Individual"

A MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS

and in wild panic they are striking out even against such ardent supporters of white supremacy as John O'Malley. There are some twenty five laws that govern the behaviour pattern of the press in South Africa. Up to the present time, incredible though it would appear, the majority of the white press editors considered that they enjoyed press freedom. However, with the arrest of O'Malley this is bound to change. Among the twenty five laws referred to above the most vicious is the Suppression of Communism Act under which several scores of our most prominent journalists were either jailed, banned or forced into exile.

Those in jail include Govan Mbeki, (serving a life sentence) Joe Nqabi (20 years) and Mac Maharaj (12 years) who were Eastern Cape editor, Johannesburg and Natal correspondents respectively of the banned progressive weekly New Age.

All those who were connected in anyway with the Anti-Apartheid press such as New Age, Fighting Talk, Liberation, Inkulueko etc. were banned.

Their bannings stipulated:

- that they should not leave a certain magisterial area (town or city);
 - that they should not enter any area in which members of a race different from them resided;
 - that they should not enter any factory, printing press or newspaper office;
 - that anything they say or write shall not be published.
- The minimum penalty for infringing any section of the banning order is five years imprisonment.

The Opposition Press

Without total liberation of all the oppressed peoples in South Africa, nobody White or Black, is immune from these draconian laws and it is with these laws in mind that the African National Congress and its allies are now using sophisticated techniques to organise and politicise our people.

Recently tape recorded messages were relayed from especially constructed sealed boxes secured very firmly at several railway stations in the main cities of South Africa during the peak hour when Black workers were returning home from work.

On other occasions plastic bombs exploded on high buildings releasing parcels of leaflets which showered on to the people below. On June 26, South Africa Freedom Day when such bombs last exploded, the black, green and gold flags of the African National Congress were also hoisted atop many buildings.

Apart from these methods, the African National Congress published four clandestine news sheets inside South Africa. **Sechaba-Isizwe** (The Nation) is the ANC's paper, **Searchlight** is being published mainly for South Africans of Indian origin, **Struggle**, is aimed at the Coloured (Mixed race) and **Youth Challenge** is being published by the ANC's Youth and Students Section. More recently, a new publication has been added to the list: **Vukani! Awake!** (See last issue of Sechaba). Apart from these publications the ANC also broadcasts a daily one-hour programme beamed to South Africa from **Radio Freedom: The Voice of the African National Congress**, with the kind permission of the external service of Radio Zambia in Lusaka. Further weekly programmes aimed directly to South Africa are broadcast by ANC representatives from Moscow, Dar-es-Salaam, Cairo and Berlin (GDR).

These activities prompted a reporter on the South African Sunday Times to write, on September 2, 1973, that the Communist Party and the ANC "have established a new campaign to initiate strikes and labour unrest".

Rays of Hope

Back in 1968, when the South Africans were explaining why blacks were not in their national swimming teams, the then-president of the SA National Olympics Council told a magazine: "The Africans show no interest in swimming, because the water clogs their pores and they tire easily." . . . during his recent trip to the Republic, former junior Australian surfing champion, Peter Drouyn, just happened to pick up the idea that "the coloured people, there, are afraid of the water." He told **The Australian**, in Sydney: "They consider the surf a voodoo area, and, as a consequence, they don't develop surfing talent."

The Guardian, 8. 1. 1975

You should've seen
who struggled out of the sea,
today: a tired, rock-sliced
miner, with clogged pores,
who'd given up the race,
foxing them completely,
locking his hands
into the sand!

You should've seen him:
wrong apparatus
for the daily splash,
wrong everything
for the long-distance swim,
but with eyes that see
Voortrekkers'-end
in the kidney-shaped,
competitive water
across the happy
holiday posters!

But you should've seen
the others! They were chalky,
with stolen mineral dust,
and for ever heading
to the sea, Boer ghosts,
scrambling, land-crazed
diamond-swipers,
strong swimmers to a baas,
who know deep down
(as non-swimming
Luthuli told us)
that they've got to hit
that southern water,
some segregated day soon,
remarkable pores and all,
orchids in their hair,
and with their nasal Dutch Christ
cheering them along,
all the way out,
to the wide, quiet Antarctic.

Andrew Salkey

NATO and South Africa



The Drift Towards NATO Intervention in Southern Africa

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has now begun to develop direct military links with South Africa. NATO has begun contingency planning for "war" and "crisis" situations in the Southern African region.

