

VOL 5

NO 7

JULY

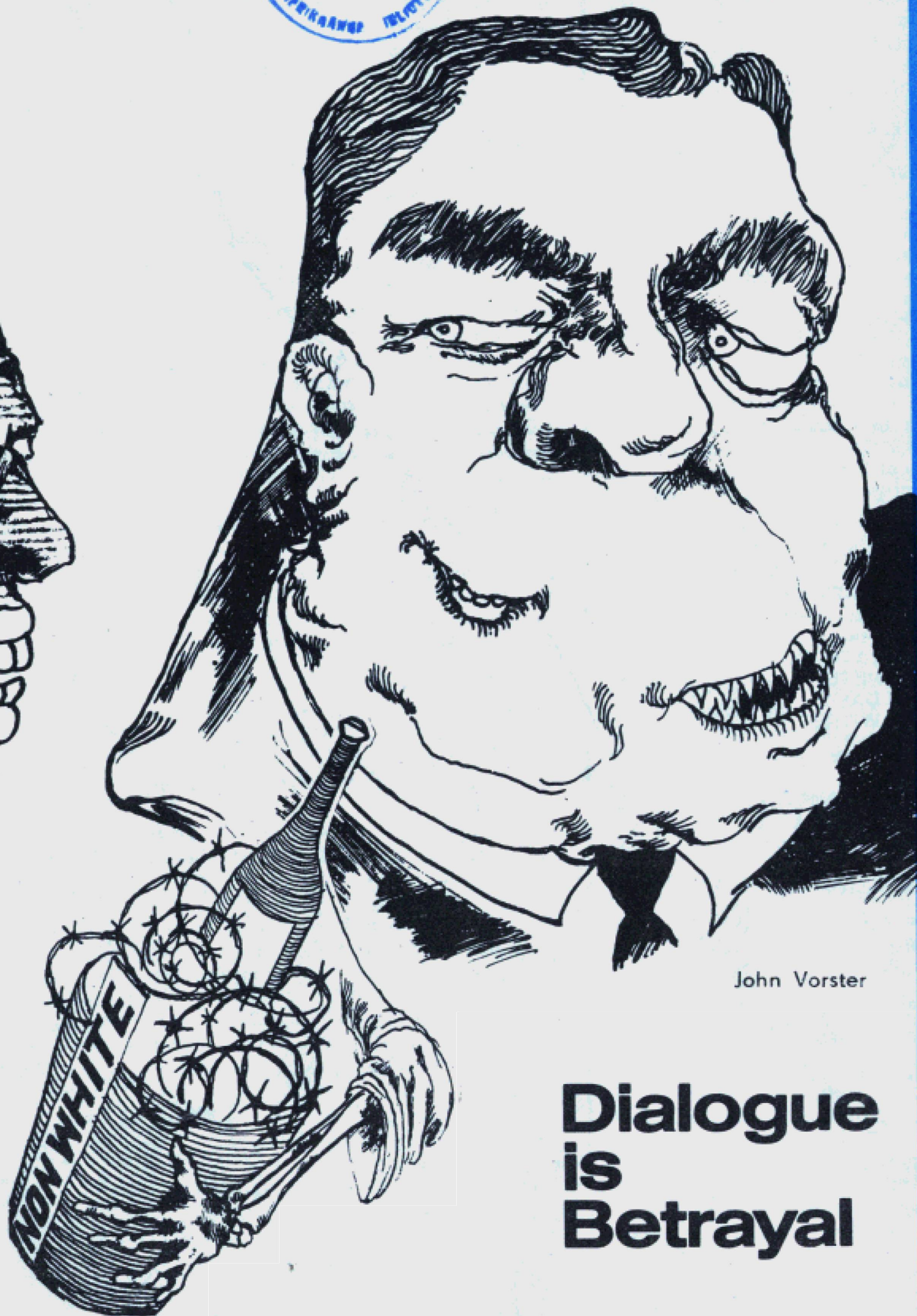
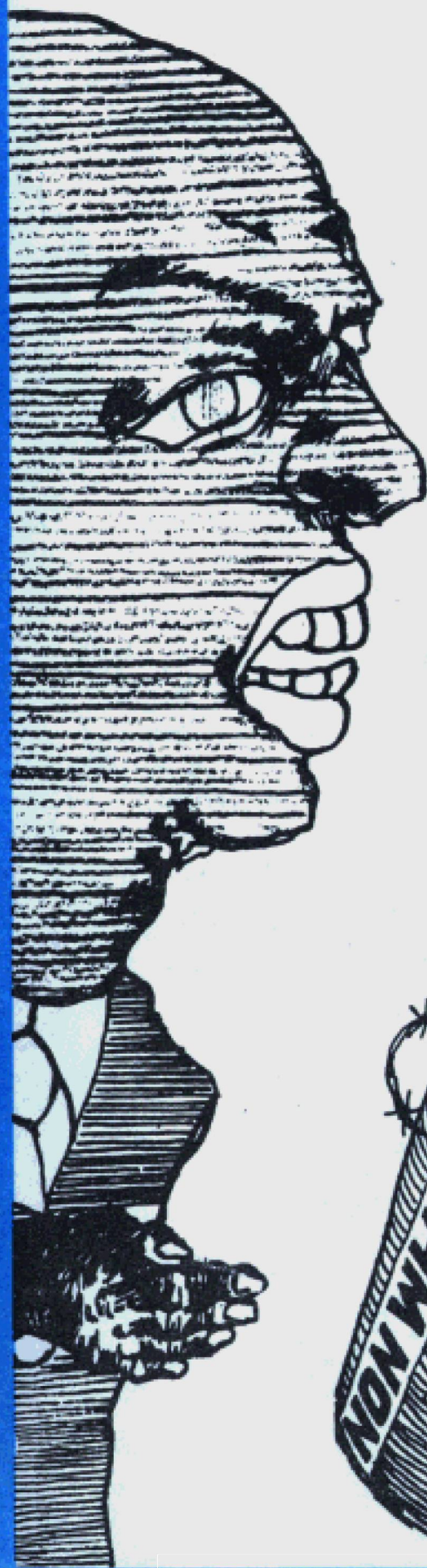
1971

SECHABA^{Sec}

the official organ of the african
national congress south africa



Houphouet-
Boigny



Dialogue
is
Betrayal

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James Edward April

COURT EVIDENCE OF GUERILLA BATTLES AND INFILTRATION INTO SOUTH AFRICA

Gun battles between "communist-trained terrorists and Rhodesian security forces" were described by a Rhodesian army officer in the Natal Supreme Court, Maritzburg, South Africa recently. The officer, Lieutenant W. R. Winnal, of the Rhodesian African Rifles, told the court that a patrol under his command was attacked in the Wankie Game Reserve in August 1967, and he got five bullet wounds. He was giving evidence in the trial of 31-year old Coloured*, ANC militant, James Edward April. April was charged on four counts under the so-called Terrorism Act.

Lieutenant Winnal said the "terrorists" used hand grenades and automatic weapons in the attack in which a White Rhodesian officer and a non-commissioned African officer were killed.

"The attackers were very aggressive and their morale was very high," he added.

Hand Grenades in Rhodesia

April's participation in the Rhodesian clashes was described by a deserter from the guerilla fighters, who testified for the State. Confirming that April had participated in the encounter detailed by Lieutenant Winnal, the witness said that because his skin was so light, April had been able to walk unhindered into a Rhodesian Army camp in a dead soldier's uniform, throw hand grenades and escape in the confusion that followed.

"The Rhodesian forces fled", he said, "leaving behind arms, food and two radios behind.

"The following day we engaged the Rhodesian forces in another battle. I do not know how many we killed, but I saw two die. April was present and also attacked with us.

"After the Rhodesians had retreated, a second time, April told me that at one stage he had difficulty because his sub-machine gun had jammed.

"April was among the Security forces and because he had a revolver, he used it and killed many persons," said the witness.

The prosecution introduced evidence to show that April had first undergone training in guerrilla warfare in a camp in Malmesbury, Western Cape Province, run by Dennis Goldberg who was arrested at

Rivonia and sentenced to life imprisonment together with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others.

Lutuli's Warning Recalled

Another key witness for the State, Captain H. D. Stadler, of the Durban Security Police, cross examined by Mr. A. S. K. Pitman, defending advocate, said he remembered the late Chief Albert Lutuli's statement as President-General of the African National Congress. He remembered the Chief's warning that the banning of the ANC would open the gates of violence.

Referring to the plea by Nelson Mandela, on behalf of the broad united front of African leaders for a National Convention of all the people of South Africa - Black and White - before a decision to declare South Africa a Republic was taken, Captain Stadler said, "I recall the pleas made by several other African leaders for a round table conference in 1961."

The Charges

April was charged under the Terrorism Act on the following counts:

● That during June 1961 and February of this year, April - as a member of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe - was trained in communism, warfare, guerrilla warfare, methods of revolution, propaganda and methods of secret communication with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic.

● That between August 2 and August 30, 1967, April entered Rhodesia bearing arms and took part in armed fighting against Rhodesian security forces with the intention of getting through to arrange and take part in armed revolution in the Republic of South Africa.

● That between December 29 and February 17, this year April entered the country with a forged passport and falsified documents, and that he had materials to establish a system of secret communication.

● That he took part in a system of secret communication to promote plans to overthrow the South African Government by violent means between December 29 last year and February 17.

* Coloured: A person of mixed race

ANC Patriot and Hero

THE ANC WILL NEVER BE CRUSHED

— April's Statement to Court

Found guilty on the first three of the four counts on which he was charged, April, pleading in mitigation of sentence told Mr. Justice Kennedy and his two assessors that people in despair always resort to violence and that "the African people" will eventually be victorious over the fascist South African government.

"Time is on our side. I guarantee it. Even if there is a world war, change will take place in our favour..."

"History shows repeated examples of people struggling and fighting for freedom," he said.

Speaking on his actions and eventual arrest, April said, "I did these things because I believe I was right in doing them... I was tired and played out when I returned to South Africa it was this that led to my capture, not the ingenuity of the police."

"During my interrogation by the Security Police I was kept in solitary confinement and beaten up. Even though I answered many questions, there was nothing to please them."

"This once again proved to me that there were still fascist thugs in the Security Police."

Turning to the African National Congress, April said as long as its aspirations were not satisfied from a democratic and social point of view, it would never be crushed.

Stating that it was no use blaming the ills of South Africa on communism, April said, "this is the way you hide behind your own fascism."

Sentenced to 15 Years

Sentencing April to fifteen years hard labour, Mr. Justice Kennedy said: "I can understand some of the statements which you made and appreciate some of them. I am a judge, not a politician, and I do not propose to comment on your address."

Mr. Justice Kennedy added that he could understand that hundreds of thousands of Coloureds in the Republic felt a sense of frustration "in that they lost their right to vote, but it is not for me to condone subversive means of restoring previous situations."

From his address, the Judge said, it appeared that April stood by his principles.

"Nowhere has there been a disavowal by April of allegations against him. Indeed, the accused was not a reformed character; he remained to the end an enemy of South Africa and a revolutionist."

ANC STATEMENT

Immediately the news of April's imprisonment reached the headquarters of the External Mission of the African National Congress in Morogoro, Tanzania, the ANC's Director of Political Affairs, Duma Nokwe, issued the following statement:



"The ANC of South Africa vehemently condemns the arrest and savage sentence imposed on James Edward April, a hero and patriot of the struggle against apartheid and racialism."

