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BULLETIN

Issue No 19
June 1982

Solidarity is not an act
of charity but mutual aid
between forces fighting
for the same objectives.

CONFERENCE

Canadian Conference in
Solidarity with the
Liberation Struggles of the
Peoples of Southern Africa

May 7-9, 1982
University of Ottawa

TOUR

Cross-Canada Tour with
representatives from ANC,
SWAPO, NUNW and the
Churches

April 14 — May 5, 1982

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (ICSA)

On the Roster with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
(ECOSOC)

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President of African National Congress of
South Africa

MR SAM NUJOMA

President of the South West Africa People's
Organisation

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF ICSA

- * ICSA has been established at the instance of the liberation movements of Southern Africa; its role is designed by them; its activities are approved by them and carried out with their support and active participation.
- * Its objects are to promote, internationally, support for and solidarity with the national liberation struggles being waged in Southern Africa under the sole and authentic leadership of
 - (i) ANC of South Africa; and
 - (ii) SWAPO of Namibia
- * It strives to –
 1. publicize the aims and objects, and the policies and actions of the liberation movements.
 2. initiate campaigns all over the world, and especially in the imperialist countries, in order to: –
 - (i) mobilize mass support;
 - (ii) seek the active support of governments; and
 - (iii) achieve and develop greater unity in action, nationally and internationally, among all anti-apartheid, anti-racist, anti-colonial and solidarity organisations.
 3. Assist in the creation or strengthening of anti-apartheid movements where they are non-existent or weak.
 4. Co-operate with all the national, international, governmental and non-governmental bodies and organisations which support the above-mentioned liberation movements.

EDITORIAL

southern africa – frontline of freedom.

For over 20 years now southern Africa has been the theatre of a bloody conflict between the forces of revolution and reaction. There has hardly been a moment of peace in all this time. The cost in human lives lost, maimed and displaced, to say nothing of the destruction of material wealth, has been enormous, affecting mostly defenceless men, women and children, overwhelmingly from among the oppressed and exploited black majority of the sub-continent. Names like Kassinga, Sinoia, Soweto, Matola – to name only a few – are synonymous with the massacre of the innocents. The enemy of the people – those exclusively responsible for the want, poverty, destruction and bloodshed – has always been an alliance of white supremacy rule, colonialism and those capitalist states determined to maintain southern Africa as an enclave of domination and super-profits for the multinational corporations.

Yet the force of change has been irresistible and has been gathering momentum with each passing day and year. Men, machines and empires have already yielded and succumbed to the unyielding onslaught of the oppressed led by their national revolutionary movements. 500 years of Portuguese colonialism was forever buried under the soil of revolutionary Mozambique and Angola, and the sun finally set on the British Empire in Africa with the liberation of Zimbabwe. A crucial factor in all of this has been the support and solidarity – material, moral and political – rendered to the fighting peoples and their organisations by the independent African states, the socialist countries, the non-Alligned movement and the progressive forces within the imperialist countries.

Within southern Africa itself a unique geo-physical and political entity has emerged in the course of the prolonged struggles for freedom – The Frontline States, individually and collectively committed to the total liberation of southern Africa.

And precisely this has made them the frontline targets of aggression by the South African racists and their allies internationally. The latter, both singly and severally, overtly and covertly, have fanned the flames of racist aggression by fueling, arming and financing the Apartheid state whilst at the same time sustaining it politically and diplomatically in international forums. Billions of investment dollars continue to be poured into South Africa. Loans and credit facilities are made readily available. Trade is on the increase. At the same time the Triple Veto was cast in the Security Council of the UN on the question of mandatory economic sanctions and an oil embargo against the racist state, and the Contact Gang of Five continue to prevaricate on the Namibian independence based on Resolution 435. All this has strengthened the intransigence of the South African racists and encouraged them in unleashing terror, death and destruction against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and against the Frontline states.

Aggression is not an abstract thing – concocted to score political and diplomatic points. It invariably involves death and destruction. Pretoria's undeclared war has taken a multiplicity of forms ranging from direct military invasion and occupation, political subversion and economic destabilisation. Its scale and intensity can be gauged by just one example among many. In 1982 alone South Africa military operations against the People's Republic of Angola consisted of 95 ground operations, 74 concentrations of men and materials, 1651 reconnaissance flights, 161 bombing and strafing raids and 64 heliported troop landings. In addition more than 50,000 square kilometers of Angolan territory has been occupied by South African troops since 1981. During the height of the struggle for Zimbabwe's liberation more than half-million people were forcibly displaced from their homes and scores of armed incursions into Zambia and Mozambique were undertaken by the combined forces of Rhodesia (now liberated Zimbabwe) and South Africa. In one form or another every Frontline state has been subjected to racist aggression over a long period of time.

Peace, independence and freedom in southern Africa can only be secured with the destruction of the Apartheid monster. The international community has a duty to act in solidarity and come to the support of the Frontline states as much as with the fighting peoples of Namibia and South Africa led by SWAPO and the ANC.

The Lisbon Conference, scheduled for 16-18 July, in support and solidarity with the Frontline states and national liberation in southern Africa is an important initiative in this direction. It must be supported massively, as must other initiatives aimed at broadening the freedom front in southern Africa.

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SOLIDARITY IS NOT AN ACT OF CHARITY BUT MUTUAL AID BETWEEN FORCES FIGHTING FOR THE SAME OBJECTIVES

'We welcome the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa; their struggle is our struggle,' said Georges Erasmus, president of the Dene Nation of the North-Western Territories of Canada. In his keynote address to the *Canadian Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa* he analysed the fundamentals of colonialism that have affected the lives of the peoples in Southern Africa as much as the native population of Canada.

'We need a liberation movement in Canada as much as people do in Southern Africa.' He then posed the question: Why the need for a liberation movement and against what should people mobilise?

'Countries in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere were colonised, invaded by other societies; new institutions were imposed upon the people. The native population of Canada became quickly outnumbered, unlike in Africa. Till 1960 they were not Canadian citizens: could not vote, could not own property etc; they had to live in reserves like the Bantustans. But getting the vote will not finish the work.'

Georges Erasmus went on to analyse the present institutions that control Canada, and for that matter Southern Africa. He stressed that these institutions are based on the same social, economic, religious and political foundations that justified, encouraged and promoted colonialism in the first place. 'The companies Hudson Bay, Falcon and so on operating in the North Western Territories, Canada's Namibia, are the same companies exploiting in Southern Africa.' Confronting this common enemy, he threw out the challenge: 'I am suspicious of people who say that they support liberation struggles outside their area, if they have some spade work to do in their own.'

Canadians support ANC & SWAPO

In the first ever truly nation-wide and broad conference over 500 people from Canada and Quebec convened in Ottawa's University from 7-9 May, 1982. The conference was organised in co-sponsorship with ANC and SWAPO and initiated in cooperation with ICSA. The Hon David MacDonald, a member of the former Conservative Government, and Mr Robert Gaulin, President of one of the largest Trade Unions in Quebec, were the co-presidents of this unique conference. The executive of the preparatory committee was co-chaired by Hugh McCullum, editor United Church Observer, and Yvon Madore, Trade Union movement in Quebec. Financial contributions from Canadian Churches, the Nigerian High Commission in Ottawa, the UN Council for Namibia, among others, made this event possible. The Mayor of Ottawa, Cslr Marion Dewar, welcomed the conference. The African ambassadors in Ottawa hosted a reception and expressed their support.

The participants, representing churches, women's organisations, students, youth, trade unions, solidarity movements, Canadian-Indian organisations, political parties, and others, examined the situation in Southern Africa and Canadian support for apartheid. They exchanged information and experiences, drew up plans

to consolidate support for the liberation movements and found renewed inspiration to increase solidarity with the struggling people of Southern Africa.

The conference was preceded by a nationwide tour of representatives of ANC and SWAPO. From 2 to 20 events were organised in about fifty towns and cities as part of the mobilising campaign which culminated in the conference. These intensive tours took place from April 14 to May 5.

Workshops

Educational and information workshops provided an opportunity to get thoroughly familiar with some of the main issues at stake.

- ANC and SWAPO presented an introduction focusing on the regime's oppression, the liberation struggle and current strategies.
- Representatives of the National Union of Namibian Workers, NUNW, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, emphasised the political aspect of the workers' struggle in Southern Africa. As partners in the Liberation Struggle, ANC and SWAPO, SACTU and NUNW have specific tasks. The workshop examined the increasingly militant labour movements in both countries.
- Another workshop provided information on the nature and extent of Canadian investment in Southern Africa – 28 Canadian corporations as well as multinationals with Canadian branches. A record of Canadian banks in terms of loans to SA was detailed. Only the Toronto Dominion bank has adopted a policy of refusing loans to South Africa.
- The ambiguity of Canadian policy and its role in the Contactgroup of Five and its lack of genuine support for true independence of Namibia was examined.
- The role of Canadian corporations in fuelling the apartheid war machine in spite of the arms embargo and often with the tacit if not open support of the Canadian government was exposed.
- The media/culture/sports workshop detailed SA's strategy aimed at changing the face of apartheid for international consumption. The SA regime attempts to influence politicians, churches, media and tourists and all those who might influence opponents of apartheid. For example: the SA embassy sent a 14 page letter to the mayor and city council of Ottawa when they were thinking of changing their bank, and a letter to those involved in the organisation of this conference, including information from the Congressional hearings in Washington, attempting to discredit ANC and SWAPO.

Evening Plenary

Solidarity greetings from the USA were expressed by Lennox Hinds, chair of the Continuations Committee of the successful Conference held in New York last autumn (see ICSA Bulletin issue 15).

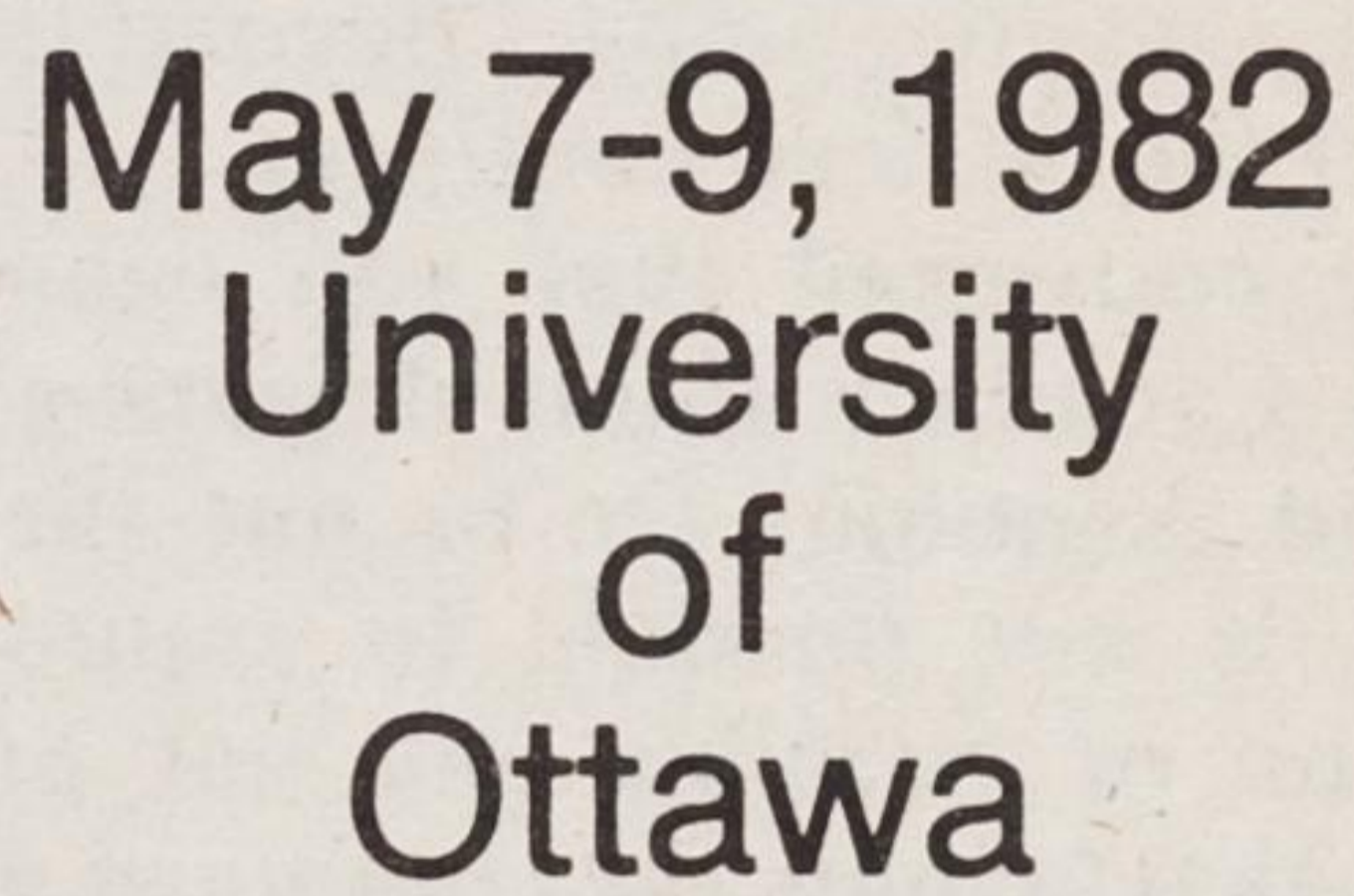
The major addresses by the leaders of the ANC and SWAPO delegations, cdes Alfred Nzo and Hidipo Hamutenya, are printed elsewhere in this issue.

'Campaign' followed by 'interests' workshops developed a plan of action. The UN has declared 1982 as the YEAR FOR MOBILISATION FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. "In this light the conference recognised the high priority that must be given by all Canadian groups in working towards the imposition of total mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime in the economic, political, diplomatic, technological, military, cultural, sporting and educational spheres."

Representatives of the various religious institutions and churches participating in the conference affirmed the legitimacy of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa; expressed their oneness with the ANC and SWAPO as representatives of the oppressed victims of apartheid; and urged the Canadian churches to develop a policy and strategy consistent with these points.

The declaration (printed elsewhere in this issue) and the plan of action were adopted by the delegates.

The theme of the conference, *Solidarity is not an act of charity but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objectives*, was reinforced by Wallace Labillois, Chairman of the Council of Elders for the Assembly of First Nations (an affiliate of the National Indian Brotherhood). He began his address with a prayer in his own language and closed with MATLA KEA RONA.

[illegible]

We would like to tender the apologies of our National Executive Committee that our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, could not come. He asked that we should convey to you his own feeling of disappointment that it proved impossible for him to be here. He enjoined us further to say that despite his absence, he is ready to play his part in the implementation of any programme of action that this Conference may elaborate.