Influential groups inside NATO are pressing for the use of the South African facility of Simonstown as a NATO base. There has been a marked acceleration in joint air and naval manoeuvres, usually on a "bilateral" basis between NATO and South African forces. There is now open talk in Washington of the need for South African forces in a joint western naval task force in the Indian Ocean. In addition to all this, there has been an unusual intensification of political and military consultations between the NATO powers and South Africa.

The extension of Alliance activities into the Southern hemisphere represents an important departure from past western defence policy. Western

defences have until now been organized around the protection of Western Europe and North America. But the Ottawa Declaration, which was signed on the 25th anniversary of the Alliance in June, last year, extended the scope of NATO. The NATO powers now formally recognize that in "troubled areas of the world" outside the Treaty area are a matter of intimate concern to them. The Alliance is thus beginning to extend its defence activities openly into the Third World in order to protect what they see as their legitimate interests. This is making NATO into a formal imperial defence organisation. The new developments in Southern Africa, which appear to have been influenced by the collapse of Portuguese fascism, are the first clear signs that NATO is prepared to move rapidly in this direction.

These new NATO moves are clearly very dangerous. They do not constitute, in and of themselves, massive military backing for the South African regime in the confrontation with liberation forces. That is not the point. The real danger lies in the future. The first stage in the liberation of Southern Africa is now nearly over.

In the next stage the direct military pressure on the Republic will increase

greatly. And South Africa will eventually have to confront both external military pressure and internal upheaval. If by that time NATO has had its way, if the more conservative forces in the Organisation predominate, the NATO powers will be faced with an almost impossible dilemma. South Africa will have been incorporated, on an ad hoc basis at least, into the western defence system. This could make it exceedingly difficult for the NATO powers to leave South Africa to the mercies of fate. There will be a strong tendency to provide every possible assistance to the Republic, for it will by then be seen as an ally.

Intervention

This is, of course, exactly how the United States became involved in Indochina. No one decided to fight a major war on mainland Asia. But many small, or apparently small, decisions were made which eventually made it impossible to avoid fighting one.

The drift towards intervention in Southern Africa began many years ago. And the British Conservative Party establishment, reflecting the concerns and interests of British and

other multinational corporations, has been the leading force working for close ties with South Africa. Sir Alec Douglas Home, for instance, former Foreign Minister and an elder statesman of the Tory Party, has been pressing for many years for the extension of the "NATO umbrella" to Southern Africa. The argument is usually that the western countries must be able to protect the Cape route, which carries 80 per cent of Europe's oil, in the event of war. Those who have been involved in the intensive lobbying for South Africa, however, know that the "Cape route" argument is little more than a smokescreen. South Africa's supporters have merely used it as a way of presenting an apparently acceptable argument for co-operation with that country. In private they acknowledge that they are looking for ways to "come to the assistance of our potential allies." The now famous Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council document of February 1970, for instance, spoke openly of the need to prepare for the "defence of the Cape route and Southern Africa."

The second step was the organisation of massive and persistent pressure within NATO itself to move towards cooperation with South Africa. Again, this pressure was usually organised around arguments about "the Soviet maritime threat" in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic. The South African lobby inside NATO came into the open with the appointment in 1972 of a subcommittee on this "threat" in the NATO Assembly.

At its annual meeting in the fall of that year in Bonn the Assembly passed Recommendation 22, which requested the NATO Council to authorize contingency planning for the protection of the Cape route. This was only a recommendation by an advisory body of NATO parliamentarians. But it was an important political step. For many knew that the real purpose of the recommendation was to carry NATO towards closer ties with Portuguese colonialism and the Vorster regime.

Plans for Intervention

The passage of Recommendation 22 elicited some concern in a number of western Parliaments and among other observers. Enquiries were made. Each time however, the answer was that nothing had happened, that no action had been taken. In early 1974 the truth began to come out. The authors of a report prepared for the United Nations Committee on Decolonization discovered that the NATO Defence Planning Committee had actually acted on the Assembly's recommendation and that contingency planning was well under way.

They discovered, furthermore, that consultations had taken place in early 1974 on the means of implementing the recommendation. Senior NATO officers were clearly indicating that once contingency plans had been drawn up, NATO would have to proceed to bring adequate forces to a state of readiness if the Cape route

was to be protected. And this, it was said, would necessarily involve South Africa. For no plan to police the Southern oceans or protect the Cape route could be implemented without South African bases, communications facilities and even naval and air units. All these activities, as well as apparent plans for the future, remained secret until the spring of last year. It was hoped that the United Nations Committee on Decolonization would publicly call attention to the matter and give some warning to those in a position to help prevent further military involvement with the white regimes. This proved a vain hope. Western missions at the United Nations exerted direct pressure on the Secretariat and the report, notwithstanding the sympathetic reception from certain delegations, was suppressed.

