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As to whether the letters dated June 50, 1955, and referred to by the South African Government, are correct we have it on the authority of the Law Officers of the Crown in England and Wales that "these (Simonstown) Agreements are contained in exchanges of letters dated 50 June, 1955â\200\235.

The Simonstown Agreements are, therefore, not only about sea routes;

they are also about the "security" of "southern Africa"; "adequate and securely defended" "communication and logistic support in and they are also about sea routes, not one sea around southern Africaâ\200\235 route, around a number of countries which constitute southern Africa.

they are about

The Simonstown Agreements commit Britain to defend southern Africa jointly with South Africa against what the two parties may consider to be "a3lession from withoutâ\200\234\

J.B.Vorster leads the armed struggle in

' Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique as a3lession from withoutâ\200\235

It is a decision to supply arms to South Africa may well turn out to be the tip of a vast iceberg of joint activities relating to southern Africa.

Britain's

How else are we to explain the extraordinary timing of this decision,

taken in the International Year of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, when the issue is mounting in Britain, when apartheid

How are we to explain the fact that Mr. Heath decides to 30

new heights?

ahead with the supply of arms at the time: to destroy the Commonwealth

What colossal plan is the

and ruin Britain's relations with Africa?

delivery of seven helicopters a part of?

Government, faced with a choice between the requirements of a fascist white regime and the will of hundreds of millions of people in Africa, in Britain

' and all over the world, has elected to stand in firm solidarity with the

Whatever it is, the British

racists.

As to Britain's future role in the unfolding revolution in

; southern Africa, the writing is on the wall for all Africa to see.

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But we must place it on record that the defence of southern Africa,

and of the sea routes around it is not the business of white minority

settler 1Ã©3imes.

It is the business of the Black people of Africa.

The Simonstown Agreements are about the independent and sovereign

If these agreements are

people of Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland.

valid they are. What is more, they offer some explanation for

Britain's resolute refusal to use force against rebel Smith.

their true content that the British Government has sought to present the

Simonstown Agreements, concluded nearly sixteen years ago, as an answer to

a Soviet naval threat, thus falling in line with South Africa's old repeated

defence of 393313333 as being a bastion of Western defence against

It is to hide

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS" -

May 1971

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APARTHEID â\200\224 A THREAT TO AFRICA’S SURVIVAL

by

Oliver\_Tgmho

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Acting President

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African National Congress of South Africa

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The Unit on AgeNheid was established in the Secretariat of the

United Nations, in pursuance of General Assembly r solution 21AM A (XXI) of

26 October 1966, to deal excluslvely’with the p011 les ofaapgrrtheid, in Consultation

"With the Special Committee on Apartheid,  
to the evils of those policies.

in order that maximum publicity may be given

Among the functions of the unit is the preparation

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This issue - published in response to the request by the Special Committee

I

that the Unit publicize the activities of the movement of the oppressed people  
of South Africa â\200\224 contains the text (slightly condensed) of an address delivered  
by Mr. Oliver Tambo under the auspices of the Nigerian National Committee on  
Apartheid on March 18, 1971

This address was one of the activities organized by the National Committee

â\200\234:1

for the weekâ\200\224long observance of the International Day for the Elimination of  
Racial Discrimination.

of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, as Chairman - includes  
prominent Nigerians and has been actively publicizing the evils and dangers  
of apartheid.

This Committee ~ with Dr. L. A. Fabunmi, Director-General

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Mr. Oliver Tambo, now Acting President of the African National Congress of

South Africa, has been a leader in the struggle against racism in South Africa for  
over a quarter of a century. He was one of the accused in the Treason Trial of  
1956 and has been subjected to banning orders.

He left South Africa after the

Sharpeville massacre of 1960, at the request of the A.N.C., to lead its external  
mission.

Lutuli in 1967.

He became Acting President of the A.N.C. after the death of Chief

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The Views expressed in the article are thoe'ef the author.)

Acknowledgement, together with a copy of the publication containing the reprint, would be appreciated.

\*All material in these notes and documents maybe freely reprinted. '

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Military strategy of the racist regime

"We are familiar with the definition of war as the continuation of politics by other means.

I have already said that South Africa's policy in Ellgais that of creating client states, of making Africa her own sphere of The white man in South Africa has been

lel\_1Qal\_and\_ÂsgQÂ\$9mlc dominationvl

preparing and continuing the war, for a continuation of his political policy' by other means.

