



NEWS BULLETIN

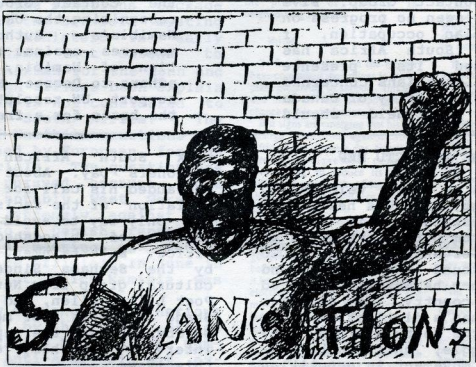
Canadians Concerned about Southern Africa
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NAMIBIA : SANCTION-BUSTERS' BACKDOOR?

There is something for Canadians to learn by an examination of the EEC's much disparaged sanctions of last month. As we note in an article in our Namibia section, a large loophole exists in the EEC's sanctions strategy (if that term can be fairly applied). The exemption of Namibia from the EEC's sanctions creates a situation whereby Namibia can serve as a conduit for all sorts of embargoed goods, not to mention the precious resources that are being rapidly depleted as they enrich the coffers of the racist

regime. Canadians should not feel morally superior about the EEC's evident "oversight". The Canadian government has taken an equally repugnant position on the question of sanctions against the South African puppet regime in Namibia. Not only does the Canadian government refuse to recognize the UN Council for Namibia authority in matters pertaining to Namibia, it also refuses to adhere to the Council's Decree No. 1, which provides for the safeguarding of Namibia's resources during its period of occupation by

South Africa. Canada's most oft quoted defence of this position is the Five Nation Western Contact Group (our emphasis) which was formed in 1981, ostensibly to find a negotiated solution to the "problem" of South Africa's occupation of Namibia. It is not coincidental that those nations resisting sanctions against Namibia so recently in the EEC are also represented in the Contact Group. Five years has seen no progress on the Namibian occupation. If anything, South Africa has strengthened its presence there. All Canadians concerned about the integrity of Canada vis-a-vis apartheid should

take an interest in seeing that Canada does not permit the use of Namibia as a backdoor means of evading sanctions. Equally important, Canada should not let itself be used as a means for the U.S. to evade its own sanctions against South Africa and Namibia.

Canada can begin to restore its integrity on the Namibian question by withdrawing from the Contact Group charade, recognizing the UN Council for Namibia's authority on measures against the occupation of Namibia, agree to adhere to Decree No. 1. and support UN resolution 435 as the basis for a free Namibia.

WELCOME TO SACTU REP

CCSA extends a warm welcome to Peter Mhlangu, SACTU's newly arrived representative in Canada. Originally from Durban, Peter is an experienced organizer with SACTU both aboveground and underground after 1981 when he was first forced to leave the country. He stresses that SACTU has a distinctive role to play in the South African liberation struggle, uniting the powerful labour movement in opposition to the exploitation of black labour. He also emphasises the need for workers in South Africa to see beyond narrow trade union issues. "Because the first oppression we face is as black people living under a form of colonialism, the issues in the work place can't be divorced from our position in society."

DENNIS GOLDBERG VISITS CANADA

Canadians were honoured by the visit to Canada of a great figure in the struggle against South African racism, Dennis Goldberg. CCSA was pleased to participate in the organizing of his stay in Toronto. On October 11, Dennis was the keynote speaker at a rally in Toronto's City Hall square, held to

mark South African Political Prisoners Day. About 350 people applauded his call for the complete isolation of the racist regime as the only way to avoid a prolonged period of bloodshed in South Africa. Entertainment was provided by the Sechaba Singers, an ANC cultural group from New York, Dub Poet Lilian Allen, and the Mary Ann Shadd Singers. For more on Dennis Goldberg, see the reprint of an interview with him, elsewhere in this issue.

1987 ANC CALENDER NOW HERE

The 1987 ANC wall calenders have arrived! Colourfully illustrated with original paintings by Ruth Carneson, they depict the demands of the Freedom Charter in the year arking the 75th anniversary of the ANC. Cost is \$5 each, with all proceeds to ANC Free South Africa Fund. Send your orders to: ANC - Calender Desk, Box 302, Toronto, M5C 2J4.

BOYCOTT
South African Goods

NAMIBIA

EEC SANCTIONS DO NOT APPLY
TO NAMIBIA

Common Market governments have confirmed that the sanctions package agreed to at the Brussels meeting of foreign ministers in early September does not extend to Namibia. Spokesmen for the Bonn and London foreign offices both explain that "Namibia is not considered to be part of South Africa." The question of Namibian sanctions has been discussed by European foreign office officials. The question has not been pursued because some countries, notably West Germany, have been strongly against it, according to a Danish representative to a meeting of senior foreign office officials in June in The Hague, at which Namibia was discussed.

The more wide-ranging sanctions bill passed by the United States Congress includes Namibia. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act extends sanctions to "any territory under the Administration, legal or illegal, of South Africa." Namibia has been illegally occupied by the Pretoria regime since 1966. The main items placed on the EEC sanctions list, iron, steel and gold coins, are not produced in Namibia. But there are fears that the territory could serve as a conduit for new European investment, which was banned in Brussels. South Africa might be encouraged by this EEC action to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia, says SWAPO. "More importantly, it establishes a precedent which could have more serious consequences if sanctions really capable of hurting were ever introduced against South Africa." (from Namibia Communication Centre news release, 26/09/86)

20th NAMIBIA DAY

SWAPO marked Namibia Day on Saturday — the 20th anniversary of the war in the territory — with its second largest meeting in over a decade and a call for whites to join the independence struggle.

The 6 000 people at the meeting — in a territory in which political meetings seldom draw more than a handful of people — also heard a call for a general strike if South Africa continued to "link" the question of independence for the territory with the presence of Cubans in neighbouring Angola.

Whites

So far, few whites in the territory have committed themselves to the UN plan, preferring to support "linkage" and delay the day Swapo gets the chance to win an election.

