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national congress south africa

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Oct/Nov/Dec 1973



**FREE
MANDELA
and all
Political
Prisoners
of
Apartheid!**

SECHABA

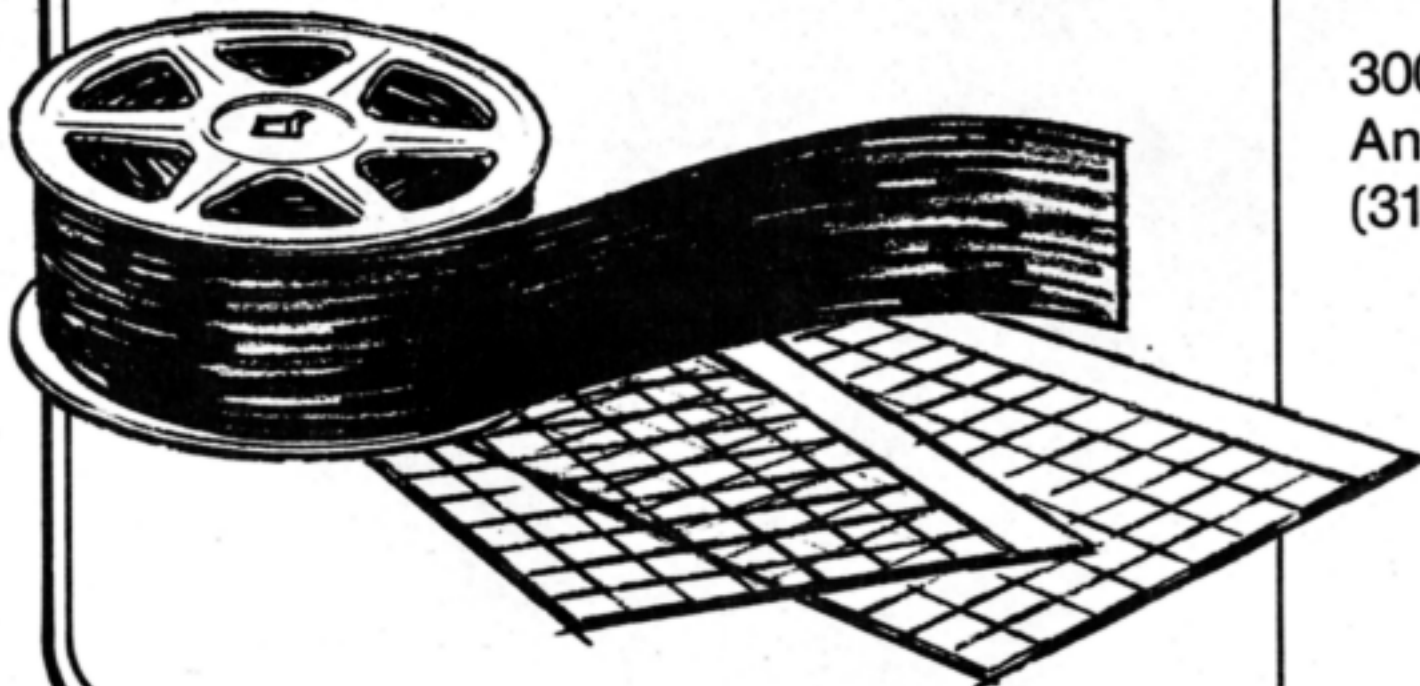
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FREE PRISONERS OF APARTHEID

July 11th, 1973 marked the passage of 10 years since the leadership of the South African Liberation Movement was arrested at Rivonia. Three months later the United Nations General Assembly by 106 votes to 1 (South Africa) requested the South African government to abandon the arbitrary trial of this leadership and to "grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid".

Despite numerous resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly the Pretoria regime continues to imprison, restrict and detain thousands of South Africans of every race. These political prisoners represent in the words of our late President General Chief Lutuli "the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; . . . (men whose) policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene".