As a people, for many years we have lived with and known a different Canada. We have known a Canada that is rapacious and an enthusiastic partner in the commission of the crime of apartheid, a Canada that condescended to talk to us because and when it saw in us an object of exploitation.

ment of arms by the United States Space Research Corporation through this country to the hands of the murderous apartheid regime.

We would like to convey the greetings of the leadership and membership of the ANC and our popular army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, to you who are gathered here and through you to the millions of Canadians whom you represent.

We speak of millions because we are convinced that the majority of the population of Canada does not have the love of the apartheid system which motivates the transnational corporations to invest in South Africa and obliges certain circles among the political establishment of this country, by their actions, to help perpetuate this evil system.

It is the view of the African National Congress that one of the central tasks to which this Conference must address itself is exactly how to reach out to these millions, how to activate them, how to transform their apathy towards apartheid into active struggle for the isolation of the Pretoria regime, for increased support for SWAPO of Namibia, the ANC, the Frontline states, the peoples of the Southern African region.

The situation in this region demands that we must together succeed in this task. We have to pursue the objective that we make the issue of apartheid as much an issue of Canadian national politics as it is in other comparable countries such as Sweden, The Netherlands and Italy. To illustrate what we mean, let us take the example of The Netherlands. The Dutch government is preparing legislation to prohibit the export of oil to South Africa.

to forbid new investment and to ban a number of commodities from importation into The Netherlands, including coal. We see no reason whatsoever why Canada cannot follow this example and herself take practical measures in consonance with her declared abhorrence of the apartheid system.

We should seek to widen the concern about Southern Africa beyond those sectors of the Canadian public which are today the most involved in trying to do something about the situation which obtains in our part of the world. This means that you, who are the vanguard of the movement of solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa, need to reach out to the people of Canada so that ever larger sections of this population join this movement of solidarity as active participants.

It is impossible to gainsay the fact that as the African National Congress, as activists for the liberation of South Africa, we are interested in seeing the international solidarity movement with our struggling people grow into a formidable fighting force that will put paid to the hopes of the Botha regime that it will somehow regain acceptance by the world community. Not only is it not possible to gainsay this: it is also not even necessary to attempt to contradict it. Yet we are convinced that our common victory against racism, fascism, colonialism and aggression in South Africa and Namibia will and must have a positive impact beyond the confines of our region and the African continent.

We are convinced that you cannot finally defeat racism in Canada without defeating racism in South Africa and Namibia. Or to put the matter in other words, it is not possible to support the continued colonisation of Namibia and not pursue a policy in Canada which favours the continued dehumanisation of the indigenous Canadian-Indians, an immigration policy which discriminates against the black races of the world, and so on.

Similarly, it is not possible for the workers at the Massey-Ferguson factories in this country to be certain of the permanence of their jobs so long as there is dirt cheap labour in South Africa, Namibia and indeed in other parts of the world such as Taiwan and South Korea where labour is captive to the greedy whims of the transnational corporations.

Can the church in Canada consider that it has broken away from the historical role which earlier civilisations imposed on the church, the role of agent of dominant exploitative and oppressive classes – can the church in Canada consider that it has broken away from this role while an important section of the established church in South Africa continues to be an active, conscious and pliant partner in the maintenance of the apartheid system?

Or can the church in this country go about its parishes and diocesan tasks with equanimity while Rev. Cedric Mason of the Methodist Church in Johannesburg is facing trial, while Father Simangaliso Mkatshwa of the Catholic Church suffers in Pretoria under a succession of banning orders and while Rev's Phaswana, Phosiwa, Farisani and Mahamba of the Lutheran Church are detained and facing trial in Venda, while Bishop Tutu of the Anglican Church and the SACC is denied his passport.

When our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo spoke to the Conference of Black American leaders in Washington last June, he pointed out that it was not possible for the US administration to support fascism in South Africa and not seek to employ fascist methods at home. The recent US Senate hearings under the Chairmanship

of Senator Denton whose aim was to label SWAPO and the ANC as communists and terrorists represent the importation into the United States of the practices of South African fascism.

The democratic, anti-war and anti-racist forces in the United States may soon be faced with the resurgence of McCarthyism spearheaded by Senator Denton's subcommittee. Once this successor of the infamous House Un-American Activities subcommittee feels it has gathered enough strength, it will not rest merely with investigating SWAPO and the ANC. It will inevitably reach out to persecute the anti-apartheid movement in the United States and from there attack the rest of the progressive forces of that country.

From what we have said, it should be clear that the African National Congress also takes the view that *to express solidarity is not an act of charity*. We would like to believe that after all these months of intensive preparations and the sacrifices we have all made to be present at this Conference, we meet here because we consider ourselves severally and collectively as one united army committed to the liberation of the people's of Southern Africa. We would like to believe that that commitment is not inspired by pity but by the recognition that the people of Canada cannot truly be free while those of Namibia and South Africa are oppressed.

Certainly as far as the Southern African region is concerned, we of the ANC are sustained in our struggle by the knowledge that there is not a single country in the region in which the masses of the people do not feel that the struggle for the liberation of South Africa is not their own. Throughout the region, the masses of the people display an astounding readiness to make all necessary sacrifices to ensure that our country is liberated. There is everywhere an openly expressed recognition of the fact that Africa cannot be free until South Africa and Namibia are free.

The decision of the momentous Summit of Heads of State and Government of the frontline states which took place in Maputo, Mozambique on the 6th and 7th March this year, at which the Presidents of SWAPO and the ANC were also present, reflected and endorsed these popular positions. Central to the importance of the summit is the fact that it marked a decisive step forward in elucidating a common programme of action for the people of Southern Africa aimed at the intensification of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, the isolation of the apartheid regime and the enhancement of the region's defensive capability in the face of the escalating aggression of the Pretoria regime.

These positions as well as the objective situation in the region once more draw attention to the strategic role of the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa in the fundamental transformation of the situation in the sub-continent as a whole.

The most important contribution we of the African National Congress can and must make to the restoration of peace, security and stability in Southern Africa, to the furtherance of the cause of national independence, equality among the peoples and social progress, is to lead the masses of our people in defeating the Pretoria regime and taking power into their hands.

It is clear that for us to accomplish these objectives, our country's broad movement for national liberation has to build up enough popular strength within South Africa to shift the balance of power in favour of revolutionary change. We are happy to report to this Conference that elements of this shift, which is of decisive importance in our common efforts to win victory, have already appeared on the South African political scene.

The democratic forces of our country, with the ANC at their head, are emerging as the alternative power inside South Africa. We have moved radically from the situation where, only a few years ago, the apartheid regime was fondly proclaiming that it had smashed the ANC. Today the same regime is obliged by objective reality to admit that it is actually contending with the ANC for the allegiance of the people.

Let us illustrate this with one example. About a fortnight ago, the racist Minister of Internal Affairs, Chris Heunis, admitted in the all-white South African parliament that the African National Congress had defeated the attempts of the Pretoria regime to organise the Indian population of our country to support the puppet South African Indian Council.

As you will recall, the racists had called on the Indian people to participate in constituting this puppet Council by voting for its members. The African National Congress together with the rest of the progressive forces of our country, urged the people to boycott these elections, with the result that no less than 85 per cent of the electorate did in fact boycott these elections.

Today, the entire democratic movement of South Africa openly proclaims the **Freedom Charter**, the political programme of the ANC and its allies, as the only acceptable basis for the solution of the South African problem. The leaders of our movement imprisoned in Botha's jails and operating from outside South Africa are similarly openly recognized by the people as their leaders. Even the liberal-reformist Buthelezi Commission whose report was published in March this year, found that the majority of the oppressed people support the political, strategic and tactical positions of the ANC including the option of armed struggle.

If press reports are to be believed, the very fact that the racist Pretoria regime even so much as deigns to consider the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, attests to the strength of the democratic, anti-racist movement inside and outside South Africa. If these reports are true, they point not to a change of heart on the part of the oppressors, not a newly found desire for progressive change as far as Botha-Malan regime is concerned but, rather, the inability of this regime to hold on to old positions in the face of the growing strength of the forces of genuine change.

By their efforts and supported by the rest of progressive humanity, our people have defeated the enemy's strategy for survival in its entirety. Where the enemy sought to obliterate the ANC by banning it, the people have, in defiant struggle, virtually lifted this ban. Where the enemy sought to weaken the people by dividing them into mutually exclusive ethnic and racial compartments, the people continue to assert their common nationhood and unbreakable resolve to bring into being a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The racists had hoped that they could terrorise the people into permanent submission by the use of maximum force such as resulted in the massacre at Sharpeville, Soweto and Matola, the judicial murders of Mini, Mahlangu and other patriots and the assassination of democrats such as Joseph Mdluli, Ahmed Timol, Steve Biko, Joe Gqabi, Griffiths Mxenge, Neil Aggett and others. Contrary to the enemy's intentions, the people have replied to this campaign of terror by swelling the ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and by strengthening their commitment to meet the racists' reactionary violence with the armed might of the democratic majority

Our opponents, and among these we include the allies of the Pretoria regime, can no longer delude themselves that the ANC represents a foreign element on the South African body politic, or that we represent a minority extremist tendency that is only of nuisance value. They will have to live with the fact that this ANC which they hate so much represents the future democratic South Africa which will inevitably rise out of the rubble of the apartheid system.

Those who are not dyed-in-the-wool racists will, sooner rather than later, be compelled to recognize the fact that the majority of the people of South Africa do not recognize the Pretoria regime as the legitimate government of our country. Those who elect to enter into various deals with this regime need to know that our people adjudge such activities as morally and politically indefensible and devoid of any legality.

For over 20 years now, we have sought to persuade especially the western world to cut its links with apartheid South Africa. At conference after conference and in many statements we have tried through reasoned argument to demonstrate that this contact with South Africa has only served to strengthen the apartheid regime. There is no need for us to restate these arguments today.

There is, however, need for us to alert the partners of the apartheid regime to the fact that their political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural and other collaboration with this regime constitutes a political act, a voluntary choice to side with the racist minority against the democratic majority.

Since these two sides are at war, it must follow that those who continue to collaborate with the Pretoria regime, are willy-nilly putting themselves among the ranks of the enemy forces. Inevitably, therefore, they are placing themselves in the line of fire and will, furthermore, be caught in that fire. This will not be because we have chosen to declare war on them. It will be because they have sided with our oppressors and by so doing declared war on us.

Our people have repeatedly demonstrated their determination to hit back at their oppressors both through mass political activity and through armed combat. In the period ahead of us we shall continue to hit at all those who by their actions define themselves as our enemies, as the enemies of liberation, peace and social progress in South and Southern Africa.

For indeed as our comrades-in-arms of SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia are demonstrating in the battlefield even as we meet here, the perspective that confronts the apartheid regime is one of a heightened political and military confrontation with the democratic forces of our country also. Nothing the enemy does can stop this inevitable process.

If we had not drawn the necessary conclusion from the continued collusion between the western countries and apartheid South Africa, the Reagan Administration has made it patently clear that it considers that United States interests and those of the west in general are best served by the continued survival of the Pretoria regime.

We must, therefore, expect it that as the struggle intensifies and the South African racists regime finds it difficult to hold its positions, those like Reagan who count the racists as their allies will come to the aid of the racists. **The question whether Canada will or will not follow the likes of Reagan down this disastrous path is a question that only you, the Canadian people, can answer.**

Our experience so far is that Canada has followed her western partners in continuing to maintain trade, investment and other economic links with South Africa, in

acting, at the least, as a channel for the flow of arms to the apartheid regime, and in keeping intact her political and diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

This gives a measure of the work that remains to be done. Our wish is that Canada should adopt an honourable and humane position with regard to the conflict now raging throughout Southern Africa. Such a position would result in Canada.

- **joining the overwhelming majority of the world's nations in isolating apartheid South Africa;**
- **demanding and working for the expeditious implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia;**
- **denouncing the unceasing aggression of the South African regime against Angola and the other independent states of Southern Africa including Seychelles and Madagascar and this regime's efforts otherwise to destabilize the region;**
- **demanding the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Toivo JaToivo and all other political prisoners. The reprieve and release of freedom fighters sentenced to death and more urgently, the three whose death sentences were recently confirmed in South Africa;**
- **rendering political and material assistance to SWAPO and the ANC;**
- **supporting the independent states of the region in their efforts to defend themselves and to work toward greater economic independence of apartheid South Africa.**

We believe firmly that it is possible so to arouse the democratic and anti-racist sentiments of the Canadian public as to make it impossible for the dominant political circles of this country to treat such a set of objectives with contempt. Accordingly we are convinced that, from this unprecedented Conference will emerge a concrete and realistic programme of action which will result in the actual mobilization of political parties and groups, trade unionists, women, youth and students, the religious community, the Indian people and other popular forces to ensure the existence of a powerful and effective national anti-apartheid coalition. The fact that this is the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa should itself spur us to succeed in this objective.

We cannot conclude without saluting our sister movement, SWAPO, the great and heroic representative of the people of Namibia. We would also like to take advantage of this opportunity to salute also the PLO, the Polisario Front, Fretelin and the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front – FDR, as well as our firm rear-base, the frontline states and the rest of Southern Africa and Africa.

In our endeavours here today we should draw strength from the fact that we are joined together in one common struggle with millions of people drawn from the socialist countries, Asia, Latin America and the countries of the west. It is not possible that such a force which pursues an eminently just cause cannot gain victory.

For our part, and in the name of the heroic people of our country, we pledge here that we shall not betray the trust you have placed in us as the African National Congress to spearhead the offensive for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and to remove for all time this intolerable blight on human society.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

By HIDIPO HAMUTENYA, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of SWAPO and Secretary for Information and Publicity

Allow me to convey to you sincere apologies from Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, for his highly regretted inability to attend this historic gathering of Canadian forces fighting for democracy, peace, social progress and international solidarity. Comrade Nujoma is fully conscious of the fact that you have all hoped for his presence here today; and, as such, he had very much wished to attend this important conference which is being held in solidarity with the embattled peoples of South Africa and Namibia. But due to a number of recent developments in our region, he could unfortunately not make it to Ottawa. He has, however, asked me to extend to you his own personal greetings and militant salutation for the noble efforts you are making towards the liberation of Southern Africa, the efforts of which this conference is a concrete expression. He wishes that the conference will be a great success and a historic contribution to the cause of liberation in our southern sub-continent.

This solidarity conference is taking place at a critical time when clouds of large-scale military confrontation are darkening the sky of Southern Africa. It is being held at a time when the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, led by ANC and SWAPO respectively, are intensifying the struggle to overthrow apartheid colonialism; and at a time when the intensification of the struggle against apartheid fascism is compelling the enemy of our people to resort to more and more extreme measures of repression and reckless military adventures.