In May, however, the report surfaced in the Dutch Parliament. There was a small storm in the Western European newspapers and a parliamentary enquiry was called for by the Dutch. On 14 May the NATO press Secretary in Brussels publicly admitted that SACLANT (Supreme Allied Command in the Atlantic) had in fact been secretly authorised to proceed with contingency planning. He indicated at the time that SACLANT planners were considering not only the possible options for NATO in wartime but also the options in "crisis situations". Dutch members of Parliament were unable to clarify the meaning of this term in the subsequent enquiry, despite the fact that both the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Minister pro-

Simonstown naval base





Events are now moving very rapidly. It was revealed in London on September 1 that the NATO Military Committee, which advises Secretary-General Luns, has taken a secret decision to negotiate with South Africa about the use of Simonstown as a NATO base. The Military Committee is headed by Admiral Peter Hill-Norton, former Commander of UK Combined Services, and a strong advocate of closer relations with South Africa. Hill-Norton, in fact, believes that the extension of a "NATO umbrella" to South Africa is absolutely essential to Great Britain and other European powers. This move is being made at a time when conservative circles in Britain have scored more than one important success in the battle for closer ties with the apartheid Centurion on the Southern approaches. In August they somehow persuaded the UK Cabinet Defense Committee to over-rule the Minister of the Navy, Frank Judd, and to authorise the Royal Navy to send a nine-ship force to engage in joint manoeuvres with South Africa. Judd had been able until then to resist pressures to undertake such manoeuvres under the terms of the Simonstown agreement. South Africa, however, had threatened to terminate the agreement.

A great deal else is happening, but the proposal to make Simonstown a NATO base seems at this time the most important issue. If those who now press for such an arrangement are successful, South Africa will have achieved a major victory in its campaign to draw the Western powers to its side as allies in the coming confrontation in the region.

The recent Labour Government decision to "abandon" the Simonstown agreement must be seen against the background of these negotiations. If the NATO Military Committee is successful, then the Simonstown agreement naturally becomes redundant. British forces can always use the base under a NATO agreement as opposed to a bilateral one. There is a real possibility that the Labour Government, which is known to be reluctant to break ties with South Africa, is trying to achieve a propaganda victory while protecting its flank, as it were, by permitting NATO to dig in where it fears to tread.

Whatever happens, one thing is certain. The NATO powers, publicly and secretly, are developing a dangerous tacit alliance with South Africa.

(From: Southern Africa, New York)

vided full confirmation at the time of the facts revealed in the U. N. report. It is worth noting that the Department of Defense in Washington was denying the existence of any such plans at the very moment when a major row was developing in Europe. A real effort was being made, not only in the US but in Great Britain as well, to keep the whole affair out of the limelight. Western Governments seemed to be very anxious to avoid the opprobrium of involvement in a tacit alliance with the white regimes.

NATO Moving South

During the past summer the situation changed radically. Official spokesmen no longer tried to prevent discussion of the NATO commitment. They actually went out of their way to brief journalists and others on what was going on. More and more reports of NATO activities, of manoeuvres with South African forces and of consultations with the South African military were accepted as a matter of course. Listeners and readers in Western countries were increasingly exposed to the news that NATO was moving south. What was particularly striking was the apparent attempt on the part of western military circles to gather support for the extension of military commitments to South Africa.

An article by Drew Middleton in the New York Times of July 24 provides a rather striking illustration of the point. Mr. Middleton is the Times defense correspondent, and he is close to the Pentagon. His article, entitled "NATO's Vulnerable Sea Lanes", makes a number of exceedingly important points.

The first is that the "primary problem facing the Atlantic Alliance" is to ensure the supply of oil and essential minerals in the event of war. The second is that, because of this, the sea lanes around Southern Africa from the Persian Gulf "have become the most important naval area in the world". The third is that in the event of a "crisis", the "most likely development" would be "an undeclared war by Soviet submarines against Western shipping around the Cape of Good Hope". This last, of course, is sheer military nonsense and was described as such by the Director of the CIA in Congressional testimony earlier this year. (see the New York Times, August 3, 1974) Nonetheless, Mr. Middleton was moving towards the obvious conclusion. This was that North Atlantic planners were moving towards "the establishment of a working relationship with South Africa on the protection of the (Cape) route".

This means precisely what the Pentagon denied contingency planning meant. It means that "the protection of the Southern oceans" must involve South African bases, communications facilities and, probably, naval and air units. Mr. Middleton speaks with authority and his article must be seen as reflecting a view which the US Department of Defense is now prepared to see discussed openly.

