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CONTENTS

	Page
FIGHTING TALK	
International Protest Is Important	2
NO TO DIALOGUE	
ANC Statement by Director of Political Affairs	3
IN S. A. JAPANESE ARE HONORARY WHITE	
A report by two Japanese journalists	4
WOMEN MUST TAKE UP ARMS	
A report by an ANC woman delegate	6
FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	8
SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC EXPANSIONISM	
by Sean Gervasi A systematic analysis of South African penetration of the whole of the sub-continent	15
BOOKS	
Reviewed by William Pomeroy	22

SECHABA

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International Protest Is Important

Recent events in the international arena have shown once again how volatile is the world political scene. A groundswell of moral and ideological resurgence in many countries has embraced the cause of national liberation resulting in a proliferation of anti-apartheid groups around the globe. Led by enthusiastic young people their cumulative protests have forged so tight a noose around South African sportsmen that even these submissive men and women who were formerly lauded as fine ambassadors of White South Africa have been driven to unprecedented anti-government demonstrations in their frustration. Never before has there been so much deliberate and public objection to apartheid policies inside South Africa and no Minister has been so humiliated as the present Minister of sport. And if we point out that these protests are not essentially in support of better facilities for Black South Africans we are not being churlish. It is because we want to stress that White sportsmen are protesting certain aspects of apartheid sport in **their own interest**. They are concerned with **their sport**, with **their international standing**, with **their need to appease** this seemingly endless campaign to isolate South African sport.

There is an obvious moral in all this which must be rammed home to all those throughout the world who claim that they detest racialism and in particular apartheid. The boycott has proved itself in sport and there is no reason why it should not prove itself in culture, business and other forms of human intercourse. World hostility to apartheid has broken the ice of the white sportsmen's reticence. No longer are they prepared to maintain a stiff upper lip of long suffering self-righteousness. The price of apartheid is too steep.

All the more reason therefore to deplore certain contrary developments in other areas. Proposals for dialogue with the most universally detested government in the world are still being mooted in Africa, and arms sales talk, and action, is now widely current in Britain, France and the United States. There are open proposals for the sale of British frigates, British and French air defence including surface to air missiles which can bring down low flying aircraft such as might be used for supplying guerrillas, and of so-called 'executive-type' aircraft from the United States eminently suited for

spotter operations. Naturally, the people pressing for these negative and damaging developments are not the radical youth or progressive workers, but those in command of the imperialist states who remain intent on arming the most reactionary regimes of the world no matter at what cost to the oppressed masses. Of these states, France is emerging as the most hypocritical and underhand in its relations with South Africa. Not only is she supplying arms liberally but she is pressing her African puppets to smooth the path for increasing arms sales by spreading a little bonhomie on a continent where only greater firmness and unity is needed. If France continues her manoeuvres she will seriously undermine the ability of the O.A.U. to stick to one of its finest tenets, a commitment to the liberation of Africa from the remaining white colonialism.

We are well aware of the springs of French foreign policy in this respect. This country, with its long record of colonial military adventures in Vietnam, Algeria and elsewhere, has now developed an arms industry which is one of the principal sectors in the economy and a major, if not the biggest, source of foreign earnings. This imperialist power, which flaunts its presence in Africa with such grace as though it were still an integral part of Africa (as opposed to its former pretence that Africa was a region of France) has therefore based its new found prosperity on its capacity to supply Vorster and others of the same breed the weapons of mass murder.

This is a dastardly stab in the back for the suffering people of Africa. It is a declaration of war on South Africa's Black majority who will have to face French weaponry as the struggle mounts. It is also an assault on Africa as a whole which, despite certain weaknesses and failings is nevertheless still anxious to resist the growth of white colonial military power on this continent. After all, it is European supplied weapons that are used in the Portuguese incursions into Zambia and it will be European supplied weapons, possibly French, which will be brought into action if Vorster carries out his threat against Zambia.

All these developments have put us on our guard. While we must primarily concern ourselves with the advancement of our own struggle inside South Africa and with preparing the neces-

sary conditions for the armed struggle to come, we are forced to keep looking over our shoulder at what is happening in the world outside. The danger of a massive sell out by imperialism is never far away, and we must prepare both ourselves and our supporters to oppose not only proposals for dialogue, not only arms sales, but the persistent intervention of imperialism in the affairs of Southern Africa in all its forms.

This is why we continue to place so much store on the continuing heightening of awareness of the link between the liberation struggles in Africa and the actions of imperialism globally. International solidarity must be given a new meaning and dimension expressed in action. The criminal irresponsibility of imperialist governments in their policies in relation to South Africa and the other not yet liberated countries of Africa must be attacked with greater vigour in the imperialist countries themselves. And we

cannot be content with words alone, for since we won the moral battle and world opinion is now wholly against apartheid, even the Nixons, Pompidous and Heaths are forced to mouth platitudes against race discrimination. Declarations of opposition to apartheid, protestations of solidarity and the like are not enough. Only widespread international concrete protests like those against Polaroid, mass demonstrations like the anti-Springbok sportsmen in Britain will not only make it difficult for imperialism to intervene significantly in the South African situation but will also bring to the surface the very real anxiety that is so clearly prevalent among white South Africans.

There can be no illusions about the defeat of white supremacy in South Africa. It will only be achieved inside South Africa and by the action of armed Black South Africans, but the weapon of international solidarity must be sharpened too.

June 26

Once again, this year like previous years, June 26 will be commemorated by friends and sympathisers of the Liberation struggle in South Africa throughout the world.

We hope in our future issues to report on these activities and therefore, appeal to you to send us your reports of demonstrations, meetings etc with photographs if possible to: Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A-4NL.

NO TO DIALOGUE

STATEMENT BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The announcement by the racist and Nazi Prime Minister Vorster that he was going to invite all those heads of states who are prepared to have a dialogue with the white racists is the logical culmination of the sinister 'Northward Policy' of colonialism and neocolonialism so cunningly pursued by the racist regime.

It is a spiders web carefully and systematically spun to ensnare weak Afri-

can Governments like flies, into the influence and control of the racists and imperialists..

It is part of the grand design of the white minority Government's trek to the north, the implementation of its aggressive and expansionist foreign policy. What Vorster and his henchmen have in mind is not the extension of the hand of friendship and cooperation to Africa but the hammer of subjugation, recolonisation and domination by the racists and their allies, the imperialist powers.

The A.N.C. has constantly warned that the S. A. racists were the launching pad and bridgehead for the destruction of the gains of the African Revolution and a base for counterrevolution.

In many instances this warning has not been heeded. Instead the views of the national liberation movements have been ignored and heads of states have made ill-considered and even irresponsible and treacherous offers to the white racist regimes. This is a tragedy not only for the people of Southern Africa but for the people of Africa as a whole.

Vorster and the South African racists are on the offensive to consolidate their rule in the country, to attempt

to alienate support for the liberation struggle and to extend their rule over Africans through Bantustans under white domination throughout the continent.

Those who are going to frogmarch to Pretoria following Banda to dine and wine with the racists, can only be warned that 'he who sups with the devil must use a long spoon'.

Those who allow themselves to be seduced to betray the interests and aspirations of the people of South Africa, Southern Africa and indeed of the whole continent, must know that they cannot do so with impunity. The A.N.C. of S.A. calls upon all Governments and peoples organisations to condemn and reject this treacherous invitation by Vorster which is a sinister attempt to prepare for a second rape of our continent and peoples. We call on all right-thinking people not to help extend the frontiers of racism but rather to help and destroy the fascist monster.

This is the year dedicated to the combat of racism. It is an unforgivable crime to cooperate and assist the racists and Nazis.

DUMA NOKWE
Director of political affairs

IN S.A. JAPANESE ARE HONORARY WHITES

**Two Japanese journalists
report on their experiences in South Africa**

What is it like to live in South Africa as an "honorary White"? Japanese living there have chosen to keep silent, but recently two Japanese journalists, Mr. Masataka Ito and Mr. Kiichiro Yokota, lifted the curtain in a series of articles written for their newspaper "Asahi Shimbun".

From the first "Whites Only" sign at Jan Smuts Airport to the blunt "no vacancies" from platteland hotel receptionists, the two men were constantly and often bitterly reminded that they were caught up in a racial situation peculiar to the land they were visiting.

In a round-the-country 11,000 Km. trip in a rented car, they were refused accommodation at ten white hotels and for much of the time spent their nights in the car or in caravan parks.

Mr. Ito writes that he tried to keep a strict rule of not declaring his race or occupation. But on one occasion he broke that rule — because he had not eaten since breakfast and the hot pies in an East London tea room "looked so tasty to a hungry man".

He relates the incident:

"When we tried to sit at a table we

were told by the woman owner that we could not do so. "How come?" I asked. She replied: Because its a municipal ordinance.

"I asked to see the ordinance. I said it must state that no Coloured, including Japanese, can take a seat here. "What do you mean by that?" she asked. Because I'm Japanese,' I said. "She pretended not to hear me. I told her again: 'Your Government allows Japanese to dine at restaurants'. She apologised and, with a smile, handed us hot pies."

Mr. Ito said that as a result of incidents of this nature, they became "sick of using facilities exclusive to Whites."

"We became accustomed to sleeping in our car and preparing our own meals using water from rivers and springs.

"I was under constant strain, trying to keep my dignity while trying to meet the everyday problem of finding food and accommodation."

Walking into restaurants meant facing hostile (and curious) stares from White customers and hesitation on the part of waiters to take their orders.

FOLLOWED BY THREE YOUNG WHITES

Being a Japanese in the Orange Free State can be an unnerving experience. After being refused accommodation at three hotels in Kroonstad, the journalists were followed by three young Whites. "I feared the worst", Mr. Ito writes, "and chose a relatively well-lit spot to turn and ask them, 'What can I do for you?'

"One of them, dressed like a farmer and speaking with a heavy Afrikaans accent, said 'You cannot spend a night in a hotel in this town. Nor can you eat here.'

"I asked why and he said he could not give the reason. I was relieved because his voice was tinged with sympathy, and it was clear that he was not going to hit us".

The journalists had a wierd experience in Umtata, where they were told by three White hotels that there were no vacancies and then were told at a Black hotel that Whites could not be admitted. That was another night they spent in their car.

They also met some kindness. The manager of a caravan park at Coffee Bay lent them a kerosene lamp when he saw them frying sausages in the dark. Japanese people, they write, must be startled by the signboards at the bus terminal at the airport which state: "Whites only" and "Non-Whites". "It is a puzzle which to choose," Mr. Ito states. Another puzzle was the duplication of facilities at the Johannesburg station to cater for whites and non-whites. "The administrators do not seem to care about the waste of money".

They were also struck by the situation at a small park in front of the station. The only occupants of the "Whites only" park were a White baby and an elderly woman, while about 40 African labourers lay on newspapers on the pavement outside.

Mr. Ito states that general discrimination against Japanese residents is rife. Six engineers from Hitachi Ltd. were sent to Port Elizabeth to instal a power plant. One of them was refused accommodation in an apartment block. A housewife, living in the block, said to him: "No matter what the Government may say, I don't want to see what I dislike". Further representation to local authorities did not help. "We are not responsible for individual thought, whatever he or she may think", was a reply from a police official.

A Japanese consular official told him:

"We cannot help you in any way in this matter. We can only ask for your patience."