But signs are emerging that his may change. Sanctions against South Africa spell disaster for Namibia's already hard-pressed economy, threatening to reduce its budget subsidy from South Africa and its share from the Southern African Customs Union.

Many white Namibians are also tiring of the antics and infighting of Namibia's bogged-down transitional government. Even the DTA has become so worried over its legitimacy it has started talking about an internal election to prove its support. The move is seen here as an attempt to break away from a "UDI option" — seen by many observers as the chosen path of the transitional government since it was installed by the South African State President a year ago.

Canada
abstains
in UN voteAssociated Press
UNITED NATIONS

Canada abstained from a General Assembly vote urging sanctions against South Africa for its occupation of Namibia, but Canadian UN delegate Charles Svoboda said this does not mean Canada is lessening its support for Namibian independence.

Twenty-three delegations, including that of the United States, abstained from voting on the resolution, which was passed 126-0 by the assembly on Saturday.

Mr. Svoboda said the reasons for the abstention were "technical and procedural" because of Canada's need to maintain neutrality as a member of the group of five countries that drafted an independence plan for Namibia, which South Africa has refused to follow.

The United States succeeded in deleting explicit criticism of itself from the resolution, which passed in amended form.

The amended resolution said the assembly "strongly rejects the (U.S.) policies of 'constructive engagement' and 'linkage,' which have served to encourage the racist regime of South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia."

The "constructive engagement" policy favors quiet diplomacy over coercion in trying to get South Africa to change its policies.

"Linkage" refers to South Africa's position that about 25,000 Cuban troops must be withdrawn from Angola before it grants Namibia independence.

Globe, Sept 22/86

Bon Wicks



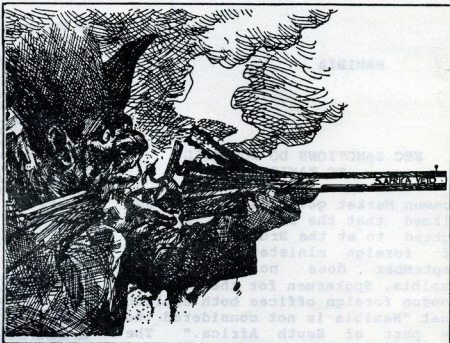
"Couldn't we get rid of apartheid and call it something else?"

cont'd from p.3

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
Of all the ultra-right groups, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) has experienced the most rapid increase in support. Although its policies are extreme even by South African right wing standards, it is drawing substantial sustenance from urban sections of the white population.

The AWB was formed in 1979 and is led by Eugene Terre'blanche, only until recently viewed as the ultimate caricature of Afrikanerdom with his Nazi salutes and swastika emblems. Early this year the AWB formed a para-military organisation called the **Brandwag** (Sentry), ostensibly to assist the police and army.

The call to blood is not only the preserve of the AWB. Another group on the ultra-right which has turned to arms as a solution to the current increase in resistance is a Pretoria-based organisation called the **Movement for the Liberation and Preservation of White South Africa**. The founder, city councillor Piet Rudolph, does not 'condemn violence as such' if the 'freedom of the Afrikaner' is at stake.



Globe Sept 13/86

Anglican primate backs sanctions after 5-day visit to South Africa

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 1986

United Church to sever ties with firms linked to Pretoria

Dioceses urged to sell holdings in firms with South African ties

New York Times Service
NEW YORK

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops has urged Roman Catholic dioceses and institutions to strip themselves of their holdings in companies operating in South Africa or persuade those companies through stockholder resolutions to withdraw business from that country.

"We speak as bishops and pastors of the church whose religious and moral teaching is daily contradicted by apartheid," a statement issued by the conference said.

The recommendation, which the conference will apply to its own holdings, is expected to affect hundreds of millions of dollars in the investment portfolios of the vast network of U.S. Roman Catholic institutions — 184 dioceses, 19,313 parishes, 850 religious communities, 200 colleges and universities and hundreds of hospitals and charitable agencies.

Sister Frances Micek, the con-

ference's director of finance, said the group itself has a stock portfolio of \$75-million, about 30 per cent of which is invested in companies with branches in South Africa. She said no one has ever calculated the far greater value of stock held by all Catholic institutions in the United States.

The recommendation of the conference, following the lead of many cities, universities and religious denominations, is expected to increase pressure on companies to curtail their operations in South Africa.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote of the 45 bishops on the conference's administrative board at its three-day annual meeting in Washington. The administrative board set policy for the conference except for key decisions that are reserved for the annual November meeting of the nation's 300 bishops.

The resolution set May 15 as the deadline by which the South Afri-

can Government would face action by the U.S. Catholic institutions. The resolution suggested that the Pretoria Government could forestall such action by undertaking "significant progress toward the dismantling of the system of apartheid" and entering "into serious and substantial negotiations with legitimate black leaders."

Because national conferences have no clear authority in world church law, their decisions are not binding on individual bishops and their dioceses. But the unanimous recommendation is expected to put strong pressure on most of the country's bishops to act and on many of the nation's 52.6 million Catholics to press for action.

The conference has frequently condemned apartheid and actions of the South African Government. Its officials have also written to members of the Senate expressing support for legislation that would impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

Globe Sept 5/86

Jesse Jackson won't attend Tutu ceremony

Reuter

WASHINGTON

Rev. Jesse Jackson has rejected South Africa's offer of a visa to attend Bishop Desmond Tutu's investiture as archbishop of Cape Town, saying Pretoria had placed unacceptable limits on his visit.

The civil rights leader met South African Ambassador Herbert Beukes for nearly two hours in a bid to have the restrictions eased.

But he told reporters later that he had not succeeded and had decided not to make the trip because of what he called the "extraordinary and excessive conditions" placed on his stay.

The visa would have forced Mr. Jackson to travel to South Africa a day before the Sunday investiture and to leave the next morning. Mr. Jackson, a Baptist minister, would not have been allowed to speak in churches or at rallies or to visit Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed black leader Nelson Mandela.

"To go under those conditions would allow us to be used to put a false face on the reality of apartheid," he said.

"I refuse to go and be part of the South African propaganda machine."