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The racist regime's military strategy falls into two parts.

Firstly,

MN

Secondly, it has made preparations to strike against â\200\231

the regime has adopted a military posture aimed at keeping the white-dominated south of Africa intact, while simultaneously pushing the regime's military defence line far to the north, thus creating a system of buffer states around itself.

the independence of the north, in terms of what the Israelis â\200\230 in the maintain military contact with racist South Africa, call â\200\235 the doctrine of "anticipatory counter-attack" or â\200\235 carrying the war into enemy territory â\200\235, to quote General Allon, Israel's Deputy Prime Minister. between Israel and South Africa are, of course, obvious.

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Efl,~

""I 31- however, is that whereas Israel needed so far to war in order to capture and

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J\*â\200\231\*7

Namibia, which she now stubbornly refuses to relinquish despite the United

'occupy Arab territory South Africa did not have to do so in the case of

" Nations decision terminating her mandate; 1 South Africa's military presence â\200\231 in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola is by agreement with the former colonial. and racist regimes of Portugal and Rhodesia, members of the South Africa, of â\200\230 the economic, political, military and intelligence Just as Israel has been conducting a series of

against the Arab countries,

Unholy Alliance

The difference,

The parallels

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\$351â\200\234,

' 9'1 using cathred territory as her baSe, so will SouthATTiQaMuse her buTTer  
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She has Turthermolfe built a major militarJ hase in the Caprivi Strip,  
,in the northernmost tip oT Namibia, one thousand miles Trom her own borders  
.vith Namibia.

Countries Tar to her north, 9s""PresldentLaundaxhas repeatedly warned. â\200\2311Ã@xbb RC  
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Only last year, the world waslnToÂ\$EEETbyla:\_9uthATrican Cabinet Minister that  
the new ail:portbelhg\_bullt i

From this base she can strike, quickly and suddenlJ at %

Malaw', wouldâ\200\230be openJco aircraTt

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',oT/theâ\200\231SSEth ATrican Air ForcÃ@;  
â\200\230diplomaJiiEi-\202aenlal 01' the si-\201Ã@tement.  
-military attachÃ@â\200\231 s oTTioe in Malawi.

The Ministefsubsequently published a

â\200\230But South ATrica openly maintains a

3&31515111]\_â\200\230taggasugportto South Africa

â\200\230.

The lo3istic support Tor SouJch ATrica' s military plans and aetlVltles  
has come from Western Powers includin3, in particular, {FranceandZBrItaln.

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In the matter of supply of arms to the murderous racists,

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.behaved like a country of people acousJcomed to kill with blissT l callousness,  
'xpeople for whom the liTe of a BlacL man is somethin3 that is ".neither here  
â\200\230nor there"

In view of France's.lon3 historJ oT nonâ\200\224racialism, the zeal and

'rance has

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oppressed on this question, we are confident that they will drop the idea. I hope that this brief statement closes the issue of dialogue and that there will be no further reference to it hereafter.

She is not loathe to interfere

South Africa's determination to win Africa for herself does not of course, stop at the methods I have described. in various countries, using psychological warfare, terror and subversion. She does not hesitate to help send that most brutal product of decadent Western society, mercenaries, to any country which seems to offer her a chance Her intelligence of installing a government of hirelings and collaborators. a service is worldwide and a growing network is spreading over the African continent for a while. South Africa and other agencies simultaneously conduct a powerful propaganda campaign aimed at denigrating the OAU, belittling the achievements of the peoples of Africa, and exploiting the slightest difficulties in Africa to encourage the formation of unpatriotic groups and then to incite these groups into action.

Above all, with the loud trumpeting of South Africa's strength internally

and her influence externally, and with South Africa's weaknesses, she tries to terrorize and demoralize the Governments and peoples of Africa, to cow them into submission and compel their acceptance of economic and political arrangements which, in their essence would be what President F. W. de Klerk has described as those "between the horse and its rider". All this is part of the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa is a struggle not only in the interests of the freedom, independence and progress of all the African peoples, but it also one waged in opposition to a powerful coalition of the allies of Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia, and the apartheid South African government. In their continental strategy these allies realize that Africa is both their strength and their most vulnerable link. This, therefore, results in countries such as the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and others having African policies aimed simultaneously at strengthening Africa's enemy, apartheid South Africa, and striving to blunt and deflect Africa's offensive against the enemy in her midst. is a policy which necessarily means that South Africa's own interests take a secondary position in the diplomatic and political calculations of the West.