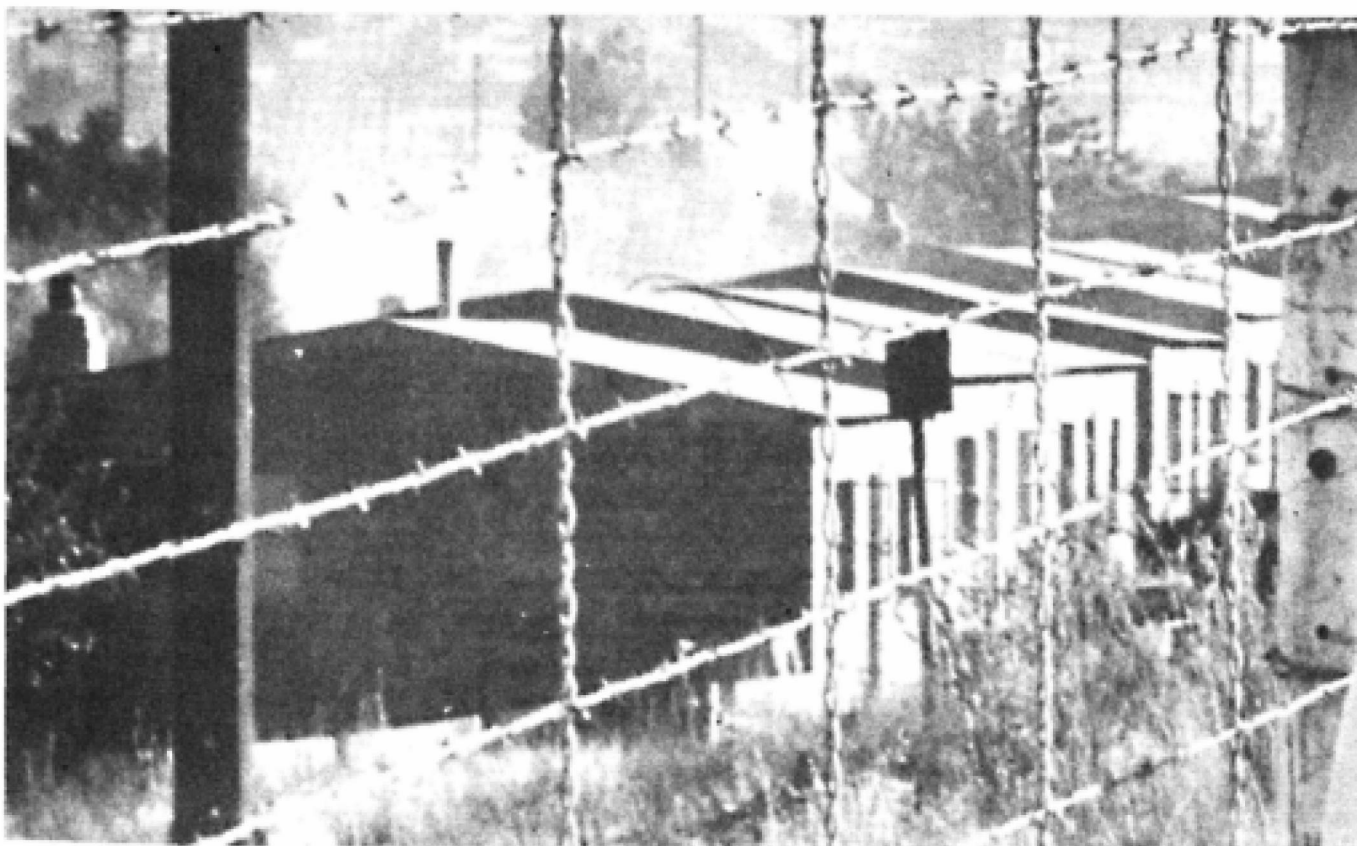
"The 'Terrorism Act' under which he is supposed to have been found guilty is a criminal device of terrorism and tyranny by the White fascist regime whose purpose is designed to suppress and crush all resistance against its obnoxious rule. It is a pseudo-legal method of condemning all opponents of racism to the dungeons of the White South African racists."

"James April's conviction is a violation of International Law and the demand of the United Nations Organisation for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. The arrest and conviction of April demonstrates once more the obstinate determination of Vorster's regime to flout the weight of International Law and opinion. In these circumstances it is obviously puerile for certain individual African leaders to engage in self-deception that a 'dialogue' between themselves and Vorster can have any effect other than to spur his regime in its acts of violence and subjugation against the people of South Africa and Africa."

"The ANC calls upon the world to condemn this latest outrage by Vorster's gangsters and to demand the release of James April and others who have been incarcerated while engaged in legitimate acts of punishing Nazi criminals who have been outlawed by International Law."

"James April's name goes down on the roll of honour of all those devoted members of the African National Congress who were serving the cause of their people with unflinching courage. The ANC reiterates that, however long it may take, the hour of reckoning for the fascist gangsters in power in our Motherland, is inevitably approaching."

Underground in the Police State



Security chief Brig. Venter makes startling disclosures

NEW SUBVERSION TACTICS REVEALED

*Trained terrorists
with forged
passports in S.A.*

By CHRIS VERMAAK

BRIGADIER P. J. VENTER, chief of the Security Police, this week made startling disclosures about a revolutionary terrorist operational pattern in South Africa and a new internal subversive front, dubbed "sensitivity training."

Facsimile
of
Johannesburg
Sunday
Times
of
11. April 1971

THE REPORT CONTINUED

"The operational pattern involves the entry into and exit from South Africa of trained terrorists with forged passports and is probably the logical sequence of the African National Congress's declared policy of infiltration."

He described these as more difficult to fight than open terrorism. In an interview Brigadier Venter told me: "scores have been trained and they will attempt to return to South Africa. We have gathered certain evidence which indicates that there has been a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force".

On the security issue known as the "sensitivity training" programme, Brig. Venter said: "This is

something entirely new. It could be described as terrorism of the mind. It has become country-wide since the beginning of the year and involves the subtle and large-scale brainwashing of youths and students of all denominations.

Brig. Venter said the "sensitivity training" was first launched in Johannesburg and extended to other cities. It involved the dissemination of thousands of explosively worded pamphlets and literature to young people urging defiance and disobedience. Young people were urged to defy their parents, the police and authority in general.



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Fighting Talk

WHAT NELSON MANDELA SAID ABOUT DIALOGUE



In October 1962 Nelson Mandela appeared in court in Pretoria and made a historic statement from the dock which bears directly on the present situation. African heads of state who want to engage in dialogue with Vorster would do well to read his view of attempts to have a dialogue within South Africa. We say that no one must go over the head of Nelson Mandela. If there is to be dialogue it must be between South Africans alone. If African heads of state want to be helpful let them call for the release of Nelson Mandela and demand that Vorster talks to him. Anything else is a betrayal of our cause.

Mandela Said:

"Throughout its fifty years of existence the African National Congress has done everything possible to bring its demands to the attention of successive South African Governments.

"In addition to the efforts made by former presidents of the ANC, when Mr. Strijdom became Prime Minister of this country, my leader, Chief A. J. Lutuli, then President of our organisation, made yet another effort to persuade the Government to consider and heed our point of view. In his letter to the Prime Minister at the time, Chief Lutuli exhaustively reviewed the

country's relations and its dangers, and expressed the view that a meeting between the Government and African leaders had become necessary and urgent.

"This statesmanlike and correct behaviour on the part of the leader of the majority of the South African population did not find an appropriate answer from the leader of the South African Government. Chief Lutuli's letter was not even favoured with the courtesy of an acknowledgement from the Prime Minister's office.

"This experience was repeated after the Pietermaritzburg conference, when I, as Secretary of the Action Council, elected at that conference, addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, informing him of the resolution which had been taken, and calling on him to initiate steps for convening of such a national convention as we suggested, before the date specified in the resolution. Once again, the Government standards in dealing with my people fell below what the civilised world expect. No reply, no response whatsoever, was received to our letter, no indication was even given that it had received any consideration whatsoever. Here we, the African people, and especially we of the National

Action Council, who had been entrusted with the tremendous responsibility of safeguarding the interests of the African people, were faced with this conflict between the law and our conscience . . .

"If there was a danger during this period that violence would result from the situation in the country, then the possibility was of the Government's making. THEY SET THE SCENE FOR VIOLENCE BY RELYING EXCLUSIVELY ON VIOLENCE WITH WHICH TO ANSWER OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR DEMANDS . . .

"GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE CAN DO ONLY ONE THING AND THAT IS TO BREED COUNTER-VIOLENCE. WE HAVE WARNED REPEATEDLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT, BY RESORTING CONTINUALLY TO VIOLENCE, WILL BREED, IN THIS COUNTRY, COUNTER-VIOLENCE AMONGST THE PEOPLE, TILL ULTIMATELY, THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND MY PEOPLE WILL FINISH UP BY BEING SETTLED IN VIOLENCE AND BY FORCE . . ."

Mandela's words stand. No one has the right to turn back the wheel of South African history which is moving to the resolution of its conflicts by the dialogue of guns.

Dr. The Hon. Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, Kt.,
Prime Minister and Minister of Defence
and Internal Security and Minister of
Information and Broadcasting



Government House,
Port Louis,
Mauritius.

S 1112/7

28th December, 1970

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter AN/MM
of the 22nd October, 1970, concerning relations between Mauritius
and South Africa.

It is very unfortunate that you have been left with the
impression that there is apparently growing collaboration between
Mauritius and South Africa.

We have always denounced the brutal and barbaric
apartheid regime both at the U.N. and at O.A.U. meetings. We
hold that apartheid is contrary to human rights and dignity and we
condemn it unreservedly.

In principle, the Mauritius Government is opposed to
the sale of arms to South Africa. However, we believe that a common
attitude should be adopted towards all countries that sell arms to
South Africa without discriminating against Great Britain only.

Mauritius has had commercial and trade intercourse
with South Africa for a long time and, in the process, a balance of
trade unfavourable to this country has existed for some years.

Accordingly apart from reservation on British arms
sales to South Africa, we are with you and my Government will do
everything possible to establish human rights in Africa and elsewhere
where our brothers are engaged in struggle.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration,

and fraternal greetings from my
S. Ramgoolam

(S. Ramgoolam)
Prime Minister

Mr. Alfred Nzo,
Secretary-General,
African National Congress,
P.O. Box 680,
Morogoro,
United Republic of Tanzania.

**We
are
with
you
BUT
says
Mauritius
P. M.**

Facsimile

have been eradicated from the face
of our continent. This determination we
have all declared on many occasions,
and especially by our membership of
the Organisation of African Unity. On
this goal and purpose, therefore, Africa
is united.

Unfortunately, the strategy for achiev-
ing this goal is now in danger of be-
coming a source of open disunity in
Africa. This is a new development. For
until recently Africa appeared (at least
on the surface) to be united on this
matter. With the exception of Malawi,
all African states have called for the
isolation of the racist and colonialist
regimes, and have declared their
support for the freedom fighters of
South Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, An-
gola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.
But now some leaders have called for
a new strategy to be adopted, and they
are proposing a policy of "dialogue"
with the racist and colonialist
governments. They have not suggested
that there should be any conditions
attached to this dialogue; simply that
it should take place between represen-
tatives of free Africa and represen-
tatives of the South African and Portu-
guese administrations. This present
proposal probably arises from a feel-
ing of dissatisfaction with the rate of
progress of decolonization during the
1960's, combined with an ever-increas-
ing awareness of the cost of wars of
liberation, in both human and resource
terms. It is probably not unconnected,
also, with a fear that the conflicts in
Southern Africa could drag our con-
tinent into the cold war, which every
free African nation has been concerned
to stand aside from. And in fact the
dissatisfaction is understandable, the
fears justified, and the reluctance to
impose the sufferings and sacrifices of
war on any further part of our con-
tinent must be shared by every genuine
African patriot.

SOUTH AFRICA'S SUBVERSION

It is already clear that the regimes of
Southern Africa are worried by the
activities of the liberation forces, which
they realise will become increasingly
active and effective. South Africa and
Portugal have therefore adopted
a quite clear strategy of trying to
undermine and sabotage the liberation
struggle. The strategy involves attack
on two fronts — military and diplomatic,
with emphasis on the latter. Thus South
Africans, Portuguese and Rhodesians
infiltrate agents into the liberation

WHY WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE says Tanzania

The sense of unity in Africa, which still
exists despite all our much publicised
disagreements does not arise simply
from the hard economic facts of living
in the twentieth century world. It
originates in a common historical ex-
perience of colonialism and the in-
dignity of racial discrimination. And it
means that, whatever else we are divid-
ed about, we are virtually unanimous
in our determination to uphold the
dignity of the African person, more,
especially the African in the continent
of Africa.