What is surprising is that so far almost nothing has been said about the matter by anyone in a position to raise effective objections. And this despite the obvious lessons of the collapse of Portuguese power in Africa and of the tragic path of US involvement in Indochina.

THE MERCENARIES AGAIN

Not long ago South African newspapers carried an invitation to a "Blue Goose reunion dinner" in a Johannesburg restaurant. Few readers attached any importance whatever to it. It could have been just another get-together of alumni or an innocuous gathering of former business associates.

But there was nothing harmless about this particular reunion, for the Blue Goose was the shoulder patch emblem of the white mercenaries in the Congo (now Zaire) in the sixties.

The dinner, the occasion for which turned out to be the "tenth anniversary of the occupation of Stanleyville" (now Kisangani), was sponsored by a "central organisation" for recruiting volunteers for military operations in "adjacent African countries"; in particular, Angola and Mozambique.

And not only in the South African Republic were mercenaries being mustered. At roughly the same time the "Rhodesian Herald" carried in its advertising columns a summons to members of "No. 5 Commando" to "report for a reunion". A few days later "soldiers of fortune" who had once fought under the notorious Colonel Michael Hoare, dubbed "Mad Mike" because of his brutality, gathered in a Salisbury villa.

The participants in the get-togethers were in high spirits, for things were looking up for them after ten bad years — after the fiasco in the Congo, the failure of the November 1970 sally in Guinea, the suppression of the separatists rebellion in Nigeria, and, finally, the ending in 1972 of internecine warfare in the Southern Sudan, in which they also had a hand.

This time their services were needed

in Angola and Mozambique, where the reactionaries are trying to prevent advance towards independence. The news from there was encouraging for the mercenaries: clashes in Luanda, the capital of Angola, in which 150 people had been killed, separatist action in the Cabinda Enclave, and the attempt at a coup in Mozambique in September.

The ultra-Right made it plain that they

were out to set up in Angola and Mozambique regimes patterned after South Africa and Rhodesia, where the white minority rule the destinies of millions of Africans, and for this veterans of earlier colonial gambles were needed.

Anticipating Good Hunting

Late one evening a military patrol noticed in one of the streets of the Mozambique capital a heavily loaded jeep that was having difficulty in negotiating a rise in the road. The behaviour of the driver too was suspicious. The jeep was stopped and searched. It was found to be packed full of ammunition and firearms, and the driver turned out to be a former mercenary from No. 5 Commando, a Luxemburger named Pierre Renè. He was unable to explain where he had got the ammunition and weapons, and why they were packed in crates for detergents.

Shortly afterwards, two other former mercenaries were detained in the area Tetè, near the Rhodesian frontier. They testified that they had crossed over from Rhodesia, where they had undergone special training at a camp headed by a war criminal, former chief inspector of the Mozambique secret police Joaquim Sabino,



THE LAUGHING MAN . . . West German Nazi with SA mercenaries in Congo

who had fled the country last May. Thus were discovered the first strings leading to a white extremist organisation plotting against Mozambique's new authorities.

This activity is associated by Western press commentators with the above-mentioned Michael Hoare, 52, a former British army officer born in India and brought up in Ireland, who made a "name" for himself in the Congo. After being expelled from that country, he worked for a time as an accountant.

Shortly after the new turn of events in Angola and Mozambique, he showed up in South Africa, where he has secretly begun to gather together his former associates.

Hoare is reported to have said that to "clean up" Mozambique he needs six to eight months and a thousand picked cutthroats capable of waging a "real" war of annihilation. He is signing up former mercenaries who have proved their reliability, as well as newcomers — military experts with police or regular army training. There is a particularly big demand for flyers, who are offered the fat salary of \$1,500 a month. It is also planned to set up under the command of white officers African detachments of "Flecheurs" (Arrows) patterned after the Katanga gendarmerie of Moise Tshombe's time.

Another mercenary chief, now busy in Angola, is Colonel Armand, whose past is no less unsavoury: he was with the OAS in Algeria where he landed in prison, and then took part in the Nigerian civil war on the separatist side, where he escaped capture by a miracle, managing to leave Biafra by plane 'literally minutes be-

fore Nigerian army troops took the separatists' last landing strip. Not long ago a reporter of the Italian "L'Europeo" interviewed the colonel in a café on Champs-Élysées in Paris just before his departure for Angola. His purpose in going? A coup d'état. How many men did he have? The colonel could not say, but he assured the reporter that they were all "tried and tested" veterans of the Congo and Biafra wars.