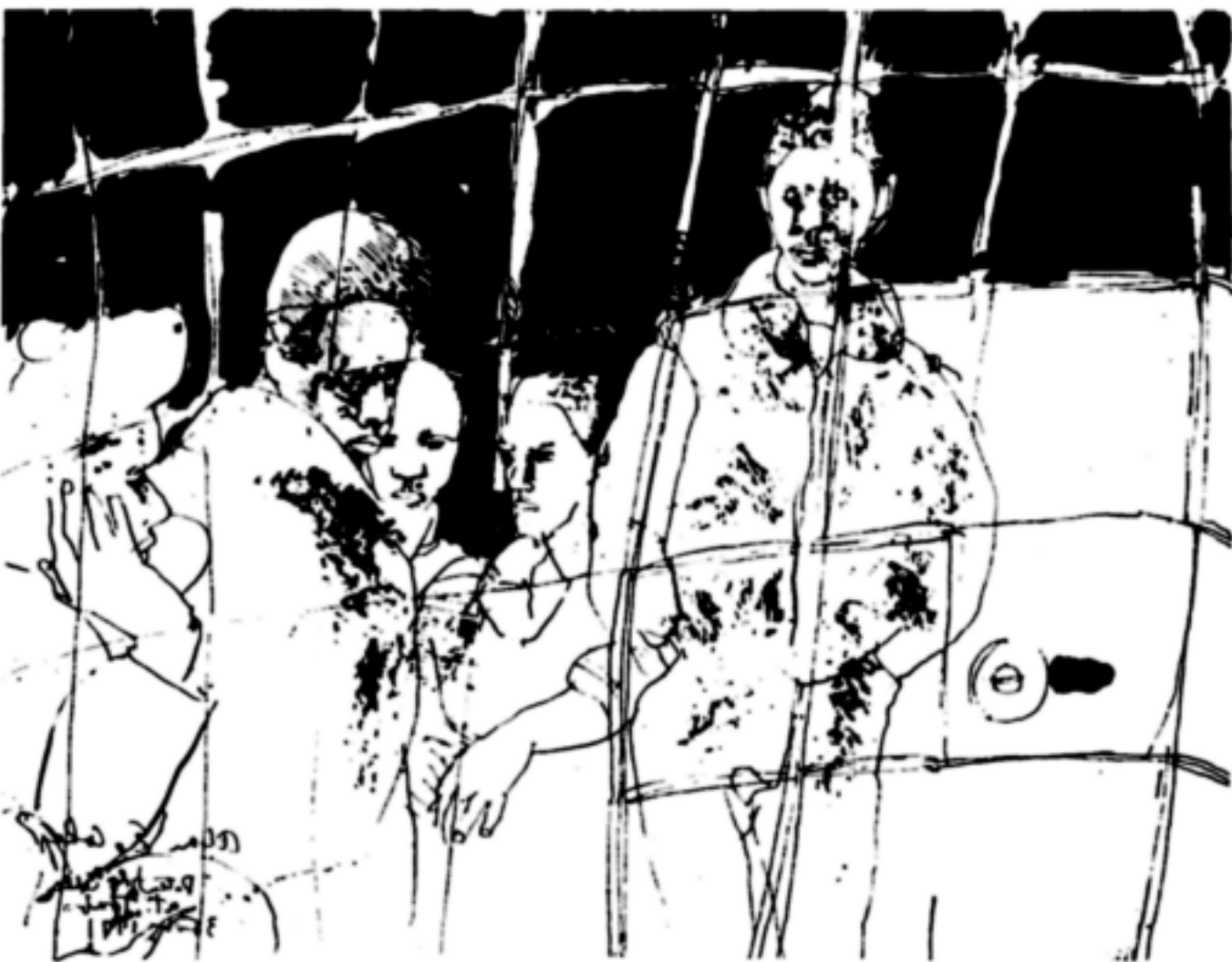
Brotherhood, humanity, justice and reason have indeed departed from apartheid South Africa. The pursuit of these ideals has been made a crime and those who seek justice search in vain. Men of the calibre of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada who as the true representatives of their people should be engaged in helping to create a new world order, are instead senten-

ced to life imprisonment and spend their days breaking stones in the bleakness of Robben Island.