WHITE OBJECTIONS TO JAPANESE SCHOOL

Although Mr. Ito says that discrimination against Japanese is not as extensive in the larger centres like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, he does cite as an example the objections of residents of the white suburb of Saxonwold, in Johannesburg, to the establishment of a Japanese school there. After a petition had been drawn up and the matter had been raised in the Johannesburg City Council the Japanese Society decided to close the school and hold classes in private homes.

Mr. Ito gives prominence in his articles to the decision by Chinese student, Miss Ava Junkin, to withdraw from the finals of the Rhodes University Rag Queen contest. When he interviewed Miss Junkin in her home "in a corner of a Black slum on the outskirts of the town" she told him: "I did not want to bother other Chinese students at the university." But another Chinese student told him that pressure had been brought to bear by whites which forced her withdrawal.

"The incident involving Miss Junkin not only depicts the frenzied thought of White superiority in South Africa, but also reveals the selfish thinking of the Whites — to eliminate all possible competition between Whites and Non-Whites", writes Mr. Ito. "It is an ugly desire of the Whites that a talented Non-White, who is capable of competing favourably with Whites should be forced out of all competition.

"Having experienced myself the discrimination in this country, I wondered whether the Japanese look uglier than whites; if we are more insanitary-minded than whites; and whether our personalities are inferior."

In Aliwal North he came across another "shameful example" of discrimination against a Chinese girl. Patricia Tam, a high school pupil at the Holy Cross Convent there, qualified for a tennis final. She waited an hour after the match was due to have started, until she learned that the match had been stopped by the local police. Apparently the parents of the White player had insisted that the match be called off because it was not proper to allow a tennis match between a White and a Chinese.

Mr. Ito said that the vindictive feelings of many whites towards Non-Whites just could not be overlooked.

"These feelings are so strong sometimes that they made my blood run cold."

AND WHAT IS JAPAN GOING TO DO ABOUT IT??



WOMEN MUST TAKE UP ARMS - ANC Delegate

More than 200 women delegates attended a rally in Lusaka called jointly by women of the liberation movements of Southern Africa to commemorate March 8th, International Women's Day, and March 2nd, Angola Women's Day.

Chairman of the meeting, Mrs Maria Santos (M.P.L.A.), explained how on March 2nd, 1967, five M.P.L.A. women returning from the combat front had been captured and brutally murdered by Portuguese soldiers. "The arduous fight that Angolan women are carrying out with their people in arms is the best homage to those who have died in our struggle," declared Mrs Santos.

On behalf of the Womens Section of the African

National Congress, Mrs Edna Mgabaza appealed to women to take up arms and fight side by side with men to liberate their homelands.

"International Women's Day was observed for the first time in 1911, when a million women took part. It was the biggest ever manifestation of equality and peace. From then on, March 8th was taken up by women the world over in their struggle against exploitation, male domination and war." said Mrs Mgabaza.

"We are also commemorating the 2nd March, Angola Women's Day - the anniversary of the murder of five women militants of M. P. L. A. We of the A.N.C. of South Africa hail these gallant daughters of Angola. We say, your blood and the blood of all the people of our oppressed countries shall be avenged, you shall for ever remain a source of inspiration to us.

"In South Africa women have been in the forefront of the fight for their land and their rights throughout the bloody history of colonialism and internal oppression. During the wars of resistance which began in 1779 and lasted over 100 years women stood and died by the side of their men against the fire power of the colonial military machine.

"With this proud history behind them, it is not surprising that one of the founders of the African National Congress should have been a woman, Charlotte Maxeka, one of the first African women to obtain a university degree. Having gained inspiration from such women as Charlotte, our women have never turned back - they have always moved forward in the struggle for human dignity. Women like Florence Mathomela, for example, whose husband died whilst she was serving a prison sentence imposed on her for no other crime than fighting for the dignity of her people. She herself died a few months after her release from prison. She died honourably - fighting for the betterment of her people.

"To this day we have our gallant women in South Africa who are prepared to fight until victory is won. Winnie Mandela, whose husband is serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, together with Thokozile Mngoma, Martha Dlamini and others were acquitted last September of charges under the notorious Terrorism Act after being held for more than a year.

"Again - this gallant daughter of Africa, Winnie Mandela, has been hounded by the South African police - charged with violating a banning order. For this she has been sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. I shall not have done my duty if I do not mention yet another gallant daughter of South Africa, Dorothy Nyembe, who is serving a prison sentence of 15 years, for her political beliefs. There are many more of our women in South Africa who are languishing in Vorster's prisons because of their fight for human dignity.

"For the past 61 years women have fought for their rights alongside the general struggle of their people for national independence, social progress and peace.

WOMEN HAVE JOINED THE MEN'S WORLD

"On this day, March 8th 1971, women throughout the world / come together in order to express their aspirations and their fears. Too long have women been dominated by men, too long had they to carry the burden of hard physical work in the fields, kitchens, factories, bear children and bring them up. Women have been told and taught to look at men as their born rulers. Only men were fit to become Presidents and Cabinet Ministers. But not today. Women today have joined the men's world, today we have women Prime Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, Governors, diplomats and even representatives in international bodies. Even academically women continue to climb up the ladder. And women are struggling with arms against oppression, fighting side by side with their menfolk in wars for the liberation of their motherlands. They take part in campaigns to eliminate illiteracy and hunger, backward customs and traditions that bar them from full participation in the work of reconstruction of their States. Men have come to appreciate and acknowledge the important role women play in society."

Another speaker at the rally was Mrs Magarida Matsinha who represented FREMILO. She thanked all

those countries rendering moral and financial support to the liberation movements of Southern Africa. In a short speech Mrs Galima Belokolos, wife of the Russian Ambassador to Zambia, praised African women, especially those fighting side by side with their male counterparts.

Messages of support were sent from the rally to Winnie Mandela and to Miss Angela Davis, praising their courage and dedication. The following resolutions were carried:

- Demanding recognition of Angola as an undeveloped country under partial occupation of foreign forces, and requesting the United Nations and the O.A.U. to recognise M.P. L.A. as the only legal and official representative of Angola;
- Condemning South Africa's refusal to withdraw from Namibia;
- Condemning British arms sales to South Africa;
- Protesting at the murderous military action by the United States in extending their war of aggression to other countries in Indo China and demanding that they withdraw and let the Vietnamese determine their own destiny.

A section of the meeting



FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA



DOUBLE-DEALING IN EXIT VISAS

A confused and, in many ways, farcial situation obtains in the Republic about the granting of exit visas to political opponents of the regime. Recently this has been highlighted by the fact that the P.A.C. leader Robert Sobukwe has become a victim of what really amounts to a confidence trick played at the level of Government. It is embarrassingly boorish and typically outlandish.

An exit visa is granted which gives the recipient permission to leave on a one way ticket. Now, having granted this permission (while withholding a passport), the victim is stymied by the fact that a previous proscription order confining him to a specified area is still in force.

So the Government are saying: "Right, you can leave the country, but just you try to reach the airport or railway station and we will throw you into gaol for breaking the conditions of the circumscription." And this is what has been happening recently not only to Sobukwe and Shanti Naidoo but several other opponents of the Government who wish to leave the Republic. It is probably coincidental but latterly (since the Tories came to power) conditions for gaining citizenship in the U.K. for exiles from South Africa have become more difficult and frustrating too.

Or would you think that somewhere behind the scenes, the Tories and Na-

tionalists are in cahoots with one another on this issue as well as arms and all sorts of other things to come?

Robert Sobukwe is contesting this in the Supreme Court of South Africa and on this test case depends the fate of others who now and in the future prefer exile to life under Apartheid.

HOW VORSTER FIGHTS ONE WOMAN

Let it not be said that the Vorster Government confines itself to fighting opposition parties or organisations only. Every so often it shows its prosecuting versatility by concentrating on individuals as well. Winnie Mandela, for instance.

Winnie, who is the beautiful wife of the great ANC leader Nelson Mandela, serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, has been harassed ever since they took her husband away from her over seven years ago. She has been under house arrest for twelve hours every day and for the whole of every week-end. No visitors are allowed and she is confined to certain areas of Johannesburg during the twelve hours that she is allowed out of her home. Nobody will employ her as a social welfare officer and midwife. "Social intercourse" is not allowed which means that she cannot ever be in the company of more than

one person at a time — and even that person cannot be one of her old friends because they are on the banned list and she cannot fraternise with them ever.

For sixteen months they kept Winnie in solitary confinement and then charged her, with others, on a trumped up charge which even the Government's stooge courts could not uphold. She was charged again with the same offence but this, too, was thrown out as it is a wellknown principle that you cannot be tried twice for the same crime. Or at least the Government's lawyers haven't succeeded in formulating legislation to get round that one yet.

The officers of this wicked Government have placed so many restrictions on Winnie, so that they have effectively stopped her from seeing her husband for over two years now. Harassment? Pinpricks? Hardly that! But the Government have at last satisfied their sadistic intentions. At last they are sending her to gaol — for a year. And holding a six months suspended sentence hanging over her head for another three years. And the crimes? Having been visited by a photographer friend — one year! And when her own sister, with Winnie's nephew aged two and a half years and niece aged nine months, entered her house, it was enough to warrant a six month sentence being clapped on her as well! This is not midnight madness. This is what Hitler's cronies (don't forget Vorster was interned during the War for his activities on behalf of the Fuehrer) are doing in greater or lesser degree month in and month out — now aided and abetted by Mr Heath and his Tory Party.

ARE THESE CRICKETERS SERIOUS?

The conflicts and prejudices which dominate life in South Africa have been highlighted by the demonstration at Newlands Cricket ground when the two allwhite trial teams walked off the field in protest against the Government's veto on two non-White cricke-

ters being included in the tour party to Australia. This action has caused quite a stir throughout the sporting fraternities of the world.

In the political climate such action was courageous and must be applauded.

But it must be looked at realistically and in its proper context.

Was this a genuine effort on the part of these cricketers to indicate a desire to see proper integration of all races in sport – or an effort to placate the cricketing bodies overseas?

Even if there are some real democrats amongst the individuals who walked off, are they now going to follow through with a campaign to include non-whites at club level which is what Mr Vorster and Sports Minister Waring deny? The Government are challenging them to do so.

And, of course, when the hullabaloo is over, the position will be as it was because the cricketers know that the government would not allow such a situation in the event of a miraculous volte face by the club members throughout the Republic; but in addition they are absolutely certain that the great majority of cricketers in White associations would never dream of such revolutionary action.

Imagine the racialistic Kelvin Grove Club, who do not allow Jews as members, fraternising with Africans, Coloureds and Indians at their snob headquarters at Newlands!

Complete rubbish. It's a non-starter and always was so. Jack Cheetham is a nice fellow but this ex-Springbok captain, now President of the South African Cricket Association, is known to regard Africans as "Kaffirs". Really nice fellow Jack, charming, but a typical nice South African racist.

Sorry Jack, Barry Richards, Graham Pollock and all the other fine cricketers. You've got a long way to go yet, boys. Keep it up and protest again and again. But remember this is the first tiny little step. And it goes far beyond the cricket grounds of Newlands or Wanderers if the true spirit of sport is to mean anything at all.