Stimulated and encouraged by the reactionary Reagan administration's efforts to renew the aggressive policies and brinkmanship of the cold war era, racist South Africa is embarked on a counter-revolutionary drive to perpetuate and entrench white minority rule in South Africa, to deny the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and to intimidate the neighbouring independent countries.

In particular, the apartheid regime is engaged in continuous military aggression and intensification of destructive attacks against the Peoples Republic of Angola, in an attempt to force the Government of the people of Angola to abandon their solidarity with and support for the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa. These repeated military attacks are accompanied by the training, arming and deployment of puppet groups, and mercenaries against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

Moreover, in the face of the determined resistance of our people, led by SWAPO, the apartheid state has been forced to rely more and more on massive military presence in Namibia. Namibia is today a country under a massive military occupation whereby the ratio is nearly one South African soldier to every 12 adult members of the Namibian population. This ratio represents one of the most intense concentrations of military forces in the world today. More than 80 per cent of our population is living under de facto martial law.

South Africa's military build-up in Namibia has been accompanied by increasingly harsh repression in the form of frequent killing of innocent civilians, arbitrary arrests, detention, torture, burning down of peasant houses and destruction of property, all in a vain attempt to stop the forward march of our people's liberation struggle.

In carrying out its fascist repression against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and in conducting its military adventures against the Frontline states, racist South Africa continues to boast about its so-called strategic importance to the West; and this claim is now being echoed in Washington.

Moreover, instead of condemning and honestly opposing Pretoria's military repression in Namibia and destructive military attacks against the Frontline states, the so-called Western Contact Group tries to use these racist military adventures and mass repression as necessary pressure or lever by which they can extract diplomatic concessions from SWAPO and the Frontline States.

The representatives of the Five Western powers never fail to remind SWAPO and the Frontline States how important it is to find a quick negotiated solution to the Namibian problem in order to avert further bloodshed and destruction of life and property in Namibia.

We do not disagree with them on this point because we, more than anyone else, know the ruthless nature of the enemy which we are faced with. We do also not underestimate the strength of apartheid South Africa. But we are also not prepared to go down on our knees making unreasonable concessions in order to allow Pretoria to dictate a solution of its own liking in Namibia.

An examination of the long drawn out negotiations with the South African regime about self-determination and independence for Namibia reveals two consistent elements:

- 1 The apartheid regime has been using deceptive manoeuvres resulting in each set of agreed proposals being finally rejected at the point of implementation.**
- 2 The rejection of each set of proposals was never followed by any penalty, but rather by the granting of further concessions in order to take greater account of Pretoria's objections.**

It can be recalled, for instance, that after agreeing to Resolution 435 in April 1978, South Africa came full circle to reject the implementation of the UN plan in August of the same year. In so doing, the apartheid regime argued that the United Nations is biased in favour of SWAPO; and, as such it cannot supervise free and fair elections in Namibia. In making this argument, South Africa did not tell the world that it was not only the UN which was going to manage the proposed transitional process to Namibia's independence. Pretoria could not let the world know that the actual administration of the entire transitional process will be in the hands of the South African civil servants in Namibia and that law and order would be a responsibility of the racist South African police force in Namibia.

Therefore, South Africa has a bigger responsibility to demonstrate impartiality than the United Nations whose team will go to Namibia only to supervise a South African administered electoral process. Because SWAPO is interested in finding a quick negotiated settlement for the Namibia problem, we did not want to waste time asking South Africa to be impartial towards our movement.

We know that, to do so is to indulge in an illusion of hope. Pretoria can never be impartial to SWAPO.

From the claim of UN lack of impartiality, racist South Africa cooked up another excuse that the proposed 7,500 UN troops to supervise the transitional process in Namibia was astronomically too high and, therefore, totally unacceptable.

Next, Pretoria rejected a provision in the UN plan that SWAPO guerilla forces inside Namibia at the time of ceasefire should be given assembly points inside Namibia. All these back-trackings were conceded to by the Five Western powers who did not hesitate to turn to SWAPO and the Frontline states for fresh concessions.

By 1979, Pretoria had succeeded to turn the negotiations around by making the five think that the threat to the implementation of Resolution 435 is that SWAPO will continue, even after the ceasefire has been signed, to infiltrate armed guerrillas into Namibia.

Hence, in order to accommodate Pretoria's blackmail, the Frontline States put forward a proposal for a demilitarized zone whereby a large number of UN military personnel will be deployed along the Namibia/Angola and Namibia/Zambia border so as to ensure that there were no armed infiltration into Namibia from Angola or Zambia. Again, Pretoria simply made nonsense out of the whole proposal by demanding that it wanted 20 bases within the demilitarized zone.

After rejecting the proposal for a ceasefire at the General Conference in January 1981, Pretoria came up with yet a new set of demands, namely, guarantee, from SWAPO and the Frontline States, for the protection of the so-called white minority rights, guarantee for the protection of private property of the white minority settlers and multi-national corporations and commitment from SWAPO that the proposed constituent assembly would only adopt a constitution for independent Namibia and agree on independence date by a two-third majority of the members of the constituent assembly.

SWAPO and the Frontline States were prevailed upon by the Five Western powers to make all these unfair concessions.

However, after yielding to the pressure exerted on us by the Five, South Africa, again, has come up with a new demand that elections must either be on Bantustan principles or on electoral double standards of one man two votes or one man one vote, one vote two counts.

Again, the Five Western Powers, instead of telling Pretoria to be reasonable, they are now busy pressurizing and arm-twisting us to make still more, fresh concessions; and when we say that we have now reached the limit of our capacity to make concessions, they are going around telling the world that SWAPO and the Frontline States are the obstacle to a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

Such is the problem we are facing with the Western mediated negotiations. The Five are reluctant to make the necessary efforts to convince South Africa to be serious regarding the negotiations or to let South Africa face mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

Pretoria, on the other hand, has used the endless negotiations to implement its own internal settlement and to further expand its military strength in the region – all aimed at destroying the nationwide support enjoyed by SWAPO and at subverting the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

The Five know that it is precisely because Pretoria is afraid of overwhelming SWAPO victory at the polls that it is denying the Namibian people a free and fair election.

Pretoria believes that it can continue to use the Five to continue to extract concessions from SWAPO and the Frontline States until Resolution 435 is sufficiently diluted so as to allow South Africa and her Western allies instead of the UN supervised elections, and ultimately impose its own puppets on the Namibian people.

For us, it is clear that negotiations are now only about concessions to South Africa and nothing else.

The single member constituency would, therefore, be necessary to make it relatively easy for the black tribal puppets to hopefully win some seats within narrowly demarcated constituencies centred around small tribal communities. In other words, under single members constituency system, South Africa aims at using tribal

Finally we wish to state that SWAPO is ready to positively consider any constructive suggestion by the Five. We are equally ready to continue and intensify the political and military struggle in order to ensure that the price of occupation by far surpasses its profits.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES! THE VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

[illegible]

CULTURAL BOYCOTTS OF SOUTH AFRICA STRATEGIES AND PROBLEMS

Working paper prepared by Charles Roach

Cultural contacts between Canada and South Africa have continued in a steady unobtrusive manner—exchange visits by entertainers, performers, writers and artists; organized tours promoted by travel agencies in Canada and South Africa and media coverage of South African events like the million-dollar Sun City golf extravaganza in January 1982.

The call for cultural boycotts has been scrupulously observed by all states excepting North American and Western European countries and Australia, New

The Sun City promoters have tricked entertainers into believing that they are not busting sanctions against apartheid. Sinatra, for example, vowed not to sing for segregated audiences and was so assured... 'I won't have any part of segregation... that was part of the deal here. I play to all... any colour, any creed, drunk or sober.' The audience was not segregated by law but by ticket prices up to \$85.00 each. In Bophuthatswana annual per capita income is \$750.00. On those few

Some Canadians have also been attracted by offers of trips paid for by the South African Government or the South African Foundation run by South African businessmen to promote South Africa worldwide. Canadian public figures like ex-Finance Minister John Crosbie, MP Dan McKenzie, singer Patsy Gallant, all made recent visits to South Africa.

In 1981, Rothman's Group and the National Museum of Man sponsored a year-long tour of South Africa of Canadian Inuit Art—the works coming from the Museum and Rothman's private collection. This year, the Sportsmen's Show of Ontario offers a draw prize of a safari trip to South Africa worth \$7,500.00. Air Canada, South African Airlines, CP Air and Pacific Western Airlines all collaborate to push exchange skiing and safari tours in South Africa and Canada with the aid of newspapers and radio stations, e.g. CKO ALL News Radio.

Problems of a cultural boycott

Difficulty arises because South African culture cannot be totally and indiscriminately boycotted. The outside world has been enlightened by the plays of Athol Fugard, by writers like Allan Paton and by liberal white promoters like the Bernhards. Performers like Miriam Makeba have brought popular awareness of South African repression as much as have the politicians.

In 1977, the South African production *Ipi Tombi* and in the following year *Two Faces of Africa* were closed down by protest in the US and Canada respectively. These were all-black shows produced by white South Africans. The black review *Woza Albert*, a two-headed play from Johannesburg's Market Theatre will be routing the US and Australia. How will this be received? The South African rulers are so fiendishly clever that they would even allow out a token production critical of apartheid, or more correctly, reflecting black aspirations.

One thing is clear though, performers going to South Africa would be in violation of the UN boycott.

Some local Canadian organizations have been effective in enforcing cultural

boycotts. In 1976 visiting chancellors from the Stellenbosch University had their trip to the University of Toronto truncated by protest of students and this year the Ontario Ombudsman cancelled a trip to South Africa amidst a storm of popular protest.

What to be done for an effective cultural boycott

- 1 Boycott performers who ignore the UN Sanctions. The UN Centre Against Apartheid has developed a blacklist of performers.
- 2 Pressure governmental authorities who own entertainment facilities to bar use to performers who perform in South Africa.
- 3 Reach out to performers through their Unions and Associations to boycott South Africa.
- 4 Ask performers who derive royalties from sales of recordings in South Africa to donate such income to anti-apartheid causes. *Dire Straits*, a British rock group, donates its South African royalties to Amnesty International. Canadian popular singer, Dan Hill, has a clause in his recording contract restricting distribution of his

records in South Africa.

- 5 Boycott films like *Wild Geese* intended to glamorize mercenary terrorism. In *Wild Geese* Richard Burton plays a role modelled on Mike Hoare, a legendary South African mercenary.
- 6 Pressure all levels of Government to cut off funding for cultural or educational exchanges with South Africa.
- 7 Make complaints to Federal and Provincial Human Rights Commissions against the advertising of South African tours and employment opportunities on the basis that such advertising essentially excludes non-whites.
- 8 Tie in efforts on economic and sports boycotts and divestment campaigns with cultural boycott.

A movement aimed at cultural isolation of South Africa could prove to be the best way to developing popular awareness because of the star personalities involved and whenever sanctions are violated it's done openly, unlike the covert deviousness of international financing and corporate complicity.

MILITARISM IN SOUTH AFRICA: The Role of Multinational Corporations

[Edited]

Multinational Corporations and the 'defence' of South Africa

'South Africa is today...involved in total war. The war is not only an area for the soldier. Everyone is involved and has a role to play.'

General Malan, then Chief of SA Defence Force, 1977

When General Malan, the present Minister of Defence, referred in September 1977 to the role everyone has to play in defending South Africa he was referring less to individuals than to the corporations that profit from Apartheid. In fact, this reference was merely re-affirming a relationship that has existed between private corporations and South Africa's Ministry of Defence since 1970. In that year the National Supplies Procurement Act authorized the Minister of Defence to force any manufacturer or supplier in South Africa to provide materials or services to the Ministry "when necessary for the security of South Africa". This relationship *does not* exclude foreign-controlled corporations in South Africa from complying to its measures (indeed, given the preeminent position of multinational corporations in the manufacturing sector they *could not* be excluded). In 1977, an inter-office memo within General Motors Corporation, one of the largest foreign interests in South Africa, revealed that:

'...in the event that a National Emergency is declared, there is little doubt that control of GM's South African facilities...would be taken over by an arm of the Ministry of Defence.'

The relationship between multinational corporations and South Africa's military capability is not, however, limited to the 'arm-twisting' that characterizes the obligations of the National Supplies Procurement Act. On the contrary, multinational corporations have gone out of their way to supply and strengthen this capability. Indeed, despite the United Nations mandatory arms embargo, they have continued to play a crucial role in increasing the white-minority regime's military might. Their involvement persists in three ways:

- 1 they continue to sell to South Africa the weapons and military machinery which South African industry cannot yet produce;
- 2 they provide the technology and finance to build up the key advanced, capital-intensive machinery and equipment industries that constitute the foundations of South Africa's military-industrial complex, thereby enabling the racist regime to produce the majority of its own military requirements domestically;
- 3 through banks and associated financial institutions they help the regime obtain the necessary finance to

purchase the military equipment and weapons produced domestically and internationally.

1 The transfer of military equipment and weaponry:

An analysis of the available information on the inventory of South Africa's armed forces reveals the extent to which its military capability has relied on multinational corporations for its weaponry...

Since the imposition of the voluntary United Nations arms embargo in 1963, and even more since application of mandatory arms embargo in 1977, multinational corporations have not openly engaged in the transfer of military equipment and weaponry to South Africa. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has estimated that between 1970 and 1977, multinational corporations supplied South Africa with \$780 million worth of major weapons: armoured vehicles, ships, missiles, and aircraft.

Since the imposition of the mandatory arms embargo multinational corporations have developed various procedures to transfer their military hardware to South Africa. The most promising have been the use of 'middle-men' countries to avoid detection...The mandatory arms embargo has not precluded the sale and shipment of equipment that are sold for 'civilian' purposes from being used for military purposes upon arrival in South Africa. These so-called 'grey area' transfers have resulted in the continued flow of

essential spare parts for military equipment and weapons via sales to 'civilian' companies.

2 Multinational corporate investments and South Africa's military-industrial complex:

The rapid expansion of military expenditures by the racist regime in South Africa following the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 significantly stimulated the growth of investments there by multinational corporations. Corporations investing in South Africa benefited both directly, in the form of contracts to sell parts and materials to the military, and indirectly in terms of a more expanded market...

By the 1970s multinational corporations owned about 40% of South Africa's manufacturing. They played an especially important role in those strategic sectors which were essential to the strength and relative independence of what had, over the years, become a powerful military-industrial complex. Iron and steel, chemicals, auto, electrical equipment and appliances, machinery and engineering industries furnish the industrial infrastructure essential for development of a relatively independent military capacity. In the years following the Sharpeville massacre the major thrust of multinational corporate investments was to provide advanced technologies, managerial skills and finance to these strategic sectors in South Africa.