South Africa.

This

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1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718-2719-2720-2721-2722-2723-2724-2725-2726-2727-2728-2729-2730-2731-2732-2733-2734-2735-2736-2737-2738-2739-2740-2741-2742-2743-2744-2745-2746-2747-2748-2749-2750-2751-2752-2753-2754-2755-2756-2757-2758-2759-2760-2761-2762-2763-2764-2765-2766-2767-2768-2769-2770-2771-2772-2773-2774-2775-2776-2777-2778-2779-2780-2781-2782-2783-2784-2785-2786-2787-2788-2789-2790-2791-2792-2793-2794-2795-2796-2797-2798-2799-2800-2801-2802-2803-2804-2805-2806-2807-2808-2809-2810-2811-2812-2813-2814-2815-2816-2817-2818-2819-2820-2821-2822-2823-2824-2825-2826-2827-2828-2829-2830-2831-2832-2833-2834-2835-2836-2837-2838-2839-2840-2841-2842-2843-2844-2845-2846-2847-2848-2849-2850-2851-2852-2853-2854-2855-2856-2857-2858-2859-2860-2861-2862-2863-2864-2865-2866-2867-2868-2869-2870-2871-2872-2873-2874-2875-2876-2877-2878-2879-2880-2881-2882-2883-2884-2885-2886-2887-2888-2889-2890-2891-2892-2893-2894-2895-2896-2897-2898-2899-2900-2901-2902-2903-2904-2905-2906-2907-2908-2909-2910-2911-2912-2913-2914-2915-2916-2917-2918-2919-2920-2921-2922-2923-2924-2925-2926-2927-2928-2929-2930-2931-2932-2933-2934-2935-2936-2937-2938-2939-2940-2941-2942-2943-2944-2945-2946-2947-2948-2949-2950-2951-2952-2953-2954-2955-2956-2957-2958-2959-2960-2961-2962-2963-2964-2965-2966-2967-2968-2969-2970-2971-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â\200\235Questions of aid and investment are important...  
But the guts of the relationship between.Africa  
and Amexica is race, and hence southern Africa."

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Africa cannot afford to entertain illusions on this score.

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zest.with which She arms self-confessed killers and racists is difficult to  
- But what is even.more surprising is the speechless silence of  
these.AfricaQ/,tateSâ\200\234Which have had the longestman&wclosestmssassociation  
with France.â\200\230Â§ Their silence is puzzling and mysterious.

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to the racist murderers.

.President Kaunda led.an OAU delegation to ask the French Government notâ\200\230  
Â»But tugfi-\20lrench peopleg including

rranceâ\200\230s interest be other than "to hamper the freedom and

Frenchâ\200\231workers, seem determined to arm Vorster ai-\201a\_Â§i-\201iti-\201ffi-\201"  
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What c

.independence of Africa and to compromise the liberation of the colonies on  
â\200\230the African continent", as President Sekou TourÃ© has said of the recent  
aggression against Guinea?

to help celonizing adventurers to organize attacks.similar to th tMagainstâ\200\235 " Mmm

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Guinea against other independeht African countries; "with a

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Africa"?

toâ\200\231South Africa and Britian's decision.to resume the sale of arms.

This, it seems, is what lies behind Franceâ\200\230s arrogant s5IEâ\200\2306Tarms

Or, in the words of Majorâ\200\224General YakUbu Gowon,

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â\200\230 The British Governmentyi-\201which created and maintains the racist rÃ©gimes

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in southern Africa, has had a great deal to say about its obligations to  
m supply arms to South Africa under the~Simonstown Agreements.'  
,\_ . fdefence of sea routes against a supppqsegwgggyietgmayalwihÂfÂ\$ÂÃ©irw\_ But Mr.  
" HeathYS numerous statements'on.thiÂ\$â\200\234issue are significant for what they  
The African Peopleâ\200\230s.opposition to the sale

â\200\230Ã©â\200\234g.