Therefore we, as Africans, do not, and
cannot, disagree on the need to
eradicate racialism and colonialism
from Africa. While some of us may wish
to adopt, and others to reject, the cul-
tural, social, political or economic
patterns of Europe, and while there
may thus be disagreement on the
domestic purpose of social and politic-
al activity, there is one fundamental
purpose that we share. We are all re-
solved to work against the racialism
and colonialism which still oppress
Africa, and to do this until these evils

Extracts from a Statement by
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Dar-es-Salaam — February, 1971

movements and into free African states. These are responsible for violent attacks on individuals and groups in the liberation movements, and for sabotage in those states bordering on the South — especially Zambia. It would be idle to pretend that these had not had some success, notably the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane. Secondly, they are willing, when the moment seems ripe, to participate in attacks on free African States — the invasion of Guinea is but the latest of this kind of activity. For the South Africans and Portuguese have always done their best to exacerbate internal disputes within African states, to support secessionist movements where these exist, and to promote civil disorder by the judicious supply of armaments and personnel skilled in death to dissident groups.

Yet overt acts, or indirect participation in civil conflicts introduce the possibility of international dangers for the racist and colonialist regimes. They therefore prefer to put great emphasis on weakening the liberation movements through diplomatic and subversive activities.

NON — AGGRESSION PACT IS MEANINGLESS

One current aspect of this diplomatic campaign is South Africa's "offer" of a non-aggression pact to African states. The purpose in this case is the neutralization of the liberation movements. She wishes to make them ineffective by securing the withdrawal of that free African support without which the liberation movements cannot at this stage make progress. There is nothing more than that to this proposed "non-aggression pact". For South Africa knows fully well that she is not in danger from free African states; the danger to the regimes comes from the people of South Africa themselves. All that any free African state does is give support to the oppressed peoples; none has made, nor could make, any attack upon South Africa. A "non-aggression pact" between South Africa and the independent states is thus meaningless. Our quarrel is not about frontiers, but oppression; if South Africa ceases her oppression, then her peoples will have no need of support from free Africa. But in the meantime you cannot have a non-aggression treaty with aggression, and the whole basis of apartheid is aggression and violence against the human spirit. The second aspect of this diplomatic offen-

sive against the cause of freedom in Africa is the attempt to break out of the increasing isolation which Southern African states are beginning to suffer from. For gradually, over a long period, many states in the world have expressed their moral repugnance at racialism by refusing to participate in normal international relations with South Africa. This isolation has not yet advanced very far. But already it is a cause for anxiety to the South African Government, just as it is to the Rhodesian regime, and it is the cause of the new "enlightened" foreign policy of the Vorster Government. In order to break this pattern of increasing isolation, the South African regime has therefore decided to "demonstrate" that it accepts the validity of African independence and African self-government outside the orders of Southern Africa. It therefore hopes to offer investment capital to free African states, to increase trade with them and eventually even to exchange diplomats with other parts of Africa — although, of course, in the South African capital, African diplomats will have somehow to accept the humiliation of being classified "honorary Europeans" in order to avoid the daily humiliation of being Africans!

This new policy of the South African Government is a direct result of the slight success which united African pressure has had on the world as regards its opposition to apartheid. But it has no meaning. For its purpose is not to begin the process of change. Its purpose is to deflect the pressures for change from their true target. Relations with African states are not intended by the South African Government to be an instrument for the development of the African peoples, least of all the peoples in South Africa. They are intended to ensnare the free African states in the processes and institutions by which the coloured peoples of South Africa are exploited and oppressed.

Unfortunately, this new development of South African apartheid policies has succeeded in misleading some leaders of Africa. It is not suggested that those who now advocate a dialogue with the South African Government are abandoning their opposition to apartheid nor their support for the principles of human dignity for the Africans of this continent. There is no doubt, however, that a diplomatic dialogue between the states of free Africa and the racist regimes of Southern Africa would, in fact, undermine the cause of liberation — as the South Africans intend that it should. It certainly cannot

serve the cause of freedom. For if South Africa was 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. No outside help is necessary for that. The leaders of the African peoples of South Africa are in South African goals; the South African Government could free those leaders then talk with them. It could allow the people of South Africa to organise themselves into representative institutions; and it could stop the deliberate break-up of African families, the discrimination against African and Coloured people in every sphere of life.

It could announce its commitment to eventual majority rule, making whatever qualifications it wished about the process through which this change could take place. Under such conditions as these, it would be realistic and sensible for free African states to assist where assistance was necessary. But in the absence of an internal dialogue between the minority government and the people of South Africa, it would be a very grave betrayal for free African States to participate in a dialogue with that regime.

Our duty to Africa, and to our own future as free men, is to support the oppressed of Southern Africa. We cannot do this by ignoring them and negotiating with their oppressors. For the conflict between South Africa and the free African States is, in fact, incidental to the conflict between that regime and its own people. Free Africa has taken its stand against South African racialism primarily as a supporter of the African peoples. And supporters do not settle affairs of the people they are supposed to be supporting; nor do they ignore their allies and talk with the enemy on their own.

For the sake of the peoples of Southern Africa, and for the reputation, standing and dignity of free Africa, it is essential that all African States should reject the South African offer of a dialogue until the South African Government has stated clearly, and without equivocation, that its purpose is to abandon the principles of apartheid, and work towards the implementation of human equality and human dignity. Until that time our task must be to increase our support of the liberation movements, and to do it in unity.

South Africa's bid for a dialogue with African Heads of State is extremely dangerous. It is a part of a carefully coordinated strategy to gain economic openings, undermine African unity, and cut off support for the liberation movements. This article shows that African states involvement with South Africa will lead to dependency and underdevelopment with the only beneficiaries the already rich white racist minority in the South. African patriots and opponents of apartheid must resist all proposals for 'dialogue' and expose imperialist collaboration with South Africa in this move to open up Africa to a new outgoing colonial power.

THE BATTLE FOR THE MIDDLE GROUND

by Ben Turok

Africa's already fragile political cohesion is in danger of further subversion, this time from the South, a prospect which would have been unthinkable even a few years ago. Operating with the close diplomatic and political support of French and British imperialism, white South Africa, the polecat of the world, is taking the initiative to break down African unity and destroy the most cherished principles on which Africa sought to establish itself on the world stage.

The stakes are high — no less than the control of Africa, and as so often happens in political struggle of global importance there is a tremendous onslaught on the middle ground. In the present battle the middle ground consists of the land-locked African states in Southern Africa plus those African states which least identify with anti-imperialist policies for Africa. It is in these soft spots that all-time compromisers and negotiators rule the roost, a danger not only to their own peoples but to the continent as a whole.

These are the terms in which the dia-

logue proposals must be seen since dialogue is not just a matter relating to the internal arrangements of South Africa, nor is it simply a question of whether or not African leaders should hold talks with Vorster. Dialogue is an all-African issue, a breach in the principle that no concessions can be made to white racism. It is a retreat from Africa's promise that it will never allow colonial relations to return to liberated territory.

What is it that is eating into the fabric of Africa's former intransigence on the South African issue making it vulnerable to the blandishments of Vorster? Dr. Busia says it is a genuine desire to ease the lot of Africans under apartheid. Mr Houphouet-Boigny is convinced that contact with the whites of South Africa could help to bring "a progressive solution" of apartheid. But is this the real motive? Is this sufficient reason for these Governments to overrule the views of the ANC which opposes in the strongest possible terms any contact with the hangmen of Pretoria? Are the Busia's and Houphouet-Boigny's really con-

cerned about the people of South Africa or is it their own short term gains that are uppermost in this violation of long accepted positions?

Accustomed to compromise and political horse trading in their own dealings with imperialism these gentlemen of the middle field know nothing of the rigours of struggle nor of the stubborn defence of fundamental political principles. They are the Kaizer Matanzimas of Africa, the latter day cap in hand pleaders for some comfort from the hardnecked oppressors of Africans. Give us, they say to Vorster, some token of your regard, anything, a declaration that you will be less unkind to your slaves, and we will be so appreciative that we will accord you full sympathy for your position. Perhaps "the colour problem" in South Africa, as it was once called by well meaning liberals, will also be looked at as a mere difficulty in human relations which can be ironed out with a little give and take. We don't know if that is M. Houphouet-Boigny's perspective, but his statements certainly lead in that direction.

And so while the conciliators lay down their coats in the mud for Vorster's agents to step into Black Africa, the new colonizers are preparing their assault. They are after all the natural successors of those Boer transporters who a century ago penetrated Rhodesia as traders, gained a foothold in the land, and constituted themselves into a hard core of reaction which later nursed Smith and brought about U.D.I. As a result of this process, Rhodesia is now safely in the South African orbit.

Penetrate and subdue. The technique is as old as civilization itself.

SUFFOCATION IN THE LAAGER

The extraordinary thing about the dialogue proposals is that they come at the very time when the internal social and economic contradictions which spring from the rigid apartheid barriers are pressing very hard on the system. Spontaneous protests are becoming increasingly common. Half baked Bantustan solutions are blowing up in Vorster's face. The difficulties of perpetuating a white elite society in an expanding economy are real enough. The inadequacy of white personnel for security and police work is frequently brought up. The numerical disadvantage of the white minority is a constant source of anxiety when the upholders of apartheid look into the future, even the near future. Big as these problems loom they reinforce the major present preoccupation

with the tightness of the noose that has been fastened around South Africa's neck by world hostility. It was a little over a decade ago that Verwoerd, breathing selfrighteous indignation, took South Africa out of the Commonwealth into the laager. But a nation cannot live on self-righteousness, it also has to trade, have political allies and even play sport, and the laager proved too restrictive a place for all that.

The first efforts to break out were made in the natural environment for racism, in Britain, the US and Western Europe, the base of colonial attitudes. Vastly expensive publicity campaigns were launched in the United States and Western Europe to gain friends. There was indeed some response and capital began to flow again, some immigrants arrived, but the old confidence could not somehow be restored. Vorster realised that in the long run his credibility in the West depended in a large measure on his regime's security of tenure in Africa.

Given the permanent atmosphere of crisis inside the country itself, given the continuing threat of guerilla insurgency and the hostility of Tanzania and Zambia, Vorster had to persuade his allies in the western world that he could reverse the currents against him. Hence the 'outgoing policy' which is another name for picking off individual African states and detaching them from the commitments of the O.A.U. We have seen the fruits of this policy in Malawi's white anting at the O.A.U. and more particularly at the Singapore conference where she supported the sale of arms to South Africa and poured oceans of scorn on the principled statements of Britain's opponents.

But Banda has lost all credibility in Africa and more new respectable apologists for South Africa had to be found and from somewhere Mr Houphouet-Boigny presented his credentials. The Observer tells us that the intermediary was M. Jacques Foccart, the Secretary-General for African Affairs for the French President who has been conducting negotiations between Pretoria, Paris and Abidjan. It is Foccart who has been consulting with South Africa since 1967 and who provided the openings for South Africa's advance into Malagasy and now into French-speaking West Africa. He has also been active in East and Central Africa urging that "peaceful change" in South Africa would result from cooperation with her.

Since Dr Busia is an intimate friend of M Houphouet-Boigny, his recruitment to the dialogue team was simple. Thus far the group is still small,

though it is difficult to know just how deep the rot has gone. 'Die Beeld' has listed some twelve African states who are candidates for the dialogue club though we cannot be sure whether their information is correct. Their list includes Ivory Coast, Gabon, Ghana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Togo, Mauritius and Malagasy.

If these states are indeed ready to talk to Vorster this is a serious leapfrog over the stubborn resistance of Tanzania and Zambia. Furthermore, if these states should press the matter in the O.A.U. then Zambia's and Tanzania's important role in aiding the liberation war in the South may become more difficult.

That the situation is extremely delicate and that there is much hesitation in the middle ground may be seen

from the fact that the only countries to officially react against the Ivory Coast's proposals were Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, the Congolese People's Republic (Brazzaville) and the Cameroun. What, we want to know, are the others thinking?

THE SHAME OF THE CARPIO MISSION

It is just over ten years ago that a U. N. mission headed by a muddle-headed Mr. Carpio came to South Africa. He was feted (some say that the whole visit was just that) and he became convinced that white South Africans were a reasonable lot. Soon after that the most violent repression swept the country and interrogation under torture became commonplace. This shameful incident is recalled now since the supporters of dialogue are once again trotting out the innuendo that contact with Blacks will mitigate white South Africa's race hatred. What nonsense. It was Carpio who changed, not Verwoerd, and the victims from the encounter were not the racists, but the anti-apartheid lobbyists who seemed after all to be complaining to the U.N. without cause. But Carpio was discredited and if African heads of State play the Carpio game the same fate will surely befall them, the total ignominious condemnation by the whole world.