Globe Sept 13/86

Side by side in the jail, freedom is won

Denis Goldberg, a 30-year-old white South African ANC militant when arrested along with Nelson Mandela and others in 1962, was 52 when *Tribune* released. But the decades in apartheid's jails have not shaken his commitment and resolve to the cause of liberation and justice. "I don't think anyone who has been in prison has any regrets about it... not a day of it," he told *Tribune* Acting Editor Tom Morris as he spoke about the intensity and level of the struggle shaking apartheid to its roots. He is on a cross-country speaking tour of Canada sponsored by his organization, the African National Congress (ANC).

I came into a movement that was alive, viable, strong and developing; a liberation movement which knew where it was going.

This is not unrelated to the whole struggle for a new society, for new social and economic relationships, because apartheid is a system designed to exploit workers, not simply as workers, but to super-exploit mainly Black workers, as in a colonial situation. We call this colonialism of a special type where the imperialist power and the common people, in this instance, share a common territory.

And in this special colonial situation, the mass of the people have no political rights. They are the subjects of laws, they do not make laws.

Here the racist state has a separate section devoted simply to administering every facet of the lives of the oppressed, colonized people. That's the situation in South Africa where the primary struggle is for national liberation, and in this system of massive exploitation.

Getting involved

Why would a young white boy from a privileged community get involved in such a struggle? My dad was a trade unionist, originally from England. Both he and my mother were on the Left, took part in trade unionism and the Left generally and the national liberation movement.

My choice when I entered university in 1950 was to get involved or not? Or do I simply enjoy the privileges as a civil engineer?

It took me four years to decide that no matter what the potential cost, I could not live with the thought of what it cost other people for me to enjoy these privileges. It was simply intolerable.

When I became politically active it was like coming home. I could talk freely; I could argue and debate and learn—particularly by learning from comrades, mainly Black comrades, what apartheid really meant to them. I began to understand that it wasn't simply a question of white and Black, but was an ideology used to justify a system of rule which meant exploitation and deprivation.

It was something I'd always known, but now really understood analytically and emotionally. I just had to be involved.

I came into the Congress Alliance through the Congress of Democrats which was the white organization within the Alliance led by the African National Congress.

It was the time of the Call to the Congress of the People. The regime had refused permission for a national convention. The Alliance and some other groups in effect held their own convention by holding literally thousands

upon thousands of meetings—in workplaces, homes, garages; in factories and townships—where people were asked to put forward their demands for a future South Africa.

Tens of thousands of bits of paper came into a central office where comrades sat down to analyze them. Out of that came the Freedom Charter, adopted June 26, 1955 at Kliptown, at the Congress of the People.

I came into the movement during that campaign and worked in Cape Town where I lived. And I must say, that's when life really started. It was exciting, and has been exciting ever since! The Freedom Charter has been the inspiration of the oppressed of South Africa and of progressive whites ever since. It has been our touchstone.

Until We Win

Since coming out of prison, people ask: Why are you still involved? There's a simple answer: I grew up believing that you don't leave jobs undone.

But that's also stated in the Freedom Charter, which starts by saying: *South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and white, and takes the concept of the U.S. Declaration of Independence which says that no government is just without the consent of all the people.*

The Freedom Charter's first demand is that the people shall govern; that there shall be full and equal political rights for all people. It also guarantees the cultural rights of every national group, and their languages, and sets out a series of requirements for a free and democratic South Africa.

And in the statement that there shall be peace and friendship with the peoples of all countries. And then, in a phrase, it says: *These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side, all our lives until they have been won.*

And when I came into the movement, they haven't been won yet. I make that seriously. That's why I'm still involved.

Roots of Apartheid

The growth in the strength of the liberation movement led, of course, to ever growing reaction on the part of the racist regime. When the Afrikaner nationalists came to power, what had previously been called a set of segregationist social practices and laws was intensified in a system of laws which closed the loopholes by which Black people could escape out of white control. They were closed for one purpose: to ensure that white Afrikaners would be able to accumulate capital at a very rapid rate.

The so-called reserves were already overcrowded and unable to sustain the lives of African people. The migrant labor system was a magnificent system of exploitation; wives and children were sustained by the capitalist economy of the reserves, mineworkers were paid simply for their own subsistence, not for their families. In other words, the reserves were subsidizing mining capital.

But the reserves were worked out, the land could not sustain people. The only way to ensure that more Africans would be retained in the reserves was by massive oppression, police control, more oppressive laws—which came to be known as *apartheid*.

By the early 1960s, Afrikaner capitalists were sitting on the throne of monopoly capital together with English-speaking capital. But by now the overcrowding in the reserves and the poverty



GOLDBERG: They didn't let us have newspapers for 16 years. We heard no radio news broadcasts...

created, was producing such contradictions that the very purpose for which the system had been created could no longer sustain itself.

The oppression led to the armed struggle. No avenue of political expression had been left open.

Four Life Terms

It fell to my generation, led by such people as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others to introduce the armed struggle. That's where I had to move to.

In 1963, as a result of a sabotage campaign started at the end of 1961, the regime introduced new legislation called the Sabotage Bill which was to become law in May. It provided for detention for the purpose of interrogation.

My senior comrades told me, "The day that bill becomes law, you're going to be arrested. Whether you break or not, somebody's going to break and you're going to spend an awful long time in prison. You've got three choices: stay in Cape Town and go to prison; stay in Cape Town and go underground; leave the country, get yourself trained, come back if you can."

The first choice didn't appeal. I might have received five or 10 years—there are certain ironies in one's life. The possibilities of going underground in the relatively small white community in Cape Town were not too left.

So, with permission, I left Cape Town and went to Johannesburg for onward travel. There I was asked to stay and put my technical skills as an engineer at the disposal of the people's army (which I was already in) and investigate the production of small arms such as grenades and land mines.

I spent a very hectic six weeks underground in Johannesburg until we were all arrested on a farm in Rivonia. I knew then that the irony was being realized; what might have been five or 10 years, turned out to be four life sentences.

It's pretty what it's like to be in prison? You're shitty. And what's cruddy about it is from leading a life of activity, involvement and excitement; of doing something useful; of feeling one's capacities developing; of deepening one's understanding—you're suddenly cut off.