Those Who Pay The Piper

Mercenaries take to arms not for the sake of ideals, but for money, and, judging by everything, big money. Who supplies it?

Jorge Pereira Jardim was already at the age of 27 a minister in the Salazar Government, and remained a "good friend" of the Portuguese dictator to the end of his life.

In 1952 he went to Africa, where he lived until recently. He describes himself as a "Fascist idealist". "I've been fighting national liberation continuously ever since 1952," he says.

But for all that he is primarily a big businessman, the owner of many industrial enterprises and of the Mozambique newspaper "Noticias da Beria". And his ties with Western monopolies operating in Africa are common knowledge.

It was on the recommendation of these monopolies that Jardim flew from Mozambique to Lisbon immediately after the fall of the fascist regime in Portugal. But here he was given a cool reception and ordered not to leave the city. Whereupon Jardim barricaded himself in the Malawi Embassy and for several days blackmailed the authorities, threatening to

blow up the Embassy building. Orders were issued for his arrest, but he managed to escape and make his way to South Africa, where he had secret negotiations in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Capetown. According to the South African "Rapport", he told the newspaper's interviewer that a detailed plan had already been worked out for attacks on installations in Zambia and Tanzania. The South African press reports that large quantities of weapons and ammunition are being secretly shipped, mostly by sea, to Lourenco Marques.

In this connection the name of the big British Businessman Ronald Webster, of Webster Aviation, Coventry, has come in for frequent mention in the Western press. His company is said to supply Jardim with twin-engined ten-seater Haviland Doves aircraft, a type used by the RAF, through the agency of retired Portuguese air force colonel Oliverra Souza. A supporter of the Smith regime in Rhodesia, Webster believes that "UDI would be the correct answer for the Portuguese colonies". It can hardly be assumed that this is merely the private opinion of this man who is at home in the head office of companies far more powerful than his own.

There is every reason to believe that the white ultras are encouraged and subsidized by influential Western quarters with a stake in the preservation of the colonial order in the former Portuguese colonies and in bolstering up the racist regimes. These quarters are primarily the Western neo-colonialist monopolies, and above all the mining interests, for whom exploitation of the natural wealth and manpower reserves of Southern Africa is a source of lush profits.

SOUTH AFRICAN EXPORTS TO NORDIC COUNTRIES . . . the following chart gives the details of . . . (R1 = \$1.40)

SOUTH AFRICA'S MAIN EXPORTS TO THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

(By BTN section, in R000's)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	1972	1973	1972	1973	1972	1973	1972	1973
	(10 mths)		(10 mths)		(10 mths)		(10 mths)	
1 Live animals, animal products	160	108	2	—	—	5	67	—
2 Vegetable products	647	701	979	812	1 111	1 562	6 384	5 767
3 Animal and vegetable fats, oils, etc.	—	—	2	—	207	18	11	—
4 Prepared foodstuffs	1 034	1 031	8 088	3 590	1 271	1 344	1 126	745
5 Mineral products	2 423	2 011	174	102	1 809	2 791	716	694
6 Chemicals and allied products	103	163	50	70	22	26	395	492
8 Hides, skins and leather goods	1 333	5 667	224	171	111	79	908	814
11 Textiles and articles	6	11	9	5	1	—	170	210
15 Base metals and products	475	864	187	278	6 326	6 611	1 863	1 338
16 Machinery and parts	137	34	4	24	257	224	311	304
Others	62	110	18	19	34	47	103	111
Total	6 380	10 700	9 737	5 071	11 149	12 707	12 054	10 475

Source: S.A. Department of Customs and Excise

Case histories on the tragic results of...

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Recently Mrs. Edith Schobel, a journalist from the Federal Republic of Germany, undertook an assignment to "study the impact of Apartheid on the lives of Women and Children".

The assignment which was on behalf of the Women's International Democratic Federation took four weeks, at the end of which Mrs. Schobel brought back 23 tapes of interviews recorded under extremely difficult and, often dangerous, conditions.

Mrs. Schobel said in her report to the WIDF, that she has all the names of those interviewed which for security reasons she will give only to the Secretariat of the Federation.

Hereunder are some abridged but unedited excerpts from her interviews...