To comprehend the significance of the contribution of multinational corporations to South Africa's military capability it is essential to understand that its military-industrial complex is dominated by a closely interwoven network of state-owned corporations (Parastatals), a small handful of giant domestic mining finance houses dominated by the Anglo-American Corporation, and multinational corporate investors. Table 1 presents a general overview of this relationship.

When multinational corporations expanded their investments in South Africa's strategic manufacturing industries in the 1960s and 70s they did so in collaboration with the Parastatals and Anglo-American. To this end, an examination of Anglo-American Corporation leads to some revealing ties between South

Africa and Canada.

Anglo-American Corporation, by far the most powerful of South Africa's mining finance houses, had overall assets in 1974 estimated at over \$7.4 billion, equal to about one-quarter of South Africa's total national product. By the 1960s Anglo-American had itself become essentially a multinational corporation. About 56 per cent of its shares were held in Britain, but it has secured close ties with the giant US firm, Engelhard.

In Canada, the insidious tentacles of Anglo-American are exposed in the Anglo-American Corporation of Canada Ltd. This conglomerate was established in 1966 so as to consolidate most of the interests of, in addition to Anglo American, De Beers of South African and Charter Consolidated of Britain. These interests in Canada include both direct and indirect investments in copper, zinc, cadmium, gold, silver, potash and uranium mining, chemical, crude oil and natural gas production and prospecting operations...

The relationship between foreign investments in South Africa's strategic industrial sectors and its growing military capacity is seen most clearly in the racist regime's increasing ability to produce its own weaponry and the role these sectors play in producing this weaponry. In 1977, the minister of Defence stated that as a result of South Africa's 'indigenous' armaments industry his Ministry spent 75 per cent of its arms procurement budget inside the country. In addition, it was revealed that 40 per cent of this budget went directly to the private sector, and that 80 per cent of the balance that was allocated to the Parastatals was contracted-out to private corporations.

3 The international banking community and South Africa's military expenditures

Multinational banks have played and continue to play an important role in providing finance for the build up of the South African military-industrial complex. However, the typical confidentiality of relations between banks and their clients has made it very difficult to obtain precise data on this aspect of multinational corporate activities. Nevertheless, available information suggests that multi-

national banks remain among the most important international institutions for the white-minority regime, for they help to provide essential finance and foreign exchange for the purchase of military material and the machinery and equipment needed to produce it.

To understand the way multinational banks help to finance the South African military-industrial complex, it is essential to comprehend the dominant role they play in the South African banking structure. A small handful of multinational banks hold about two-thirds of the assets of the biggest 20 banks in South Africa, a far higher percentage than foreign firms hold in any other sector of the economy.

The affiliates of multinational banks in South Africa helped to mobilize funds to build up its military-industrial complex in several ways. In 1975 alone, for example, their commercial affiliates advanced almost R4 billion in various forms of credit to different sectors of the economy. About 75 per cent of these were general loans to the public and private sectors. An unknown percentage of these loans were made directly to the South African Government. Some of them were military loans, since the regime required commercial banks to buy bonds to finance its military build-up.

Beyond loans made for directly military purposes, the commercial banks contributed far more extensive credit facilities to the Government for general purposes. Given the nature of money as a fluid commodity, however, credit made available to the Government for non-military purposes inevitably releases tax revenues to finance more direct military expenditures. In other words, in the context of the South African military-industrial complex, *all* credits to the regime must be perceived as having military implications.

Conclusion

Multinational corporations play a key role in providing the hardware and finance for South Africa's military-industrial complex. Their investments in advanced machinery and equipment in South Africa itself creates the industrial infrastructure to enable the regime to produce about 75 per cent of its own military needs. In addi-

TABLE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

SOUTH AFRICAN GOV'T	PARASTATALS	'PRIVATELY' HELD CORPORATIONS
Administration	ARMSCOR (military) ISCOR (iron and steel)	Anglo-American Corporation plus six other mining finance houses
Police	ESCOM (electricity and nuclear) SENTRACHEM (chemicals)	
Army	SAH&RR (harbours and railways) SASOL (oil-from-coal)	Multinational Corporations own 40% of South African manufacturing
Airforce	NATREF (state oil refinery) IDC (state development corp.)	
Navy	Etc...	Multinational banks own 60% of the 20 largest South African banks

tion, their investments facilitate the import of the parts and materials required to make that production possible. Their international linkages provide the channels through

which South Africa continues to import the military machinery and equipment which its own industry cannot produce. Finally, multinational banks provide the

essential financial contacts to enable the white-minority regime to finance its growing domestic and international military purchases.

APPENDIX 1

FOREIGN WEAPONS SYSTEMS IN SERVICE WITH SOUTH AFRICA ARMED FORCES

COUNTRY OF MANUFACTURE OR LICENCE	ITEM	NO. DELIVERED
US	North American F-51D Cavalier counterinsurgency strike aircraft	50
	Agusta-Bell 205A Iroquois helicopter	25
	M-41 Walker Bulldog light tank	100
	Lockheed P-2 Neptune anti-submarine patrol boat	12
	M-7 105mm self-propelled artillery gun	200
	T-17 El Staghound armoured car	450
	M-3A1 White armoured personnel carrier	400
US/ITALY	M-113A1 armoured personnel carrier	150
	M-47 Patton main battle tank	100
	M-109 155mm self-propelled artillery gun	20
US/PORTUGAL	Commando V-150 armoured personnel carrier	100
US/W. GERMANY	Lockheed F-104G Starfighter fighter-bomber	40
FRANCE	Mirage III fighter-bomber	95
	Mirage F-I jet fighter	48
	Aerospatiale Alouette III armed attack helicopter	115
	AMC-13 light tank	80
FRANCE/SA	Cactus/Crotale Surface-to-Air missiles	30
	Panhard AML-245/60 armoured car	800
	Panhard AML-245/80 armoured car	400
FRANCE/BITAIN	Aerospatiale/Westland 330 Puma assault helicopter	40
BRITAIN	Centurion Mk7 heavy tank	150
	Centurion Mk10 heavy tank	240
	Daimler Ferret Mk2 scoutcar/anti-tank armoured car	450
	Saracen FV603 and FV610 armoured personnel carrier	700
	Short SB301 armoured personnel carrier	300 (?)
	Shorland Mk3 armoured car	200 (?)
	Tigercat Surface-to-Air missiles	54
CANADA	Sexton 25 pounder self-propelled artillery gun	200
	C1-13B Sabre Mk6 strike-trianer aircraft	12
	G5 155mm artillery system	100 (?)
ITALY/SA	Impala MB-326M Mk1 strike/trainer aircraft	216
	Impala MB 326K Mk2 ground attack aircraft	122

SOURCES: *The Apartheid War Machine*, IDAF, London 1980; Harsch, *South Africa*, Monad Press, NY, 1980

CANADA'S CONNECTION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPLOSIVES INDUSTRY

One particularly important aspect of Canadian collaboration with South Africa—the sale of sulphur—was highlighted in a pamphlet drawn up by the Vancouver-based Southern Africa Action Coalition. This pointed out that the Canadian Government has long condemned apartheid and white minority rule in South Africa as 'morally reprehensible.' Why then does it allow the export of sulphur to South Africa where it is an essential element in the manufacture

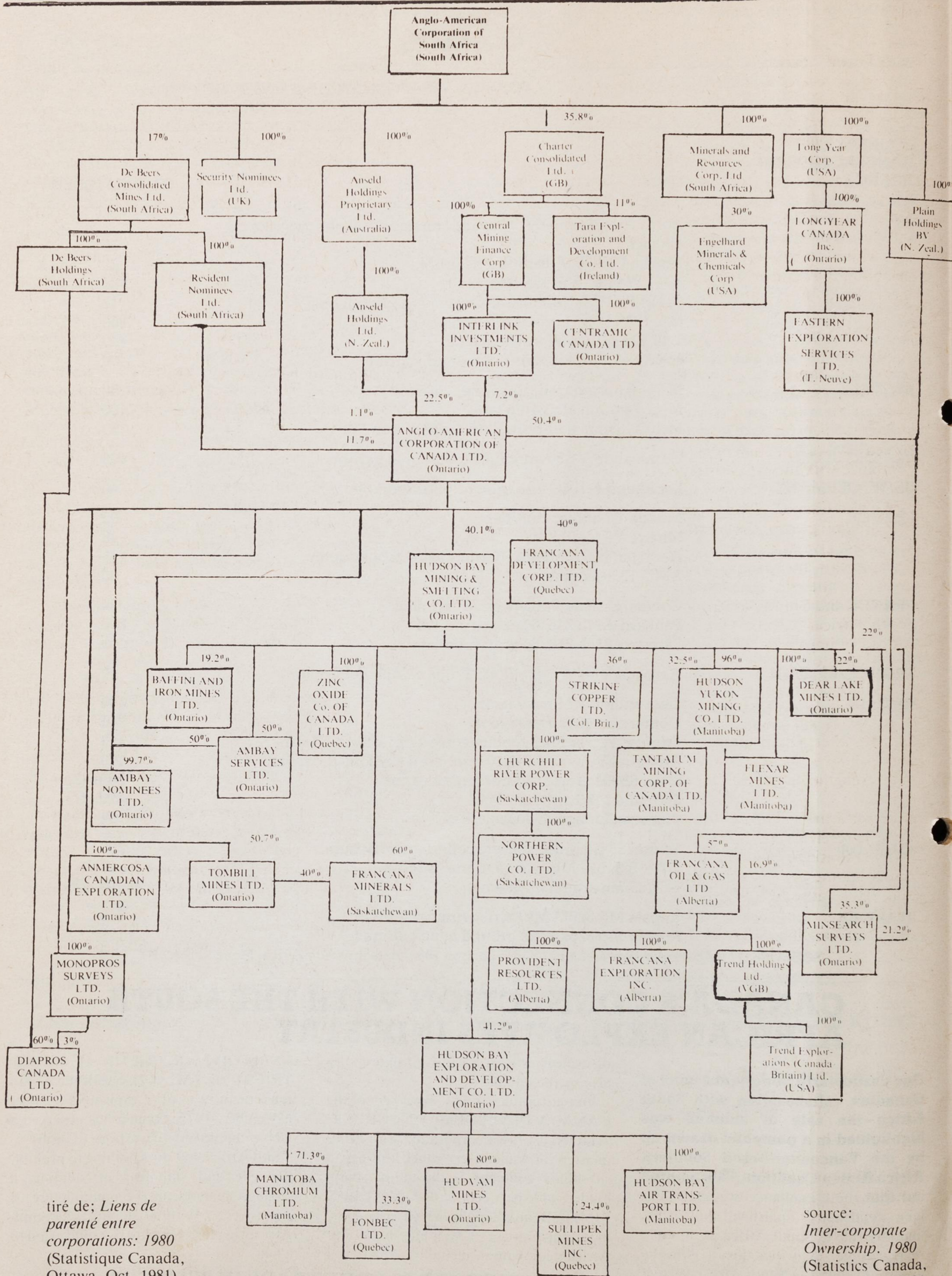
of explosives used not just in mining but also by the military?

Our government owns 48 per cent of the CANADA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, a Crown corporation with headquarters in Vancouver, which through a subsidiary company is the major shareholder (40 per cent) of CANSULEX LIMITED, a company which sells enormous quantities of sulphur to South African companies, including AFRICAN

EXPLOSIVES & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD. (AE & CI), one of the largest manufacturers of explosives... Since November, 1977, Canada has observed a UN embargo on the export of arms to South Africa, but does nothing to prohibit the sale and shipment of sulphur, a strategic material in the manufacture of explosives... Without sulphur, the South African explosives industry would grind to a halt.

STOP THE BLOODY TRADE IN SULPHUR!

Appendix: Anglo-American Corporation in Canada



tiré de; Liens de parenté entre corporations: 1980 (Statistique Canada, Ottawa, Oct. 1981)

source: Inter-corporate Ownership. 1980 (Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Oct. 1981.

FINAL DECLARATION

In Ottawa, between 7th and 9th May, 1982, an important event occurred. More than 500 people, representing a large cross-section of Canadian and Quebecois organizations, met to discuss the alarming new developments in Southern Africa.

We the participants at this conference have learned that the situation in South Africa and Namibia was both worse and better than we had thought. *It is worse* in the sense that the white minority South African regime has intensified its repression of the majority of the population within its borders and increased its brutal attacks on neighbouring African countries. *It is better* in that ever-increasing numbers of people are joining the ranks of the two liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and creating a massive social movement unprecedented in the region. Trade Unionists, students, churches, women, community organizations of all colours are uniting and fighting with new strength. Even the South African government has been forced to accept that the level of this resistance, combined with the increasing armed struggle, has put the South African racists in the worst crisis in their history.

We also learned of the behind-the-scenes manoeuvres that are going on in the capital cities of several western countries. Five countries, USA, France, West Germany, Great Britain and Canada, are afraid that they may lose access to the vast wealth and strategic minerals of Namibia and South Africa. They are plotting with the South African regime to rig the election in Namibia. Instead of implementing United Nations Resolution 435 which clearly calls for internationally supervised, free and fair elections, they keep demanding unreasonable concessions from SWAPO and allow South Africa to continue its aggression against Namibians, Angolans, and the other African states of the region. On the other hand, these western countries keep arming, financing, and strengthening their economic ties with the racist regime.

Pretoria has begun its new offensive since last year when it received the approval of the Reagan administration. President Reagan announced publicly that the Botha regime are his allies and General Haig has said that the United States and South Africa must work together to protect their mutual interests. And thus the cancer of apartheid brutality has been spreading. All of Africa is now threatened with the possibility of nuclear attack from South Africa. Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, the Seychelles, and other African countries suffer daily from military intervention and political and economic pressures from South Africa's government. And further, all over the Third World, people are oppressed and threatened by the growing collaboration of South Africa with various repressive states, such as Chile, El Salvador, Indonesia, Israel, etc.

Which side are we on?