'Wy't:l

ygj7\_0â\200\234<j'carefullyâ\200\231omit to-mention.

iÂfÂ¥Â¥7â\200\235i- \202.:â\200\230 of arms or to further strengthening of the South Afric  
an regime even by half\_

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he whole

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The\_i- \201imonstown Agreements

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The Simonstown.Agreements'do not relate to sea routes only.

first and foremost, agreements about southern Africa itself.

igÂ©yoire sent'by the South African Government to the British Government, dated

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May 20, 1970, states as follows:

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Angde 200\224

They are,

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200\235For their part, the South African Government have

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200\230consistently viewed the exchange of letters of 50 June, 1955, in the  
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context of the fundamentally important policy statement agreed on  
'between the two Governments in the first paragraph of the Memorandum;  
It was

W of UnderstandingJContained in the first of the letters. 200\230

,

' there agreed-that 200\230southern Africa and the sea routes round  
' 'southern Africa,must be-secured.against aggression from without.  
. The fourth paragraph of the Understanding'provides that in order.  
, to implement this policy the lines of communication and logistic

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support in and around southern Africa must be adequately and  
Securely defended. 200\235

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Diplomatic and political offensive

The former NATO Deputy Chief of Staff<sup>9</sup> and current Director of the

French Institute of Strategic Studies, General Beaufre<sup>9</sup> sees the problem of setting up a "vast bloc in southern Africa", assured "not only of prosperity but also stability", as being "above all, to achieve the psychological conditions of friendly cohabitation...of different races".

Beaufre goes on to say:

"A South African policy which does not disarm (the

O

conceived reforms and by a big information effort, risks allowing a hostile atmosphere to build up and to harden

South Africa had, of course, already understood the meaning of the

French General's words very clearly while proceeding from the position that, as South African Cabinet Minister Uys said, "the stronger we age, the less they can touch us..."

The South African racists also knew that the "stFEHEEEf alone" is not enough to ensure friendly cohabitation; must also be a big information effort and the preparation of the psychological conditions which will remove the opposition from the Third world. is that South Africa launched a big diplomatic and political offensive, directed primarily at Africa. She says to Africa:  
".~"

and that there

Hence it

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,

"we want to have good relations;

we want to pursue

.n-w "

a policy of peaceful coexistence;  
with you on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs ,1

we want fruitful co-operation

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"M~ of one another's country."

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Last year, South Africa offered to conclude a non-aggression treaty with any country in Africa that so wished.  
In return South Africa offers to



assist "in the development and prosperity of Africa", as Vorster put it.  
Vorster went on:

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:

,

"Providence has been very good to us in Africa and we  
'want to return to Africa something of this..."

This is the  
spirit that inspires us and that is the spirit that will  
conquer Africa."

That is the spirit that conquered Malawi.

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N... s... » w... and

Not content with these overtures, South Africa put out the idea of a  
This idea was carried by the South African Foundation to Paris,

dialogue.  
and thence to Africa.

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and

I have only a Brief statement to make on the question of a dialogue,

and I make it in the knowledge that I express the unanimous views of  
18 million oppressed Blacks in South Africa.  
don't want a dialogue at this stage and we will not need one in the  
foreseeable future  
dialogue as a useful tactic.

we very much appreciate our brothers proposing a  
But now that they know the mind of the

The position is that we

Already the West's approach to Africa is organized around the central issue of the defence of the white-dominated South, its most important economic and military base on the African continent. Africa, for her part, cannot afford to see the isolation of southern Africa as if it were the last, and an incidental, point in the complex of her relations with the rest of the world.

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SupDort the liberation Egyement

What, then, is to be dgne?

If the South African racist regime appears to have embarked on an offensive against independent Africa, its\*operations against the liberation movement in South Africa are intensive, and the persecution and torture of activists is ceaseless. struggle against the regime must be fought and won. must of necessity be played by the Black'masses; to their responsibilities.

And yet it is in South Africa that the

and they are responding

The dominant role

The activities of the relatively few of them who are outside South Africa must be geared to the active support of the-internal struggle which, while it has not changed in content9 has now clearly assumed the form of a struggle by the Black people against their white oppressors and exploiters for the seizure of power and the repossession of their land. conquest of political power Ey'the'oppressed Blacks in South Africa, racism will have been dealt a deadly blow.