They didn't let us have newspapers for 16 years. We heard no radio news broadcasts.

And I must say, the moment we were arrested, segregation came into play. There's a white section in prison and a Black section. We would meet during legal consultations, sit in one dock in

court. But the day we were sentenced, our Black comrades were flown to Robben Island near Cape Town and I was taken in Pretoria until they built a prison on Robben Island for white political prisoners. That hurt. We were fighting for the right to be together, and they segregated us.

Our source of news was new prisoners. So when we heard of a white "political" on trial, we'd quip about not knowing whether to wish him acquitted or sentenced. The fact that activity was going on, that people were on trial, was exciting to us. We were greatly encouraged.

22 Long Years

The ANC had been literally smashed because of the Rivonia arrests and massive arrests thereafter. Their system of interrogation and torture didn't prove the skill of the South African police. What it proved was that torture and the threat of death works.

And what do we see today? That a regime which was supremely confident after the Rivonia trials is now in deep crisis. It doesn't know what to do.

The conclusion is the introduction of the armed struggle was justified, it was necessary. We see the results of it, and I don't think anybody who has been in prison has any regrets about that imprisonment—not a day of it.

I was 30 when I was arrested and 52 when I came out; my children were eight and five, they were 30 and 27 when I came out. It was nice to see them again. When I came down the steps of the aircraft, my wife told me later she wondered who this guy was—bald, gold-rimmed spectacles, looks like his father... We embraced, she cried a bit, smiled a bit. She was older, stouter. But it was the same smile, and for me that was enough.

When we were on trial it was decided my wife would leave South Africa, together with the children. That was at the end of 1963. The authorities allowed her to come back to visit me in 1967 and 1971. She was allowed a total of two and one-half hours on each occasion. Great generosity! From 1971 onwards she was refused permission time after time. I didn't see her again until I was released in 1985.

We have to accept that long prison terms do physical damage to people; health is bad in prison. It takes time to overcome the effects of loneliness. For example, now I find that if there are a number of people speaking together, I can't follow simultaneous conversations. But these skills which we take for granted come back again.

A Free People

A recent University of Cape Town study shows that over 83 per cent of those detained today in South Africa under security laws are physically tortured. It omits psychological torture, and there's plenty of that, too.

It's astonishing how the struggle has intensified and broadened geographically. The people know they face death from shooting, face tear gas, face arrests and torture, but they persist. It's a remarkable phenomenon and to share it is a privilege.

It's in the interests of the people of the whole south, southern and central Africa for the apartheid regime to be destroyed, for the powerhouse of South African industry and the skills of her workers to be used as an example of what can be done when people are free.

Charges of detainee abuse mounting in South Africa

BY ALAN COWELL
NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE
JOHANNESBURG

Civil rights monitoring groups, former detainees and physicians are demanding that the South African government say that South Africa's emergency decree has led to harsh conditions of confinement and torture for those held under its provisions.

In interviews conducted over a period of several weeks, individuals in Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other major cities and physicians who have examined former detainees say that the South African government has caused a major increase in the disorder known as post-traumatic stress syndrome.

The bureau of information, the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the South African state of emergency, did not have a detailed reply when asked to comment on the assertions.

In a Telex message, the bureau quoted the police as saying that, "There is no evidence to suggest that there is legal cause for information available to the police" for investigation of the charges of abuse out across the lines of skin color.

For example, Gilly Ntshela, 12, from the same segregated black township near Parry's, 100 kilometers south of Johannesburg. Both Ntshela and his father were members of organizations committed to the overthrow of white rule.

In detention under South Africa's newest emergency decree, he and other detainees were placed over their heads, electrodes attached to their bodies and electric shocks administered during interrogation.

Mike Loeve, 26, a white freelance reporter held for 38 days in Port

Elizabeth and freed this month, said last week that during his detention he was sent to hospital because of a severe headache and that he had suffered since childhood. While he was in the hospital, he said, psychiatrists applied to the needs of an intruder who might last a week, a day or two.

Among the most startling cases, the physician said, was that of a youth held and questioned at gunpoint in a car at the back of an armored vehicle.

The youth was said to have been brought from his experience discharged from the hospital with post-traumatic stress syndrome, the symptoms of which include reduced ability to sleep and episodes in which the victim relives the experience.

Since the emergency was implemented — possibly 1,000 of them used 16 years or younger — have been de-

prisoners is harsh and sometimes arbitrary. A very high proportion of those who have been held in the past are psychologically damaged," said a doctor who has examined freed detainees in a night last week, a day or two.

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Since the emergency was implemented — possibly 1,000 of them used 16 years or younger — have been de-

The authorities have listed the identities of 8,500 detainees it says were held for 30 days or more. In an affidavit before the court, Father Mkhathshwa, who is secretary of the Johannesburg Center for a Free and a Sufficiently Informed and a Sufficiently Informed against apartheid, said he was forced to stand inside from the ward down.

"Confessions and identities are being written up before the detainees," said a spokesman for the Detainees Parents Support Committee. "The detainees are in a pretty poor state of health."

In a letter to Pretoria last month, Rev. Samangiso Mkhathshwa, secretary of the Detainees Parents Support Committee, said he had been forced to stand blindfolded, handcuffed and half-naked during a 30-hour, non-stop inter-

rogation session during which shots were fired behind his head.

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On Nelson Mandela

"I don't think they dare let Mandela die in prison or come out a very sick man. We've seen violence let loose before, but if they were to do that to Mandela, anything that's gone before will look like a children's tea party.

"He has such stature in the eyes of the South African people that Botha would reap a whirlwind if he were to sow that seed.

"Botha has a problem. I know Nelson Mandela will come out of prison and he will say: 'The armed struggle must continue.' And he's the leader. He was Commander-in-Chief of *Umkhonto* We Sizwe."

"And if, as was speculated, they would release him, put him on a plane and fly him to Zambia, if he couldn't get a plane back, I think he'd walk. He's that sort of a man. That's Botha's dilemma."