What you have done by this protest will boomerang harshly if you do not now accept the challenge of Vorster and Waring to take the next logical step and fight for the right of all men

to play cricket as members of the same clubs.

My own feeling is that Vorster and Waring have skittled you for a very low score. So very soon it will also mean you are all-out permanently from World Cricket. That is the logical result of Apartheid.



MORE LINKS WITH JAPAN

On the strength of the iron-ore contract made several years ago between South Africa and Japan over the Swaziland mines, the hitherto "Coloured" race were declared "honorary Whites" in the Republic and granted all the privileges withheld from the indigenous black population.

Goodness knows what will happen after a huge coal export deal is concluded between these two countries shortly.

Maybe new legislation will be introduced dropping the "honorary" and simply legally avowing that in this case "yellow is white"!

An agreement was drawn up last June, subject to satisfactory transport facilities, to sell 30-million short tons of coal worth R260-million to Japanese companies. This provisional agreement provided for the outflow of coal to start in 1971 through Lourenco Marques at an annual increasing capacity.

The S.A.R. (South African Railways) have announced a multi-million Rand scheme to cope with all traffic to Lourenco Marques. This means stepping up traffic through the Eastern Transvaal and the growth of places like Witbank and Komatipoort. So it seems that a boom is coming to the coal and railway areas on the Eastern Transvaal route to Portuguese East Africa.

But it also means a further strengthening of the unholy Alliance between Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa. It poses a further threat therefore to all the peoples of non-White origin in Southern Africa.

What some people are beginning to ask is: – "How is it that Mr Heath talks about the Soviet danger in the Indian Ocean and the concomitant threat to Africa and yet does not raise a squeak about this real penetration by Japan who, if one's memory does not fail one, was an ally of Hitler while Russia was our's." Something's topsy turvy somewhere.

READ AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PUBLICATIONS

For details see centre pages

NYERERE DISMISSES DIALOGUE

President Nyerere has expounded in most forthright terms his condemnation of the so-called friendly relations between all African States and Pretoria announced by the Vorster Government recently. Tanzania has flatly rejected this proposal as a grave betrayal of the liberatory struggle in Southern Africa.

Such a dialogue, favoured by Malawi and some West African States, would be playing straight into the hands of the Pretoria Regime. "If South Africa is genuine in its desire to bring the hostility of Africa to an end it would be seeking a dialogue between itself and the people of South Africa itself." In this way proper and peaceful negotiations would be possible. It was wrong to ignore African dignity for economic and technical assistance.

Unity of all African States opposed to apartheid was essential to the strengthening of the resistance struggle against the oppressive Vorster Government and the rousing of opinion against racialism.

Africa must be vigilant against the proffered hand of help by the unprincipled Vorster regime, for, by accepting it, disunity amongst the Opposition could be achieved. "If Africa is divided, then those countries may well feel that they are unable to continue to exert pressure on South Africa for fear of being accused of interference in the internal affairs of another State". Since the whole basis of Apartheid in South Africa was aggression, it was impossible to seriously consider the proposal of non-aggression treaties between African States and Pretoria as this was simply intended to neutralise liberation movements everywhere. "Armed resistance is the only way through which a climate of change can be created in Southern Africa."

ANC Appeal to Oil Countries

Following is the text of a letter addressed to Mr. Mohammed Wahby Abdel Aziz, Acting Chief Representative of the League of Arab States Mission to India and South-East Asia, on February 25, 1971 requesting him to convey our appeal to the oil-producing countries in West Asia to stop their supplies to Britain as a punishment against the Tory decision to resume arms sales to South Africa:-

"Dear Mr. Wahby,

"You may have seen in yesterday's Press that we issued a statement condemning the decision of the British Tory Government to resume the sale of arms to racist South Africa. Nevertheless, we enclose a copy of the said statement for your information and action.

"Amongst other things, you will note that an appeal is specifically addressed to the oil-producing countries in West Asia to discontinue their supplies of oil to Britain as a punishment for the Tories' stubbornness to heed United Nations Resolutions on the arms embargo against racist South Africa. Also we are persuaded in our appeal to the countries of West Asia because of the British Government's passing reference to them in its propaganda pronouncements as if they too were apprehensive of the so-called Russian danger in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

"But putting political propaganda aside, it will be recalled that Britain has made this decision in a year designated by the United Nations for effective international Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination - a year involving a campaign in which the question of apartheid must of necessity figure prominently. It is made, as our statement points out, at a time when more than 38 million oppressed people of Southern Africa are locked in life and death struggles against their white oppressors. The corollary is that, contrary to the best wishes of the community of nations and world public opinion, the Tories are taking a resolution to do anything for the sake of protecting the super-profits they enjoy at the expense of our people in order to strengthen the South African State as well as its fascist ruling class - a class headed by a man dedicated to the diabolic philosophy of Nazism. John Vorster, their leader, and his close friend General Hendrik van den Bergh who directs the operations of the Bureau of State Security (a counterpart of the CIA) were both interned during World War II together with other Afrikaners for opposing hostilities against Nazi Germany.

"A profound analysis of our situation reveals that the oppressed and fighting people of Southern Africa are dealing with a combination of international and local economic power, military might and rabid racialism all of which are marshalled in a desperate bid to arrest the march of our people to independence and secure the whole area of Southern Africa for the exclusive and perpetual imperialist exploitation. In this desperation, the United Nations Resolutions are being arrogantly flouted by John Vorster and Marcello Caetano; earnest appeals continue to be ignored by Britain and treated with contempt by Ian Smith, and political pressure by the oppressed masses answered by bullets and gallows.

"It is a painful yet inescapable conclusion that the constant warnings and threats which the people of Africa and Asia have and continue to make are being dismissed by the imperialists as of no consequence. We need to be more realistic and rise to the challenge. We must recognise that it is time enough for all of us to begin to translate those warnings and threats into effective action. The time is NOW. We must resolutely hit in our various small measures against the imperialists. We are fully aware that this will entail heavy sacrifices. But sacrifices must be paid where the advancement of a noble cause is sought.

"Our appeal to the oil-producing countries of West Asia is motivated by these considerations and a duty to our people.

"We trust that through the good offices of the Mission of the League of Arab States, this appeal will be conveyed to the respective countries at the earliest possible convenience.