With the

But victory againstmamyell~prepared, welluequipped, wellâ\200\224organized

nd determineawenÂ§i~\201nyEEands more than ceurage and a willingness to acrifice m none of which are lacking, as history shows. that support for the liberation movement in South Africa should receive a degree of priority thati~\202theggmgÃ@lestmsnmthemdaMmihĩ~\201mgÃ@ggi~\202i~\201S formed â\200\234 a ~ aradoxical reality{\â\200\230

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It also requires

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The Interna

tional"â\200\235ear for Action to Combat Racism and Racial

44\$â\200\235L Discrimination should certainly be the occasion for remedying a situation in which material support has progressively diminished as the demand for it has increased.

Today this demand'stands higher than at any previous time and support stands at its lowest.

be â\200\235that much harderâ\200\235, and will take us â\200\235that much longerâ\200\235, to fulfil our

tactical and strategic objectives.

Our problems in this regard are bound

to have an adverse effect on the pace of progress of the struggle in the rest of southern Africa.

'We shall conquer still, but it will

Ai-\201rigepii-\201jeeiaes-211Ll1Â§39 mks- ,9.QHP.â\200\231PÂ§IÂ§RCÂ§P}Â£Â§Â§.

With regard to the rest of Africa, it would seem that the best form

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of defence against racist South Africa's onslaught is to go on the offensive on a wide range of counteractions.

In particular, countries committed

t to the defeat of white minority regimes should establish embassies in the

independent African States bdrdering on their territories and give full diplomatic9 economic and material assistance to these States which will be the first victims of QEgrtheig violence when the tide of revolution hits the shores of racism.

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In this connexion it seems inevitable that Africa should begin now  
But

to build her miiitarngeuehwasxghwessential part of her development programmes.  
The idea. of anLAfrican High Comanci-\202ey be' difficult of attainment.  
ajheginningâ\200\235i-\201hstMEei-\201i-\201aaeâ\200\235EEEEWIEIBEing made.

~w â\200\234in each country should be prepared for service in the national armed forces

In the meantime, Africaâ\200\230s youth

â\200\235Â£3,Â§Ji-\201k

of each State, which must be built to maximum strength.

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Finally9 gygrtheig is a threat to Africa's survival because, inter

â\200\234â\200\2357?

giigg it feeds on and isi-\201sustained by the nature of South Africaâ\200\230s relations  
}

.Africa should redefine her relÃ@tiSEEâ\200\224uÂ§â\200\230\\i  
with powerful Western coutries.

With these and other countries on the basis of their stand and their policies on issues central to the cause and destiny of Africa.  
ranks high in the list of such issues.

Racism

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This, of course, necessitates that the African

'balance of payments.  
countries must find foreign exchange to settle their debts.  
takes advantage of this situation by offering credits to these countries to  
buy South African goods.  
task of periodically servicing their debt to South Africa.

The 1â\200\234:rican countries are then faced with the

South Africa

Second, South Africa uses Africa as her market for manufactured goods.  
va, for instance, we take three categories of South African exports, namely,  
chemicals, machinery and transport equipment and miscellaneous manufactured

'total exports in these categories. â\200\230 On the other hand in the same year 1966:â\200\234  
Africa exported to South Africa only about 1.5 per cent of South Africa's  
This means that South Africa

'requirements of goods in these categories.

maintains the closest trade relations between Africa and its colonies.  
raw materials and markets for her expensive manufactured goods.

The African countries serve South Africa as sources for cheap

In all, these trade relations increase Africa's dependence on South

Africa and help maintain the African economies at a low level of development.  
The South African racists further strive to entrench these trade relations

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, by signing agreements, binding on both signatories for an agreed period, as  
they have done in the case of the following:

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In the second instance, the South African policy of aid and investment

has also been designed to entrench these tendencies of perpetual dependence. Funds exported by South Africa first to the development of raw material extraction and secondly to the development of the infrastructure.

'1â\200\230

South Africa already has large investments in mining in all the countries

of southern Africa.

Mauretania where, in coâ\200\224operation with French capital, South African money

Her companies have reached even as far north as

and technique is used in the mining of copper.

are already prospecting for bauxite and other minerals in Malawi.

South African companies

Newspaper

â\200\231 reports have also stated that South African companies, again in co-operation

with French capital, are investigating mining possibilities in Malagasy.