Many others, trade unionists like Billy Nair, Raymond Mhlaba, Queens Councillors of the renown of Bram Fisher, writers, professors, housewives, miners, artisans have been victimised for their unreserved opposition to apartheid. They have been penalised in so many ways and under so many laws that an accurate assessment of their numbers

is impossible, but that they number many thousands is undeniable.

Cases of torture, assault and death in South African prisons are well documented as are the inhuman conditions in which detainees are held. Those who have been sentenced are not even accorded the internationally accepted status of political prisoners and are branded criminals and classified in the lowest category D together with "the type of prisoner with a pre-





leaders have also been banned and restricted without charge or trial.

FOR ALL THESE PRISONERS OF APARTHEID THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS A SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITY for they have been victimised for upholding the very principles, aspirations and rights embodied in the United Nations Charter and Declaration of Human Rights. Not only have Vorster's policemen no authority to imprison and restrict these people but by so doing the Pretoria regime manifests its contempt for the international community and its ideals. The contempt is aggravated and the illegality compounded by the detention of Namibians in South Africa and Namibia and by the imprisonment of South African freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. The ANC, therefore, calls for a world-wide campaign to bring about the release of all the prisoners of apartheid, at the same time as greater efforts are made to continue the isolation of the Vorster regime and the enforcement of United Nations resolutions.

This call must not be understood to mean that the ANC will not continue to pursue relentlessly the struggle to liberate all of South Africa. This battle will be fought to ultimate victory.

Brand South Africa

The African National Congress accepts that our struggle must continue and will entail hardship, imprisonment and death. As our leader Nelson Mandela stated in open court this is the price we are prepared to pay.

But that is not to say that when it concerns the prisoners of apartheid the world community needs stand by and like an impartial auditor make tally and write off the price of freedom in South Africa. For it is in large measure because of the failure of the world community to take decisive and meaningful action that South Africa is able to continue to exact this price from those who seek freedom. If the world is to make any claim to have moved forward from anarchy and barbarity towards a world order based on justice and equality then it can no longer afford the Pretoria regime the protection of international legality. Rather that regime must be branded the outcast that it is.

IT IS TO THOSE WHO SEEK TO BRING ABOUT BROTHERHOOD, JUSTICE AND FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA, THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST AFFORD PROTECTION AND EXTEND LEGALITY.

vious record and/or conviction of serious crime of a daring or aggressive nature or other aggravating circumstances such as conviction for rape, robbery or violating in one form or another or participating during any period of imprisonment in a daring escape, or other gang activities involving knife assaults or incitement thereto". Unlike all other prisoners they receive no remission or reconsideration of sentences and life sentence can only end with death.

Released and House Arrested

Those who are released after completion of sentence are frequently placed under house arrest, or banished to remote areas and/or banned.

Indris Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhai and Reg Vandayer who completed a 10 year sentence on Robben Island recently were immediately placed under house arrest and banned. Within the last few months, various student

Two of the leaders of South Africa, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are serving life imprisonment, for whose release a world-wide campaign has been launched





Other leaders who are also serving life imprisonment in SA jails are from left to right, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Denis Goldberg and Bram Fisher

Challenge To Pretoria Regime

AN ANC Statement to the United Nations Challenging the Status of the Vorster Regime to Represent South Africa

Today on South Africa Freedom Day, 25 years after the installation of the apartheid regime and 54 years after the African people first appealed to the international community at Versailles, the African National Congress calls upon members of the United Nations to reassess the status of the regime in Pretoria:

- To consider whether it may validly claim to represent the people of South Africa;
- To examine whether by its failure to live up to the principles for which the United Nations was founded, by its continued defiance of the very basic aspirations of mankind, it has the right to be granted legality under international law;

To judge whether its failure to comply with specific resolutions of the U.N. Security Council and General Assembly, its flouting of rulings of the International Court of Justice, its aggression across its borders do not now require that this regime be refused the protection of the international community and be declared an outcast.