Yet, there are still some Africans who genuinely wonder whether white South Africa's arrogance and race obsessions cannot be influenced by contact, and these doubts must be answered. That their hopes are unfounded can be shown without difficulty. First, the system of apartheid is not a manifestation of race prejudice alone. The system goes much deeper into the historical foundations of the social and political structure which ensures a high living standard for whites through the intensive exploitation of cheap black labour. (see Sechaba December 1970 for Johnstone's analysis on this aspect) No amount of Carpio-type contacts either abroad or in Government Buildings, Pretoria, is going to alter one whit this tightly structured system. If it is change within South Africa that is sought, and this is what the Houphouet-Boigny's claim, we who know the devil better than they, can state unhesitatingly that they will make no dent at all. Economic and political power is highly concentrated in South Africa, more so than in most other states making the system extremely inflexible. What a long historical process has built up is not going to be

PORTUGAL MAY RETALIATE

LOURENCO MARQUES. - Portugal's war in Mozambique against terrorism, after seven years, may become an aggressive, attacking campaign for the first time.

Terrorists in training bases run by Chinese communists across the Rovuma River into Tanzania will almost certainly be the target.

'RDM', 10. 5. 71

SA DEFENCE FORCE CHIEF WORRIED

CAPE TOWN. - Communist inspired terrorist groups bent on the overthrow of South Africa had posed an uncertain future for an isolated country, General R. C. Hiemstra, Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, said in Paarl.

"With an eye on the base facilities that the Russians have already secured in Africa, the Red Chinese in Dar es Salaam and the logistical power of the Tanzam railway, as well as the oil pipeline to Lusaka and roads system, with these in mind we cannot ignore the ease with which a terrorist threat could pose itself to us overnight" he said.

'RDM', 7. 5. 71

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altered by diplomatic influence. Progress for Blacks in South Africa is inconsistent with the maintenance of white privilege and since this is the function of apartheid as ideology and as practice, change by persuasion alone is impossible. It must also be pointed out that we already have a Black puppet in South Africa who has long engaged in polite encounters with the government bosses. Kaizer Matanzima has drunk tea with Vorster and been entertained in the parlour of the Mayor of Cape Town. He was once driven by a white chauffeur in a government car (it led to an outcry) and he has shaken hands with quite a few top officials and Ministers. And yet the iron heel of apartheid continues to grind the Black people into the hard pavements of this white man's paradise.

REPRESSION ESCALATES

South Africa's lack of sensitivity to the requirements of diplomacy may be seen from the fact that during the very period when the 'outgoing policy' was being launched, internal repression increased. Detention without trial has been used savagely in the last few years while the Terrorism Act of 1967 (suitably named for its methods) has closed the remaining legal loopholes such as habeas corpus and the right to legal consultation. In 1969 the Bureau of State Security was set up to clamp down even more on opposition both inside and outside South Africa. (The same states which are calling for dialogue would do well to keep an eye out for this international spying organisation in their own countries). Legislation for the separation of races at the most petty levels has increased greatly in the last few years extending to beaches, buses and all public facilities.

A million people have been rendered homeless under the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Urban Areas Act. Settlement camps have sprung up in the most remote rural regions to house the families of migrant African labour who must continue to sweat in the white man's factories to feed their starving families.

A recent report from a Professor at Stellenbosch University disclosed that there are now over a million African unemployed. It is estimated that the current income per head in the reserves is £13 a year and that it is still falling. Even in the industrial centres like Johannesburg well over 80 per cent of Africans live in extreme poverty. Only 5 per cent of all Government expenditure is for services for

SA Foreign Minister Muller with Malagasy V. President for Foreign Affairs M. Rabemananjara



Africans, the majority in the country. The list of gross discrimination and total neglect is endless. But perhaps enough has been said to prove that the Government has done nothing to improve conditions at home as a quid pro quo for consultations abroad. South Africa's image outside is deservedly ugly, and there are absolutely no grounds for believing that anything will be done at home to improve it.

FEEDING OFF APARTHEID EXPLOITATION

Recently South Africa has made a great play at sweet reasonableness at the international level. Vorster is prepared to discuss 'separate development' with African heads of state but most of the 'outgoing' propaganda has concentrated not on internal policies but on the benefits it will bring to Black Africa. In 1967 the South African Parliament passed a motion that "It approves the course taken by the government towards friendly co-existence and fruitful cooperation with the countries of Africa, with special stress on the fact that the Republic can make a big contribution to the economic and technical development of Africa and help to raise the standard of living of Africans". (This at a time when African incomes were falling in South Africa. See London Times 26/4/71)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs said on June 26 1968 "Inasmuch as we ourselves have experienced the long and difficult process of growth and have ourselves known colonialism, we fully understand the struggle and goals of African states in the field of econo-

mics. We understand their national aspirations.

This evokes our deep concern".

These enticements were offered to an Africa sorely in need of economic help. Perhaps there are to be found in the Ministries of Economic Development in some African states, some Ministers who see some salvation in the promises from South Africa. If so, it would be both morally wrong and shortsighted for them to succumb to this temptation.

Morally wrong because the main feature of the South African economic scene in recent years has been the intensification of the exploitation of African labour. The African working class has been harassed as never before by the pass laws, by action against unionisation and by greater harshness in the administration of the migratory system. Border industries employ workers at cut rates, and Africans are debarred from higher wages even where they are employed on jobs involving skills. South Africa is therefore a glorious slave market for the unscrupulous investor.

African states which get involved in trade or other business connections with South Africa will be the beneficiaries of this system and morally compromised in it. Far from inducing change in South Africa, they will become partners in sweated apartheid labour.

Furthermore they ought to look well into the future to see where collaboration with Vorster's salesmen will lead. The urgency that infects her sales talk ought to be enough to make African states wary. The fact is that the recent expansion in productive capacity has generated a surplus of consumer goods in South Africa which

is badly in need of new markets. This is the main economic drive behind the proposals for a Common Market for Southern Africa and which is given extra momentum by the prospect of Britain joining the European Common Market.

In our June issue, Sean Gervassi showed how the creation of such a common market in Southern Africa was bound to lead to the further impoverishment and permanent underdevelopment of the rest of the region. He argued with complete persuasiveness that the relationships between developed countries and under developed countries follow a clear pattern and that in the case of Southern Africa growth can only be expected where it is centred now, in white South Africa.

THE NEO-COLONIAL THRUST FROM THE SOUTH

But what of the rest of Africa? Can an economic case be made for African states benefitting from trade exchanges and capital flow from South Africa?

The answer has been given in an exhaustive analysis **AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA** by Robert Molteno (The Africa Bureau). Molteno shows that none of South Africa's present neighbours have benefitted from economic relations with her. Only extractive industries have been developed and the sought for manufacturing industries are as far off as ever. Molteno says "South Africa is determined not to set up industries in neighbouring states which might compete with her own. The result is that most private capital has gone into mineral extraction — Zambian copper; Swaziland iron ore; Rhodesian coal, gold, chrome, Angolan gold, diamonds and iron ore; and, in the near future Botswana diamonds, copper and nickel". And he adds; "An astonishing example of 'industrialisation' by South African capital is the recently announced fertilizer plant in Malawi. The firm, Optichem, has obtained a five-year monopoly on all fertiliser imports (from its South African holding company). The only processes to be performed in Malawi are bagging and blending."

Molteno also states that South African investment is usually tied to the use of South African goods as in the Nacala rail link to Malawi which had to be built by Roberts Construction of South Africa with S.A. steel rails. Since the export of manufactures lies at the heart of the 'outgoing' programme it is certain that any loans or aid will require the purchase of South African

made products and probably the use of South African technicians as well. This aspect is particularly ominous. While South Africa's travelling salesmen in Africa (often using British passports) manage to adapt themselves to the kind of inter-racial contacts they meet up with on their travels, this cannot be said to happen where large numbers of white South Africans have been congregated outside her borders. The white farmers of Botswana have in former days at least, been a persistent nuisance. The white miners in Zambia refused to knuckle down to normal human relations with Africans and the same is true of Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. Racist patterns of behaviour follow them wherever they feel the support of numbers. Can it be that the extended contacts with African states which may include the setting up of mining towns or factories can possibly avoid the importation of white management and skilled workers with their insistence on 'special' treatment? Is Ivory Coast prepared to face a new colony of white South Africans insisting on separate facilities? Did the people of Ghana throw out the British administration with their special clubs in order to replace them with South African racists?

Molteno points out that South Africa is a high cost economy partly because of the high levels of skilled wages (for whites), partly because of protectionism against imports, and partly because of the small internal market which means a loss of scale in production. Trade with most of Africa would therefore not mean goods sub-

therefore that the net effect of economic relations with South Africa would see the export of mainly manufactured goods, many of them expensive durables for the comfort of Africa's elite only.

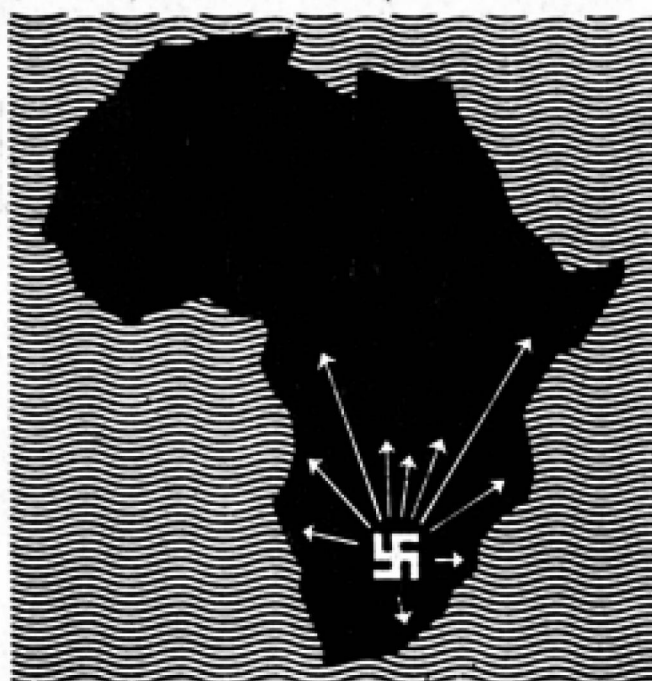
None of this is in the long term interests of Africa. Africa's importation of consumer goods will lead to increasing dependence on South African suppliers, while credits will mortgage the African states to the most detested racist regime in the world.

There should be no mistake about this. South Africa is not exporting prosperity. And since Africa's main need today is to slough off the underdevelopment and poverty which is the heritage of colonialism, nothing can be gained by supplanting a metropolitan power in Europe by an even more rapacious market-hungry colonizer from the same continent. M Houphet-Boigny's pious hope that "the whites in South Africa had an important part to play in the development of the African continent" is rot. How much has France developed his own Ivory Coast?

What he can expect was given away by the Johannesburg Star on May 27, 1967, "Given enough capital investments, technical assistance and trade pacts, the South African government will be in a position to affect African policies as effectively as the French have done in French West Africa".