South Africa, again in coâ\200\224operation with France, is wooing Mauritius and dangling the prospect of big loans and investments before the Mauritian Government.

stated:

Mr. Sean Gervasi, an economist at Oxford University, has

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â\200\235Total (South African) investments in Africa were in

the hundreds of millions at the beginning of the 1960s.'

They have probably more than doubled since then."

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I haveâ\200\230said that South Africa is helping with the financing of the

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infrastructure in some of these countries.

most notable of such projects is the Cabora Bassa Scheme in Mozambiqueâ\200\231whichâ\200\234\\

is not only largely South African financed and designed to generate electricityL//>\_

Currently, of course, the

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Ior a host of countries in the area, including Mozambique, Angolaland Malawl.  
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,But the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania have both condemned the scheme and  
)taken steps to preclude any Zambian orTahEahiah participation in the scheme.  
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,Soath Africa also lent Malawi Â£6 million (US\$16.8 million)  
'for the construction of a railway line terminating at Port Nacala in.  
She is building an important road through Namibia to Angola's  
seaport, Luanda, and a gas pipeline from Mozambique to South Africa.  
she has signed an agreement with Malagastho open an air route between the  
two countries, as well as maintain and fly Malagasyâ\200\230s aircraft on that  
[route.  
'â\200\234If I may quote Sean Gervasi again:  
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Further,

dngTT. 2.â\200\234?Mozambique.  
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"All these changes create new links which are essentially  
tones of dependence for those with whom South Africa deals."

And; let me add, dependence means absence of independence.

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tIt is necessary to pointâ\200\234out'that the economic processes I have just  
>,described, dealing with South Africa's external economic relations, are  
organically linked with Â\$Â\$Â\$EÂ\$hÂ\$îÂ\$.ii-\202 so far as it is an internalÂ\$ South  
.â\200\234. ggAfrican system of economic relations. . As a system, one of whose central  
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ftiï-\201featUres'is the superâ\200\224exploitation of the African people, apaxtheig".

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â\200\234â\200\234jQ4Q.  
â\200\230i-\201ti-\201g,â\200\230 2,, results in certain economic consequences.

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.. One of these is that since the earnings of the African majority are  
\* kept at the bare minimum level, the internal market for industrial.goods is  
This is particularly important in the situatiOn which  
extremely limited.\_  
, obtains today wherein manufaeturing contributes more to the gross domestic  
j.product'than mining and agriculture.â\200\230

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A limited home market was therefore of no material significance

Mining and agriculture have, of course, been traditionally export-oriented.

As to their development, the contrary is however the case with regard to manufacturing.

A fetter on the development of this sector has been the necessity for South

Africa to find external markets for her-manufactured goods.

The restricted nature of the home market acts as a

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The second of these economic consequences is that very low wages

; mean very high profit rates;

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South Africa, therefore, has the bulk

of her investment funds internally.

ix; the ratio of her investment funds internally to the rest of the world to

gross domestic investment

; was only 5.2 per cent.

In the period from 1956 to

1965

capital from abroad adds up to large amounts."

Over a period of time, however, the influx of

1968, direct investment from abroad alone amounted to about two billion dollars.

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What attracts such large funds is the factor of very low wages, and  
During the years 1960 to 1965,

correspondingly, very high profit rates.'

for example, returns on British investment in South Africa were consistently

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â\200\230"almost 50 per cent higher than these on the average British directr  
investment overgeasf, mwThe same can be said of United States investments  
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Given the high savings rate in South Africa, the vast\_inflow of' foreign capital and the restricted internal market, a situation arises . in.which South Africa finds herself burdened'with an "embarrassment of richesâ\200\235; Thus it is that South Africa's \She, therefore, exports her â\200\235excess" capital. ,internal economic processes are organically linked with the external. 'The'super~exploit tion of the Black people inJSouth Africa is at once the basis of the South African economy and the objective reason for South Africa's quest for

xternal markets for her â\200\235excess" capital.