1. Over the centuries many documents have testified to the fact that no government based on tyranny can claim to be recognised by its own

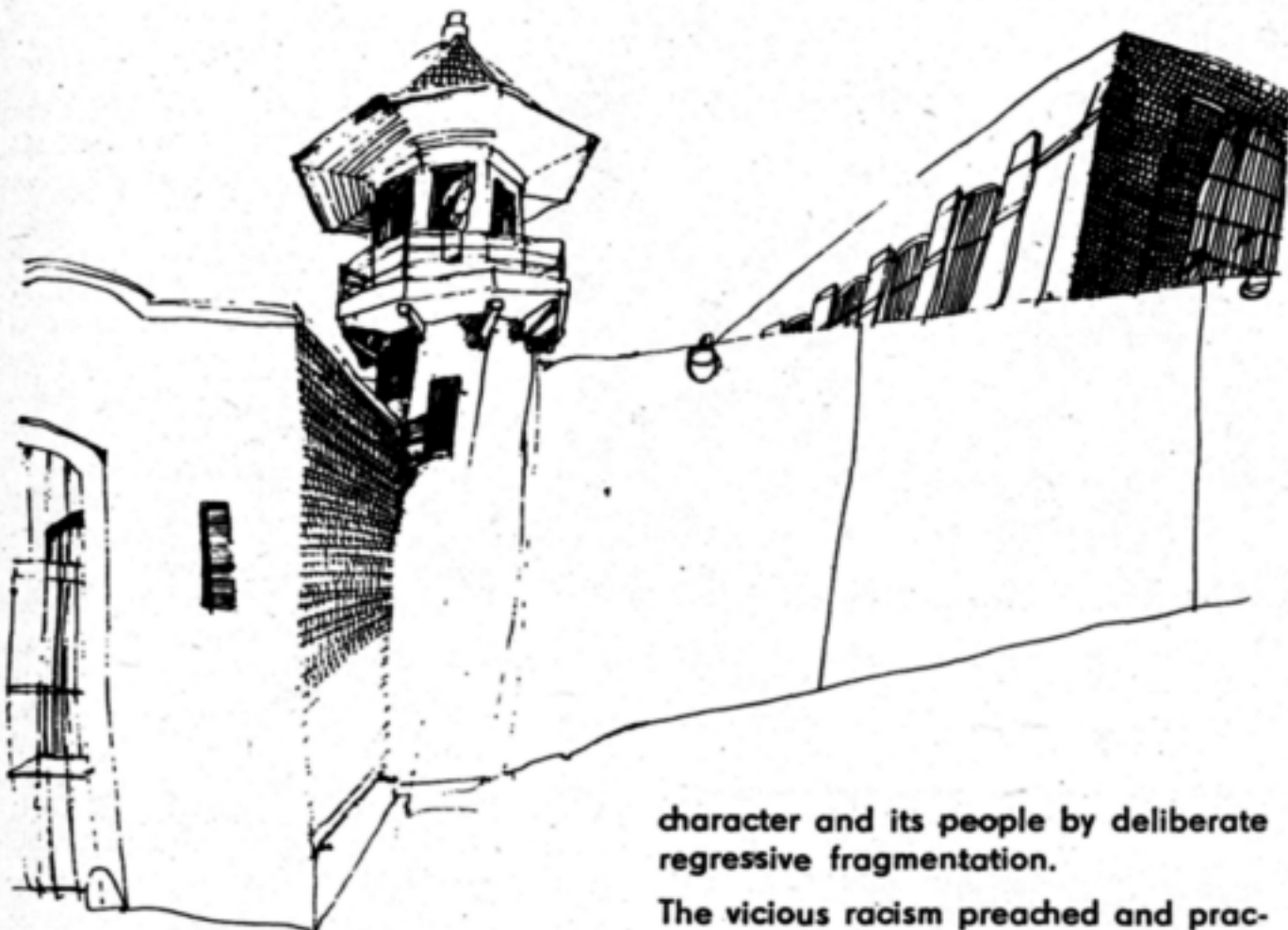
people or by humankind (the United States Declaration of Independence). The major constitutional document purporting to legitimise the present regime, namely the Republic of South Africa Act 1961 expressly entrusts all sovereign power in South Africa to a Legislature constituted by law of persons of European descent only. The vestigial rights of black South Africans to participate in elections to Parliament have been entirely eliminated. It has been a matter of pride to the authorities that the latest rounds of election to Parliament have involved white voters only. The Vorster regime is accordingly responsible both in theory and practice **only** to the white parliament and represents only this small segment of South Africa.