Yours fraternally,
M. MSIMANG

Chief Representative, India Office

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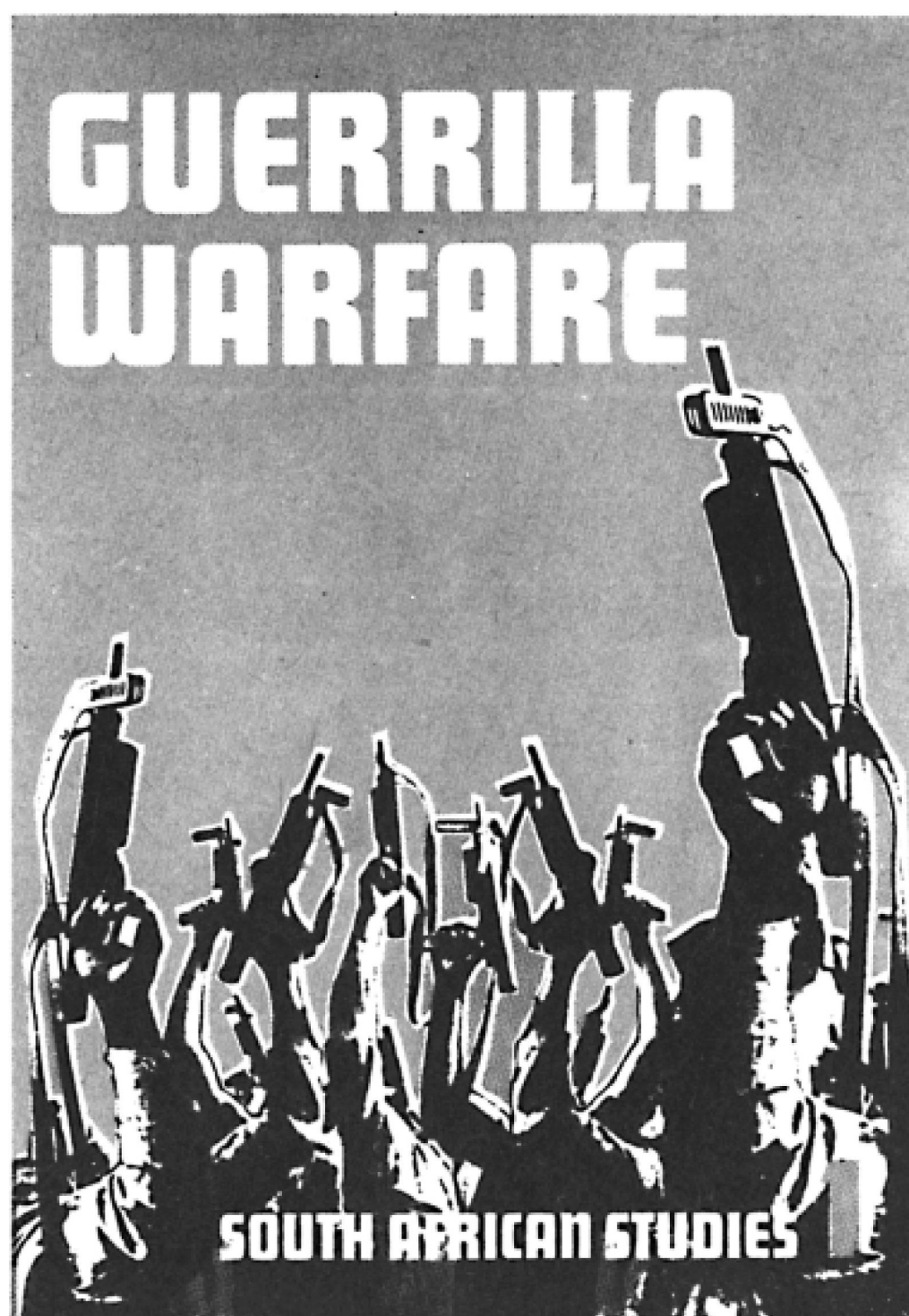
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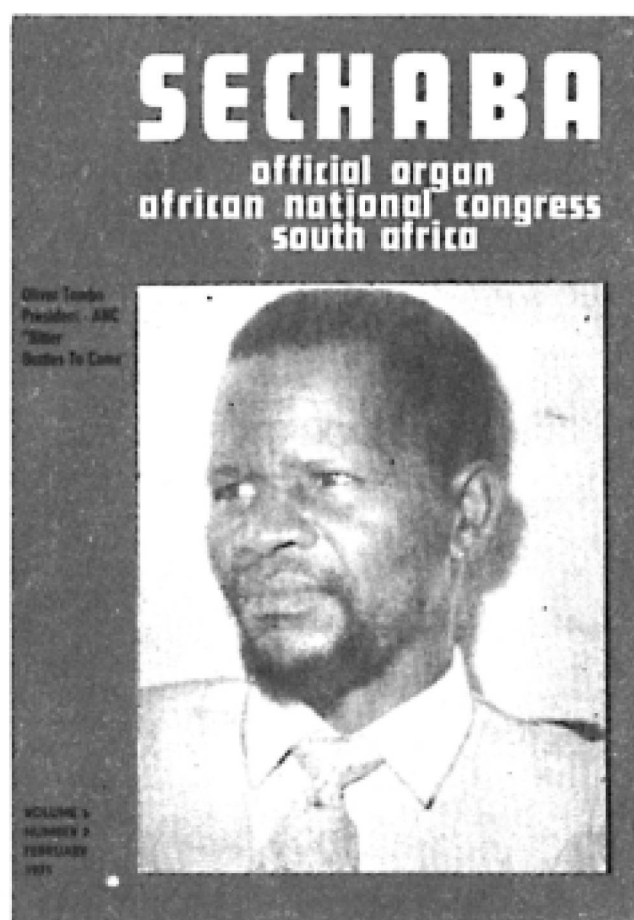
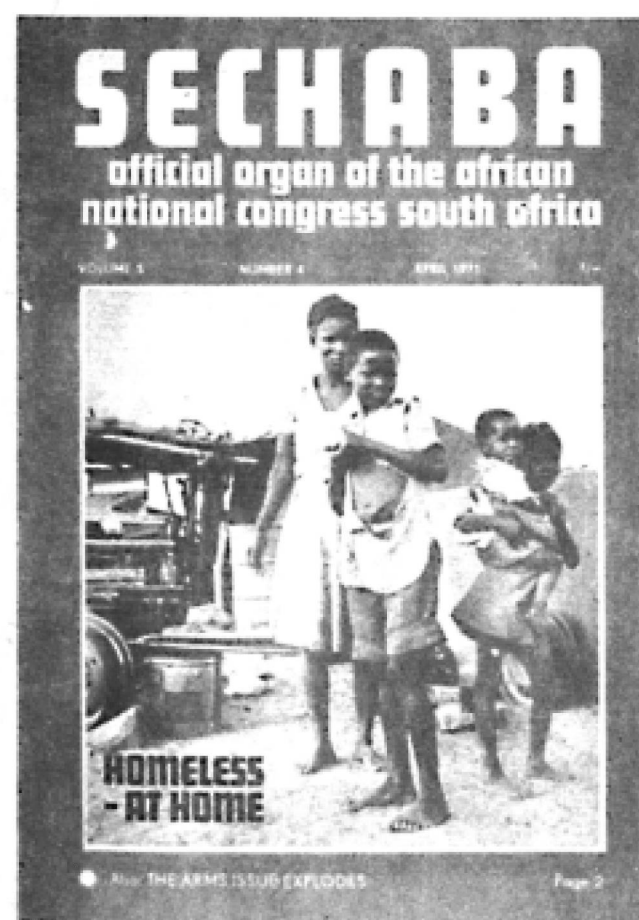
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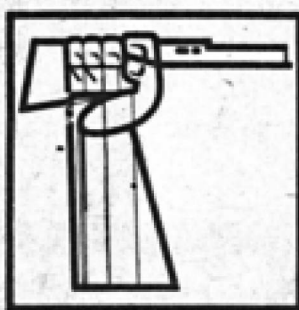
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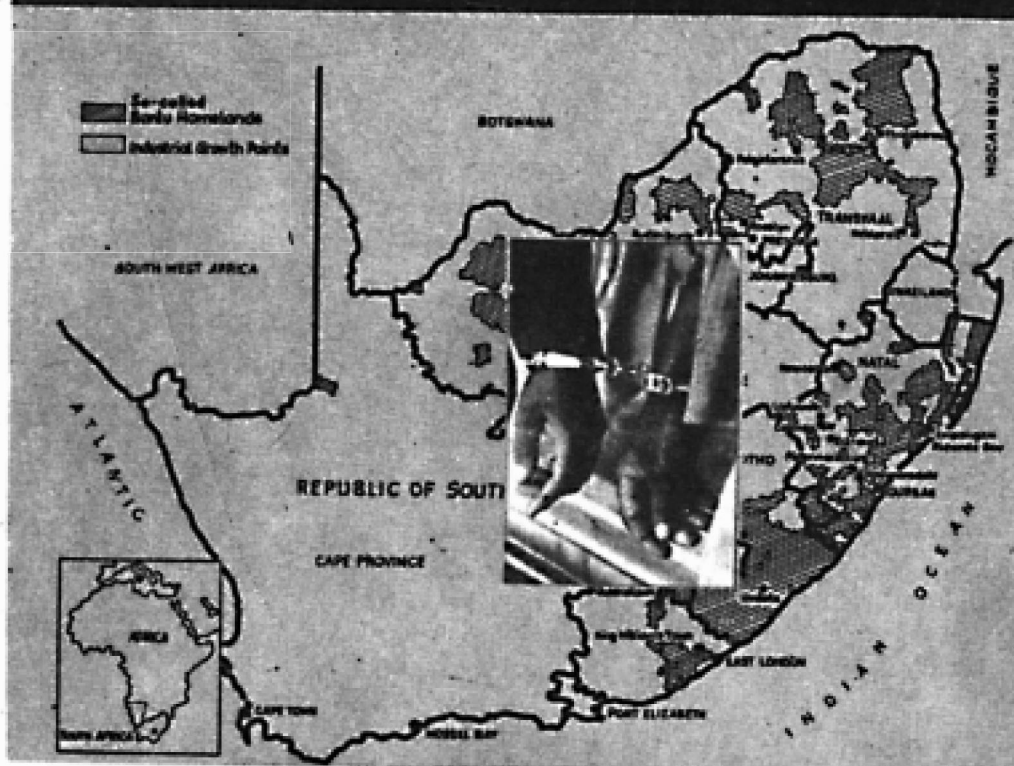
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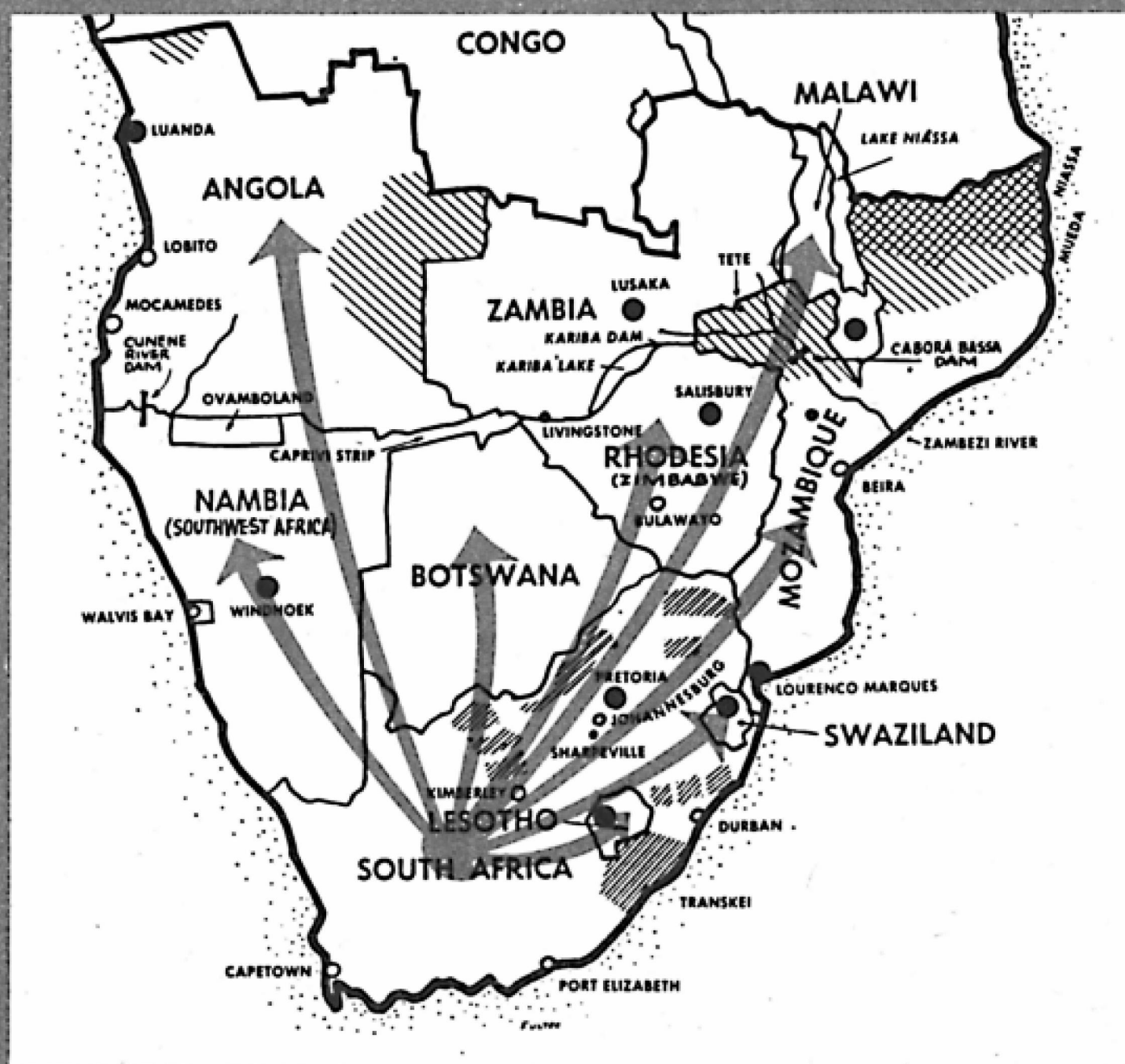
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SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC EXPANSIONISM

by Sean Gervasi



Recent successes in the isolation of South Africa internationally have been keenly felt by the white minority and it is to counter these effects that Vorster launched the so-called 'outgoing policy' in Africa. But there are other compelling reasons too, political and economic. South Africa wants to consolidate its political ascendancy in the whole of Southern Africa to safeguard its borders, and its industry requires an expanding market and raw material supplies.

Sean Gervasi shows that if Vorster's expansionist

policies succeed it will lead to increasing dependency in Southern Africa on the apartheid state. It will also facilitate South Africa's penetration of the rest of Africa.

The obvious conclusion is that South Africa's economic overtures must be resisted right now if a new imperialist power is not to emerge on the African continent itself. It also means that contacts which might facilitate this process must be opposed without qualification.

South Africa is economically and militarily the most powerful country by far in Africa south of the Sahara. This means that it is much more than one country among others. It would be bound in any circumstances to exert considerable influence on other African countries, and particularly on those lying below the sixth parallel. South Africa's situation within Africa today, however, is obviously quite unique; its relations with other countries have been far from normal. And the success of industrialization amidst great poverty raises the danger of economic stagnation. Political isolation and the need for economic expansion have combined to push the government in new directions. South Africa's special situation makes it almost inevitable that it should pursue an aggressive policy of expansion in Africa. This expansionism is bound to become one of the most important issues in African politics.

South Africa's Long Shadow

The purpose of this article is to examine certain aspects of South Africa's expansionism. I do not wish to review here the details of its present foreign policy. A great deal of the relevant material is common knowledge anyway. It seems much more important at this time to try to describe the basic nature of South African expansionism. More important still, one must try to assess the consequences for other countries of the kind of policy which South Africa is presently pursuing. The basic question is whether this policy will assist the development of poor areas in southern Africa. This is the hope that lies behind the favorable reception which South Africa's policy has had in certain countries. We need an analysis which will tell us whether that hope is reasonable or not.