When the conference received messages of solidarity from Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC and Hidipo Hamutenya, Secretary for Information and Publicity of SWAPO, we were reminded that there are two Canadas. They accused one Canada which is pro-apartheid: owners of large corporations and controllers

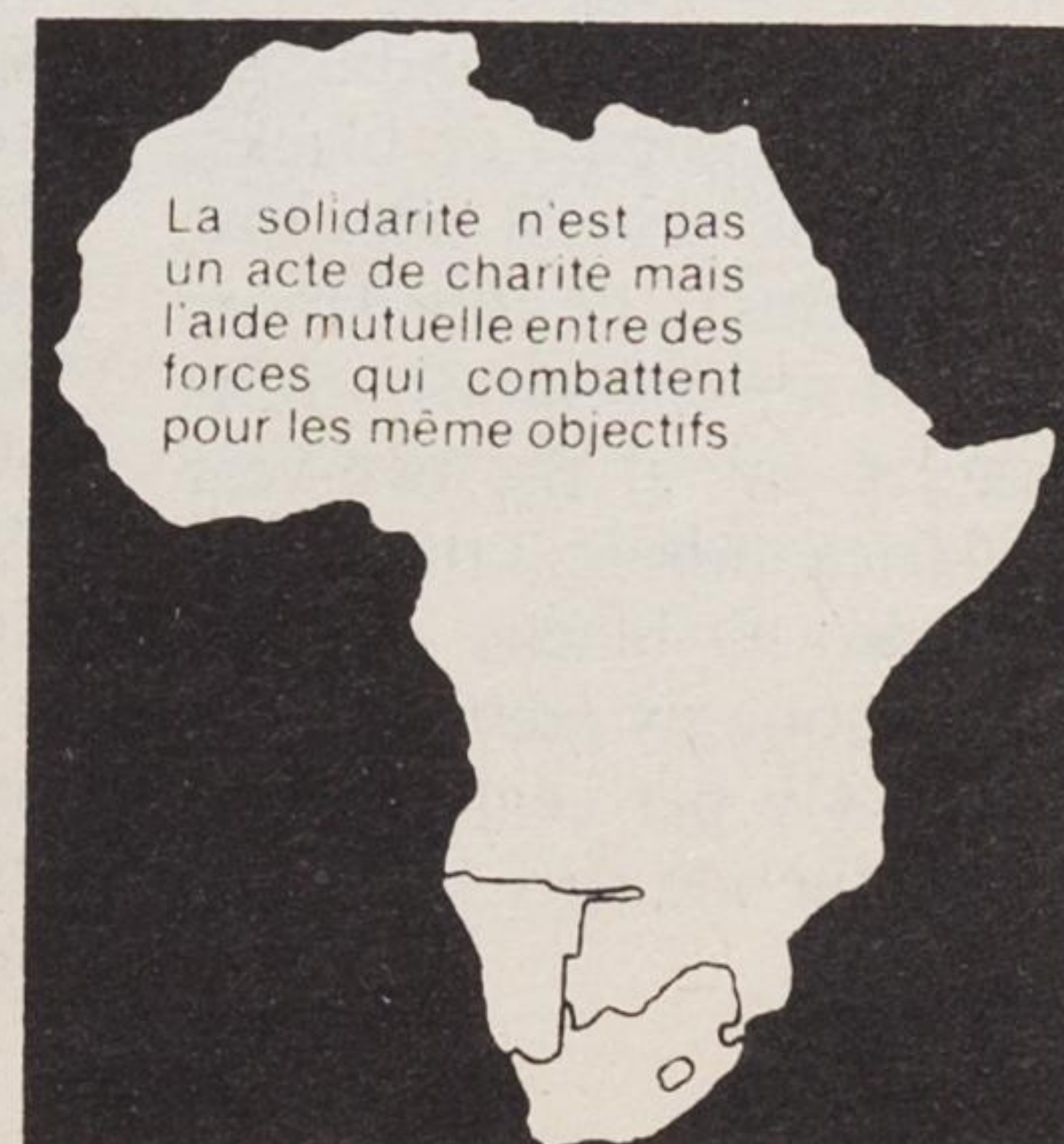
of the chartered banks who are investing in apartheid to prop it up and reap huge profits from the system which guarantees cheap labour. As for the Canadian government, its record is quite clear. Despite the mouthing of fancy phrases at UN gatherings, the Canadian government has consistently eased the way for trade and collaboration with the South African racists and refused to bring real economic or political pressure against them.

But there is another Canada. People from all walks of life, members of a variety of churches, trade unions, women's organizations, aboriginal groups, students, and supporters of non-government organizations who were at the conference represented several thousand of their constituents all over the country. We reaffirmed not only our abhorrence of apartheid, but our determination to help stamp it out. Not simply for vicarious reasons, but because **"Solidarity is not an act of charity but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objectives."**

These words of Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, was the theme of our conference. They helped us to recall that we cannot fight against racism and oppression in Southern Africa without also fighting against them here at home. Beginning with the racism against native peoples and immigrants and extending to the various forms of oppression experienced daily by working people in Canada and Quebec, including unemployment, inflation, etc., our common struggle for justice becomes clearer every day.

This is why we solemnly declare:

- We join with the overwhelming majority of the world's nations in isolating and imposing mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa.
- We denounce the aggression of the South African regime against Angola and other independent states of Southern Africa.
- We denounce the collaboration of the Canadian government and other western powers with the South African racists.
- We support the liberation movements of Southern Africa, namely the ANC and SWAPO, both politically and materially.
- We support the sovereign African States and their efforts to resist South African aggression and to build an independent Africa.
- We intend to build a vast network of solidarity which will link the struggling peoples of Southern Africa with the people of Canada and the rest of the world.



The fall in the price of gold has had a major impact on the health of the South African economy. Its rise in 1980-81 made it one of the most successful economies in the world and was one of the factors underlying black political and industrial advance. Its collapse has brought a sharp reverse in the balance of payments. This means that South Africa has reverted to its traditional position of depending on foreign loans to finance its imports. This exposes it to possible external political constraints. In order to avoid these it has been driven to depress the domestic South African economy in order to try to convert the balance of payments deficit. South Africa already has high import controls. It is unlikely that it will be fully successful, but it will have the effect of reducing the high profitability of the South African industry and, thereby, reducing the flow of private capital. The general effect will be a weakening of South Africa politically, economically, militarily and diplomatically. The main countervailing factor is the help of the Reagan Administration and its agent the IMF.

By Henry Neuburger

On 24 March the South African Finance Minister Horwood introduced a deflationary budget. The main measures were:

- * a rise in the effective rate of company tax;
- * an increase in goldmine tax (some of it used to subsidise unprofitable mines);
- * higher sales tax on luxuries;
- * higher tax on longterm insurance fund;
- * a substantial cut in the volume of public spending, including defence and bread subsidy.

The budget was described as 'strict and conservative' and is based on the same ludicrous principles which guide Reagan and Thatcher—cutting public sector borrowing in order to try to keep down interest rates. Although the theories may be similar, the underlying reasons are in some ways different. In this note I want to explore these underlying reasons and point to some of the implications for strategy and for likely developments in South Africa.

The budget was only the latest in a series of restrictive economic measures. Little more than a month before, Horwood had introduced a mini-budget raising import taxes and sales taxes. A week or two later, in another move reminiscent of Thatcher, the South African Reserve Bank gave up controls over interest rates and allowed these to rise to unheard of levels. Short term interest rates had doubled in a year to around 20 per cent. While the minibudget was likely to have most impact on blacks, because it increases the general sales tax, the current budget seems to be aimed more at creaming some of the enormous profits made by companies out of the two-year boom in South Africa although the rise in bread prices will also hit blacks. In 1980 the South African economy grew by 8 per cent and a further 4½ per cent in 1981. Manufacturing production rose by 10 per cent in both years.

SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

Employment in both mining and manufacturing was rising at an annual rate of about 5 per cent per annum. Under these circumstances large profits were made by manufacturing and commercial companies as well as by mines. The combination of a tight labour market and high profits was part of the economic background against which black trade unions were able to achieve advances in organisation and wage levels. As with monetarism in Britain and the USA, monetarism in South Africa has as one of its major targets wage levels and working class organisation.

Nonetheless, it is the role of South Africa in the international economic system which makes the constraint on its economic policies unique. Ironically it is the monetarist policies largely of the USA which have caused its problems. In 1980 gold represented more than half the value of South African exports. The price of gold has fallen from its peak in early 1980 of \$830 per ounce and an average of \$600 per ounce in 1980 to little more than \$300 per ounce now. That would be equivalent to something like a loss of \$6 billion per annum in foreign exchange earnings—that is about one-tenth of the budget of the South African economy. The gold price quadrupled during the course of 1979 as a result of the rise in oil prices. These affect the gold price because speculators tend to buy gold when there is a fear that inflation will take off. It is also one of the assets in which OPEC countries tend to invest. With inflation slowing down in most industrial countries and OPEC countries running short of cash, these factors went into reverse in 1981. The major factor was the continuing high level of interest rates—especially in the USA. High interest rates

make holding gold for any length of time unprofitably because gold pays no interest while the money which is used to finance it could be invested to yield high interest. In addition, the plight of the South African economy began to exacerbate the problem. In order to deal with its problems, the South African government started using its gold to finance its imports through 'swap' arrangements with other central banks. This increased the amount of gold on the market and depressed the price. The South Africans also like to blame the Soviet Union who, they say, used gold to pay for grain imports following the poor harvests of recent years.

While it is possible (although by no means certain) that the high level of US interest rates will start to fall, and that the fortunes of OPEC countries will improve slightly, it is likely that the downward pressure on the gold price will continue. The *Financial Times*, UK (25th March 1982), speculated that the budget calculations are based on a gold price of \$300 per ounce.

Other South African products have suffered a similar fate. In particular the diamond market has collapsed to such an extent that De Beers cut its dividend for the first time since 1944, while Rustenburg Platinum is in trouble too. South Africa has also suffered from the general collapse of raw material prices which has affected most primary producing countries as a result of the world recession.

The high gold price of 1980 and 1981 brought a lot of money into the country which stimulated development within South Africa and brought the boom we have described. This, however, is not its

greatest importance to South Africa. The most important issue is the balance of payments. South Africa is heavily dependent on imports in certain key areas. The most important are military equipment and oil for both civilian and military purposes. If it cannot pay for these through exports it must buy them on credit. With the revenue on the balance of payments in 1981 and 1982, South Africa has been going out much more into international financial markets looking for loans. As the *Financial Times*, UK, of 19th March reports:-

'South Africa is back with a vengeance in the international capital markets. After several years of moderate borrowing and net repayment of outstanding debts, there has been a flurry of activity in recent months.'

The article goes on to identify several large loans including \$100m seven year credit for AECI, \$250m seven year credit for ESCOM, \$160m for Soweto electrification. Short term overseas borrowing by banks has quadrupled in the first nine months of last year to nearly \$3 billion. The rates of interest at which they borrow while less favourable than many borrowers on the Euromarkets are considerably more favourable than they were three or four years ago. While there is still effective political pressure against some banks participating in South African loans, Swiss and German banks appear to be doing so relatively freely and the AECI loan was co-ordinated by Citicorp, one of the largest USA banks. The Soweto loan is part of a recent trend of trying to circumvent the political opposition to South African loans by tying them to projects for blacks. As the *Financial Times*, UK, puts it: **'...this simply frees other funds for the enforcement of apartheid'**.

In February the South African Reserve Bank drew \$300m worth of credit from the IMF and is reported to be negotiating for more. Dr Joep de Loor, Director General of Finance, told a seminar on the budget that the IMF 'very definitely influenced the budget in strengthening the way of thinking and the approach we had'.

At the same seminar Dr Chris Stals, senior deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, warned of the dangers of further

foreign borrowing. He said that the cost of foreign loans was beginning to rise as South Africa became more exposed in international financial markets.

Up to the time of Sharpeville and then after a break up to 1976, the South African economy ran a chronic deficit on its balance of payments financed by capital inflows. Since Soweto this has been more difficult for them. The high gold price cushioned the balance of payments for some time after Soweto. Now this cushion is gone the vulnerability of South Africa is much increased.

Another factor which is different from the situation before 1976 is the very high level of interest rates. This means that the foreign exchange costs of financing any borrowing is that much greater. As yet international bankers are saying that there has not been any obvious deterioration, as they see it, in the political prospects in South Africa. There will inevitably be a decline in economic prospects as economic growth grinds to a halt. This will further reduce the flow of investment funds to South Africa as profitability declines profits tax rises.

The attitude of the USA government is of great importance in this. The relaxation early in March of Carter's restriction on trade with South Africa by Reagan is a clear sign of his attitude. The USA has now replaced Britain as South Africa's main trading partner. It is also clear that the USA is also supporting South Africa through the agency of the IMF. The ease with which South Africa is receiving credits may be contrasted with, for example, the recent problems encountered by Zambia in its dealing with IMF.

One of the apparent victims of the economic squeeze is the military budget which is being cut by about 6 per cent in real terms (an increase of 8 per cent in cash against 14 per cent inflation). This could possibly signal some kind of plan to withdraw from Namibia. It certainly seems likely that South Africa's military capability will be strained by its economic problems.

This will also affect the balance in economic relations between South Africa and the Frontline States. South Africa will

have less need for labour from outside South Africa as the economy declines. On the other hand it will be more anxious than in 1980-81 to trade with other countries.

While the mini-budget will have hit black living standards, the budget itself will have relatively more impact on whites. With the 25 per cent decline of the Rand against the dollar from the beginning of 1981, there will be mounting pressure on white living standards. This is likely to enhance political tensions within the white population. The decline in the economy is also likely to reverse the relatively favourable economic climate under which black trade unions flourished in 1980-81. There will be mounting economic pressure and there is likely to be an attempt by employers to claw back some of the gains made then.

One of the developments which may be affected is the attempt to make South Africa more self sufficient in arms production. That programme, while being all the more necessary as a result of the current situation, is made more problematic because it depends on imported equipment.

To summarise, the effect of the gold price has weakened the South African economy and made it more vulnerable in the following ways:

- * its supply of overseas finance is more vital and more likely to be frightened off by any new sign of political instability;
- * its military capability is threatened, weakening its bargaining position in Namibia in particular;
- * its trading relations are weakened;
- * profitability and the attraction of foreign capital is likely to be weakened;
- * it is likely to try to load the weight of the crisis onto the blacks and in particular to try to claw back the Trade Union gains of the last two years.



Joint Communiqué – ZANU (PF)-ICSA

The talks between the ICSA delegation and the leadership of the Ruling Party of Zimbabwe, ZANU (PF), concerned the project of an important *International Conference in Solidarity with the Frontline States*, to take place in Lisbon, capital of Portugal, next June.

The Leadership of ZANU (PF) has considered this initiative most timely and necessary, and asserted its full agreement with the initiative, assuring its full support and participation in the preparations and the conference itself, together with the leadership of all other Frontline States.

Both parties considered that such an International Conference in Solidarity With the Frontline States, facing the aggressions and undeclared war of the

apartheid regime responds to the decisions and spirit of the recent Maputo summit.

The Conference shall be broadly open to the participation of political parties and governments, as well as trade unions, solidarity committees, international organisations and world public opinion.