SALES TALK BACKED BY GUNS

Wherever Vorster has managed to insinuate his henchmen abroad the special branch follow on. They are present in all the neighbouring states and move about with serene ease in Malawi. In Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola, troops and aircraft are present in abundance, while Malawi is offering hospitality at the new airfield at Lilongwe. It is obvious that because of her geographic advantage it is even easier for South Africa to combine 'normal' business relations with a military presence than Europe's imperialist powers. It may therefore not be long before South African paratroops are used to restore a Banda or a Jonathan to power in the French manner. They may also soon be seen 'supporting' an invasion by 'liberators' on the Guinea model. This is not idle speculation. South African forces have already crossed Zambia's border many times, and there was a great deal of comment in the British press that Vorster released the information about contact with President Kaunda in order to encourage a coup in Zambia.



stantially cheaper than those from Europe. Conversely, South Africa being almost entirely self-sufficient in most raw materials it cannot be expected that Africa can hope to benefit substantially there. All the indications are

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LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE VANGUARD

As many of the gains made by Africa in the early 60's are eaten away by neo-colonialism and by a loss of direction on the part of many African leaders, one area of solid achievement and resolute pursuance of political principle remains and that is where the armed struggle is being carried forward against colonialism. Here there is little room for the undermining work of imperialism and in this region of total war there is no scope for treating with the enemies of Africa. Liberty or Death is the watchword, and anyone who breaks the solidarity of the battlefield is soon discovered and cast out from the revolution. In the battle against Portuguese colonialism and Nato, our brothers in FRELIMO, PAIGC and MPLA, are showing Africa the way forward in the most principled manner. ZAPU and SWAPO are engaging the enemy. Encouraged by the support of Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda and other African leaders, they are holding high the banner of African dignity and will to fight. Far too little tribute is being given by the world press to the men in the jungles who are making the kind of gains that cannot be bartered away by a palace coup or a diplomatic arrangement with a foreign power. Their dialogue with colonialism in Africa is conducted through the barrel of a gun.

For South African freedom fighters it is necessary to recognize that the euphoria of the sixties is over, and that much of the promised aid from Africa is not on the way. While Africa was previously consistent in its opposition to the racist regime a shift has now begun which can be extremely dangerous. Vorster is trying hard to break out of his laager and undermine the foundations of our external support in Africa. He MUST be stopped. To a large extent we are dependent on our friends in Africa to see to this. But we ourselves have much to do. There is evidence of a thaw inside South Africa. The police have been attacked by crowds in a number of riots. Many African, Coloured and Indian leaders in various fields are adopting increasingly militant postures and condemning apartheid practices in strong terms. The struggle must now be pressed forward with ever greater urgency so that our movement once again holds Vorster by the throat. A real dialogue of force against force is the only way out for South Africa and only we can do it. The time for talk is not now.

We have certainly not heard the end of Vorster's shotgun diplomacy.

The 'outgoing' offensive is made even more ominous by the rapid advance in South Africa's own arms industry. While a decade ago there was acute anxiety over an insufficiency of even small arms for internal security, South Africa has now developed a surplus. Recently the Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, General R. C. Hiemstra made the following claims: South Africa had received a foreign arms order to the value of R1 million and another for R7 was being negotiated. South Africa is able to manufacture any type of armoured car. Mobile equipment such as stoves, field kitchens, laundries and showers were all being manufactured locally. "So far as arms are concerned our factories are capable of producing all small-calibre arms, mortars and gun barrels," he said.

So Vorster's political offensive must be seen as the visible tip of a large scale strategy, involving political softening up, economic penetration and military build up.

Where imperialism stands in all this cannot be in doubt. In a paper delivered to the Institute of Strategic Studies, in 1965 a U.S. Colonel, Donald Humphries said, "With the military, economic and political odds facing them it should be evident to the East African liberation groups that it is in the best-long-range interest of all Africans to continue to pursue their goals through negotiation rather than violent means . . . The challenge to the Western powers is evident. There is a responsibility to encourage moderation rather than violence, to help those of a liberal view to make progress and to stem, not abet, insurgency. Although economic and strategic interests are important, the denial of the region to Communist powers is essential. Perhaps even more important than these considerations is the moral responsibility of Western countries to

help the nations of Africa find a peaceful African solution to the colonial and racial problems" These sentiments have been repeated frequently ever since with the Editor of Newsweek the latest exponent. So the stated objective is peace in Africa, involving naturally the frustration of the armed struggle for liberation. And how is this progress to peace encouraged? By the sale of helicopters to

US WELCOME

WASHINGTON. — American Government officials regard Mr. Vorster's new readiness to discuss apartheid with leaders of Black Africa as a potential significant change in South African policy. They believe that this new position will fit in with President Nixon's low keyed bid to encourage dialogue and contact between the Republic and the Black states as an alternative to confrontation.
RDM, 2. 4. 71

South Africa under the cover of the Simonstown Agreement and by the welcome given to South Africa's recent arms mission in Britain and on the continent. Talking peace, imperialism sells arms. Urging dialogue with Vorster, imperialism undermines African unity for a principled struggle against white racism. Building economic bridges between Black and White ruled Africa, imperialism intensifies its hold on the continent through multi-national business corporations. And in these corporations the financial resources accumulated by means of the structure of white power in South Africa plays an important part.

APARTHEID ATOMIC BOMB?

BY ABDUL MINTY –
Secretary of
Anti-Apartheid Movement (Britain)

Is there an Apartheid Atomic Bomb? This is a question over which there has been considerable speculation over the past decade and more. From time to time the press has reported visits to South Africa by heads of western nuclear research establishments and it is public knowledge that South African scientists are sent to the West to undergo training in nuclear physics. Throughout this period whenever Government Ministers and officials of the South African Atomic Energy Board have been questioned on whether it is their intention to make nuclear weapons, the answer has always been a firm NO. But that situation has now changed. In April this year the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, Dr. A. J. A. Roux, disclosed in a radio interview that South Africa was in a position to make nuclear weapons.

Since South Africa is a major uranium producing country it is particularly well placed to carry out nuclear research and development. In July 1970, at the height of the arms to South Africa controversy in Britain, Prime Minister Vorster announced that they had perfected a unique system of enriching uranium.

URANIUM AND SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is the world's third largest producer of uranium products exceeded only by the United States and Canada. It first began developing the production of uranium in 1952 following earlier scientific surveys carried out with the help of the United States and Britain. At that time bilateral arrangements were made with these countries to

supply them with uranium oxide, presumably in return for technical know-how in nuclear research.

During the mid-1960s the international demand for uranium was much lower than expected largely due to a fall-back in constructing nuclear power stations. Thus, in 1965 South Africa produced only 2,900 short tons of uranium as compared with 6,400 tons in 1959. The figure for 1969 was relatively high at 3,978 tons, reflecting a steady rise in demand towards the end of the decade.

As a result of reduced demand in the 1960s overseas atomic energy authorities negotiated stretch our agreements to postpone deliveries of uranium oxide until the early 1970s. South Africa has therefore been stockpiling large quantities of uranium during the past ten years.

An interesting aspect of South Africa's uranium production is that whilst at the beginning it was a by-product of the gold industry it is now a major source of revenue for some of the mines. Indeed, for one mine it is gold that is now a by-product of uranium mining. What is true for some of these mines is also true for the Government; uranium sales are providing valuable overseas earnings. Thus it is both gold and uranium that are strategic importance as currency earners.

NUCLEAR RESEARCH

Uranium is the major item of a wide range of materials mined in South Africa and of actual or potential use in the production of nuclear energy. The main aim of the atomic energy programme is to develop the nuclear materials to the point where they can be marketed profitably in western countries.

Most of the research so far has been carried out at the National Nuclear Research Centre at Pelindaba in the Transvaal which by 1968 had already cost £5½ million. In April 1965 the Atomic Energy Board announced that its nuclear reactor at Pelindaba had 'gone critical'. A nine-man party of prominent nuclear scientists attended the formal inauguration of the reactor in August 1965. Among those present were the Chairman of the UK Atomic Energy Authority, Sir William Penney who claimed that "Pelindaba could certainly not produce a weapon. It is too low a power reactor."

On the same occasion Prime Minister Verwoerd said: "It is the duty of South Africa not only to consider the military uses of the material but also to do all in its power to direct its uses to peaceful purposes." In fact the reactor at Pelindaba should by now have produced sufficient plutonium to manufacture a dozen atomic bombs – they could be of the 'dirty type' similar to the ones dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In July 1970, the announcement by Prime Minister Vorster of the perfection of a new system of enriching uranium, signals a new stage of nuclear research and development. South Africa now claims to be able to separate uranium isotopes by a special method and has announced large-scale production of enriched uranium. The Government is to invest almost £30 million in new plant which should make it feasible to produce a large quantity of uranium bombs.

COLLABORATION WITH THE WEST

The earlier reticence and sensitivity of Government authorities to suggestions that South Africa may be developing its

own nuclear weapons has given way to more confident predictions about South Africa's nuclear potential. In a radio interview in April 1971, Dr. A. J. A. Roux, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, said that with its new uranium enrichment process, South Africa is theoretically in a position to make its own nuclear weapons, although he went on to say that it would be impractical and almost impossible for South Africa to make nuclear weapons from plutonium because much of the material and equipment needed to make use of plutonium for military purposes would have to be imported from abroad, and such an installation would be subject to international inspection. This is the first official indication of South Africa's nuclear weapon capability.

Over the years leading western nuclear scientists and Atomic Energy authorities have maintained regular contact with South Africa. In January 1967, Dr. A. J. A. Roux disclosed that South Africa was stocking up atomic experts and carrying out an extensive study of a new concept in nuclear power generation. He spoke glowingly of the progress made to date and added: "While all this research is being done here, we are working in close collaboration with Britain, France and the United States in a general sense." There is also intimate cooperation between Portugal and South Africa in the nuclear field.

While the links with the above countries are relatively open it is not known how much cooperation exists between West Germany and South Africa. Certainly, nuclear experts from Germany have visited South Africa and scientists from the Republic go to Germany for further training. Special sensitivity over this subject is probably partly explained by the existence of the Paris Agreement of 1954 which forbids Germany from making nuclear weapons "on its own territory". There has, as a result, been widespread speculation about whether South Africa and Germany are jointly involved in developing nuclear weapons in South Africa.

In March 1971 it was announced that Dr. Sverre Kongelbeck, one of America's chief nuclear missile scientist was visiting South Africa in order to secure a post following his retirement next year as chief engineer at the US Navy's main missile laboratory. News items such as these symbolise the close links that exist between South Africa and the West in the field of nuclear research.

In view of the extensive cooperation between South Africa and the major western countries in the field of nuclear research it is not particularly surprising to learn that South Africa may soon develop its own high power uranium bomb — that is of course if it does not have a nuclear bomb already.

If the apartheid state is armed with a nuclear bomb as well it is bound to increase in confidence and defiantly maintain its aggressive posture towards independent Africa. With its dominant military power it has already claimed an ambitious military role in Africa and the Southern Hemisphere. Over the years the West has granted increasing recognition to South Africa's strategy and Britain is a committed military ally. The implications of this growing dependence by the West on South Africa's military capability are serious for the peace and security of Africa and the world. But even more dangerous is the real prospect of an Apartheid Bomb in the hands of fanatical and desperate regime which has refused to sign the Test Ban Treaty and will not shrink from starting a holocaust.

BAC Plans for Air Defence of South Africa

Defence Correspondent of the Times

"The British Aircraft Corporation is working on an air defence plan for South Africa which could involve the company in a very large deal and the British Government in a long dispute. A study has been made of South African air defence requirements by a consortium headed by B.A.C., under a general mandate which successive governments have granted to the company to search for suitable export markets for weapons systems to offset the cost of developing them for British forces. Plessey and Marconi are also understood to be involved in the consortium on the radar and electronics front. The study should be completed later this year.

"South Africa requires, I understand, a low-altitude system, which points to B.A.C.'s Rapier missile rather than to Thunderbird, the other B.A.C. surface-to-air weapon. Thunderbird is designed primarily for medium to high level interception.

"Rapier, which is highly mobile, and can be operated by one man once it is deployed, has fast reaction and can bring down supersonic aircraft at treetop height. It would complement, presumably, the Cactus missile system — another name for the French Crotale — which the South Africans are already getting.

"The fact that a study is being made does not necessarily mean that it will be put into effect. Much as B.A.C. would like to sell an air defence system to South Africa, the decision rests with the British Government, who will have to take account of the political and moral considerations.

"An air-defence system of this kind would clearly have a purely external defence role and could not easily be envisaged as an anti-insurgent weapon. But the air of respectability that it would confer upon Mr. Vorster's Government would provoke spirited objections from Africa and Asia. The study has the code name Project 102 and has already been going on for some time. How much such a system could be worth to B.A.C. is not yet known; but it would probably cost more than £50m.

"Whitehall officials deny that South Africa has already been told that export licences would be granted for the system if the South Africans wanted it."