South Africa's new policy towards Africa has two principal strands. One immediate aim of that policy is to expand trade and to increase economic relations with as many countries south of the Sahara as is possible. Thus South Africa is seeking trade agreements, offering loans, investing capital and proffering assistance, etc. in various countries. In this way both government and business are seeking to build normal economic relations with those countries. The second immediate aim of the new policy is to create a Common Market in southern Africa. This involves a much higher degree of economic integration with surrounding countries. For it means moving, by steps perhaps, towards a general co-ordination of economic policy among the countries involved. This paper will be concerned only with the latter aspect of South African expansionism. For the plans for the Common Market tell us a great deal about what South Africa expects its role in Africa to be. And they tell us a great deal about the prospects for development in the sub-continent as well as in other areas which are likely to come under the influence of a South African bloc of nations.

Countries within southern Africa are very much overshadowed by their powerful neighbor. Many of them are actually controlled by South Africa politically. Certainly they are all dependent upon that country in one way or another. But they have hitherto retained separate political identities. South Africa's plans for the area are carrying politically independent countries towards economic integration. The question we must ask is what this will mean. Will South Africa dominate the area? Will significant economic integration undermine the political independence other countries have managed to hold on to? It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that a proper economic analysis will show that our political categories are quite misleading. And this is nowhere more apparent than in the case of an economic union between weak states and powerful ones.

It is taken for granted here that very little needs to be said about the broad motives behind South Africa's new policy. 'Dialogue', expanded trade relations, etc. are part of an effort to secure the political status quo in Africa south of the Sahara, to prevent any conflict over apartheid which might undermine that status quo. There is a further motive,

already mentioned, which may need some explanation. South Africa now has a highly developed, if not altogether self-sufficient, industrial system. But its domestic markets are limited as a consequence of the poverty of the mass of the population. Since the stability of the economy is dependent upon an ability to increase sales of output, economic stagnation is a real danger. The classic solution to this problem, at least for a time, is to expand exports of goods and of capital. South Africa is now attempting to create the political conditions which will make that possible.

The Idea of a Common Market for Southern Africa

A Common Market for Southern Africa was suggested by Prime Minister Verwoerd some years ago. It has been receiving a good deal of discussion recently. The most systematic exposition of the ideas behind it and the policies for bringing it into being has been presented in the first publication of the Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis in Pretoria (December 1968). In *The Concept of Economic Co-operation in Southern Africa*, Lombard, Stadler and Van der Merwe discuss the need for planning the development of the economy of the whole sub-continent. They suggest that Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, South West Africa and the Bantustans of the Republic should be regarded, for economic purposes, as parts of a single southern African system. This system, which has also been called the 'Third Africa', would have an area of 2 million square miles, a population of 45 million and enormous economic resources.

All of the countries of the projected system are of course already linked with South Africa in a variety of ways. But some remain relatively independent politically. Moreover, it is obviously very odd that Zambia should be considered a part of any 'system' which might involve political association with South Africa. The loose relations of the present, however, are nothing but a starting point for discussion and planning. The idea put forward by South African experts and politicians is that everybody in the area would benefit by co-ordinated attempts to promote economic development in the whole area. It is, therefore in everybody's interests to move towards a much greater economic integration of the various territories. The first step in that direction is referred to as 'systematic co-operation'. This allows the countries involved to maintain their political independence while working together to achieve development. No country has to surrender any of its sovereignty. All remain free to conclude such agreements as seem profitable to them.

'Systematic co-operation' would therefore involve the conclusion of ad hoc agreements on trade, investment, aid, infrastructure, etc. The fact that the whole policy of regional co-operation remains for the present on an ad hoc basis makes the whole idea more attractive to independent countries. It is very doubtful whether the South Africans would get anywhere if they proposed any kind of full economic union for southern Africa at this point. But it is clear that South African planners are aiming at a significant degree of economic integration. They note, for instance, that protection (by tariffs) would have to 'take place within a broad overall plan for the sub-region as a whole, with the very positive co-operation of the Republic of South Africa'. (LSV, p. 34) Implicitly, the case which is made is one for economic integration.

LSV does not actually propose any full economic union in southern Africa. But it discusses what in effect could only be a fairly integrated economic region. It takes the creation of employment opportunities throughout the area as one of the main problems to be dealt with. In a region of very poor countries, action to create employment opportunities everywhere would require a high degree of co-operation. It also discusses the problem of reducing regional dependence on the rest of the world and increasing intra-

regional trade. Most importantly, it devotes some space to the problem of a common investment policy for promoting development, and elaborates a number of criteria according to which funds would be guided to the areas where they are needed. **The South Africans may pay homage to the niceties of diplomacy. Their real concern, however, is with working out a coherent policy for promoting a certain kind of development in southern Africa as a whole.** They clearly believe, furthermore, that they can persuade or coerce others to co-operate with their plans.

There is already a solid basis for a future southern African bloc. South Africa is to some extent only formalizing arrangements which already exist. Trade within the region is growing rapidly. So is South African investment. Most countries in the region are dependent economically on South Africa. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have no choice but to co-operate. Angola and Mozambique will do so willingly. Rhodesia has chosen the path of South Africa on its own – or at least those who hold power have chosen. Nonetheless, the arrangements proposed by South Africa will produce significant changes. They will lead to a kind of rationalization of economic policies throughout the area. They will undoubtedly help to promote a certain kind of economic growth. They will greatly strengthen the political ties between countries in the area. **A much more unified southern Africa will mean a greatly strengthened South Africa. Will this unification create real dangers for independent Africa?**

Alternative Strategies for Economic Development

I ought to say, first of all, what I mean by 'economic development'. In setting out this definition I am really doing no more than stating the obvious. But this definition is not, in practice, accepted by economists. They tend to equate growth with development. But it is no longer possible to accept this equation as valid – if it ever was. This confusion of the two terms obscures the main issues. The main objective of 'development' must be the elimination of poverty in the sense of the lack of basic necessities for the mass of the population in any country. **Thus growth with the reduction of income and consumption inequalities becomes the basic criterion for assessing the progress of poor countries.** 'Development' therefore implies a certain content in 'growth'.

It must be recognized that there is no such thing as 'just growth'. The concept of 'national product' is short hand. It is a way of describing the 'mix' of goods and services produced in the economy. But any economy can produce different mixes. The composition of output can be of one kind or of another. What goods an economy produces is obviously of crucial importance. It is therefore misleading to talk about growth alone. The important question is what kind of growth takes place. When output grows, it grows in particular ways. Additions to output may mean more of some goods or more of others. It may involve some altogether new goods. Growth thus entails quantitative and qualitative changes in output. Broadly speaking, therefore, we may distinguish different paths of economic growth. An economy may grow in different directions, producing different mixes of goods.

One further point needs emphasis here. The conventional view is that consumers somehow determine what an economy produces. This is arrant nonsense. This idea derives from the so-called 'static' theory of value or allocation. (The 'static' world is a figment of the economist's imagination.) It cannot be applied to an economy in which growth is taking place. When we look at growth, it is clear that the choice of what to produce takes place in two stages. There is first a producers choice about what kinds of facilities to invest in. This predetermines or limits whatever choices consumers may have. Investment decisions are therefore of crucial importance in determining the directions of economic growth. Producers choice plays an especially important role in shaping the growth of poor economies today.

There is another factor which is commonly neglected in the analysis of development. The most important element in shaping the growth of an economy, or of a region, is often the social system itself. Most societies are still hierarchically structured. The distribution of income, wealth, and opportunities is unequal. One of the most important material reflections of the 'system' in this sense is the distribution of income. The distribution of income defines the initial conditions in which any development strategy must be pursued. These conditions constrain growth in the same way that gravity constrains the flight of a rocket. In a market economy, inequalities in the distribution of income can have a major influence on the composition of output. They can, therefore, shape the path of growth no matter what 'strategy' is pursued.

There are basically two strategies for economic growth. The first consists in expanding production facilities for basic necessities before anything else. Such a strategy implies an initial emphasis on heavy manufacturing production to provide such facilities and to create the infrastructure which is necessary for industrialization. For a poor country this strategy entails considerable self-restraint at the beginning of the effort to 'develop'. Luxury consumption and unnecessary government expenditure interfere with rapid industrialization. Such a strategy also implies greater attention to domestic production as distinct from production for export. The reward, of course, is that basic consumer goods can be made easily available to everyone. This strategy presupposes a willingness to accept a high degree of equality. Very few countries in the world today are pursuing, or even contemplating, such a strategy. But then the general situation of poor countries is that they are becoming poorer.

The second strategy is a very different one. It is based on the implicit acceptance of a fairly high degree of inequality in the distribution of income and wealth. And this is typical of the poor economies in the capitalist orbit. Since producers sell for profit, they must seek markets where there is spending power from the start. Growth takes place at the point where there is 'demand'. Production of relatively expensive goods is put before the production of basic commodities for the poor. This kind of growth involves continuous innovation for a relatively small proportion of the population and the introduction of new consumption goods before the old ones are available everywhere. Once this process begins, it tends to feed upon itself, that is, to reproduce itself. Over the long run, all incomes tend to rise, but income differences remain the same or grow. And many, as in the United States, can be left in poverty. There are thus two paths of growth which a poor economy may follow. The relevant point here is that the degree of inequality in the distribution of income will have an enormous influence, by an invisible and "automatic" process, in determining which path of growth an economy will pursue. The more unequal the distribution of income, the greater will be the tendency to produce goods for the well off. In a capitalist economy this tendency is very marked. Resources will be attracted to markets where there is ready purchasing power. More particularly, they will be attracted to the kinds of production which offer the highest profits. Where income distribution is highly unequal, economic growth tends to become polar. The same tendency may be seen in the economic growth of Great Britain today. Consider the case of Scotland and the South-east. **Centers of growth tend to attract resources and to grow rapidly. Backward areas tend to lose resources and to stagnate.**

There is consequently a strong bias against 'development' in the sense in which I have used the term in any area where there is widespread poverty. Southern Africa is a striking case in point. Resources are not being directed into the production of facilities for providing basic necessities to the mass of the population. This anti-development bias is re-inforced by a peculiar characteristic of the capital which leaves wealthy areas seeking profitable employment. As the production of wealthy regions, or poles,

increases, they need more and more raw materials. So much of the capital which leaves Europe for Africa and South Africa for, say, Zambia goes into the exploitation of mineral resources, agriculture or raw material production. This is because, with thriving metropolitan centers as markets, these sectors are highly profitable. But, once again, this tendency sets up a bias against development in the proper sense of the word.

The Structure of the Economy of Southern Africa as a whole

Taken as a whole, southern Africa is an almost typical underdeveloped area. It is unusually rich in resources. It is sparsely populated. (The poor countries of Asia are perhaps an exception to the rule.) Yet, it is on the whole quite poor. Only those who live and work in the white enclaves are well off. The typical annual per capita income for a country in the sub-continent is on the order of £25-£30. And that figure does not really reflect the reality of material standards for most Africans in the area. The dominant sector of the economy, with the exception of South Africa, is primary production. The vast majority of the population lives on the land. There is no real industry outside Rhodesia and South Africa. And, with the exception of these areas, the region as a whole is economically stagnant. To the extent that production is increasing, it increases for the export market.