An African Housewife-Cape Town

I was born in 1922 from a family from the Ciskei in the Cape and I was brought up in Stellenbosh in the Western Cape. I got married in 1952 to a school teacher. He resigned from teaching when they introduced this Bantu Education. Open education was divided, number one best was for the white people and second best for the Coloured, then the third class for Africans. So he refused to teach the third class and resigned. He then came to Cape Town where he got a job as a taxi driver. He worked for the taxis from 1958 to 1960, then he was put in detention for a year. This was during the State of Emer-

gency; We were detained for the emergency regulations in 1960; my husband was detained in another jail and I was in another because we were politicians and we believed in not carrying passes. We had demonstrations and political campaign against these pass laws. The police have to ask for a pass and if you don't have it, you have to go to jail, so we protested and it was a whole mass protest, thousands of people in the whole of South Africa. The Government declared an emergency and we were all detained. My husband was one of the first to be arrested. I had hidden for two months and thereafter I was also arrested. I left my four children behind. The eldest one got sick and he died after two months from what the hospital said was meningitis.

While we were in detention my other children had been looked after by my aged mother who was eighty then.

In 1961 my husband was arrested for the stay-at-home strike. This was during the time of the 14 days detention. After 14 days he was found not guilty and discharged.

In 1961, he was arrested under the 90-day Law; all the politicians belonging to the ANC including my husband. In 1963 he was detained again until 1964, for one year. During the time he was in jail the Defence and Aid used to aid us with food and rent. It is now banned.

In 1964 he was released and went to work in Sea Point. In 1965 he was arrested again under the 180-day

Detention Law. In July 1966 there was a court case and they were discharged. In 1967 he was arrested again and sentenced to three months. They said he was talking to someone who was banned. He has been banned for the last ten years. He lost his job as a taxi driver because they banned him from going to town, so he stayed home for five months then he got a job at Woolworths. At Woolworths he started with R 13 a week; working as a taxi driver he earned R 20 a week plus commission which could earn him up to R 30 to R 40 a week, so he went right down to R 13 a week.

I stay in a little Council house, it has two rooms and a dining room and a little kitchen; we call it four rooms in all. My family are six. I pay R 11.61 a month rent. There is no bathroom, we have a separate toilet outside, we have no lights.

African Women Trade Unionist-Johannesburg.

Although I was a worker myself in the Clothing Industry, due to the legislation which was passed by the Government that African women should not mix with the registered union, so in 1953 our black union was established and we were to be separated from the white registered and recognised union. The time is very opportune that we should establish more black unions although we realise that the government is out to kill black unions by new legislation. It amended the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act which provide for the formation of liaison committees or workers committees. If pressure is put on the employers that this legislation should be carried out, it may be very, very dangerous for our union. As it is, we have the cooperation of the clothing industry. We settle the disputes, they don't run to the Labour Department. They realise and recognise our union even though it is not recognised by the Law.

By the Government making an amendment to the old legislation, it is trying to make the world believe that now it has sort of changed and is giving the African the right to strike. But in practice that cannot be possible because, while workers have to decide on their own that they want to strike, there is then that long process in between. They cannot strike until after 30 days, while during that time there are negotiations with the Labour Department and by the time, the workers would even have lost interest in taking part in the strike. If workers demands would be perhaps



African workers on a farm in Natal . . . hard work . . . harsh living conditions and not enough to eat



District Six in Cape Town

made through an independent organisation like a union, it would be a different case. I find that with the workers committees the employer will have to appoint people to serve on such committees or the workers to elect their colleagues to be members of those works committee. Which workers would like to be victimized by an employer and which worker would sit and negotiate with an employer for better working conditions.

I personally, if I was in a factory I

would be very silent and probably just do my work and earn that wage no matter what it is, especially because Black workers have got so many obstacles which prevent them from taking a job in another industry.

I would say the workers were victorious with those recent strikes because they got a little increment but not enough; it is very very little. We believe that if workers had any other way of communicating with their employers for better wages, — especially

that the research officers of the Institute of Race Relations, the Wage Investigating Department of the University of Natal have established that the poverty datum line today is R25.00 a week and you will find that most of our Black workers are still earning far below that R25.

One other fact is that the workers are victimised for pressing their case by down-grading. When a worker starts saying, "Look man, I have been working for you for 15 years but you have never even thought of promoting me to a better occupation." . . . just for pleading to the employer that worker is dismissed. We don't think that is fair, I mean this worker has contributed almost half of his life to the employer but there is no recognition for his labour.

The high dismissal rates, the perpetual threat in industries, particularly industries where there are no trade unions and no mouthpiece for the workers, no communication whatsoever, you find that to work under these conditions . . . "Oh, at any time I can be dismissed" . . . and mishandling of the workers I can say makes the workers so unhappy.

And you know one other thing is that you are quite aware we have to carry passes and these passes are most obstructing documents. You find that an employer engages an African today, he has to send that African worker within 72 hours for registration and when he/she comes back the employer says, "No, I have changed my mind, I am not going to employ you".