By treating the majority of South Africans not as citizens but as rightless aliens in the country of their birth, the Vorster regime is denying itself any lawful authority to act in the name of the majority. It may demand obedience on the basis of naked force, but cannot claim allegiance on the basis of lawful authority.

2. The policies of the Vorster regime as explicitly expressed in its laws and openly enforced in its courts are avowedly racist and involve clear and systematic breaches of the United Nations Charter. As long ago as 1952 the General Assembly adopted

a resolution referring to South Africa – which declared that in a multi-racial society, harmony and respect for human rights and freedoms and the peaceful development of a unified community were best assured when patterns of legislation and practice were directed to ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or colour; economic, social, cultural and political participation of all racial groups should be on a basis of equality. The resolution (616BV11) affirmed that the governmental policies of a member state, namely South Africa, which were not directed towards these goals but were designed to perpetuate or increase discrimination, were inconsistent with the pledges of Members under Article 56 of the Charter.

In the years that have followed every single organ of the United Nations has found it necessary to reiterate that apartheid was inconsistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and international legal obligations. Moreover the practice of racial discrimination and apartheid have been expressly outlawed by a number of almost universally accepted legal documents setting out standards of conduct and establishing new and binding international legal rules. The minority regime in South Africa has in fact through its legislation contravened every single article in the Declaration of Human Rights, and the State Parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination expressly stated that they "particularly condemn racial segregation and apartheid" (Article 3).



3. South Africa has systematically flouted every resolution of the United Nations arising from its policies of Apartheid. What is more, far from desisting she has aggressively pursued her policies and increased her repression of the African people.

Further in defiance of the international community:

- South Africa today illegally occupies and administers Namibia.
- South Africa is the major instrument in the evasion of United Nations sanctions against the illegal Smith regime and the main support of its economy.
- South Africa provides support and sustenance to the Portuguese government in its continued defiance of United Nations resolutions on decolonisation and the right to self determination of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

4. South Africa is in violation of the United Nations Convention on Genocide: which defines genocide as the "committing of certain acts with intent to destroy wholly or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such".

The entire policy of apartheid is by its own definition aimed at destroying the South African nation by denying its national multi-racial and essentially African identity and weakening its

character and its people by deliberate regressive fragmentation.

The vicious racism preached and practised by the ruling minority, the indoctrination of children in schools, the youth and grown men and women in every walk of life is breeding hatred, suspicion and fear. The massive and relentless dispossession of peoples coupled with the denial of elementary rights on the grounds of race have established all the pre-conditions of genocide. The applications of apartheid have created the pre-conditions, and its ideology and manifestations establish the intent to commit genocide. The right of the African people to live together as family units is denied by the apartheid regime – wives are separated from husbands, whilst children may not live with their mothers. Even the taxation system does not recognise wives or children as dependents of African workers. Nearly 9/10ths of the surface area of South Africa has been appropriated by law for whites only, as has 70 % of the wealth of the country, with not unexpected consequences for the health and well being of our people. Is it genocide only when one starts to put children in gas ovens? Is it not equally extermination if you deliberately create conditions in which more than 50 % of African children in one reserve in South Africa die before reaching the age of 5?