The economies of the region except South Africa and Rhodesia have been dominated and shaped by their relations with developed countries. All these countries were colonies until very recently. And their economies typically have a structure which reflects that experience. They have been shaped by the needs of production for the export market and by the intrusion of foreign capital. They are enormously dependent upon exports, and they must import the great bulk of manufactured products and investment goods. Most economies in the region rest on production of a very few commodities. Zambia gets 93 per cent of its export revenues from sales of copper. Angola gets 70 per cent of its revenues from coffee and diamond exports. Malawi earns 75 per cent of foreign proceeds from tea, tobacco and oilseeds. What skills and capital these areas have are thus allocated to uses which do little to further development. **This happens because the presence of foreign capital has played a crucial role in shaping the regional economy.** In many respects the economy of the region is little more than an appendage of the economies of a few western countries.

South Africa, and to some extent Rhodesia, are anomalies in the sub-continent. South Africa's wealth and industry make it much more like Britain or the United States, than like Malawi or Zambia. And South Africa's relations with other countries in the sub-continent, and indeed with the Bantustans, are very much like southern Africa's relations with the developed countries. South Africa imports food and raw materials and exports manufactured goods. South African capital flows to the backward areas for the purpose of organizing primary production or setting up facilities to process food or raw materials. In some cases, it creates facilities for producing inexpensive consumer goods. **If the essence of neo-colonialism is the domination of newly independent territories by economic power, then South Africa is clearly becoming a surrogate imperial power within southern Africa.** Power may be veiled by the categories of economics. But it is there. South Africa already has great influence on countries within the region. That influence is likely to grow.

South Africa's Investment in its Periphery

It will be useful to examine some of the figures which suggest the extent of South Africa's influence in the area. Good data are really quite scarce. There are, however,

some estimates of trade and capital flows. And these are probably among the most important channels of influence between the South African center and the southern African periphery. South African capital, firstly, already plays a crucial role in the sub-continent. According to one recent estimate, the total of foreign investment in the southern African periphery is approximately £550 millions. (Murray and Stoneman, 'Private Overseas Investment in Southern and Central Africa', mimeo. 1970.) Most foreign investment in the sub-continent, of course, is in South Africa itself. But a substantial portion is in the periphery. South African investment in the periphery is almost as large. It probably now totals well over £425 millions. (Murray and Stoneman estimate £375 millions, but their figures have not been updated.)

The distribution of these investments (direct and indirect) is roughly as follows:

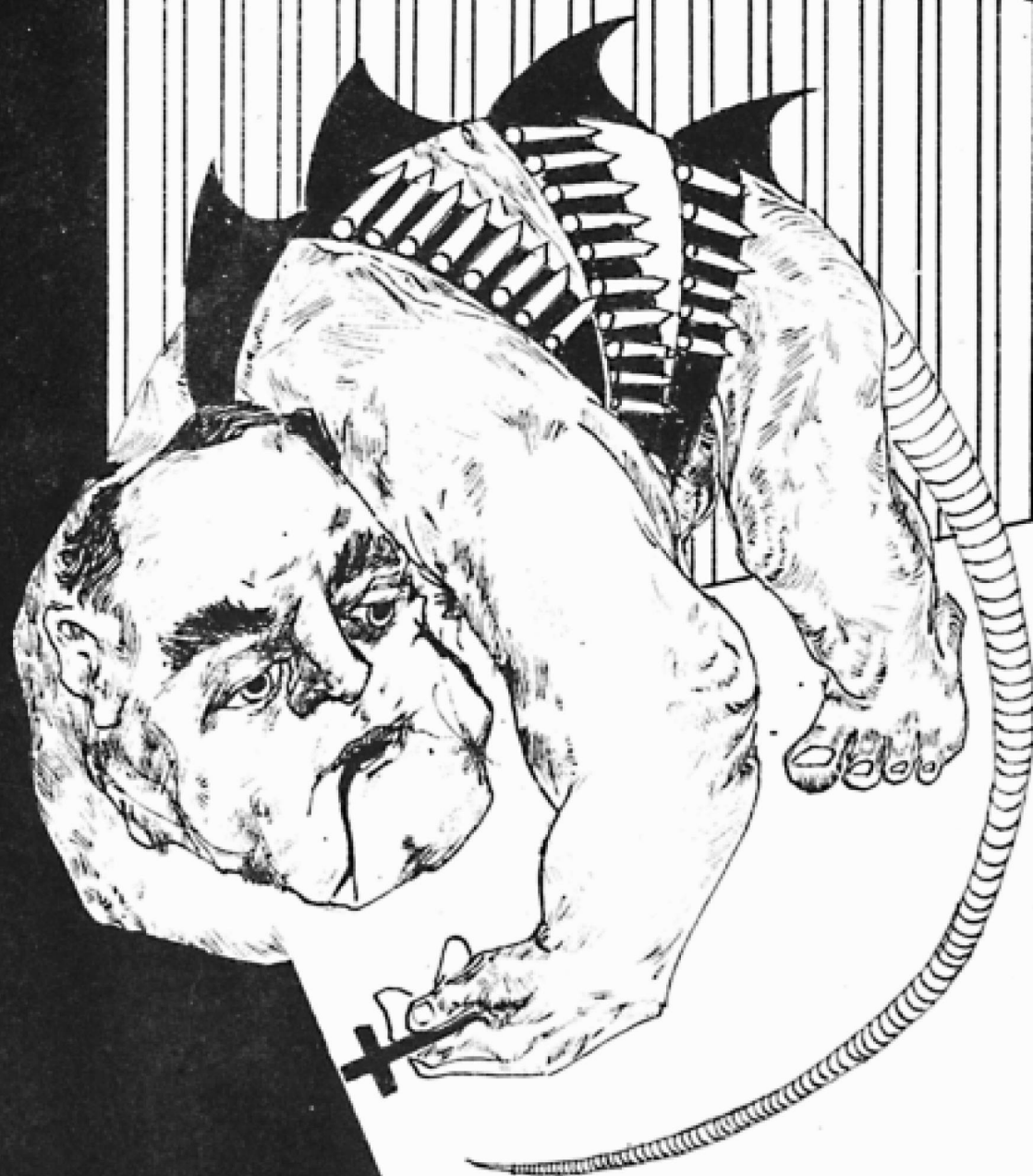
South West Africa	£96 millions in 1963 (at least £125 millions now)
Rhodesia	£245 millions in 1966
Zambia	(at least £280 millions now)
Malawi	
Angola & Mozambique	£10 millions (a low estimate)
Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland	£25 millions

The estimate of a total of £425 millions probably errs on the side of conservatism. It assumes little disinvestment in Zambia and Malawi, and a compensating growth of new investments which brings the annual increase for the former Federation to 4 per cent per year. South African investment in Rhodesia has probably increased much more rapidly. South African assets probably represent a significant portion of the total of productive assets outside the subsistence sector of the sub-continent. This means that South Africa, through national and multi-national enterprises, has significant control over the use of local resources in the periphery. South African companies can have a considerable influence over the rate and pattern of investment in most parts of that periphery. This means that the nominally independent governments of the periphery must treat South African interests with care. And that is putting it rather mildly. But it gives some idea of the concrete meaning of dependency.

The countries of the periphery are also dependent upon South Africa for imports and exports. The region's trade, of course, is oriented towards developed countries. Intra-regional exports are only 28 per cent of the sub-continent's exports to the rest of the world. Intra-regional imports constitute only 25 per cent of the sub-continent's total imports. Within the region, however, South Africa holds a dominant position. Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South West Africa are heavily dependent upon the Republic for imports. Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and South West Africa are heavily dependent upon export markets there. The countries in the periphery, in other words, are closely tied to South Africa by their trade needs. The principal exceptions are Angola and Mozambique. This gives the Republic considerable leverage over the governments in question. Doubters need only consider what happens in Canada when the U. S. government threatens to change tariff arrangements on manufactured products.

What is perhaps more important is that the content of trade between South Africa and the periphery reflects the typical pattern of relations between developed and underdeveloped areas. South Africa is an industrial power. Its exports to the developed countries do not yet reflect this new status. They still consist to an important degree of primary commodities. South Africa's trade with Africa, however, and with the periphery in particular, is very much a part of usual pattern. It exports manufactured goods, machinery and transport equipment. In return it receives food and raw materials. The export lists of Mozambique, Botswana, Swaziland and Zambia are typical of those in countries on the periphery.

Botswana - cattle (carcasses), hides, meat extract



Mozambique — cashew nuts, cotton, sugar, tea, copra, petroleum products

Swaziland — iron ore, sugar, asbestos, wood pulp, citrus fruits, meat

Zambia — copper, zinc, lead, cobalt, tobacco

The significance of this pattern is not difficult to grasp. The continued specialization of the periphery in primary production is an obstacle to development. So trade relations with South Africa, the expansion of which will reinforce that obstacle, stand in the way of that qualitative shift in the pattern of production which is necessary for 'development'

Increasing Dependency in the Periphery

One further point about the present pattern of trade in the sub-continent needs particular emphasis. The history of trade between rich countries and poor shows that the terms of trade between the two have caused great losses to the latter. The prices of manufactured exports have tended to rise continuously. The prices of primary exports, on the other hand, have tended to decline more or less continuously. The trend, from the point of view of the poor countries, has been towards a continuous deterioration in the terms of trade. And this has meant real losses. UNCTAD has estimated that the poor countries have lost hundreds of millions of dollars every year as a result of

these price movements. Over a ten year period, it has been estimated that these losses were equivalent to more than 40 per cent of all the aid granted to poor countries. Expansion of present trade relations between South Africa and rest of the sub-continent does not in consequence offer any great hope for accelerating the development of backward areas. On the contrary, it might well slow down development, through its financial consequences as well as by its effects on the structure of production.

Migratory labor obviously plays an important role in the subcontinent's economy. Hundreds of thousands of workers from the periphery work in South Africa. Rhodesia has nearly three hundred thousand migratory workers. In 1960, according to Ken Owen, foreign Africans constituted nearly 8 per cent of the total African **population** of South Africa. Nearly 40 per cent of the workers in the gold mines and in the coal mines in that year were foreign Africans. More than 7 million "non-residents" now live and work in white South Africa. This enormous migration of labor is clearly a reflection of the poverty of the periphery, where there are very few jobs to be had. It also reflects an important degree of dependency on the part of the periphery. For the income of countries in the periphery is derived in part from the remitted earnings of migrant workers. Malawi, for instance, is able to generate no more than 64 per cent of its national income by local production. Many countries, in other words, can scarcely afford to do without the earnings provided by migrant workers. And this will be true even in the case of Mozambique, which derives 7 per

cent of its national income from migrant earnings. The livelihood of such countries is thus dependent on a pattern of labor use and on fiscal arrangements which are largely determined by South Africa.

This description of the structure of the sub continent's economy gives some idea of the way in which obvious differences between South Africa and the periphery affect the pattern of economic activity in the whole area. Flows of capital give South Africa control of resources in the periphery. The pattern of trade flows tends to impoverish the periphery. The pattern of labor flows enriches South Africa and deprives the periphery of some of its resources, indeed of the great bulk of skilled and semi-skilled workers. These differences are all reflections of differences in wealth. And in the final analysis, it is these differences which will be the determining factor in shaping the pattern of development in the whole area. The mass of the African population lives in poverty. The monthly per capita income of whites in South Africa is twelve times that of the average African. The population of the reserves within South Africa is probably living on the border of starvation most of the time. Average per capita income in the periphery is probably less than that of the average African in South Africa. (That is a statistical average.) The economy of the sub-continent, in other words, is a classic dual economy. And in assessing the prospects for "development" it is necessary to recognize that this is the context in which the development effort will be made.