FRENCH COLLABORATION

**French Anti-Apartheid Movement
Protests Arms Sales To SA**

Conforming to the decisions of UNO, and in solidarity with appeals from responsible African leaders, the anti-apartheid committees strive to inform public opinion in their respective countries of the grave situation created by the support – and particularly military support – accorded to the racist regime of South Africa.

The French Anti-Apartheid Committee points to the responsibility of the French Government in helping to enlarge South Africa's repressive and aggressive potential by its sale of armaments to Pretoria; as President Kaunda stressed at his press conference in Paris, 21 October 1970, these deliveries of arms give moral support to Vorster's regime; at the same time they tarnish France's image in the eyes of Black African states.

The French committee offers all persons concerned with this pressing issue **complete documentation** regarding all aspects of the apartheid system, its evolution and its wide implications.

An analysis of France's armaments sales to South Africa is given here. A more comprehensive brochure on South African strategy as a whole is now in preparation.

Franco-South African military collaboration has always had a counter-revolutionary aspects. At the time of the Algerian war, South African officers were at the side of their French colleagues to learn, on the spot, anti-guerrilla methods.

Since the Algerian war French aid to South Africa has been steadily growing. Dozens of French technicians participate permanently in South Africa in the development of various arms and in military-industrial projects. Hundreds of South African officers and

technicians spend time in France learning to use the French material ordered by the navy or air force of the Pretoria government. There is a constant coming and going of responsible members of the French and South African atomic energy commissions between the two countries.

Here is a recent example of this collaboration as described by a French journalist: "It is thanks to France that South Africa has installed itself in the Caprivi Strip . . . a military base which includes landing strips and a ground-to-ground missile system (probably Nord-Aviation SS11 or SS12s). From bases of this sort, the South Africans undertake reconnaissance flights over Zambia and Tanzania and the sabotage actions which the South Africans initiate in Zambia in the guise of warnings." (F. Chenu, "Difficile Naissance . . ." *Temps Modernes*, No. 1970, p. 911, n. 36) As for the sale of military material since 1964 alone, *Le Monde*, 29 August 1970, estimates French arms supplies to South Africa at 1,517 million francs, adding that France hopes to up this figure to two billion for the next four years.

Here is the breakdown of the material at the end of 1970:

Ground Equipment

Machine guns (AML90 and AML60) constructed in France by the Société de Constructions Mécaniques Panhard et Levassor, with the participation of Direction Technique des Armements Terrestres for arms, are developed under license in South Africa by Austral Engineering Works at Germiston. *Le Monde* of 22 December 1970 said of these engines that they "are

specially destined for the police force in the anti-guerrilla struggle."

The engine motors are imported directly from France or via Djibouti. 250 motors were sold in 1968 for 4.2 million francs. 20 AMX tanks as well were sold the same year for 8 million francs.

Ammunition which cannot be manufactured in South Africa is also delivered by France.

Radar Equipment

Apart from British and West German contributions in this area, France for its part has signed contracts, with the agreement of the Banque Française du Commerce Extérieur, amounting to a total of 358 million francs, covering deliveries and studies between 1967 and 1969. 50 million francs have been granted Thomson-Houston-Hotchkiss-Brandt under the designation "contribution to research".

Missiles

In May 1968 France decided to sell South Africa the anti-aircraft Crotale radar-missile system developed by Thompson-CSF and MATRA, for 54 million francs. The South African version of Crotale, called Cactus, which is going to be delivered in the next few months, was developed jointly by French and South African engineers.

45 MATRA R-530 air-to air missiles, radar guided, have been sold for the sum of 15 million francs.

Several types of South African air force planes, including Sabres and Mirages, are equipped with Nord-Aviation AS20 and AS30 air-to-ground missiles and with SNEB 37mm type rockets, built under licence in South Africa. *Aviation Magazine*, No. 551, 1 December 1970, reveals that South Africa would like to adapt the Eccet sea-to-sea machine to air-sea use on Super Frelon helicopters.

Nuclear Cooperation

France brings technical assistance to South Africa in the area of nuclear research. Scientists and officials of the atomic energy commission (France) have visited South Africa several times. A French company which has taken part in the development of French nuclear weapons, Sodeteg, opened an office in Johannesburg

when its director, M. Belpomme, visited South Africa in 1968. A South African request to purchase from France 25 five kiloton atomic bombs is shrouded in secrecy. It is not possible at present to say whether or not this transition has taken place, but other transactions which were kept secret for a long time have been revealed in the press. It has been known for some months that France buys 50% of South African uranium and half the total Angolan uranium. The enormous needs of France are not adequately fulfilled by Nigerian production and Canada refuses to sell its uranium to countries which cannot guarantee its peaceful use.

Navy

South Africa has ordered three new high performance submarines, armed with 12 torpedoes from France. Similar submarines, known as Daphnes, have also been sold to Spain. Two Daphnes have already been delivered, and the third is being completed at Chantiers Dubigeon-Normandie de Nantes. Each submarine costs 11.2 million dollars. The crews and officers of the ships have been assembled in two groups in Toulon, the first in March 1969, and the second in October 1969. Orders for frigates, minesweepers and boats armed with Nord-Aviation sea-to-sea Exccet missiles have been passed or are on the point of being passed.

As for the cooperation of the two countries in this area, the minister of defence, M. Botha, has announced that his country is prepared to put the Simonstown naval base at the disposal of friendly nations, notably France. This announcement may explain the visit of M. Messmer, former minister of the army under General DeGaulle, to Simonstown, in the course of his South African tour last October. South Africa has for a long time hoped for the creation of a southern version of NATO, in default of leading NATO directly to extend its field of action below the Tropic of Cancer. Final decisions have not been arrived at, but France has already sent units of its wartime navy on courtesy visits of South African ports.

Aeronautic Equipment

French arms sales have been most numerous in this area. In May, 1970,

the details of French deliveries were as follows:

- 16 Mirage III CZ supersonic interceptors, equipped with MATRA R-530 missiles.
- 20 Mirage III EZ supersonic hunter-bombers divided into two squadrons, equipped with Nord-Aviation AS20 and AS30 missiles.
- 4 Mirage III RZs.
- An order for 3 "Mystere" 20s – probably SNAs – hasn't been confirmed.
- In November 1970, the London papers Financial Times, Daily Telegraph and Daily Express wrote that South Africa intended to order 50 new Mirage IIIs from France.
- According to Le Monde, 28 November 1970, South Africa could also order the latest models of Dassault Factories and SNECMA motors, the Bomber Mirage-Milan.
- 9 troop transport Transall C 160s were ordered from Nord-Aviation and two German firms. This cargo plane can transport 80 parachutists and tanks of 16 tons. It can land and take off almost anywhere. Its construction involved, in addition to the firms already mentioned, the French company Messier for the landing gear; the motor is Rolls Royce built under licence in West Germany in association with the French company Hispano-Suiza (SNECMA) and the Belgian Fabrique Nationale de Belgique at Herstal. The electronic equipment is Franco-American. The Transalls, which cost 137 million francs, began to be delivered in January 1970. The equipment was assembled in France and

West Germany. It must be noted here that West Germany could turn over to South Africa some of the 110 Transall planes already ordered for the Luftwaffe.

- 16 heavy helicopters Super Frelon SA 3210 from Sud Aviation (Sud Aviation, Nord Aviation and SEREB, state businesses, have comprised since January 1970 the Societe Nationale Industrielle Aerospatiale.) These 3-motored helicopters, officially destined for anti-submarine warfare, are very effective on the ground, as demonstrated by Israeli commandos in their raids against the United Arab Republic and Libya. This order amounts to 124 million francs.
- 50 Alouette IIIs equipped with air-sea Nord Aviation rockets, with a range of 6 km.
- 6 Alouette IIs (at a cost of 2.5 million francs).
- 20 SA 330 Puma helicopters, ordered in June 1967 from Nord-Aviation for 110 million francs.
- 3 Mirage III CZ cells ordered in November 1967 for 26 million francs.
- equipages for Mirage IIIs, ordered in September 1967 for 3 million francs.
- Atar reactors from SNECMA, which equips the Mirage, in 1969, for 4.4 million francs.
- spare parts for Atar reactors, 1967-68 and '69 for 6 million francs.

President Kaunda's Visit

To this massive military aid which France gives South Africa must be added diplomatic support, commer-



cial and sporting exchanges and financial and cultural links (20 liaison workers stay in South Africa). Faced with the size of French support for the apartheid regime, the council of ministers of the OAU, meeting in August–September 1970, decided to send M. Kenneth Kaunda to M. Pompidou to ask the French president to end French deliveries of arms to Pretoria and to withdraw French support for Portugal's racist and colonist Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique.

The interview took place on 21st October and resulted in no more than a promise not to deliver any more helicopters; a promise given all the more easily since, as indicated in *Le Monde* of 23rd October, South Africa "appears to have fulfilled its needs" in the matter of helicopters. Furthermore, dispatch agencies announced on 14th December that Mr Heath's government is ready to sell Westland Anglo-French helicopters to South Africa.

Even though the present attitude of France has not changed since 1961 (the date of the declaration of the South African Republic), not all the African countries seemed to have drawn the obvious conclusions.

M. Senghor, for his part, had declared in September, after a visit to Paris, that all the Africans were united in their understanding of the good basis of the French attitude when M. Pompidou gave this point of view to Kaunda. Those in power in the Ivory Coast and Madagascar left no doubts about their satisfaction after these explanations had been furnished.

French official explanations are well known. France only sells defensive weapons to South Africa, which will never be used for the suppression of the African people. But to nail down the argument, the French government hastens to add that, whatever may be its attitude to race relations, and they are not those which are in effect south of the Zambesi, no country has the right to intrude in the affairs of a sovereign state; South Africa being a sovereign state, its internal policies concern only its government.

Official French and South African arguments are clearly only pretext. A description of the arms alone make them suspect. This is how *Le Monde* of 28th November 1970 describes the Mirage-Milan bomber which France is prepared to sell to South Africa and

which it is interesting to note the French army does not want: "The Mirage-Milan plane (also called the Mirage-Moustache) is derived from the combat plane Mirage III, developed by The Dassault in corporation with a Swiss firm. To improve landing and take-off performance and manoeuvrability, which were feeble and powerless, the Mirage-Milan has in front of its fuselage little sustaining blades which are retractable in flight . . . these characteristics turn the plane into one which can be used **close range on ground troops.**" (our emphasis).

If the nature of the Panhard automatic machine guns, are Alouette, Super Frelon and Puma helicopters, of the Mirage and of other arms supplied to Pretoria is not enough to convince sceptics, let us recall that witness reports over several years from the racist dominated zones indicate what use the South African armed forces make of French arms in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique and during incursions into Zambian and Tanzanian territories. The most recent evidence is provided by 3 Portuguese deserters taken refuge in Belgium, as reported in *Le Monde* 25th December 1970. These former mercenaries of Caetano affirm that "South African helicopters aid the Portuguese army in Angola and Mozambique."

Other French arms, similar to those supplied to Pretoria are used by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Against which enemies are they defending Portuguese sovereignty.

This enemy is certainly not a naval gunner or a Soviet submarine sailor. The rulers of Pretoria know this well, as do the Portuguese and their other allies in NATO, since the greatest concentration of their military power is to be found along the borders of Angola, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland, far removed from that famous Cape Route which is supposed to be so threatened.

Arming Today's Nazis

The truth is much more simple and no one can pretend to be ignorant of it. The arms which France, Great Britain, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland have delivered or are in

the process of delivering to South Africa, have only one function, that of securing white racist domination in southern Africa on a more solid basis, and of defeating any African attempt at genuine liberation, independence and human dignity.

How can men who fought Nazism, and vanquished it with the help of thousands of African soldiers, today arm other Nazis against Africa? Only the naive will be surprised at this paradox. Enormous financial, commercial, industrial and military interests, invested by western powers in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, are used to justify the farce played by France, so-called friend of Africa and Africans.

Furthermore, let us not forget the attraction with which South Africa is prepared to sell uranium, without worrying about Euratom or the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, represents for France an advantage to develop its own nuclear power.

Let us not forget the agreement among capitalist countries. The British Conservative Party, home of Britain's Industrialists and bankers, has never forgiven the Labour Party for letting the French penetrate a domaine which was entirely theirs until 1965. Now that they have returned to power they are counting on redoubled efforts to bring back lost orders.