White South Africa:

"One thing white South Africans must never say is that they didn't know what was happening. Many have deliberately shut their eyes and ears.

"The largest single category of employed Black women is as domestic servants. You can't tell me that white employers don't know that these women have children which they can't by law have with them in the white areas; that they don't know that their servants have children who get ill, and the mother can't be with them; that the servants don't come to work because of the uprisings in the townships.

"They do know. More than that — their husbands and sons are the white soldiers and police who are doing the repressing, the shooting, the killing of children and old people — people of all ages. Do they not talk about it at home?"

On multi-nationals:

"The multi-nationals are required by law to provide protection for their factories in the event of civil unrest. They create their own private armies. These corporations, who say they fight apartheid, pay soldiers of apartheid.

"The corporations make up the pay difference when their white employees are called up for military service. It is not required by law, but they do it. They pay apartheid's soldiers."

"They say they provide housing for Black workers, but by law it must be in Black areas. They say they provide education for Black workers and their families — but it's a Black education. Thus they uphold apartheid laws.

"That's why we say to them: get out. You're part of the problem, if you want to be part of the solution and help us rebuild our country afterwards, you'd better get out now..."

On U.S. policy:

"President Reagan is so concerned with what he calls the 'evil empire' that he'd rather see apartheid continue than take risks about the future. The real independence of southern and central Africa is dependent on the defeat of the apartheid system. That's something Reagan can't bear to see come about.

"Reform is unacceptable. It means taking the same component and re-forming it; not changing, dismantling, rooting out. Apartheid's destruction is all that is acceptable. It can be left, or toned down.

"Reagan is playing for time. They've lost control of the situation. Botha the puppet is off the leash. The liberation movement can't be stopped. Reagan, Thatcher, Kohl and company are seeking a way back in."

On Reforms:

"The fundamental issue is that of full, equal political rights in a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa.

"Federal 'solutions' have been advanced to maintain the *bantustan* system; that those fraudulently-declared states will remain as puppets of the ruling group. That's not acceptable. There will be no leaving power in the hands of those who have destroyed the lives of millions.

"What we're talking about is the transfer of power from the minority group to the people of South Africa — majority rule. That's what democracy is."

On Solidarity:

"It's not enough to be anti-apartheid. It's excellent, but it's not enough. You have to be in support of the liberation movement. And that means the ANC in South Africa, and in Namibia it means the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

"Solidarity means strengthening the liberation movement with political, diplomatic and financial support. The ANC has launched a Freedom in South Africa Fund in Canada with a \$250,000 target in the first year. Give to the fund.

"It means building the strength of the liberation movement by weakening the regime. It means cutting all ties. It means mandatory, comprehensive sanctions."

Sanctions and Black jobs:

"Figures show that up to 50 per cent of Black workers are structurally jobless because of apartheid. Of the 18 to 26 year-old group, 80 per cent have never worked and probably will never work. That's apartheid.

"To talk about lost jobs in the process of destroying the system is to misstate reality by those who have no concern about workers and never did have. For Margaret Thatcher to express concern for workers when British unemployment is running at 13 per cent is disgusting.

"The purpose of such talk is to protect investments."

Voting record on the resolutions on apartheid

		In favour	Against	Abstentions
40/64A	Comprehensive sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa	122	18 *	14
40/64B	Situation in South Africa and assistance to the liberation movements	128	8	18 *
40/64C	World Conference on Sanctions against South Africa	137	6	10 *
40/64D	Public information and public action against apartheid	150 *	0	5
40/64E	Relations between Israel and South Africa	102	20	30 *
40/64F	Programme of work of the Special Committee against Apartheid	141 *	2	12
40/64G	International Convention against Apartheid in Sports	125	0	24 *
40/64H	The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa		Adopted without a vote	
40/64I	Concerted international action for the elimination of apartheid	149 *	2	4

This chart indicates the voting pattern on resolutions on apartheid adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1985. The asterisk indicates the position taken by Canada on each resolution. Canada took a conservative position overall, favouring political gesture rather than substantial action.

Source: UN Centre Against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, Resolutions on Apartheid Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1985, January 1986.

CBC bans program sales to South African TV

Star Oct 2/86

Pretoria delegation at conference breach of accords, Clark admits

Canadian Press

OTTAWA

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark admitted yesterday that Canada committed a breach of the Nassau accord on Commonwealth sanctions against apartheid by allowing a South African delegation to attend an international conference in Vancouver.

Mr. Clark told the Commons the presence of the South African representatives at a railways conference related to Expo 86 was "technically a breach" of the Nassau accords signed by Commonwealth leaders last year.

And he took personal responsibility for the breach, saying the conference had been planned for several years and that he had ordered Transport Canada to withdraw from the meetings.

However, Canadian National Railways, a key participant in the conference, is still in attendance. He said that to order CN to pull out would have caused the collapse of the conference.

"It is a technical breach . . . and I regret that happened," he told the Commons. But he defended Canada's record in fighting apartheid, the policy of racial separation that is causing dissent and racial violence in

South Africa.

Mr. Clark said it is Canadian policy to avoid any action that will tend to politicize UN organizations, so he told the Canadian delegation at the air talks to abstain from the vote on the air-link ban to South Africa.

Canada has already banned direct flights from Canadian points to South Africa, as part of the Commonwealth sanctions package against apartheid.

New Democrat MP Svend Robinson said that allowing the South African delegation into Canada and abstaining from the air-links vote at the ICAO conference "makes a mockery of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's signature on the Nassau accords."

But Mr. Clark said that Canada has been praised by black African states for its stand against apartheid and that few people anywhere "can doubt our commitment against apartheid."

The comment came on a day when Denis Sassou-Nguesso, new president of the Organization of African Unity, met Mr. Mulroney and other officials in Ottawa.

Speaking to reporters later, Mr. Sassou-Nguesso, who is also president of Congo, complimented Canada on its efforts to step up pressure on South Africa to reverse its policy of apartheid.

Ottawa wants offices shut soon by South Africa

OTTAWA (CP) — South Africa's tourism and airline offices in Canada should be closed by Nov. 1, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark says.