The Recent Pattern of Economic Growth in the Sub-continent

In recent years foreign capital has been moving rapidly into the sub-continent. Much of this capital has entered as direct investment. That is, foreign corporations have gone into production there themselves, or in partnership with local capital. It is primarily the large multi-national corporations which have been undertaking new investment. The importance of small-scale enterprise has declined, particularly in the fields of finance and merchanting. The regional and sectoral pattern of this investment provides some indication of what is likely to happen in the area in the future. If the sub-continent becomes more fully integrated, market forces will play a paramount role in shaping the pattern of development. The future will not bring any great qualitative changes. The future pattern of investment, which is one of the decisive factors in development, is likely to be very much like the pattern of the last decade. So that experience is worth examining.

It is obvious that the great bulk of investment in the region over the last decade has gone to South Africa. By 1968, foreign private investment in South Africa had reached £2,319 millions. These figures include investment in the former High Commission Territories, but the figures for those areas are very small. The figures for the remaining countries in the periphery are not altogether reliable. But it is likely that foreign investment there was on the order of £550, as indicated previously. Thus, foreign investment in South Africa was between 80 and 85 per cent of total foreign investment in the sub-continent. It is difficult to say whether this proportion has been changing in recent years, but it is not likely that it has. If anything, a larger proportion has probably been flowing into South Africa. The center, in other words, has probably become relatively more attractive during the last decade. There are some signs that this may be changing slightly. The changes, however, would be marginal ones which would not really affect the relative economic power of the periphery vis-a-vis South Africa.

The sectoral pattern of investment tends to confirm one's suspicions about the way the logic of the market place tends to work itself out in an area like southern Africa. Within South Africa, there has been a relative decline of mining. Foreign investments have gone increasingly into the manufacturing sector. Most United States investment, for instance, has been in manufacturing. In the periphery

foreign investment has been concentrated in primary production, and particularly in mining. In Swaziland it has gone into the exploitation of coal and asbestos. In Botswana, it has gone into copper and nickel. In the Portuguese territories, foreigners have been interested chiefly in diamonds and petroleum. In Mozambique, a good deal of foreign investment has gone into sugar as well. Some countries have begun to develop their tourist resources with foreign capital. In almost every case, however, foreign capital has tended to build on the existing situation. It has concentrated on those sectors in which a country already has a "comparative advantage". This tendency has the effect of re-inforcing the pre-industrial structure of the periphery economies.

There has, obviously, been an increase in manufacturing investment in the area, and especially in South Africa. But much of this investment fails to contribute to "development." For within the manufacturing sector, investment has been of two kinds. It has gone towards the construction of facilities for primary product processing and towards creating a capacity for import substitution in light industries. In the former case, it has the effect of strengthening to a certain extent the tendency to concentrate on primary production. It does not lead to a qualitative shift of production. In the latter case, it provides capacity for production for a very narrow market. The basic importance of heavy industry is that it takes one along a real "development" path of growth. The pattern of investment taking place in southern Africa is one which reflects more than anything else the enormous relative spending power of the white population and the pull of foreign markets in developed countries. These are the two forces which are shaping development in the area. And they are producing a typical polar pattern of economic growth.

South Africa's Plans for the Development of the Sub-continent

At the present moment the discussion of plans for the future runs in terms of a series of ad hoc agreements on various economic questions between countries in the sub-continent. It is not clear what is meant to come immediately after this stage of more intensive economic co-operation. LSV, for instance, provide no more than a sketchy idea of the meaning of fuller economic integration in the middle run. Over the long run, however, it is clear that South Africa intends to attempt some kind of indicative planning for the area. The principal ultimate objectives seem to be a common investment policy and co-ordinated public expenditure. The South Africans have not stated at all clearly what policy instruments they intend to employ in order to achieve these objectives. The question we are concerned with, however, is whether the sorts of plans alluded to will promote development in the backward areas. For that purpose we may assume that the South Africans succeed in implementing some form of planning and that investments in the region begin to conform to some sort of coherent design. We may then look at the consequences of the "best solution" put forward by South Africa.

The South African Government says that it wishes to promote the development of the whole region, and in particular that it wants to create jobs in the periphery. So far they have not really addressed themselves to the analysis of that problem, except in a rather propagandistic way. The analysis which is available suggests that they have set themselves a much more modest goal. And they define the problem confronting the sub-continent in a most interesting way. What "economic transformation", LSV ask, does the sub-continent need? (p.34) They begin by describing the present regional pattern of activity as one of exchanging labor for goods which the Republic imports from the rest of the world. The periphery, in other words, imports simple manufactured commodities or capital goods. It earns the means to pay for these by sending laborers to South Africa. The means for making the goods exported from South Africa must be imported from abroad. In some cases, the goods themselves,

perhaps in a less finished state, must be imported from Europe or the United States.

The "target", LSV say, is to change this intra-regional pattern of activity. The present pattern is not a desirable one. The "desirable pattern" would be one which increased the intra-regional flow of goods at the expense of labor migration and trade with the rest of the world. In other words, South Africa would like to reduce the imports of all countries in the region from the rest of the world. The sub-continent would become more self-sufficient. At the same time, South Africa would export more of the goods to the periphery which now have to be imported from abroad. In return it would take more of the commodities which the periphery can export. And it would take a sufficiently larger quantity of those goods to permit the repatriation of migratory labor whose earnings presently finance periphery imports to an important extent. Such a program might well involve creation of more manufacturing capacity in the periphery. But it would be the kind of manufacturing capacity which has been so important in the past decade. It would almost inevitably be complementary to primary production in the periphery. Although there would inevitably be some increase in light manufacturing capacity.

This is not exactly a plan for the development of the sub-continent. It is a plan according to which South Africa would take over a good deal of the economic space which European countries and the United States now occupy in southern Africa. South Africa would increase its exports of manufactured commodities and increase its imports of primary commodities and semi-finished products. This would mean, essentially, a "turning inwards" towards South Africa of the countries on the periphery. It would mean only a marginal shift or change in the structure of production in other countries of the sub-continent. It would certainly not mean what all poor countries crave, an enormously expanded market for the export of manufactures. There is almost no industry in the periphery. What industry there is certainly cannot compete with South African industry. And as long as there are such enormous differences in economic power between the two poles of the subcontinent, it is exceedingly unlikely that the logic of the marketplace will lead anyone to expand the manufacturing capacity of the periphery significantly.

These facts are implicit in the way in which official South African sources describe and analyze the problem of developing the sub-continent. What is implicit in that analysis is confirmed by any scrutiny of the principles on which the future common investment policy of the sub-continent is supposed to be based. The basic principle is to be "comparative advantage". Planners must give special consideration to "the cost components which would indicate the relative comparative advantage (or comparative disadvantage) of location in the underdeveloped areas in comparison with location in the metropolitan areas of the Republic". (LSV, p.37) This is the constant theme in the official analysis. Other criteria for selecting areas of priority investment are: 1) "the demand aspect, that is some idea of the elasticity of demand for the particular product"; and 2) "the availability of capital". These are fairly common criteria for the selection of investment projects anywhere in a market economy.

Conclusions

The question posed at the beginning of this paper was whether the kinds of plans which South Africa is apparently considering would, in the context of southern Africa, really lead to the development of the sub-continent's backward areas. The decisive influences in the outcome must be the present distribution of income and wealth and the pattern of investment spending in the future. The most marked characteristic of the area as a whole is the skewness in the distribution of income and wealth. It is doubtful whether there is such an unequal distribution of income anywhere in the world. Furthermore, those at the bottom end of the income distribution live in poverty, in absolute terms. This

means that the mass of the people have almost no purchasing power in the market. South Africa might be proposing a strategy for development which would change that situation. But all indications are that it is not. It is pursuing a strategy for growth but not development. And most of the growth will take place in South Africa. In other words, in the present context, the pattern of spending proposed for a hypothetical common investment policy will produce more or less the same results as the influx of foreign investment in the last decade. It will increase the gap between the rich and the poor in the area. In other words, **the countries on the periphery have a great deal to lose in an economic union with a powerful industrial country like South Africa.**

South Africa, on the other hand, has a great deal to gain. Some kind of economic union would undoubtedly be a stimulus to growth in South Africa. Industry in the center is already beginning to export important quantities of manufactured goods to Africa. Total exports to the continent in 1968 were more than 270 million Rand. Two thirds of that amount went to countries in the periphery and consisted mainly of manufactured commodities and machinery of various kinds. Countries on the periphery are still importing large volumes of the same kinds of goods from Europe and the United States. Consequently, **the re-orientation of trade which South Africa proposes would open up major new markets for its industry.** South Africa would also make important gains through movements in the terms of trade. And the probable surpluses on its balance of payments with the periphery could be used to finance the exploitation of those primary commodities which its growing industry needs ever greater quantities of. And, once again, the effect of this kind of expansion of trade and investment in the area would be to increase the pressure for specialization in primary production, and complementary activities, in the periphery.

What is even more serious is that all these economic trends would greatly increase the dependency of periphery countries on South Africa. The presence of important foreign capital interests in a poor country can never be ignored. Neither can tariff arrangements or the continuity of flows of trade. The expansion of economic relations, the creation of some kind of economic union, in southern Africa would give South Africa considerable leverage on those countries in the area which retain some degree of political independence. Obviously, the degree of dependency would vary from country to country. But on the whole countries would find themselves faced with a very difficult situation. **Greater economic dependency vis-a-vis South Africa would make them politically very vulnerable.** South Africa is seeking closer association among the nations of the area because it knows that its power will make it possible to exercise an important influence over them. That is the point of the whole exercise. **The ultimate aims of the new economic plans are political.** The Common Market was originally to be the prelude to the establishment of a Community of Southern Africa States. The success of co-operation for "development" would undoubtedly lead to the kinds of results described by Rhodie. "On its part South Africa dominates the Third Africa to the same, if not a greater, extent that the United States enjoys pre-eminence in the Americas." (*The Third Africa*, p.3) That is scarcely a happy prospect.

The implications of the plans considered here, however, reach beyond the sub-continent. The results of economic union would undoubtedly help to consolidate South African power. From the economic arrangements in view, new political agreements, and especially military ones, would undoubtedly follow. By strengthening South Africa and weakening the periphery, the Common Market would undoubtedly help to protect the Republic against any attempts to eliminate apartheid. The implementation of these plans would be a menace to the political stability of those states which oppose apartheid and which assist the national liberation movements in the sub-continent. And the principal countries in question, which are now attempting to form a northern alliance, sit at the edge of the Third Africa. It is scarcely an accident that Zambia is included in the usual list of "potential partners" in the Common Market.

West African Resistance.

The Military Response to Colonial Occupation.
Edited by Michael Crowder. Hutchinson, £2.50p.

The Military Art of People's War.

Selected Writings of General Vo Nguyen Giap.
Edited by Russel Stetler. Monthly Review, £3.90p.

Banner of People's War, The Party's Military Line.

By General Vo Nguyen Giap.
Introduction by Georges Boudarel. Pall Mall, £2.50p.