The massive sale of arms to foreign countries permits, finally, the considerable reduction of cost prices of these same arms, which thus equip the national army cheaply. The South African market is about to replace Israel as shock-absorber for costs. These sales are all the more necessary since the local market can easily default, as in the case of the loss of interest by the French army in the Mirage-Milan, and this can occasion enormous losses for groups which have often invested heavily in the hope of attracting important orders from the government (cf. Editorial, *Aviation Magazine* No. 551, 1 Dec. 1970: "Only orders from abroad can assure continuous production of the Super Frelon").

All these reasons explain, should there be need, the scorn for the decisions and recommendations of the UN which characterizes more than one western nation that has assumed the right of dictating its laws to the world rather than apply the laws of the world.

DREAMS OF A GREAT WHITE AFRICA

**SOUTH AFRICAN
IMPERIALISM:
THE ROOTS OF
MANIFEST
DESTINY**

by a Correspondent

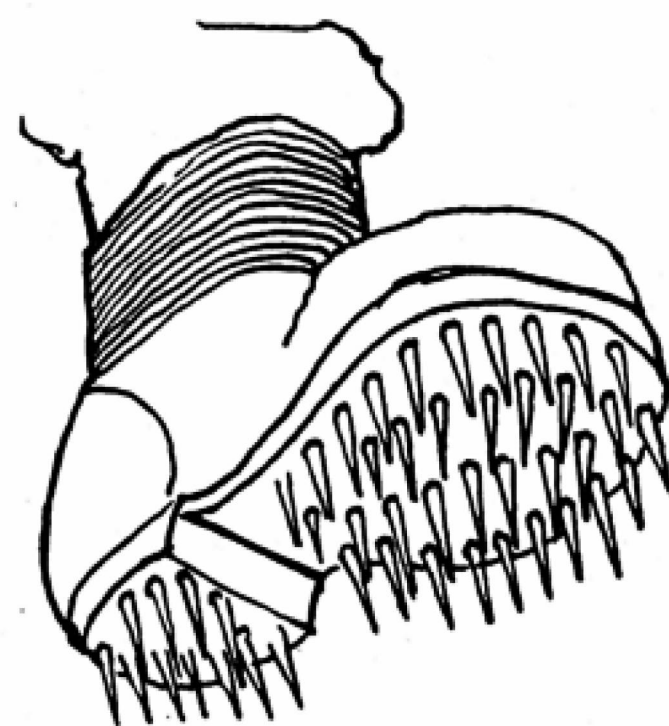
the belief of the manifest destiny of the "chosen people", the Afrikaners: God had given them the right to inhabit, cultivate and multiply on African soil and the indigenous people must give way, give labour, or die.

Yet nineteenth century Afrikaner manifest destiny was a puny force and a limited ideal compared with the grandiose and megalomaniac visions of the British empire-builders of the late nineteenth century. As white "trekkers" made their last feeble expansionist forays to Ghanzi in Botswana, to Angola, north to Rhodesia and Kenya, Southern Africa was being carved up anew. Finance capital launched the imperial Chartered Company as its new spearhead of expansion; new economic forces exploded spontaneously giving private enterprise (The Chartered Companies) the powers of states. "This tropical continent (of Africa)" wrote Harry Johnson, a primary empire-builder, in the London Times of August 1888, "must inevitably be exploited by the white races as the other quarters of the globe have been." He dreamed of a continuous band of British territory from the Cape to Cairo in which white settlers, trading companies, and mining capitalists could coexist in exploitation. Within twelve years he, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Salisbury, Joseph Chamberlain and their tools had almost fulfilled their dreams.

The partition of Africa was the inter-imperialist readjustment of the claims made by the Chartered Companies. In Africa's southern half Johnstone and Rhodes had created "Central Africa", a central massif of British territory which confined archaic and inefficient Portuguese colonialism to coastal belts. South West Africa fell to Germany but, with the annexation of the Transvaal in 1900, the remainder was in British hands. Only German Tanganyika separated British possessions in the South from her northern claims in the valley of the Nile.

In 1910 the British returned political power in South Africa to the white inhabitants. "It is not the British way to govern white men as a subject race", said British Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman. Using the classic British technique of indirect rather than direct control, the British were confident that the South African ruling coalition of mineowners, commercial interests, and the wealthiest landowners would act in British interests. Yet the result was an uneasy inter-imperialist tension which reflected contradictions within both the British and the South

African political economy. The South African ruling class was not content to play a subordinate role, but had imperial ambitions of its own in Africa. In 1911 Prime Minister Botha was prevented from the annexation of Lourenco Marques in Mozambique only by the despatch of a British fleet to the area. The following year Sir Abe Bailey and the British South African Company in Rhodesia debated a new Jameson Raid on the port of Beira, taking advantage of Portugal's weakness after a quasi-revolution in 1911. Again the British warned Southern African imperialism off: the Portuguese were also subordinate allies. "The Portuguese alliance", said a 1912 Foreign Office memo, "retains its value in large European complications and... give us the right to keep foreign powers off the strategically important Portuguese islands... It will be better that Portugal should develop her colonies herself with British capital than that we should be forced to take them over".



A WHITE AFRICA?

But the South African rulers were not restrained so easily. The High Commission Territories, Mozambique and at some times territories further north were the source of cheap and forced African labour. Smuts fought the Germans in South West Africa in the First World War and hence South Africa received the territory as a "mandated" colony from the League of Nations. Smuts intrigued in 1923 for the incorporation of Southern Rhodesia into South Africa when the charter of the British South African Company was revoked. A year later, in a letter to Leo Amery, it became apparent that Smuts saw himself as the inheritor of the mantle of Harry Johnstone. "All the

Capitalism has always been imperialist, though in different forms at different times: white South Africa has always been expansionist. In the era of Dutch mercantilism and British "free trade" imperialism, white settlers pushed outwards from the Cape of Good Hope against the continual resistance of the indigenous Khoisan and Bantu-speaking peoples. Behind the frontier, on the land thus secured, white farmers reduced the indigenous peoples to servile bondage, and began to supply European markets with the products of this forced labour. As white population increased and landholding in the white community was concentrated in fewer hands, the displaced poorer whites were forced to move on, to seize from indigenous peoples yet more land. Often hunters or nomadic herders, such frontier whites had been nurtured on

highlands of Eastern Africa from the Union to Abyssinia are healthy for Europeans and can be made into a great European state or system of States during the next three or four generations. It is one of the richest parts of the world, and only wants white brains and capital to become enormously productive... a resolute white policy should be pursued. The fruits of such a policy will be a white state in time more important than Australia. There is land enough for all the vast Native population on the flanks of the highlands. But the Natives by themselves will continue to stagnate as they have stagnated for the last ten thousand years. A great White Africa along the Eastern backbone, with railway and road communications connecting North and South, will be a first class addition to the Empire and will repay all the capital put into it." To this theme he would constantly return, most notably in his Rhodes Memorial Lectures at Oxford in 1929, published as *Africa and Some World Problems*.

Smuts spoke primarily for the mineowners, representatives of European finance capital but anxious for an expansion of their South African base. As he wrote, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer was constructing the economic foundations of South African extractive imperialism. Drawing on American capital as a counter to British, Oppenheimer acquired control of international diamond production in the 1920's, including that in South West Africa, Angola, and Tanganyika. And from 1927 his Anglo-American Corporation moved into Northern Rhodesia to share control of copper mining with British capital. In 1962 Ernest's son, Harry Oppenheimer, was echoing the ideology of South African expansionism in a lecture at Cape Town University: "Africa knows all she knows of peace, freedom and plenty for the individual to the initiative of Europeans..."

The period of Africa's rapid progress corresponds with the period of colonialism and the conclusion is surely irresistible that it was the colonial system of government that created the conditions for the spectacular progress".

Colonialism of course did no such thing: it brought for Africans only the misery, suffering and exploitation of underdevelopment. But the arrogant nonsense of Smuts and the Oppenheimer's becomes understandable when we see that for them the exploitation of African labour did bring "progress"; profits for capitalists and their impartial guardians.

But the conditions were not yet ripe for South African imperialism to go unchallenged. In 1923 the Rhodesian settlers preferred self-government to amalgamation with South Africa. The British, as Amery reminded Smuts in his reply to the 1924 letter, believed in white hegemony in Africa but not necessarily under South African control. The strategic importance of copper to British imperialism merely reinforced these desires. And the Central African Federation, first mooted in the 1930's and 1940's and eventually established in 1953, was designed partly as a British-controlled buffer against South Africa. Northern Rhodesian copper, Southern Rhodesian industry, and labour from Nyasaland formed an integrated colonial economy outside South African imperial influence.

Nor were other white groups in South Africa yet as ambitious as Smuts. They suspected that they would have to pay the costs of an imperial expansion from which the mineowners would benefit. In 1924 Smuts was thrown from office by a coalition representing reformist white labour and less wealthy white farmers, seeking a share in the material benefits of the South African forced labour system. When Smuts campaigned in 1929 on an expansionist platform, Hertzog countered with the accusation that Smuts was "the apostle of a black Kaffir state... extending from the Cape To Egypt... and already foretells the day when even the name of South Africa will vanish in smoke upon the altar of the Kaffir state he so ardently desires." The forces for whom Hertzog spoke had neither the economic interests, nor a confidence in their mechanisms of political control to wish to absorb rapidly a vast and rebellious African population.

MOVING SLOWLY TO EXPANSION

South Africa moved more slowly towards expansion. By the 1930's the African populations of the "reserves" had been reduced to sub-subsistence starvation, and Hertzog began to demand the incorporation of the High Commission Territories within South Africa. The ideologists of Afrikaner internal colonialism began to develop new mechanisms of African social control: inter-war segregation policy was refined into the philosophy of *apartheid* and the potential neo-colonialism of Bantustans. Secondary indu-

stry gained momentum in South Africa, producing new class formations and interest groups. Afrikaner nationalism mobilised to secure an increased share in the economic institutions of the society. By the late 1950's the internal objective conditions were more favourable to South African imperialism. Domestically, English-Afrikaner conflict was giving way to a closer cooperation than before. Economically, industry which had been built on a system of forced labour was anxious for markets abroad which the system did not permit developing at home. In Africa to the north, British colonialism was being replaced by neo-colonialism which provided greater potential openings for South Africa. The Central African Federation was dissolved in 1963, and its constituents polarized. Zambia joined with the rest of Africa in a campaign of isolation and boycott against South Africa. But Malawi and Rhodesia fell more closely within the South African sphere. And for a time it seemed that South African influence would extend as far north as the Congo through the machinations of the puppet Tshombe in Katanga.

Far-sighted ideologists of South African imperialism had anticipated the situation as early as 1930. As a contributor to *Coming of Age*, edited by Jan Hofmeyer in that year, wrote, the problem with South Africa's isolation from the rest of Africa was "that such a policy must lead to mutual dislike and distrust, to divergent policies and conflicting interests, to tariff walls and ultimate hostility. Economically, such a policy would result in a deprivation of markets for our produce, our brains, and our energy... we should welcome the rapid development of the Native people of Central and East Africa; and we should seize the opportunity which that development will offer for providing new markets for our goods". Today South Africa needs those markets more than ever. And South African economic expansion will march parallel with political and military expansion. South Africa has been built on expansionism, of different forms at different times. But each form has brought misery, exploitation, and bondage to Africans. In 1955 Strijdom sounded a note ominous for the peoples of Africa, when he linked the objective needs of South Africa's modern political economy of white supremacy with South Africa's oldest justification for expansion. "We must convince all Europeans of our viewpoint" he said. "We shall then attain what we believe God has put us here for - our influence to spread right through Africa."

REVIEW

Arms for South Africa: THE MORAL ISSUE

Published by the Monday Club

INFLUENTIAL COLLABORATORS

It is all too easy to make jokes about the Monday Club – to dismiss it as the lunatic fringe of the Tory Party. Lunatic and extreme it is indeed, yet this organization has a strong influence within the Party which governs Britain today. It is even represented in the Cabinet, by, appropriately enough, Mr Geoffrey Rippon, the man responsible for negotiating Britain's entry into the monopoly-dominated bloc ironically known as the 'Common' Market.