Clark announced last week that he would seek the closure "as soon as possible" of the Toronto offices of the South Africa Tourism Board because of a newspaper advertisement promoting a package trip to the race-torn country.

In a release yesterday, he said the government has ordered the closing not only of those offices, but also of South African Airways' operations in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

Clark said he regretted having to order the action, but had no choice because South Africa "chose to challenge" Canada's policy of trying to curtail tourism to the country.

Globe Oct 9/86

86/10/17 SEP, 1986

Japan's trade with S. Africa booming

BY PETER MCGILL
Observer-News Service
TOKYO

"We call it 'measures' not sanctions," explains Shigeki Sumi of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. "We believe what we are doing is to promote change, not destroy the economy, in South Africa."

Since 1977, Japanese companies have been forbidden to make direct investments in South Africa. Japanese banks are directed not to lend to South Africa; South African Airways is not allowed to fly to Japan; and all sporting and cultural exchanges are prohibited. Diplomatic relations are restricted to the consular level.

Yet, in the period since "measures" were imposed by Tokyo, two-way trade has doubled to \$4.42-billion (U.S.) last year (plus an additional \$28-million with occupied Namibia), making Japan the second most important trading partner for South Africa after the United States.

Japanese car makers got around the direct investment barrier by having domestically owned South African companies assemble kits exported from Japan. Toyota (South Africa) Ltd., for instance, is "100 per cent" domestically owned, but has Toyota engineers supervising assembly kits that have captured 30 per cent of the South African car market.

Toyota (S.A.) recently sponsored the Springbok rugby team against the visiting rebel New Zealanders. "We regard it as an honor to see our trademark on the Springbok rugby jersey," said a defiant local Toyota manager, Colin Adcock.

The local assembler of Nissan Motor Co. Ltd., with a 12 per cent share of the South African car market, says its mainly black production works on an average of \$1.20 an hour, less than a tenth the hourly rate paid to Nissan's factory workers in Japan (\$13.5).

South Africa's "consulate" in Tokyo functions as a de facto embassy. The "consul-general" is a former South African ambassador to Switzerland and carries ambassadorial rank within the Foreign Service.

Despite the lack of landing rights, SAA has its own Tokyo office, which offers popular holiday packages for Japanese tours leaving Taipei and Hong Kong.

Unlike other Asians, Japanese residents in South Africa are exempt from apartheid laws under the apartheid policy and allowed to live in "white" neighborhoods.

Several Japanese diplomats in South Africa were found to be members of a "Springbok" club promoting mutual friendship. A Japanese consul was reprimanded for writing in its magazine that the only blacks who seek the vote are those advocating "violent revolution," and that the West should offer "constructive co-operation" with Pretoria to prevent "the annihilation of white society."

To the embarrassment of Japan's Foreign Ministry, several leading lights in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party belong to the "Japan-South Africa Parliamentary Friendship League," which advocates full diplomatic relations. The league is chaired by Susumu Nakai, who was given the post of senior adviser in last week's cabinet reshuffle.

"Just as crude oil from the Middle East is

essential for the Japanese economy, based on the export of high-technology goods, so are the rare metals imported from South Africa," the league's charter says.

Japan has started stockpiling rare metals but still frets that it has only 22 days' supply, compared with the three years' supply held by the United States. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry is concerned that if the U.S. Congress forces the sanctions issue, and Japan follows suit, President P. W. Botha may cut off the supply of "strategic" metals such as chromium (South Africa supplies 57 per cent of Japan's needs) and vanadium, vital in high-technology electronics as a superconductor (72 per cent dependency on South Africa).

"If South Africa takes counter-measures against some industrialized countries, we will be in a very serious situation," said Tazuo Nishikawa of MITI.

Japan has already started talks with Britain, the European Community and the United States on possible sanctions and was "promised prior negotiations" before any are implemented, Mr. Sumi said. "If sanctions are imposed, we should do it in concert. He stresses, however, that sanctions should be tailored to each country's "trading priorities."

The Government's biggest asset in mapping out policy toward South Africa is public apathy toward a distant country with no ethnic or cultural ties to Japan. The Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee has only 60 active members, who form the bulk of tiny demonstrations in Tokyo. "I think, little by little, the Japanese are learning about apartheid," said teacher Yoji Kambayashi, "but it's hard getting there."

Globe, Aug 14/86

Globe, Sept 23/86

Oil embargo proves costly to S. Africa

Financial Times

The oil embargo is costing South Africa \$2.3-billion (U.S.) a year, says a report published by the Shipping Research Bureau, a Dutch-based anti-apartheid group.

More than half of this cost is the result of attempts by South Africa to reduce dependence on imported oil by converting coal into liquid products. This involves an extra \$1.3-billion being spent a year.

In addition, South Africa pays a premium to persuade companies to break the embargo, which is estimated by the bureau to cost about \$300-million a year. The premium is now about \$2 a barrel, compared with about \$4 a barrel in 1980.

The report traces the movements of oil tankers sailing to South Africa in 1983 and 1984. It identifies about 33 tankers that delivered oil to South Africa during that period, supplying about 15.5 million metric tons of oil, equal to more than half of South Africa's oil import needs during the period.

The report also gives detailed information on the individual traders who sold the oil, as well as the identity of the tankers.

It concludes that more than half of the tankers that delivered oil during the period were Norwegian-owned. In volume terms, a third of the crude oil imports in the period came on Norwegian ships, some of which travelled "virtually in shuttle traffic between the Persian Gulf and Durban," the report says.

Most of the tankers' documents said they were bound for Singapore, America; the facts about their movements were passed to the bureau by crew members and port workers—in particular by Norwegian and Danish seamen.

In more than 60 of the 83 cases, the oil was loaded into the tankers in the Persian Gulf, in particular, from Saudi Arabia, Oman and the United Arab Emirates, with most of the remaining cargoes originating in Brunei.

The report says it is becoming increasingly difficult to get good information about which of the Gulf states the cargoes have come from, because of the increasing sophistication of the shipping companies in disguising their movements.