The ICSA delegation thanks ZANU (PF), the government and people of Zimbabwe for their warm and fraternal hospitality and wishes them the greatest successes in the tasks of building a free, independent and prosperous Zimbabwe.

...

Salisbury

March 19, 1982.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES

LISBON JULY 16-18 1982

To consult with the leadership of the Front Line States (FLS) a joint ICSA-AAPSO delegation visited Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola from 9-26 March. The main purpose of the delegation was to discuss the proposed *Conference in Solidarity with the Frontline States* (see Appeal and Communique) for their final approval. Dr Silas Cerqueira, ICSA Executive Secretary, led the delegation. ANC and SWAPO representatives joined the delegation in each country visited.

Tanzania

The Foreign Minister, Salim A Salim, expressed full support. Ndugu D Mwakawago, National Executive Secretary of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), stated that he would recommend strongly that the Central Committee of CCM should support this initiative. During their stay in Dar es Salaam the delegation also met with the OAU Liberation Committee.

Mozambique

President Samora Machel showed his support by receiving the delegation. Two long working meetings were held with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joaquim Chissano, and other representatives of FRELIMO, the ministry and the Mozam-

biquan Friendship League. A joint press communique was issued stressing the importance of this Conference in Solidarity with the FLS.

Zimbabwe

Frank discussions with Cde Richard Hove, deputy secretary of ZANU for External affairs, were followed by a long and friendly meeting with the Hon Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The meeting obviously discussed also solidarity work and the role ZANU(PF) played in the foundation of ICSA. A joint communique made clear that ZANU(PF) assures full support and participation in the Conference preparations and at the Conference itself considering it 'most timely and necessary'. The delegation paid a courtesy call on President Canaan Banana.

Zambia

The delegation held very positive meetings with the Secretary General of UNIP, Humphrey Mulemba, with the Chairman of the Political and Legal Committee, Hon R.C. Kamanga, and with Mrs Mulundika, Provincial Political Secretary of UNIP. President Kenneth Kaunda received the delegation in a very cordial and friendly audience in State House paying tribute to ICSA for its efforts in making the world aware of the evils of the Pretoria regime.

Angola

The leadership of MPLA fully supports the Conference. Cde Afonso Van Dunen (M'Binda), Secretary for External Relations of MPLA, received the delegation. Further meetings were held with representatives of the party, ministry and the Friendship League. The visit was concluded by an equally fraternal and conclusive audience with Cde Henrique Dos Santos (Onambwe), member of the Political Bureau representing President Dos Santos.

Conclusion

The joint ICSA-AAPSO delegation was received at high level and with great and fraternal hospitality in the states visited. There was full agreement with the main issues to be dealt with, the character and the aims of the Conference, as well as the venue. The timing of the Conference (16-18 July) was opportune following the Maputo Summit of the FLS (6-7 March) which brought a new level in the unity of struggle between the FLS and the national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO. The joint ICSA-AAPSO initiative for such a Conference actually responded to the appeal contained in the Maputo Summit Communique. The FLS have agreed to be represented at high level on the forthcoming Conference.





COMMUNIQUE

The International Preparatory Committee held its meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, from 16th-18th April 1982 to organise for the convening of the *International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States, and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa*.

Representatives of 23 national and international governmental and non governmental organisations participated in the meeting.* The International Preparatory Committee:

- Reviewed the dangerous and deteriorating situation resulting from the continuous acts of aggression committed by the apartheid regime against the independent and sovereign states of the Front Line – Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other countries in the region – and which have breached the peace in Southern Africa and threatened world peace;

- Recognised the heavy burdens and sacrifices paid by the peoples and governments of the Front Line States for their firm support and stand with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia;

- Emphasised its firm belief that the convening of an international conference in solidarity with the Front Line States will provide the international community with an opportunity to review, assess, intensify and enhance assistance and support in all fields to those states as well as to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa;

- Decided as a matter of urgency to

convene, in Lisbon, *The International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States, for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa*, from the 16th to 18th July 1982.

- In consequence decided to ensure the full success of such an important conference, to hold a *second International Preparatory meeting*, from the 28th to 30th May, 1982, in Lisbon;

- Approved the agenda of the conference, list of participants and other measures to ensure full mobilisation for the forthcoming conference;

- Appealed to all concerned national, international, governmental and non-governmental organisations to participate as fully and actively at a high level of representation in the coming *Lisbon International Conference*.

Lisbon, April 18th, 1982

APPEAL

Southern Africa has become a focal point of the divide between war and peace. The criminal apartheid regime is escalating its undeclared war of aggression, subversion and political and economic destabilisation of the Front Line States and peoples – Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other countries in the region.

This extremely grave situation calls for urgent and immediate action by the international community to rally to the defence and in support of the Front Line States and of the peoples of Namibia and of South Africa, victims of the inhuman apartheid system.

Deeply concerned with this dangerous situation for international security and peace, representatives of the Front Line States, the National Liberation Movements, the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA), the Afro Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), and European Anti-Apartheid and Solidarity Movements, the United

'The MPLA Worker's Party, leading force of the Angolan Nation, declares their total support for the Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa, to be convened in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, the 16th to 18th of July, 1982 and will participate in the Conference with a delegation of the highest level.

We are certain that this Conference will expose and denounce the South African regime as constant aggressors against the sovereign independent states of Southern Africa, especially the People's Republic of Angola.

The Conference will have as an objective the development of multi-level cooperation between the Front Line States and other states, as a way of assisting the process of national reconstruction in which we are engaged'.

Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the United Nations Council for Namibia and other national and international organisations, met in Lisbon in an international preparatory committee to convene an International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States, and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa.

The conference, scheduled for the 16th to 18th July, 1982, will be held in the city of Lisbon, Portugal. Such an unprecedented gathering will address itself to mobilising world public opinion and democratic forces for urgent moral, political and material solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa, for the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, the imposition of mandatory sanctions in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the immediate withdrawal of South Africa's armed forces from the soil of Angola.

The Lisbon Conference is to be a milestone and an historic encounter in the development of cooperation and friendship between the peoples of Africa and Europe and the world at large.

The International Preparatory Committee appeals to governments, political parties, trade unions, anti-apartheid and solidarity groups, national and international organisations, churches and individuals to support the objectives of the Lisbon Conference and work for its success.

The International Preparatory Committee is firmly convinced that the response of the international community to the menacing situation developing in Southern Africa will be positive and guarantee the territorial and national independence of the Front Line States and the ultimate triumph of the forces of liberation and the establishment of a just peace.

Executive Secretary:

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* Representatives of the Front Line States, the National Liberation Movements ANC and SWAPO, the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA), the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), European Anti-Apartheid and Solidarity Movements, the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the United Nations Council for Namibia and other national and international organisations participated.

SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA*

by

Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Ngongo

General Staff Headquarters, People's Armed Force for
the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA)

I will try to present a brief history of South African aggression from 1976 to 1980.

I should like to point out that the aggression did not start then. Already in 1975 our country was basely invaded by the South African racists. We repulsed the aggression on 27 March 1976; that date is commemorated by our people as the day when we hold the Carnival of Victory, which all our people celebrate.

However, the South African racists' permanent aggression against our people increased in the year 1981, due mainly to the worsening of the international situation as a result of the adventurist and belligerent policy of the Reagan administration, which was directly reflected in the situation in Southern Africa. The militaristic statements of the Reagan administration and the need felt by imperialism to step up the struggle against the liberation movements gave rise to the intensification of armed action against frontline States, especially Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola.

As a result, the political and military situation in Southern Africa suddenly became very much more acute. In the course of 1981, the main target of armed provocation was the area in the south-east of the People's Republic of Angola, involving co-ordinated actions with the counter-revolutionary UNITA group. The South African air force started systematic overflying of our territory while their ground forces repeatedly violated our borders, always on the pretext of pursuing SWAPO detachments.

In the first half of 1981, the South African air force carried out constant air reconnaissance operations over the areas where our armed forces were stationed, especially our anti-aircraft positions and command posts, penetrating more than 200 km inside our territory along the whole of our country's border, and attacking convoys, isolated vehicles, bridges and tunnels and mining the main roads to southern Angola. The aim was to create difficulties in supplying the population in the south of our country and to paralyse our troop movements. The number of violations of our country's airspace increased substantially in July and the first fortnight in August. The purpose of this aerial activity was to gather reconnaissance data on the situation of our troops.

Indeed, during the last days of May there was already an increase in South African bombing raids and strafing operations, as

well as ambushes and mine-laying on the Cahama-Xangongo and Mongua-Njiva roads. During the three months preceding the large-scale invasion of the south of our country which the South African racist forces called 'Operation Protea', between 20 May and 20 August, as a result of bombing, mine-laying and attacks, the racist South African forces caused the following losses among our people:

- 127 civilians killed
- 220 civilians wounded
- 42 soldiers killed
- 94 soldiers wounded
- 38 vehicles destroyed
- 2 bridges destroyed
- 1 tunnel destroyed

It should be emphasised that on 20 June a South African infantry company entered at border marker 19, at Oshikango (formerly Santa Clara) its object being not only reconnaissance, but also to make the people withdraw from that area, forcing them to go either to Namibia or further to the north.

In early July, we detected a concentration of about 40,000 South African troops along the border, stationed in Namibia, especially between border markers 20 and 25. In mid-July the South African troops carried out a fairly large-scale incursion into our country and occupied a small area in the south of the country, where they set up their command post. This was in the area of Mulemba. At that time they had occupied Ndova and Anhanca. During further so-called hot pursuit operations against SWAPO, they massacred the population in those areas. At that time the effectives of racist South Africa consisted of one motorised infantry brigade, two combined battalions of mercenaries and South African troops and tactical air cover, Impala MK-2 aircraft, Pumas and Alouette-III helicopters. Subsequently these troops carried out intensive sabotage operations, mine-laying, ambushes and attacks on all road traffic between north-east and south-west of Njiva.

At the beginning of August, South African infantry reconnaissance groups were spotted. They were up to company strength and operated south of Cuamato and Naulila. Together with these armed operations, the South African racist government's propaganda machinery launched an intensive campaign to mislead South African opinion and world public opinion, talking about alleged Soviet threats, the doubling of Cuban and East German forces with purported early-warning radar systems and missiles to protect

SWAPO bases, and the establishment of a defensive cordon in southern Angola. This was nothing but preparation for a large-scale invasion of our country.

From 23 August 1981, the racist South African forces launched yet another major act of aggression against our people, against Kunene Province. We later learnt that the South African racists called this operation 'Operation Protea'.

On 23 August, six Mirage aircraft and two Buccaneers bombed the localities of Cahama, Humbe and Xangongo, and Tchibemba, which is north of Cahama. On 24 August, the racist South African forces sent into our territory two infantry regiments, one entering at Ruacana and heading for Xangongo, the other entering south-west of Njiva and heading for Mongua. The regiment which entered at Ruacana divided into two convoys, one along the left bank of the Kunene River and the other along the right bank of that river. In an encirclement manoeuvre, the South African troops defeated our unit stationed at Xangongo. Our units were obliged to withdraw and the racist South African forces destroyed the bridge over the Kunene, a bridge which is one kilometre long.

At the same time, part of that regiment advanced towards the north, towards Cahama. Another part of the regiment headed for Mongua to support the regiment which was already going up to Mongua-Njiva road. Mongua fell on 25 August and conditions had been created to isolate Njiva. Forces as big as two regiments then headed for Njiva. The mercenary battalions advanced on Cahama. The forces that advanced towards Cahama were destroyed by our unit at Cahama and were forced to withdraw. Our forces at Njiva, completely destroyed, resisted against the attacks of the racist forces all day on the 26th, but on the 27th they were obliged to withdraw.

The racist South African forces then occupied all the left bank of the Kunene River, our forces having been obliged to withdraw towards the north. We calculate that during this invasion of the south of our country the racist South African forces used as many as 11,000 men, about 36 Centurion tanks, 70 AML-90 armoured cars, 200 armoured personnel carriers, including Ratels, Buffles and Saracens. Their artillery consisted of 155 mm G5 guns and 127 mm Ketron ground-ground missiles.

* Text of address at Conference on 'Southern Africa: The Time to Choose', London 12 March 1982.

As you can see from this map, at this moment, this area of about 50,000 sq. km. is controlled and occupied by the South African racist forces. The racist forces have not established what could be called an administration in that area. Meanwhile they are creating misery. They have forced the people to leave their areas and seek refuge further to the north, and they have started a process of bribing the population which has remained in those areas. In some areas they have set up some shops where they give food to the people in order to keep the population under their control. They say that the Government of Angola is not supporting the people, but that they support them and therefore they should always reveal any attempt by our armed forces to enter that buffer zone created in the south of our country.

However, we have received new information on concentrations of South African forces along the Namibian border. From the experience we have gained over these past six years of constant aggression by the South African racists against our country, during the rainy season, owing to the difficulties they have in moving their ground forces, there is a decrease in their operations. But this usually simply means preparations for a further escalation of aggression, which usually starts around June, when the dry season starts.

These acts of aggression are aimed essentially at weakening the reliable rear base of SWAPO that the People's Republic of Angola is, destabilising the People's Republic of Angola politically, economically, socially and militarily, and at the same time supporting counter-revolutionary groups operating in imperialist pay, headed by the South African racists, and especially the counter-revolutionary UNITA group, with a view to putting in power a puppet government, thus opening the way to a neocolonial solution in Namibia and preventing the liberation of the black people of South Africa who are fighting against *apartheid*.

STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE (NIGERIA), CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID AT THE OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND APARTHEID

BRUSSELS 17 MAY 1982

We meet here today to deal with one of the most shocking challenges to the conscience of humanity.

Apartheid is an outrage and a crime. It is a system of oppression and exploitation of the great majority of the people of South Africa, a system which is maintained by brute force, torture and terror.

It is a system under which millions of people have been forcibly moved from their homes in one of the largest deportations in human history. Half the African adults of South Africa have been jailed in the past generation under the detestable racist 'pass laws'.

Apartheid has caused the massacres of Sharpeville and Soweto, killing unarmed demonstrators – men, women and children – and the indiscriminate shooting, maiming and blinding of schoolchildren.

Apartheid is the massacre of Namibian refugees in Kassinga in Angola four years ago – a massacre which can only be compared to the war crimes of Nazis in Europe.

Apartheid, indeed, is Nazism transposed to the continent of Africa and imposed on the indigenous majority of the population which has been dispossessed and subdued in a series of wars.

I need hardly describe the particular suffering under apartheid of the women – especially African women – who are summarily thrown out of urban areas as 'superfluous appendages', who are forcibly separated from their husbands and children, who are confined to impoverished bantustans to live in starvation and misery.