The Monday Club was founded in 1961 – its formation triggered off by Harold Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech. The Monday Club embodied the outraged response of a section of the Tory Party to hearing the word 'change' used by one of their Party – and used, even worse, in relation to Africa, a continent which they had always regarded (and indeed, still regard today) as, in Marx's words, 'a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins'.

Organized under the patronage of the notoriously colonialist Lord Salisbury, the Monday Club is a natural home for all the supporters of apartheid. Its members include such well-known Vorster-appeasers as John Biggs-Davison, Patrick Wall, and Harold Soref. Its latest contribution to Britain's intellectual life, called either **ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA – THE MORAL ISSUE** (cover), or **ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA – THE MORAL ASPECT** (title page), comes from the pen of Jonathan Guinness, director of the brewery firm, and stepson of Sir Oswald Mosley.

A fine judge of moral aspects and issues, Guinness tells us what is good for us in twelve pages of text scattered with respectful references to St. Thomas Aquinas and 'those tough old

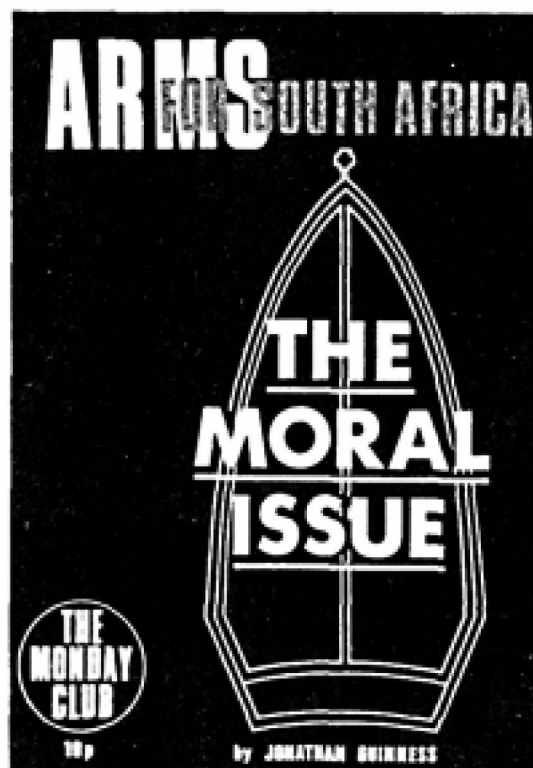
Church fathers', and with personal interpretations of various points of Christian doctrine, such as the following:

'We have been told that we are all members one of another, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men", and (in the parable of the Good Samaritan) that we should judge people by what they do, not who they are. But this does not mean that we are prohibited from discrimination, on an earthly level, between human beings; or if it does mean this then it is an injunction we cannot possibly keep since we all have families, communities and nations and have had since the beginning of time. What it means is that God, who sees more than we do, will not follow our wordly system of values when his turn comes to discriminate at the Last Judgement.'

This passage perfectly expresses the Hon Jonathan's particular gifts as logician and moralist, his argument being:

- i) God says we are the same and should not discriminate against each other;
- ii) this does not mean we should not discriminate, or if it does we should ignore it because we have 'families, communities and nations' (?);
- iii) God discriminates too, but differently.

Apart from its assumption that a person's beliefs should have no influence on his life (a point of view which is also frequently expressed by Mr. Enoch Powell), the level of 'argument' reached in this passage makes it immediately clear that Guinness is not a possible participant in rational debate. His moralizings are mouthings, as is usually the case with the far Right when it takes up its baton and puts on its jackboots as a champion of Christendom . . . and in the process aims blows and kicks at every active Christian in sight (including, in



Mr Guinness's case, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the World Council of Churches, and the Bishops of Stepney and Shrewsbury).

Against the Guerillas

What is significant in this pamphlet, however, is the *realpolitik* that underlies the absurdities. Basically here, the author's complaint is that the present British government intends supplying arms *only* for external defence, and not against 'internal subversion'. To quote again, 'Pretty silly we should look if we loaded up the South Africans with submarines to protect our sea-routes from the Russians and they then, due to British policy, fell into the hands of a guerilla movement that acknowledged the primacy of Moscow.'

Guinness concludes his argument with the following words:

'So what ought we to do about South Africa? We ought surely to cool it; to recognise that the South Africans have been placed by history in a position where nothing the whites can do which is compatible with their survival will be at the same time in accord with the Western conscience. Far from encouraging guerillas to attack them, **we ought to do all in our power against the guerillas** (my italics), because humanity, in all governments, grows in direct proportion with their sense of security. South Africa is our natural ally; by giving her firm moral and material support we can perhaps contribute to reducing her unattractiveness.'

Perhaps we should be pleased to see it out in the open – in comparison for instance to the evasions of the last Labour Foreign Secretary, who declared that 'the guerillas are going about things in the wrong way'. Perhaps, anyway, we should reflect that the voice of Mr Guinness and of the Monday Club expresses a point of view with which, in private, certainly very few Tories of any 'shade' would disagree. For the profits from dealings with South Africa (desired by both Britain's alternative governing parties) depend on oppression, on exploitation of a mobile cheap labour force. With a government representing the people of South Africa in power (such as that which will be formed by the forces of liberation) this blood money would no longer pour into British pockets.

'By their words you shall know them' is applicable to Mr. Guinness and the influential collaborators of the Monday Club. 'By their deeds you shall know them' is applicable to many, many others.

CdeC

African Farm Squatters Attack Police

Government pressure on Africans living on white farms is arousing growing resistance among the most hard-pressed section of the population. Originally enticed onto the white farms by offers of free grazing and seasonal jobs, farmers are now forcing them to cull their cattle and send away their families.

In one recent case of this kind the squatters reacted violently in self defence.

The trouble started when a white farmer, Lukas Gertenbach, and a group of farmers and police impounded four herds of cattle and some goats belonging to the squatters on his huge farm. They were then set upon by a band of 30 Zulus armed with assegais and clubs.

The police opened fire and managed to disperse the attackers, but the police party had to return to the farm house. The farmer explained his action saying that the 8,000 acre farm was badly overstocked. He had previously warned the squatters to reduce the number of cattle to three a kraal or leave the farm. But the squatters, who are without land of their own and victims of the new squeeze on squatters throughout Natal, ignored the ultimatum. Of the 2,000 squatters only 20 had been willing to cut down their herds. The rest had driven their cattle to the highest plateaus on the surrounding mountains, while others left their cattle on adjoining farms by day and returned them to graze by night. In this way they hoped to save their meagre stocks from destruction. Farmer Gertenbach first

claimed that he wanted to cull the stocks because he planned to convert his farm to large-scale vegetable production and there was not enough land for the cattle. He subsequently admitted however that he was desperately short of labour. The limitation of the cattle was therefore obviously designed to force the squatters to take jobs at the farmer's terms.

VANLOADS OF ARMED POLICE

After the confrontation, three vanloads of police armed with pistols and sten guns combed the farm Wonderfontein, near Vryheid. But the kraal-to-kraal search revealed only that all the families had gone into hiding. No arrests were made. Farmer Gertenbach told reporters that special care was needed as he believed that several of the squatters had guns.

The government's motive in unsettling the long established squatters seems to be partly that of anxiety over security. White farmers are leaving the countryside for the easy life in the booming cities where they also feel safer. The consequence is that the proportion of Africans is growing rapidly. Government strategy is therefore aimed at undermining African self-sufficiency, forcing the men to work for wages all year round and driving the families into massive resettlement camps which are shocking rural slums. All this is dry tinder for violent struggle against tyranny.

SCHOOL CHILDREN REVOLT

STONE-THROWING, threats and a general 'revolt against authority' have led to the suspension of about 450 male pupils at the African Healdtown Institute, near King William's Town, and the closing down of the boys' hostel.

The Acting Director of Education and Culture in King William's Town (Mr. N. G. Fletcher) said in a statement today that male pupils had been in a state of revolt since March 12.

The Argus Port Elizabeth representative quotes an eye-witness who described 'ugly scenes' during the revolt.

'ARGUS', 18. 3. 71

AFRICAN STUDENTS BOYCOTT FESTIVAL

AFRICAN university students will not take part in this year's Republic Festival, instead, they are organising a "republican protest."

The call for a boycott of the celebrations and for the launching of a protest is made by the 3000-strong all-African South African Students' Organisation.

Members are asked to wear black during the two "Republican protest" days, beginning on May 30. Students are also organising a symposium for May 10.

'STAR', 10. 4. 71



● Row after row of empty seats greeted Blaar as he stood on the stand at the opening of Port Elizabeth's new housing scheme for Coloureds. Blaar is the arrowed gent on stage).

● Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Community Development, strode into Bethelsdorp, Port Elizabeth, this week to open a huge new Coloured housing scheme. And he walked straight into one of the biggest snubs any Nationalist Cabinet Minister has had. Instead of the huge crowd expected, there were hardly anyone ... a few White officials, members of Port Elizabeth's Coloured Management Committee and a lot of church ministers. Blaar looked relieved to see the ministers there after the Gelvandale shootings and riots. But Blaar was in for a big shock the churchmen had come. To let him have a good view of their backs ... as soon as Blaar stood up for the opening, the churchmen walked out!

Churchmen all came—to show their backs...

COLOURED PEOPLE CONDEMN APARTHEID

A number of controversial decisions taken at the national conference

A NUMBER of controversial decisions taken at the national conference of the Coloured Labour Party on Sunday underline the new militant line of the party. Among decisions taken at the conference were:

- A call on the Government to "stop interfering" in the affairs of non-White sports bodies;
- vigorous opposition to the Republic Festival;
- the rejection of a Coloured homeland;
- a call for the repeal of the Slum Clearance Act and the Group Areas Act.

The national public relations officer of the party, Mr. D. Mattera, said that non-White

sportsmen were being denied the chance to show what they could do. He called for "free and open selection" of sports teams. The party did not support the Newlands cricket walk-off, however. "The cricketers should have walked off and stayed off", said Mr. Mattera. The party would work against the Republic Festival, he said, by distributing pamphlets and holding public meetings. The Slum Clearance Act and the Group Areas Act were aimed solely at robbing people of the right to land ownership, said the party official, and there would be an appeal to the Government for their repeal.

'STAR', 17. 4. 71

ANGELA DAVIS' LAWYER WRITES:

May 11, 1971

African National Congress of South Africa
49 Rathbone Street
LONDON, W.1. A-4NL
England

Gentlemen:

If I may introduce myself. I am the attorney for George Jackson, who is one of three fine black men here in the United States known as the Soledad Brothers, and who are awaiting trial in San Francisco. Mr. Jackson has published a book called "Soledad Brother", The Prison Letters of George Jackson.

Recently I had the pleasure of appearing at a benefit for the Soledad Brothers and for Angela Davis. Mr. Howard Moore, Angela's chief trial attorney, was also present, as was Penny Jackson, George's sister. I suspect that all of this information is information you already have, as I suspect you may well have been involved in putting on that extremely fine benefit.

Angela and Soledad Brothers Want Sechaba

Angela is a very good friend of mine and I see her every week and sometimes more often. I was just with her and she showed me four bound volumes of a magazine Sechaba that you publish. In addition, she had a couple of other issues, none of which I was able to read completely, but by looking through them I know that George Jackson would be extremely interested in both having a subscription and seeing the back issues. I am also certain that the other two Soledad Brothers, John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo, would also like to have a subscription.

I am wondering if you could advise the cost of an annual subscription to your magazine and could also let me know what it might cost to get the four bound volumes that I believe you may have sent over to Angela via Howard Moore. If you could do that it would be greatly appreciated. Incidentally, should any of you wish to write to any one of the Soledad Brothers, I will list their names and addresses below. I know they would like to hear from you, as their interest lies not only in their own problem, but with

the problems of all oppressed people throughout the world.

GEORGE JACKSON
Box A63837 - San Quentin
Tamal, California 94964

FLEETA DRUMGO
Box B10837 - San Quentin
Tamal, California 94964

JOHN CLUTCHETTE
Box B4804 - San Quentin
Tamal, California 94964

**The ANC calls upon our readers to write to the
Soledad Brothers**

SOLEDAD BROTHERS