In nearly all of the cases mentioned, the bureau has failed to identify the oil companies involved. However, of the 22 cargoes that it has traced, 11 were allegedly sold by Marimpex of West Germany and 8 by Transworld Oil of Bermuda.

Recent research by the bureau shows that South Africa continues to circumvent the oil embargo. In the first three months of this year, South Africa purchases of crude oil was particularly heavy and may have exceeded normal purchases by about 1 million tons.

However, the report disputes that South Africa has been building up its stockpile to historically high levels to prepare itself for possible sanctions. It argues that recent purchases have led to a regular decline in stocks from about 17 million to 18 million tons at the end of last year.

It notes that South Africa is still well below its 1983 levels, which were sufficient to meet its supply—about five times higher than the stocks of other industrialized countries.

Star, Aug 28/86

California cuts stake in South Africa arms

LOS ANGELES (AP-Special) — In the largest U.S. divestiture of South Africa-connected holdings, the California Legislature yesterday approved a four-year withdrawal of as much as \$11.4 billion invested in companies doing business in the racially divided nation.

The assembly's 56-to-28 vote sends Gov. George Deukmejian the largest divestiture package by far in a national campaign that has reached 19 states and 65 cities, the Washington Post reports.

In South Africa, the government today raised the official death toll to 21 from Tuesday's rioting in the black township of Soweto. Another 98 people were injured, the Bureau for Information reported.

The bureau said police, who fired to "protect life and property" during the street fighting, shot and killed all but one of the victims.

Minor skirmishes between police and youths were reported last night in Soweto, was reported quiet today.

"This was one of the darkest days in our history," said the Rev. Frank Chikane, deputy president of the Soviet-Guide Association.

Other anti-apartheid leaders said up to 30 were killed and said they were appalled by the "cold-blooded massacre."

The action of the California legislation approximately doubles the financial impact of a U.S. effort to persuade South Africa's white minority government to cede power to its black majority or risk economic collapse.

The U.S. House of Representatives and Senate have passed bills that would impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

However, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who imposed limited sanctions last year to head off more restrictive action by Congress, has threatened to veto new sanctions legislation. The House bill, the tougher of the two, calls for total divestiture.

Deukmejian, a Republican whose unexpected reversal on the divestiture issue helped bring about yesterday's vote, is expected to sign the California bill soon.

The bill immediately bars the state from making new investments in companies linked to South Africa, but gives firms already on the state's investment list a year to cut their ties with the white-ruled nation.

The remaining South Africa-connected investments are to be sold during the following three years, at least one-third each year, with total divestiture being completed by Jan. 1, 1991.

RIGHTER THAN RIGHT

*'Our people have their own guns,
And they know how to use them.'*

— Eugene Terre'blanche

The deepening economic crisis in South Africa and the loss of control by the police and army in the townships is leading larger numbers of whites to seek solutions from parties to the right of the ruling National Party. The rise to prominence of the media sensation Eugene Terre'blanche and the activities of his neo-Nazi followers pose the question of the role played by ultra right-wing movements in white South African politics and their relationship to the police and army.

The ultra-right today cannot be seen in the simplistic terms of Afrikaner Nationalism. Recent months have seen a massive upsurge in white 'vigilante' activity, and increasing support for extra-parliamentary groups from urban English speakers besides the support from the usual stamping grounds of the Pletland (rural areas).

To place this enthusiastic flirting with fascism into context it is instructive to examine the history of white South African politics, focusing on the recurrent feature of extremist right wing groups being shed off as the ruling party shifts its power base.

Early History

In the years leading up to the Second World War, Afrikaners were economically alienated by the increasing association of Hertzog's ruling United Party (UP) with the industrial monopolies and the mining houses. Disenchanted Afrikaners then formed the 'Purified' National Party in 1934. Led by D F Malan, it grew as agricultural interest groups shifted allegiance from the UP. In the wake of the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, culminating in the erection of the Voortrekker Monument, the fledgling National Party assumed the role to which it still clings — that of the guardian of Afrikaner Nationalism.

As a result of the Smuts government's support for the Allies during the Second World War, the pro-Nazi **Ossawa-Brandwag** arose in 1939. It attempted to sabotage the war effort by blowing up electricity pylons and railway lines, leading to the internment of its leaders, B J Vorster among them. P W Botha was a member of both until Malan, fearing increasing support for the Brandwag, prohibited dual membership.

In 1948 the National Party came to power. Under the banner of Afrikaner Nationalism it put into operation its schemes of apartheid, designed to satisfy the labour needs of the mines, the urban industrialists and most importantly, Afrikaner agriculture, and to promote Afrikaner and white advancement at the expense of blacks.

For 20 years the National Party held together a vast array of widely disparate Afrikaner economic interests, including small farmers, businessmen and white workers. However, by the mid 1960s the power-base of the Na-



Fervent right-winger

tionists had shifted to the large monopoly interests, leading to a split between the **verligtes**, who favoured reforms, and the **verkrampes** who insisted on the traditions of grand apartheid. The outcome was the formation of the **Herstigse Nasionale Party (HNP)**.

The HNP was formed in 1969 by a small breakaway group of Nationalist MPs led by Albert Hertzog, a senior Broederbond member. Today the party is led by Jaap Marais and has as its policy an undiluted Verwoerdian apartheid, as outlined in the 1966 Nationalist Party Manifesto — 'the true Afrikaner Nationalism of Strijdom and Verwoerd'.

The HNP was without a seat in parliament for 16 years, until the general secretary, Louis Stofberg took the Sasolburg by-election in November last year. Instead of capturing a seat in the rural heart of its power base, the HNP won a by-election in the apex of the vast industrial complex of the Vaal triangle, indicating growing urban support for the ultra-right.

The breakaway of the HNP in 1969 did not ease the split between the **verligtes** and the **verkrampes**, especially in the wake of the Soweto upheavals. The rift widened as the government struggled to meet the demands of the business sector, disenchanting by the recession of the mid 1970s, and to contain the rising mass struggle.