What hardship this person has to endure at the Pass Office. They will think he is not very serious in getting employment and it may even lead to him being deported or being endorsed out of that area. Say for instance he comes from Natal, he may be endorsed out because of the pass. So these are the things we want the employer to look into.

I think one of the most important is that the workers are dismissed in the clothing industry. If the worker is dismissed after 1st December, then she is due to get full additional pay for holiday pay. Which is 3 weeks and 3 days. But employers are apt to dismiss workers, say at the end of November or just towards the end of November so that they must pay them 6% on holiday pay instead of for a full holiday pay.

An African worker is dismissed at the end of each year and taken on at the beginning of the next year. You see what the practice is particularly in the homelands. A worker would be dis-

missed without any cause, let me say she stays at home for 3 to 6 months . . . a worker is a worker . . . she is in need of employment, her livelihood depends only on her labour. So you find that this worker would come back again to the factory and ask for re-employment, and when she is taken again, she is no longer taken on the wages that she was earning before. Now they have a record or a reference service card but the employer would ignore the wage on the reference card and take her, knowing very well that she is an experienced worker. He will employ her again as a beginner to start right from the bottom. I think all these things bring more hardship to black workers.

It is very difficult for us to penetrate the Homelands because the Government has closed all doors for anybody to interfere with Homelands. Yes, it is worse with blacks because the Government maintains that Homelands are its baby and it looks after them.

Men still earn higher wages than the female on the same type of work. Even in our industry, although the union is trying to change that set-up, the employers are very difficult to move on it. The wage gap between the men and women performing the same kind of work is very wide.

Domestic Worker – Cape Town

. . . Well, to be a domestic, first of all you don't belong to any trade union, you don't get any sick benefits. You get holidays, sometimes two weeks, it all depends on your employer and there is no such thing as sick leave you know. So you are really nothing.

. . . Domestics work about from 8 in the morning till 8 at night, except when you go baby-sitting, working extra hours, then they work sometimes till 12 for which they don't get paid afterwards.

. . . A girl working for a poor family will get about 10 Rands a month, then a girl working for a rich family, shall get 40 Rands, and a girl working for an average family will get about 30 Rands.

. . . Well, we got a case, a maid that started 6 O'clock in the morning working right through to the afternoon without a break. And in the evening at nine O'clock she finishes work. In another case a girl worked with a family for eight years already, she never had a holiday, not even on Sunday, and she worked for 20 Rands a month.

. . . I know another girl working for 10 years for 5 Rands a month, a whole month's wages.

There is very much child labour in Capetown. Girls from eight years are working . . .

Research Worker – Johannesburg

. . . About 65 to 70 per cent of the black population in this country is illiterate, but a population with 26 million – 4 million being white and about 18 to 19 million Africans, and the rest are Coloureds and Asians.

. . . It is compulsory for all white children to go to school. The Government pays for them completely. That works out to about 250 to 260 Rands a year that the Government sponsors each white school child, perhaps just under a million.

The black school children, there are many millions at the right age, but the Government does not make education compulsory, in fact they make it very difficult. They don't build schools, they don't employ teachers, they pay the teachers paltry wages and often irregularly. The black teacher with a university degree would earn a maximum of about 140 Rands a month, whereas a white teacher who is just starting with the same degree would earn about 280 to 300 Rands a month. The Government provides about 16 Rands per black child for education compared to 250 to 260 Rands for a white child. Every aspect of education is discriminatory.

Student – University of Western Cape

. . . The whole structure of education is wrong because we find these different education -coloured education und so-

called Bantu education, Indian education, and white, Christian, national-Christian education. So the whole educational structure is built to maintain the present status quo in the country.

Secretary – Durban

. . . The whites are given free school-books; the blacks are given no free books at all. The people who really need it are not given it.

Employee, Town Administration of Soweto – Johannesburg

. . . People in Soweto have to pay for the first year 500 Rands to educate the child. Where will these families here get that money? You can't . . .

Worker – Durban

. . . Well, we understand that in other countries people go to school at Government expense from a certain age until trade or matriculation. But the education is Government owned. We shall like to have an education like that, compulsory and free, because we don't have money to pay for our schooling. We have to pay and buy our books, our own uniforms, from scratch up to the last. That is why most of us cannot afford high school education.

. . . The Government did tell us that we would be paid money for skilled jobs. But now, where are we going to be skilled? Because the schools are

Houses bulldozed in order to enforce removals to barren areas



not provided. If the schools were there and people could attend it, then it would be another case. But now the school is not there.