The indignities inflicted on African women by the racists and the callousness of some of the friends of those racists – certainly infuriates us. All men and women of conscience resent, abhor and condemn these atrocities.

In spite of all these, Africa has been patient because we want to overcome the past and create a glorious future, a future that is truly non-racial. But there is a limit to the affront that we can tolerate. When our women are humiliated, when they are separated from their husbands and children, when they are man-handled by the racists in prison cells, we certainly cannot sit back and watch this inhumanity to the human person. We must act, we must act against this un-Godliness, we must act against this brazen injustice.

There can be no two views on apartheid, as their can be no two views on Nazism.

Apartheid cannot be reformed, as Nazism could not be reformed. It must be totally destroyed.

It is beyond credibility that there is so much propaganda about the adaptation of apartheid – for instance, about the manoeuvres of Botha and his clique to try to co-opt Coloured people and Indians, in a subordinate role, in order to more effectively exclude the African majority from all political participation.

In our attempt to change the situation for the better, and therefore bring about a more humane society, we have called for sanctions against South Africa as the only non-violent means of ending the inhuman policy of apartheid. But we have been told, time and again, that sanctions are a negative way of dealing with the situation in South Africa. Sanctions cannot work; sanctions cannot be applied. Some Western countries have, therefore, bluntly refused to impose or even consider imposing such sanctions. And yet they tell us that they are opposed to racial discrimination, that they do not support the atrocities of the Pretoria regime. But when it comes to taking practical measures to end these atrocities – and in a way which they have always advocated, through non-violent means – they develop cold feet.

We in Africa and in the Special Committee against Apartheid, cannot see any rational elements in the attitude of a few Western governments – especially those which profess democracy and which fought Nazism – when they reject sanctions against apartheid South Africa while at the same time they rush to impose separate and collective sanctions against other countries in different regions of the world and of varied ideologies. We believe that sanctions are the only alternative to escalating violence and conflict in southern Africa which cannot but have widest repercussions. We believe that sanctions can be applied. Indeed we have now seen sanctions applied.

The tale of women under apartheid is not merely the bitter story of the oppression of millions of women. Equally, it is an epic of the determination, courage and heroism of the women of South Africa and Namibia; of the sacrifice and solidarity of the frontline States; of the concern and contribution of many people of conscience around the world.

We cannot speak about apartheid without thinking of Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who has been cruelly persecuted for two decades but has stood up as the symbol of the courage and dignity of the African woman.

I am gratified that she is being honoured today in Haverford College in the United States.

There are many like her in South Africa and Namibia.

We meet here to declare our solidarity with them; to pay tribute to the heroism of the women in the struggle against apartheid; and to consult on ways to assist them in order to alleviate their suffering and enable them to play their rightful role in the struggle to destroy apartheid.

We have here with us women of South Africa and Namibia who know suffering as well as defiance of inequality. They include African women who have suffered brutal torture by the racist but who are ever more determined to fight. They include a white woman whose whole family has suffered persecution for opposition to apartheid; and an Indian woman, every member of whose family, for three generations, has gone to jail for opposing racial discrimination.

We salute all these gallant women, these women of honour who have proved once again, beyond any doubt, that the forces of women cannot be defeated nor can they be destroyed. For when they make up their minds to enter into any conflicts their resources are immeasurable; and when they enter that conflict they will not terminate it until justice is done!

We have here participants from all regions of the world – from the Philippines to Colombia, from Zimbabwe and Norway.



PAPER ON WORKING WOMEN PRESENTED BY SACTU

The effects of Apartheid on working women in rural and urban areas and their participation in trade unions.

1. Background

South Africa is a society with a social formation distinguished by private ownership of the means of production and race discrimination against the majority of the people. It is therefore a unique capitalist society with a policy of institutionalised racist domination and exploitation imposed by a white minority regime. The parliament and provincial councils consisting of whites only, elected by whites only, legislate for all South Africans including the voiceless Blacks.

The apartheid regime has forced its puppet institutions on the Black people, through the Coloured Person's Representative Council, South African Indian Council and the Bantustans, Blacks are expected to exercise their political powers. However, these fraudulent, racist institutions have been totally rejected by our people. In 1980 the regime was forced to close down the CPRC, during 1981 we witnessed an intense and successful campaign waged by our people against the SAIC, and the struggle against the carving-up of our country into so-called 'independent' bantustans.

A handful of whites own and control the means of production, the mines, factories, finance and insurance houses and farms etc. These capitalists and rich landowners form the ruling class and exercise great political influence over government and state policies.

South Africa is the most industrialised country on the African continent. This highly developed economy was built upon and is maintained through the exploitation of cheap Black labour. Through the pass laws, migrant labour and contract labour from the bantustans, the working men are employed in the cities as single units of labour, without their families.

2. What is the position of working women in the land of apartheid?

How does the hideous system of forced inequality between persons of different skin colours affect the position of working women? In the first place, women cannot as a whole achieve a higher status or a greater measure of dignity than that imposed by the society to which they belong. An enslaved woman is a slave and suffers all the hardships and humiliation of a slave. Therefore she can only become free when both males and females emancipate themselves from slavery.

Black women cannot achieve freedom, equality and dignity, unless the Black population as a whole achieves national liberation and social emancipation, opportunities and living standards which are necessary for people to become free and able to develop their talents to the fullest.

Professor H.J. Simons states:
*'African women carry a double burden of disabilities. They are discriminated against on the grounds of both sex and race. The two kinds of discrimination interact and reinforce each other, colour bars retard the process of female emancipation by impeding the progress of the whole race... Equality can become a reality only when both women and men have become full citizens of a free society.'*¹

The majority of women in all capitalist countries work in the lowest paid, least skilled occupations. They are usually the last to be hired and the first to be fired. They are part of a reserve army of labour. They are drawn into production or service during periods of industrial growth and dismissed during recession. This explains why women form the largest group of unemployed people.

Because of the racial character of South African capitalism, black working women are mostly employed in agriculture, domestic, textile, clothing and food industries. Women are forced into specific sectors of employment and even in professional fields their jobs as nurses, teachers and social workers are seen as the extension of their domestic role.

Two-thirds of African women are employed in the domestic and agricultural workers—sectors where no minimum wages are laid down, and no unemployment insurance is available. They have no pensions, no medical and maternity benefits. They are not covered by any legislation limiting the number of hours they can work. They are excluded from the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981.

In two recent studies² the facts are disclosed that: Domestic workers in Johannesburg earn an average of R57 a month, in the Eastern Cape R30 a month or less, sometimes as little as 60 cents a day. For these miserable wages women work as long as 84 to 85 hours a week. Black employees in provincial hospitals are paid less than their white colleagues, even if they have better educational qualifications, a Cape Provincial Administration employee has alleged. He quotes the example of a black senior reception officer with a Junior Certificate (std 8) earning a maximum annual salary of R4,395 while a white porter with a standard 6 pass can earn a maximum of R5,295).

During 1981, the regime introduced yet another of its racist labour legislation, the Labour Relations Amendment Act of 1981. This Act abolishes sex discrimination in the minimum wages as laid down by the Wage Board and Industrial Council. In other words, agreements may not specifically provide low wages or inferior working conditions for women as compared to men. However, not only are wage agreements made by these industrial councils extremely low, but the Industrial Council system has been rejected by the overwhelming majority of Black unions. At the most representative trade union summit held in Langa, Cape Town on 9 August, 1981, these unions resolved to reject the present Industrial Council system as a means of collective bargaining. Today trade unions are welding their unity in total rejection of the racist labour legislation which the regime portrays as 'reforms'. Exploitation cannot be reformed, it has to be abolished. In any case women are not fighting to be paid the same starvation wages as the men. Real equality can only be achieved through determined struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime that oppresses and exploits us.

1 Simons H.J. *African Women: Their legal status in South Africa*
2 Jennifer Shindler *The effects of influx control and labour saving appliances on domestic service in SA* and J. Cock *Maids & Madams* (Raven, Johannesburg 1980).

3. Employment inequalities

A 1975 survey showed that there are no African women judges, Magistrates, engineers and architects. This is because of the lack of educational and training facilities for Blacks. While education for whites is both free and compulsory, Blacks have to pay for a gutter education which aims at making us docile servants of the bosses in the factories and in society.

The discrimination in the salaries is very marked, a white social worker's initial salary is R472 a month rising to a minimum of R727 a month. For black social workers, the situation is even worse and includes sex discrimination. A Black male starts at R352.60 a month rising to a maximum of R412.60 (*Cape Argus* 1 February 1982).

The 1980 census figures showed that just over a third of the total labour force in South Africa were women. The sharpest rise in the number of employed women over the previous ten years has been in the area of African women which rose from 21.6% in 1960 to 34.9% in 1970. This is not in relation to their growth in population.

Unemployment

According to the 1970 census there are 7,797,000 African women in South Africa. This means that one quarter of African women are in formal employment. Many African women are not employed. This is not because they do not want to work. They need an income. But apartheid policy prevents them from leaving the Bantustans and joining the urbanised working class.

Influx control

Influx control is a major constraint on African women; it traps them in homelands and deprives them of chances of employment. Most administration boards have placed a total ban on the recruitment of women in rural areas for work in towns. Women who manage to come to towns must sign an undertaking not 'to introduce' their children into the area... e.g. at Mzimhlophe in Johannesburg, children were being evicted because the area occupied by their mothers was illegal for them to stay in. Trapped in the bantustans the rural African Woman carries all the responsibilities but without security of married life. Her chances of finding employment are slender and she must care for her children alone with only irregular support from her husband in town. On the average only one tenth of the migrant workers income is remitted to his dependants.

The compounded oppression and suffering under the Apartheid regime has brought women to the fore. Everywhere women are uniting and fighting with determination against pass laws and influx control, against the rise in the cost of bread, mealie meal, meat, paraffin, rent, electricity and transport. They send deputations, demonstrate, boycott buses. They fight evictions, fight back forced mass removals and resettlements. They refuse to live in huts or hiding in bushes. When their children fight for free and equal education they stand with them.

The women organise in trade unions and fight for higher wages. They fight for equal opportunities and equal wages. Real equality will and can be achieved only through a determined struggle against the entrenched practice of discriminating against women. Domestic workers, this big army of women workers, who have no

legal protection – the industrial and welfare laws exclude them as they do the farm and mine workers – are on the move organising to win dignity, proper contracts with higher wages and better conditions of work and life.

African women bear the burden of a double shift, that is to say they work during the day and at night have to cope with the housework, nursing children, cooking and cleaning. The vast majority of white women in South Africa have domestic help. African women have to work not just to supplement their husbands' earning but because of sheer necessity. Their earnings make all the difference in the homes between extreme poverty and minimum standard at the poverty datum line.

As Professor H.J. Simons stated:

'African women want part employment. There are no conventions and traditional taboos that restrain them from working outside the home. Illiteracy and inadequate schooling are obstacles, but hardly more so for them than for men... the general level of education is much the same for both sexes. Unemployment among African women is a result of land hunger, insufficient utilization of human resources and natural resources and discrimination against women on grounds of both sex and race'.

Our people are politically conscious and see the regime setting our country on a war basis. Police brutality on the streets, killing children, babies, mothers and fathers, torturing detained freedom fighters to death, banning and arresting young and old leaders like Rita Ndzanga, a woman trade unionist, and Oscar Mpetha, a 72-year-old veteran trade union and civic leader, sentencing to death our young and dedicated freedom fighters.

The regime attacks neighbouring independent African states all in an effort to destroy our fight for justice in our country. We are their targets in Matola in Mozambique, in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Right now they have invaded with tanks and planes the People's Republic of Angola. They have the full backing of the Reagan Administration with its huge military machine. The regime wants to grab four southern provinces in Angola, to install Jonas Savimbi's Unita, set up a buffer state separating Namibia from the rest of Africa.

On 29th July last year, the regime increased its military budget by 39.5 per cent raising it to R2,465 billion, and at the same time increased the price of bread and other essential foods. When basic foodstuffs go up, people eat less. Already 20 people are dying every day of tuberculosis and 40,000 new cases were reported in 1980. More and more cases of the total calorie deficiency disease marasmus and kwashiorkor are appearing, including diseases of poverty such as bubonic plague (*Cape Argus* 28 April 1981).

The regime's aggression against independent African states, against our people at home and our leaders in exile cannot stop our forward march to freedom.

In this forward march, our women workers have played an important part. These decades of struggle to win the right for African workers to form democratic trade unions have been crowned with limited but important successes. But the enemy wants to ensure that existing trade unions are controlled and manipulated in the interests of the exploitative class. The black workers have in the recent past been raising their levels of unionisation and combativeness, scoring important victories on a wide spectrum of issues including wages, working conditions, the reinstatement of victimised workers, the recognition of unions, winning collective agreements outside the industrial council system, which is the regime's system to undermine genuine trade unions.

For the past year our women have displayed great revolutionary zeal in fighting race oppression and class exploitation. This was demonstrated in their active participation in organising and leading the struggle against forced removals in Unibell, Crossroads, Batlokwa, and other squatter camps. They participated in strikes for higher wages and better conditions in Eveready, Port Elizabeth, Rainbow Chicken Factories in Worcester and Hammerdale, Fattis and Monis and Sea Harvest Fish Factory in Saldanha Bay, Fruit Growers' Cooperatives in Ceres and Grabouw, Heldenburg Meat Products, and Textile Factories in East London.

Most of these strikes were organised and led by women. They stood up to police harassment and by their

active participation defeated the bus owners, exposed the low wages and thus advanced the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

African trade unions have trebled in the past two years due to African women also organising and joining unions. In addition they have established viable women's organisation (UWO) and the Women's Federation of South Africa.

In spite of the brutal aggression by the regime, our women have intensified their fight. This we shall do until our demands are met.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

INTERNATIONAL

DENMARK

SOUTH AFRICAN TENNIS PLAYERS DENIED VISAS

As a representative for Danish solidarity organizations, taking part in anti-apartheid activities in this country, one has had some unhappy experiences at the international conferences during the last years on sanctions against South Africa.

At those conferences some of the sinister aspects of Denmark's official relations with South Africa have been exposed from time to time – the participation of Danish shipping companies in smuggling of weapons to South Africa, the steadily increasing import of South African coal, to mention a couple of examples.

During the recent London conference, 11-13 March, 'South Africa – the time to choose', a Danish delegate felt heartened, for a change, by hearing the Danish government being applauded for its flat denial of visas for four professional South African tennis players who were listed as participants in an international Grand Prix tournament to be held in Copenhagen in March.