Ultra-Right Alliances

Irregularities in the Department of Information led to the 'Muldergate' incident and the expulsion of Connie Mulder who promptly formed the **National Conservative Party**. The **verkrampes** then grouped around cabinet minister Andries Treurnicht. Increasing pressure by the business sector was placed on Botha

The article below is reprinted in two parts from **Resister**, Journal of the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR), Aug/Sept 1986, No. 45. In the next issue of the CCSA News Bulletin the rise of Vigilante Groups and the advent of both Africans and English ultra-right groups is discussed.

to expel Treurnicht who became known as 'Dr No' for his consistent opposition to Botha's policy of 'Total Strategy' which called for economic and political reforms to ensure the survival of apartheid.

Treurnicht and 16 others were eventually expelled from the National Party. With Mulder's participation and a dissident group of Broederbonders called **Aksie Eie Toekoms** (Action Own Future), Treurnicht formed the **Conservative Party (CP)** in 1981.

Although to many, the CP and the HNP are indistinguishable in policy, the CP bases its policy on the National Party Manifesto of 1977 and accepts a number of petty reforms, racially mixed sport, for example. Although the HNP and the CP have been unable to reach political consensus, the two parties have agreed to cooperate to oppose the National Party in future elections.

The Broederbond

In recent months, however, it has been the extra-parliamentary groups which have been in the forefront of media focus on the ultra-right wing. A discussion of these groups would be incomplete without including an examination of the **Afrikaner Broederbond**.

It was formed in 1918 primarily to promote Afrikaans as a language and to preserve Afrikaner culture. In the pre-war years it emerged as a powerful defining force of Afrikaner Nationalism and laid much of the ground-work for the National Party victory in 1948. Its role became primarily that of unstinting support for the NP and its interests, right through to the implementation of Botha's 'Total Strategy'.

Dissatisfaction within the Broederbond over government policies grew in the early 1980s and in an attempt to deflect opposition, Botha appointed Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Broederbond chairman, to the Cabinet. The move back-fired and control of the Broederbond went to the opponents of Botha with the appointment of the ultra-rightist, Dr Carol Boshoff, as chairman.

Internal struggles did not end there. The breakaway of the CP from the Nationalists led to the dissident Broederbonders forming **Aksie Eie Toekoms** which subsequently merged with the Conservative Party. Boshoff now chairs the **Afrikaner Volkswag** (People's Guard), a group given to the wearing of Voortrekker costume and the rhetoric of the Great Trek.

ICAAAN

ICAAAN is the InterCampus Anti-Apartheid Network. It arose out of an anti-apartheid conference for student activists held in November 1985 and hosted by the U of T Divestment Committee and CCSA. The very fruitful exchange of ideas and experiences in the workshops and general sessions led many participants to the conclusion that some form of ongoing exchange of information would improve anti-apartheid activism on campuses. At a subsequent meeting, campus activists from both Colleges and Universities formed ICAAN. ICAAN, as such, has no structure and no executive body although a membership fee of \$5.00 is requested in order to defray costs. The network disseminates samples of anti-apartheid literature and information on events. If you wish to have more information on ICAAN, contact CCSA through its mailing address. If you are a student engaged in anti-apartheid activities or just interested in becoming active, make the most of ICAAN.

P.S.

CCSA has available a very useful bibliography of resources on Southern Africa which was originally compiled for the November 1985 campus conference. If you would like a copy, contact CCSA at our mailing address.

DIVESTMENT DRIVE AT YORK

In September 1985, the York Student Movement Against Apartheid enlisted the support of the executives of all campus unions to form the York Divestment Committee. Its purpose is to campaign for the divestment of pension funds from South African owned companies and companies doing business in South Africa.

The organizing drive was swift and exhilarating. Much support was shown for a motion to divest and the President of the University publicly supported it.

In February 1986, the first real

obstacle in the campaign was raised. Trustees appointed by the York Administration suggested to the union appointed trustees that divestment could be viewed as a breach of their duty to pension beneficiaries. Lawyers for the University informed the trustees that they could be held personally liable for losses to the fund and they were warned that divestment would be viewed as a breach of their duty to the pension beneficiaries. With this advice in hand, the trustees voted in May 1986 against the motion to divest. They instead adopted motions to monitor the "social responsibility" of South African related companies and to encourage other bodies to establish scholarships for Black South Africans to study at the University.

In September, one year after the start of the campaign, YDC regrouped to campaign against the decision of trustees during the summer break. Legal opinions were sought which undermined the advice given to the trustees by lawyers of the University. Independent investment advice was sought and a report is now pending. With these "expert" investment and legal opinions in hand, YDC will attempt to force a reconsideration of the motion. Also, since the trustees have done nothing in the past six months to implement their substitute motion, YDC hopes to embarrass them into taking a firmer stand on the issue. A letter writing campaign is also being used to inform the trustees of students' and staff members' support for divestment. It will be curious if the York Board of Trustees remains opposed to divestment despite the measures being taken by the Canadian government and the exodus of foreign capital from South Africa. It will be peculiar indeed if the trustees refuse to divest in this climate of fear that a single beneficiary, opposed to divestment, might step forward and claim a right to profit from Apartheid!

Samora Machel

Canadians are shocked and dismayed at the sudden death of Mozambique President Samora Machel, in a plane crash October 19th. The crash occurred under mysterious circumstances in a remote corner of South Africa as Machel and a number of his government officials were flying home after attending a meeting in Zambia with other leaders of Front Line states.

President Machel has been far and away the dominant political figure in Mozambique since his movement triumphed over Portuguese colonialists in 1975. He will greatly missed by his comrades and people. The timing of this event could hardly have been worse for Mozambique. Two weeks before the crash, the South African government

announced that it would expel all Mozambique nationals working in South Africa. This would be a crippling blow to the country, together with the debilitating campaign of sabotage waged by the South African backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). MNR representatives are soon to visit the U.S. seeking funds for their counter-revolutionary activities. Suspicions, therefore, seem justified at least that Machel was assassinated by South African agents in order to maximize instability in Mozambique at a crucial moment.

CCSA extends its condolences to the Machel family and friends and to the people of Mozambique. A Luta Continua!

C.C.S.A.

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