5. Over the years in attempting to defend its posture of defiance of universally held concepts of equality and justice, South Africa has not hesitated to commit aggression, and is

now a threat to the peace of Africa and the world. The threat arises not merely from the fact that apartheid is a crime against humanity, and the deliberate glorification of racism and fanatic maintenance of white domination is a serious provocation to all the peoples of the world who have suffered or been witness to the practices of herren-volkism and colonialism. The threat arises because the imperatives of the South African economy impel South Africa along the path of expansion. South Africa is an intrinsic part of the imperialist world but it now needs to expand in its own right. Its economy based on the cheap labour pool created by the apartheid system, now requires the export of capital and needs new expanding markets outside its borders. If it is to survive as it is, South Africa needs to expand, and unless stopped will do so, either by extending its sphere of influence through neo-colonial trade and aid agreements or by direct aggression.

The continued South African presence in Namibia, the extension of her military "frontier" to the Zambesi, her military advice and assistance to the Portuguese armies in Angola and Mozambique, the political military threats and aggression against Zambia and Tanzania, as well as the attempts to woo African states and break out of its isolation all bear witness to the imperative need to expand.

South Africa can no longer be considered just as a problem of racism or apartheid. It now has the need, the intent and the military potential to commit aggression, and indeed has done so. South Africa is unquestionably a threat to the peace and security of a very wide area in the southern hemisphere and must be recognised as such at the international and diplomatic conference tables. Urgent action by the Security Council under Chapter VII Article 39 is called for.

An examination of these matters which we have raised here only in outline places upon the international community a responsibility to act, from such a recognition and branding of the South African regime definite action must follow.

(We regret delay in publishing this statement due to pressure on space in recent issues of SECHABA – Ed.)

- **More strikes by Black workers**
- **Rising Black unemployment**
- **White-led Trade Union Council belatedly tries to woo Black workers**
- **Ruthless exploitation of Black workers continue**

The South African and foreign business community suffered a period of acute embarrassment early this year when the gigantic strike wave (See Sedaba Vol. 7 Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) caught them with their starvation wages showing. And of all those who came out of it badly, none suffered greater exposure and embarrassment than the Frame Group.

Indeed the name of Phillip Frame, the head of the company, became a symbol of those events; a byword for exploitation and disgusting labour practices. And for other businessmen it became a symbolic warning of how one's reputation could be damaged if one is caught engaging in such practices.

All of which, one would have thought, would have been sufficient to teach employers a lasting lesson.

But not a bit of it. The Frame Group unrepentant and in full public view, is not only still paying workers at its Wentex (Durban) blanket factory well below the poverty datum line but engaging in clear-cut victimisation to boot.

Faced with a strike by its dissatisfied Black workers the company resorted to the most primitive of responses: a lock out. It fired all its striking workers, then told them they could re-apply for their jobs – during which process it weeded out those it regarded as "agitators". Fifty were purged, 10 of them members of the works committee – the government recognised body which is supposed to negotiate on behalf of the workers.

TUCSA Vacillates

When the matter of the treatment of the workers by the Frame Group came up at the National Conference of the White-led South African Trade Union Council (TUCSA), which fortuitously was meeting in Durban during the strike, the leadership dilly-dallied and almost refused to take a straight decision to come to the aid of the dismissed workers. This, despite the fact that TUCSA was discussing the vital

question of organising African Trade Unions under its own aegis.

"If we go to war with him (Frame), we must be sure we can win," Arthur Grobbelaar, TUCSA's general Secretary is reported to have stated.

However, the whole tone of the leadership changed by the dramatic intervention of a young Black trade unionist, David Davis, who was not a delegate but merely an observer at the conference.

Davis reduced the conference to stunned silence by praising the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) – the non-racial Trade Union federation whose main leaders are either in jail, banned or in forced exile.

He accused the TUCSA leadership of having "dirty hands". Delegates remembering their 1968 decision of kicking out African unions from their organisation were clearly uncomfortable. Reporting on the speech a Rand Daily Mail correspondent said: "David spoke with a headiness, forthrightness and sincerity bred in a student environment which can afford to treat (TUCSA's – Ed.) mere political considerations with contempt."