Worker – Durban

... In the school the children learn the history of the white man, not their history ...

Housewife – Durban

... We are told that the good white man came here in 1652 to civilize the uncivilized savage black man. They might talk about the war the black man murdered the white man, the black man brutally massacred the white man, and the poor white man was murdered by this ferocious black man. You see, it's all psychological, so that as an Indian if I am reading about the Dutch and the African, I'm made to feel that Africans are a terrible race and I'm automatically geared to thinking the white man is a good guy.

Institute Director

... You can't really choose who's going to teach you and you can't choose what you're going to learn or what you're going to be taught. The so-called black universities are limited in the tuition they can provide.

Black Community Programme

... Education itself is not the answer, it is more what kind of education you're getting and what you're educated for. If you are not educating people to be free is to educate them for oppression, to be slaves.

Speaker for SASO

... We release books almost every year. Our recent book, **The Creativity of Black Development** has just been banned. It works as a history book each year. This year we have already compiled material for next year's issue. We are aware that black people are not allowed to go into archives and this history of South Africa has always been written by whites with a white perspective, and it cannot be objective research.

... I was expelled from the University, and lots of other students were expelled because of political beliefs and because of principles.

... All the committees, even the committee that expelled me, were completely white. I felt this was unfair,

and when I raised these complaints ... I was expelled, the students boycotted lectures in protest and they also were expelled, and a lot of them were not readmitted. The same thing has happened with students in the University of Western Cape. Students complained of injustice, and instead of this injustice being attended to; being solved, the only solution, the standard solution in South Africa, is to kick the student out of school. And that is to kill the people who complain; if you kill them there will be nobody to complain.

... And now this year eight leaders were banned. They were banned for involvement in the Black Peoples Convention and for involvement in the South African Students Organisation.

Employee, Town Administration of Soweto – Johannesburg

... The hospital service is something the people have to pay for themselves. They pay 50 cents. Every patient who wants to be attended has to pay 50 cents, either in the clinic or in the hospital. We are having only one hospital for these million peoples.

... The white doctors are getting, say R 100, then the Indians are getting R 75, then the Coloureds would get R 50 and the Black would get R 45. That is how the scales are worked out.

... You find that in rural areas there is not even a single clinic, and when people fall ill there it is difficult for them to get to a doctor who is eighty miles away. And transport is bad.

Medical Doctor – Johannesburg

... Malnutrition is the background to so much of our sickness. In particular we think about children growing up under very adverse and unfavourable circumstances, with a pitifully small income to the family. We find that of all our children that we see at out-patient departments or at peripheral clinics, 35 per cent are below that weight at which they could be said to be reasonably well-nourished. And when we consider the in-patients, those who come into the hospital for whatever reason you like to imagine, a broken leg or measles or whooping-cough or pneumonia then the figure is as high as 76 per cent of children who are below an acceptable weight for their age. We know, for instance, if these children persist below this weight level, then we shall find that they go over into malnutrition, Kwashiorkor or scurvy. So malnutrition is one of our worst diseases.

Journalist – Johannesburg

... Since the early sixties, Dr. Verwoerd propounded a theory that South Africa is not a single state but a multinational state with different nations, a theory which implied that 87 per cent of South Africa does not belong to the Black man, it belongs to the white people. Therefore, in a city like Johannesburg we are regarded as foreigners and we do not have economic and civil rights and that kind of thing. I think that is the basic problem in this country.

Speaker for Black Sash

(White women's movement against Apartheid)

... I can assure you, most South Africans have never spoken, I mean white South Africans, to a African, Indian or Coloured person, unless it's in a master-servant relationship, and you find these idiotic things, like the doctors of Baragwanath hospital, black and white cannot use the same canteen facilities. So they cannot sit down and discuss a case over tea as doctors do. The Nursing Council have been separated on racial grounds ...

Speaker of Black Community Programme, Durban

... The Government says that no individual tribesman can own land, land belongs to the tribe, and the tribe belongs to the chief and the chief belongs to the Government – so in the end all land belongs to the Government and not anybody else.

... But then, even between groups as such, you will find that the coloured women will get more money than the Indian woman, and the Indian woman will get more money than the African woman, which is a thing which is designed in the policy of the country so that Black people will be divided among themselves.

Artist – Johannesburg

... Well, a lot of the older Africans, say from 35 years upwards, are full-time professionals, or have been. Until a few years ago they could get work. If they were musicians they could work in a white night-club and perform, but after 1965 to 66 this was stopped by the Government. They stopped performances by blacks in white areas, so this form of income was lost. So many of them starve from one job to another.