As a consequence of the Danish government's stand, the top administrative body of international professional tennis, MIPTC, recalled its acknowledgement of the tournament's Grand Prix status. This is the first time the MIPTC has ever made a decision of this kind, and, subsequently, the tournament was cancelled.

But before this happened, the foreign minister of the socialdemocratic government, Kjeld Olesen, came under heavy attack from professional sports associations and representatives of right wing political parties. The mass media coverage was unusually extensive.

When the Danish solidarity movements became aware of the matter, they published a joint statement, strongly supporting the foreign minister's decision. 'It is well known', the statement said, 'that South Africa is making efforts, through its participation in sports arrangements throughout the world, to create a counterbalance to the growing disapproval of the *apartheid* regime... Any and all attempts, however small, to emphasize the universal

disapproval of the *apartheid* system will count in the long run. We hope that the foreign minister's rejection of sports contacts with the Republic of South Africa will become a part of the steadily increasing pressure on that regime which has been branded by the world community as a crime against humanity'.

The statement was, on request from an MP, sent to all members of the Danish parliament.

A week later the foreign minister issued a press release, stating that his denial of entry visas for the South African tennis players was based on the program for action adopted by the Nordic foreign ministers' meeting in Oslo in 1978, which includes a recommendation to cease all sports contacts with South Africa.

The foreign minister stressed that the government's policy, since the autumn of 1980, on entry visas for the participation of South Africans in sports events in Denmark applies not only to teams but also to individual sports professionals.

Kjeld Olesen concluded: 'I have been asked by the Danish organizers of the event to consider the fact that three of the tennis players have noted in their visa applications that, even though they are still South African citizens, they are residents of the USA and have "resident alien" status (which does not imply a change of citizenship). After due consideration I have reached the conclusion that their relationship with the USA, which is less binding than their relationship with their home country, can have no effect on the ministry's original decision, as long as the sports professionals involved remain South African citizens'.

The issue was then raised in the Danish parliament by a member of the Conservative People's Party who maintained that the three tennis players were permanent residents of the USA and that the foreign minister, by mixing sport and politics, had affected these individuals financially since they were professional tennis players.

The foreign minister did not find that the parliamentary debate had produced any new aspects which justified a reconsideration of the ministry's decision. He also expressed the hope that the other Nordic countries would see a way to follow the same consistent policy as the Danish government in similar cases.

For the Danish solidarity organisations the outcome has been a great encouragement. It has been truly inspiring to us to see the foreign minister stand by this decision, in spite of heavy pressure from political opponents and from the multinational and national economic forces behind today's professional sports associations.

We want to express our special thanks to the secretary general of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, who took this opportunity to send a special message of appreciation to the Danish foreign minister.

In his message Alfred Nzo said that the ANC was deeply inspired by the important decision taken by the Danish government, reinforcing the efforts aimed at the isolation of the *apartheid* regime in all fields, including international sport, and he concluded:

'The ANC requests the foreign minister to convey the profound gratitude of the oppressed South African population to the government and people of Denmark over this very important solidarity action'.

Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke

Hejrevej 38

2400 København NV

Mauritius

The Young Communist League of Mauritius together with the Mauritius Women's Committee organised a seminar to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the ANC.

The YCL is further planning to organise an exposition on *Apartheid* in August 1982. Documents, slides, posters and other materials on *apartheid* are welcome.

YCL, PO Box 412, Port-Louis, Mauritius.

Ireland

International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions is now gathering momentum in Ireland. It has been given further impetus among trade unionists by the iron repression now being brought to bear on trade union leaders and militants in South Africa; and the news of the death of Dr Neil Aggett and the cat-and-mouse treatment of Thozamile Gqweta brought an immediate response from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The press statement issued by the Executive Council of the ICTU expressed its increasing concern at the repression of trade union activities in South Africa, the persecution of trade union activists, and their torture while in police custody. It called for an end to trade between South Africa and Ireland in protest. The ICTU also cabled the South African Prime Minister demanding the release of all detained trade unionists.

Congress has also accepted the recommendations made to it by the ICTU/IAAM Liaison Committee earlier this year, and is now engaged in planning a series of activities for International Year of Mobilisation which constitute a new and radical programme. Trades Councils are to be encouraged to hold meetings on apartheid, and all unions and trades councils affiliated to the ICTU are shortly to be circulated with a package of anti-apartheid material informing them of the Year and focussing their attention of campaigning possibilities in the fields of boycott, emigration, and so on. A special workshop for shop stewards is to be organised on racial discrimination, apartheid and trade unions in South Africa and, most importantly, *all* ICTU shop steward training courses are to include a section devoted to racial discrimination and apartheid. (See also ICSA Bulletin 18, p23.)

If resources permit, a pamphlet for trade unionists is to be published (and the IAAM would welcome any cartoons particularly relating to trade unionists which have been published elsewhere, or any news of trade union action in other countries which could be quoted as an example).

In another sphere, the IAAM organised an essay competition for secondary schools on the topic 'Apartheid and Racism - Why We Must Act.' This attracted 225 entries from some 80 schools in Ireland, north and south, and the prizes were presented at a reception on Sharpeville Day by the Nigerian Ambassador to Ireland, H.E. Mr L. Osobase.

Sharpeville Day, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, was also marked by a lecture, the Lutuli Memorial Lecture, which was to have been given by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston C.R. This year the topic was 'The Total Strategy: South Africa's Foreign Policy.' In spite of the fact that the Archbishop was ill and his speech had to be read for him, the hall was packed to hear a searing condemnation of apartheid which ended in a stark presentation of the alternatives: if the West cared about world peace, it must act now to root out the cancer of apartheid

and impose sanctions; a choice against an effective sanctions policy was a choice for apartheid and nothing else. The meeting was also addressed by Donal Nevin, the General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, who said there was an urgent need for Ireland to take a decisive stand against apartheid where it mattered, at the United Nations and the EEC.

International Women's Day celebrations this year also provided a platform for the IAAM Women's Group. Both in Dublin and Belfast, International Women's Day committees organised fairs at which women's groups could set up stalls promoting their particular cause; and in Belfast an open-air rally on the theme of Women against Violence included a speaker from the IAAM on the topic of women under apartheid.

A new urgency is also being felt in the Dail (parliament) following the elections. Niall Andrews TD, a member of Fianna Fail, the government party, spoke very strongly at a recent IAAM student meeting on the necessity for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

The sporting issue which was so prominent in 1981 continues to rumble on. The visit of the British 'dirty dozen' cricketers to South Africa was in fact preceded by a trip by Northern Ireland cricketers who claimed to have gone there individually, not as a team, and to have paid their own fares. Now there are reports that a Northern Ireland rugby team is to go to South Africa shortly, and that Syd Millar is organising a number of Irish rugby players to take part in the matches being planned for the opening of the new Ellis Park stadium. The IAAM is renewing its demands that the Irish Government must refuse grants to all sporting bodies which collaborate, or allow their members to collaborate, in this way with apartheid.

Earlier this year, the IAAM organised a deputation to the Minister of Justice to press for Ireland to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, since Ireland is the only European country not to have done so; and also to urge that South Africans should in future be required to obtain visas in order to visit Ireland. The Minister was sympathetic and did indeed undertake to revise the visa arrangements; but in view of the change of government shortly afterwards the question may have to be raised again.

In sum, International Year of Mobilisation has begun promisingly. There is a new awareness of the need for action in response to the wholesale detention and persecution of trade unionists in South Africa, and the aim of the IAAM will be to translate this awareness into concrete measures.

**Irish Anti Apartheid Movement
20 Beechpark Road, Foxrock
Dublin 18**

UK

The Campaign to *Stop the War against Angola & Mozambique* (SWAM) has produced a pamphlet with a chronological account of acts of aggression by South Africa against the Front Line States, 1975-1981.

SWAM, P.O. Box 48,
9 Great Russell Street,
London WC1B 3NF

USA

The Continuations Committee was created by the delegates to the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa (SOLSA), New York, October 1981 (see ICSA Bulletin Issue 15). It comprises approximately 100 persons from throughout the USA, representing labour, religious, academic, civil rights, professional, student and youth constituencies. Invitations to participate in this task are being accepted with enthusiasm and a results conference is planned for the spring of 1983.

With the assistance of co-ordinator, Melba Kgositsile, working groups are being established to further the agendas of the conference's detailed program of action. The first vital task for the committee has been to circulate to the widest possible readership the full report of the proceedings of the conference together with the New York resolution and the program of action.

Most recently two briefing meetings were held for community leaders in Riverside Church. The first was addressed by O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC, and the second by Pius Asheke of the SWAPO delegation to the United Nations and David Ndaba of the ANC delegation. Both meetings were recorded and the Center Against Apartheid's broadcasting service ensured the speakers an audience inside South Africa itself.

In all of the work the Committee received the most invaluable support in terms of office space, meeting rooms and the most generous personal help from the southern Africa team/Outreach Ministry of Riverside Church, Leader Dr. Carl Fields and Minister of Outreach Reverend George Thomas.

The Committee recently drafted an open letter to President Reagan, deploring the insulting attacks made by the Senate Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism on the majority peoples of South Africa and Namibia and we have denounced Senator Denton's Sub-Committee for its open support of apartheid terror. (See ICSA Bulletin Issue 18.)

Responding to the brutal murder of Dr Neil Aggett and the wave of anti-trade union attacks which the racist regime has unleashed in recent months, the Continuations Committee has issued an urgent call to US Congressional representatives to attend the inquest into Dr Aggett's death and to hold an inquiry into detention conditions under apartheid.

The Committee is working in consultation with representatives of organized labor in the United States, and especially with the Confederation of Black Trade Unionists, to focus attention on the oppressive working conditions of our fellow workers in South Africa and Namibia as one way to strengthen the demand for total economic, political, military, nuclear, sports and cultural sanctions against apartheid.

Appalled by the savage and unprecedented death sentences which the criminal South African regime has imposed on six African National Congress freedom fighters, Solomon Mahlangu Day, 6 April, was chosen to hold a candlelight vigil outside the apartheid consulate in New York. This was followed by a solemn meeting in the chapel of the UN Church Center. Among those in attendance was author James Baldwin. About seventy people braved the freezing conditions and more than 10 inches of snow caused by a freak blizzard hitting New York on that day.

While the Continuations Committee's forthcoming program of meetings and

briefings will depend in large measure on our ability to raise the necessary funding, it will concentrate immediately on the death of Dr Aggett, the Steyn Commission Report, the proposed tours of US performers and athletes to South Africa, and on the Senate Sub-Committee attacks on ANC and SWAPO. In all this vital work, the memory of Solomon Mahlangu will serve as an inspiration to us all.

We firmly believe United States foreign policy support of South Africa is morally repugnant to the overwhelming majority of people in the United States and we pledge ourselves to continue the task of alerting those people to the urgent need for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid, for the release of all political detainees in South Africa and Namibia, for granting prisoner of war status to all captured freedom fighters and for saving the lives of the six freedom fighters whose death sentences violate the principles of international law.

Recalling UN Security Council Resolution 503 of April 9, 1982, concerning the death sentences passed on three ANC comrades, the committee has circulated a

large number of petitions addressed to president Reagan asking him to prevent the judicial murder of these 3 young men.

Continuations Committee
c/o Riverside Church
490 Riverside Drive, Rm 525,
New York, NY 10027

Anti-apartheid groups on over 50 campuses throughout the USA and other organisations concentrated on two weeks of national mobilisation for African liberation from 21 March-4 April.

The main emphasis was on information (speakers, articles, cultural events, films), on the divestment campaign and material support for Namibian refugees.

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, the Twin City Committee for the liberation of Southern Africa will continue its material aid drive which up to date has collected \$80,000 worth of medical supplies for Namibian refugees. A coalition of 40 groups is calling for the closure of the South African consulate in Los Angeles.

Student Co-ordinator,
American Committee on Africa, 198
Broadway, New York, NY 10038

F.R.G.

The trial against the Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung (AAB), Ms. Ingeborg Wick, will begin on June 15th 1982, 7.45 am, at the Lower Court of Bonn. The charge reads 'Resistance against Executive Officers'. It deals with an incident concerning the work of the AAB. The AAB opposes the system of racial discrimination in Southern Africa—therefore, as a matter of fact, it also opposed the death sentence imposed on Solomon Mahlangu, member of the ANC.

Chronology

In spite of worldwide protests, for instance from the government of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the US government, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) the FRG, Solomon Mahlangu was executed on April 6th 1979. During a demonstration of the AAB through the centre of Bonn, people carried placards reading 'No collaboration with the murderers of Mahlangu'. The police accompanied the protesters through the town.

The picture was quite different however about two years later.

At an AAB demonstration on June 1st 1981, in front of the residence of the South African Ambassador in Bonn, Police Chief Commissioner Müller called on I. Wick to hand over her placard which read 'No collaboration with the murderers of Mahlangu', since it meant an 'insult'. On her refusal the police finally took violent action against her, made her fall down and dragged her to a police car. A public health officer certified that she was injured during that action. (See ICSA Bulletin Issue 13).

Reactions

The broad echo in the press in and outside the FRG was almost unanimous in condemning the Bonn police action. Amongst the organisations and personalities who voiced their protest at government institutions and justice authorities were, for instance:

- * UN-Special Committee against Apartheid, New York
- * OAU-Liberation Committee, Dar es Salaam

The bill of indictment

Unimpressed by these protests the Bonn Public Prosecutor, on January 20th 1982, brought charges against I. Wick because of 'Resistance against Executive Officers'. The charge of 'insult' as a separate offence was cancelled. Nevertheless it is the central reason for the present bill of indictment since the 'insult' caused all further actions on June 1st 1981. Contrary to the truth, the bill of indictment says I. Wick had been asked for her identity card and that she had stated she did not have it with her, whereafter the order was given to take her to the police station to check on her personal data. This allegation can only be considered to be a further justification of the police action. The truth is, however, that I. Wick was at no time asked for her identity card and that she had carried it with her. The bill of indictment does not mention I. Wick's statements on the worldwide protests against the death sentence imposed on Solomon Mahlangu. The document describes her attitude as if she had 'offensively' used violence.

This attempt to turn enemies of apartheid into criminals must energetically be rejected. The AAB stands for human rights, freedom and self-determination in South Africa and Namibia, and it opposes merciless arbitrariness and repression in the apartheid state. It is the apartheid regime in South Africa, condemned by the UN in 1973 as a 'crime against humanity', which should be in the dock! Do not those who protect the 'dignity', the 'peace' and the 'honour' of the racist regime rather than protect the freedom of opinion of FRG citizens arouse suspicion in defending this criminal system?

SEND PROTESTS TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT
Adenauerallee 141. 5300 Bonn 1, FRG

The AAB address is: Blücherstrasse 14, 5300, Bonn 1

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