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wâ\200\230 The external relationsware clearly the relations of domination and

exploitation because, firstly, they aredictated'bythe'objecâ\200\230tive requirements of the most poveriulmeggnomy on the\_African continent;â\200\230 and, secondly, because they are designeawaiñ-\201awintEnded to serve.the\*EXclusive economic and Lâ\200\234 political interests of the white South African racist'minority and not those of the African peopleyginside or Outside Africa.5 'If we take the

Q  
n ture and duration of the economic relations between the United States and  
Ã©

â\200\230South America as a timely parallel to South AfricaTs relations of domination and exploitation in Africa, then we cannot possibly.ignore the stern .. warning already sounded by thekiñ-\201gggnch author) Dumont, that the objective 5 Iof the South African racist regime is to â\200\235South Americanizeâ\200\235 Africa. â\200\231 And God forbid that Africa, in whole or in part, should be surrendered to 2 gthese heartless racists and condemned to such a horrifying disaster by

any African leader or group of leaders..

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' it is worthâ\200\230remembering that South Africa "importsâ\200\235 manpower from

'—

In mining alone, last year, Black workers from outside South

5Africa;

iAfrica-constituted 70 per cent of the total African labour force.

â\200\230system.of "importation" of African labour, at highly exploitative wage

The

=â\200\230rates, is as cruel as it is a criminal rape of Africa's manpower.

â\200\230Xegthis seized from developing African countries in its prime;

ciessly in the interests of South Africa's mining magnates;

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â\200\234s then returned home a spent force, as poor as it had left and bringing no

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As a system

-/i-~\201wealth~for the development of its countries and peoplesâ\200\230

/ which â\200\235is leading away from industrialization and not towards itâ\200\235, and

,f"which does not create job.opportunities in the countries of origin, it.

. condemns not only the present, but also the future generations to dependence

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â\200\235on South Africa.'

'working in the South African mines.i

Small wonder that ZaMbia has decreed-against Zambians;}

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5393:31ng â\200\224- A'THREAT TO AFRICAâ\200\230S SURVIVAL

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1, The strategic objective of the South African racists with regard to  
It is to create

. the African continent is both shortâ\200\224term and.longâ\200\224term.  
3chient states among the independent African countries,\_with the aim of  
â\200\230Cu ting off the South African national liberation movement from all sources  
â\200\230to compel such client states actively to participate in  
iâ\200\234fflin~campaigns aimed at our destruction and.the destruction of the faith of ou  
r  
and  
' Oppressed and revolutionary people in the inevitability of liberation;  
â\200\230  
to enSure the preservation.of gyggtheig'by destroying the African National  
Congress (ANC), the decisive.force on whose shoulders falls the task of  
â\200\230-liberating the African people of South Africa.

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The strategy of creating client states is further aimed at cutting  
short Africa's strivings hp establish for herself an independent and equal  
position in the worldâ\200\230s economy and the international political system;  
â\200\231at using these client states against other African states; 'and, ultimately,  
at maintaining Africa as South Africaâ\200\230s exclusive political and economic  
preserve.-  
â\200\230attempt of the South African regime to establish a soâ\200\224calied â\200\235So  
uthern WT  
4,AÂ£Â£ipan Common Marketâ\200\235.  
ff hasiwriuten:

In this connexion, special mention should be made of the

A white South African apÃ©logist of ggggtheig

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â\200\235If allowed to proceed unhindered9 developments in this,

area could lead to the creation of a new multinational giant, the  
Europe oï-\201 Africa, which will one day exercise-a profound influence  
on developments in Africa, if not in

he world."

The centre of gravity of this combination would be the white South African-

minority\_rÃ©gime.

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White South Africa uses many and diverse means in the attempt to fulfil

â\200\230her objectives." To begin:with, South Africa is economicaiiy4the mogt

On the other hand, the peoples of Africa,

powerful country in Africa.

especially in the sub-Saharanâ\200\230QÂ§t, on the basis of continental comparisons,/{  
have the lowest standardâ\200\234of living in the world. â\200\235'The South African rac  
ists} /

seek MO exploit this Situation to their advantage.

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In the first instance, they seek to expand trade relations with the '

South Africa's exports to Africa more than doubled between

rest of Africa.

the years 196% and 1968, while her imports from Africa grew by about a third.

we need to draw attention to two points regarding these trade relations.

â\200\230First, relative to the rest of the continent, South Africa in the period

â\200\231t, mentioned â\200\224 and, I am certain, up to the present â\200\224 enjoyed a  
favourable

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