In their official reports and accounts, the colonial conquerors of African territories tended to minimise or to treat with contempt the resistance put up by the African peoples. Thus a Captain A.T. Jones, in a commissioned report in 1861 for the administrator of the newly-seized colony of Lagos, referred to the African armed opposition that had been encountered as "the irregular marching and skirmishing of the barbarous horde."

Some present-day historians, however, more honest in their research and interpretations, have begun to throw a brighter and more truthful light on the period of the African carve-up in the 19th century. In the collection of nine essays by African and European historians that has been edited with an introduction by Michael Crowder, an eye-opening picture is given of brilliant and effective armed opposition by Africans to European conquest in regions now included in the states of Ghana, Mali, Gambia, Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Although confined to West Africa, these studies could be extended as well to all parts of the continent, to provide a rich background of struggle for today's liberation wars.

It took Britain innumerable campaigns and the better part of the 19th century to establish its dominance over the Gold Coast and to suppress the Asante state. A Ghanaian historian, J.K. Fynn, sketches the intermittent Asante wars, in several of which the British forces suffered such severe defeats that they had to abandon administrative control for a time. In 1824 the British commander, Sir Charles Macarthy, who "had nothing but contempt" for Asante and its institutions, was disastrously defeated in a battle in which "it soon became clear that they not only outnumbered the British and their allies but also they were better tacticians," and in which Sir Charles himself was killed.

The Asante employed some interesting tactics. In the battle of Amafao in 1874, when the British sought to advance through thick forest in several columns, the Asante slipped between the columns, lay down and fired to either side, flanking all the columns. In the last Asante war, in

1900, although the Asante forces were almost wholly armed with ancient muzzle-loading muskets in contrast to the modern rapidfiring rifles and machine-guns of the British, an "extraordinary heavy fire brought to bear on the British columns" was achieved by a remarkable three-line formation in which each line fired, moved to the rear for reloading and was replaced quickly by the next line, a constant volleying fire being maintained.

Fynn writes that "the Asante were defeated by the British and their allies not because they lacked courage and discipline but mainly because the enemy used modern weapons unknown to the Asante. Secondly, though the Asante were great fighters in the forest and used ambushes to great effect, they did not resort to guerrilla warfare. This was a great strategic error which greatly detracted from their efficiency."

Other West African leaders, however, avoided this error, understanding very well the need to use guerilla tactics to offset their lack of modern weaponry. The two most remarkable guerilla tacticians in this part of Africa were Samori and Bai Bureh, the former a Dyula from the Konya region of what is now Guinea, the latter a Temne from the Kasseh district of present-day Sierra Leone.

Samori fought the French colonial armies for a 17-year period from 1881-1898, holding together states that covered a large part of what are now Guinea, Mali, Dahomey and Ghana. He organised a form of total people's warfare, in which the whole population was mobilised to equip and support his armies that numbered at times 30,000 men.

This included the copying and manufacture of relatively modern European repeating rifles by village craftsmen. Although he adhered mainly to guerrilla tactics, for which he built barricades and stone walls throughout the forest to facilitate ambushes, Samori was a masterly military organiser who repeatedly reorganised his armed forces to meet the weapons and tactics of the enemy, enabling them to shift from frontal combat to siege warfare to hit and run operations.

Only the superior rapid-firing weapons and artillery of the French army eventually defeated Samori. As Yves Person, his historian, writes: "Within the framework of the old Africa the astonishing rise of Samori revealed a tactician whose strategic skill was without equal. But the relative mediocrity of his means of action was to leave him powerless in the face of adversaries whose genius was nil, but whose techniques of modern warfare were unequalled on the continent."

Bai Bureh led a much shorter resistance war in Sierra Leone, from January to November 1898, but from the standpoint of guerilla tactics it was one of the best examples of such a struggle. The British, who employed a system of flying columns along the rivers, roads and paths of the region, suffered heavy losses from ambushes, surprise attacks and the need to take innumerable fortified points, and had their communication lines repeatedly cut. Every village in the region was mobilised to give total support to Bai Bureh, who organised the removal of all canoes and other floating craft that might be used by the British from all rivers, the blocking of all roads and

paths, and the building of villages on hilltops, in swamps and in inaccessible forest, with all approaches fortified. In the words of one British officer, "if Bureh was an unusually smart man, so did the Timini prove to be in the events that followed. Savages they might be, but even in their very fighting they betrayed such admirable qualities as are not always to be found in the troops of the 'civilised' nations."

As Michael Crowder points out in his illuminating introduction to these essays, the only factor that enabled the European colonial armies to overcome the more numerous African forces of resistance was their possession of the most modern weapons and most advanced military technology. The African leaders were aware of their deficiencies and tried to overcome them (Samori even sent some of his men to join the French army clandestinely in order to learn how to use the new weapons) but the European nations took steps to shut off the avenues by which arms might be sold in Africa and reach resistance forces.

In general, this is a fascinating book to read and one from which many historical lessons may be learned.

These, however, are lessons of the past. There are more important lessons of the present that may be studied. As a contrast to the essays on African experiences of a previous day, two new books have been published of the military writings of the remarkable Vietnamese master of people's war, General Vo Nguyen Giap. They swing the balance of experience the other way.

The Vietnamese people are also an underdeveloped nation that has been compelled to fight a war of resistance and liberation against the strongest military power in the world, possessing and using the most advanced and most devastating of modern military technology. Unlike Samori and Bai Bureh and their peoples, who lost their struggle in spite of their superior genius, General Giap and his people are winning and their superior genius is prevailing.

Highly instructive for Africans and Asians alike, these books make quite apparent why this is occurring. The



Vietnamese have not only mastered the arts of organisation, military and political, and created a fantastic morale on a nationwide scale, but they have been able to acquire and to put to use skillfully modern weaponry and military technology.

The two Giap books need to be read together, since **The Military Art of People's War** is a collection of earlier writings while **Banner of People's War, The Party's Military Line** consists of a more recent address delivered in December 1969. Taken together, they enable one to trace the development of Marxist thinking and experience in the Vietnamese struggle.

In the earlier writings by Giap, which outline the concept and the principles of people's war, not much stress is put on weapons and technology; the main stress is on superiority that comes from mass revolutionary spirit and revolutionary will, the resources of human morale and will that can enable a poorly-equipped people to overcome a stronger foe through guerrilla warfare. By now these ideas are familiar to many, and they are stressed as well in the writings of other theoreticians of popular guerrilla struggle.

In the later work, however, while these points continue to be emphasised, there is an added stress given to the mastery of weapons and technology. This has become a greater necessity in the course of the Vietnam war, arising from the need to cope with the constant introduction of new weapons and equipment by the American imperialist forces.

As Georges Boudarel points out in his perceptive introduction: "This task of scientifically organising people's war has profound implications for operational tactics. It corresponds to the advance from the bow and arrow to the machine gun. The fighter passes from the age of the bamboo spear and the trap into the age of the transistor and the rocket. The specifically military aspects of warfare henceforth assume far greater importance than in Chinese Communist theory, where human will is the key to all solutions."

General Giap has discussed it in this way:

"Arms and equipment are the material and technical base of combat armies, the basic element of their strength. To increase an army's fighting power, it is necessary to improve its equipment constantly.

"Applying the Marxist-Leninist view of the relationship between men and weapons – that is men are the factors deciding victories in war, weapons and equipment are very important and essential – and acting according to our country's actual circumstances and the reality of our revolutionary war, our Party has settled the problem of our armed forces' weapons and equipment.

"Our Party has correctly decided that the masses are the source of our armed forces' equipment. Our armed forces must arm themselves with any available equipment, produce it themselves, take weapons from the enemy to kill him, and, to improve their supplies of equipment constantly, obtain aid from fraternal socialist countries when condition permit."

It is the last factor, the availability of military assistance in modern weaponry from fraternal socialist countries, that was absent in particular from African resistance in the 19th century. Whereas European colonial powers could effectively shut off the supply of adequate arms to Africans at that time, they are not able to do so in the case of virtually any people fighting for liberation now, who may turn for assistance to socialist as well as other anti-imperialist countries today. This is true not only in the case of arms but as far as training cadres in the use of arms and techniques is concerned. The past is tragic history; we live in an indomitable present.



drought conditions and the Government's ruthless tightening of the influx control regulations to prevent the men from seeking work in urban areas to the south. "The drought has hit my people badly. Many of them are on the point of starvation," said Mr. Peter Nkuna, secretary of the Ribungwani Tribal Authority. "But there are no border industries and they cannot earn money to feed their families. The Government no longer allows us to seek employment in Pretoria or on the Reef. Many of our men try to enter the areas illegally and as a result are arrested. Then their families have no hope of support". There are about 500,000 Africans living in the affected area.

WHITE MAN'S CONSCIENCE?

South Africa's position as the world's leader in the number of executions it carries out has alarmed white public opinion. Some well-known personalities have come forward to form the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa. Among the sponsors are Prof. Chris Barnard, the Bishop of Cape Town, the Chief Rabbi of Johannesburg and Rex Welsh Q.C. The society has received over 300 applications for membership.

CROSSED LINES

The principal of a Coloured school in the Hex River Valley, Cape, has applied for a telephone for his school. But if it is granted it will mean sharing a party line with some white farmers in the district – and if any one of them should object to this arrangement the school will not get a telephone. A long-standing Post Office regulation lays down that a nonwhite person may only be allowed onto a party line if none of the white subscribers on it objects. And the Telephone Department does not believe in liberal interpretations. A

spokesman for the department made it clear that the practice of including non-white subscribers on party lines was discouraged. "We receive many complaints about non-whites using party lines." Now they even take the precaution of limiting outgoing calls to emergencies when a white farmer is away and has left his farm in charge of a non-white employee, and encouraging the farmer "to phone his instructions to his non-white employee at fixed times."

AFRIKAANS AUTHOR PROTESTS

"We live in a dissatisfied country, an unhappy country, a violent and tragically splintered country. But basically we all belong here – and nowhere else." So spoke a well-known Afrikaans author, Andre Brink, when he called for a major conference – including those in exile – to discuss "the cultural sterility caused by apartheid." Mr. Brink offered to accompany other authors to prison, if necessary, in a protest move against censorship and the banning of books in South Africa.

THE ABC OF RACE

A former president of the white Transvaal Teachers Association, Mr F.E. Auerbach, has written a booklet, "The ABC of Race," in an attempt to refute the misconceptions at present being taught in South African schools. Among the traditional notions which he challenges are: The existence of a "white civilisation".

The idea of inferior and superior races.

The belief that cruelty is a character trait of certain races.

The booklet which is being directed specifically to thirteen year old school children will have to be circulated privately since it is published by the liberal organisation, the South African Institute of Race Relations.

WORLD'S WORST ESTATE AGENT

"The largest and most ruthless estate agency in the world" was how a recent editorial in the Rand Daily Mail described the Department of Community Development.

It had been, "specifically created to shunt people around and move them out of their homes and business areas that they had occupied for generations and herd them into ghettos. It performs this task on a vast scale and with a minimum of compassion.

The Department, acting under the Group Areas Act, had become "a huge and privileged property speculator holding land worth more than R50 million (about £29 million)".

STARVATION

Tens of thousands of Africans living in the Northern Transvaal are facing starvation because of the acute