No doubt stung by the scathing attack by Davis and the growing disenchantment of Indian and Coloured unions represented at the conference, the leadership after two days of deliberations decided to adopt a resolution to do battle with the Frame Group over their handling of the works committees and Black wages in general.

Not Unique

The attitude of the Frame Group is indeed not unique. It may be the extreme case, the caricature, but it remains symbolic of the times – of the general failure of employers in general to take in the stark lessons of the recent strike wave.

A few days before the strike of the textile workers at Wentex, workers at the Raleigh cycle works near Springs in the Transvaal, accused the company of firing them for distributing literature

about the works committees. The matter was resolved the night before a workers' application for relief was to be heard in court.

The government which had in the first place encouraged the formation of works committees when it was faced with a barrage of demands for the recognition of African trade unions, was the first to come to the aid of Frame during the strike. Police with dogs and the Security force brutally repressed the strike and arrested members of the works committee.

We have repeatedly stated that works committees are inadequate and that proper African trade unions with full recognition are the only answer to the growing discontent among the Black working class. Works committees, by the very nature of their appointment – made up only of workers in a given factory – are always at the mercy of their employers should they want to truly represent their fellow workers.

This assessment has been proved absolutely true in the case of the Wentex workers. Of the 500 involved in the strike 50 were dismissed – 9 of them members of the works committee, one trade union leader and a shop steward. Simultaneously, the police are reported to be investigating allegations of assault and intimidation. Whether the investigations concern the 11 officials, the dismissed workers or others is not known. But it does not matter: it is irrelevant to the fact that those denied re-employment include workers who have proved their zealously on behalf of their colleagues,

Late News

Since writing the above, we learn that two members of the works committee and another worker have been arrested by the police on unspecified charges. Earlier security police who had been at the factory gates during the strike were thwarted in their attempt to arrest a worker by a group of angry strikers who took the wanted man away.

Attempts to make the arrest later with armed members of the uniformed branch were also in vain as the wanted man had disappeared.

Arrests, intimidation and victimisation have not deterred the workers in their struggle for survival. We have little doubt that more and more workers are going to make their strength felt in the coming months.

The status quo in industrial relations and starvation wages cannot, and will not, be allowed to continue.

RISING BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

African unemployment is rising at the rate of 100,000 a year, warns Professor Jan H. Lange, professor of economics at the University of the Orange Free State. He adds that at least 69,000 jobs have to be found inside, and 75,000 outside, the Bantustans each year. According to the South African "Race Relations News" of May 1973:

"Social scientists say that economic expectations and political sensitivity grow with the increasing literacy of the people. The literacy and general enlightenment of both the urban and rural African is increasing. A person cannot but shudder to think what will happen if the growing unemployment is not ended."

During the past ten years, only 85,000 new jobs have been created in the Bantustans and border areas as a result of heavy expenditure by Government and the Industrial Development Corporation in an effort to decentralise industry.

Because the process was so slow, the Government, against its apartheid principles, allowed white entrepreneurs to invest in the Bantustans on an agency basis.

Of the total of 23,800,000 rands invested, only 7,818 jobs were created.

It is important to note that over half the jobs created (3,984 jobs with an investment of almost R17 and a half million) have been in one area only - Bophuthatswana - and that it affects just one section of that so-called Homeland.

* * * * *

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Meanwhile many, who profess to be our friends, continue to argue that the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa as demanded by the ANC, will only hurt the Blacks.

What should be done they say is to get foreign investors to pay better wages to their Black South African employees. This argument as we have repeatedly pointed out is false and cannot be implemented. Earlier in this article we showed the attitude of South African companies on the question of improving the lot of their Black workers. How on earth could foreign in-

vestors pay higher wages than their South African counterparts and hope to remain in business?

All this ballyhoo about foreign investors suddenly becoming philanthropists and sharing their huge profits with the Black workers is just so much hogwash.

* * * * *

BRITISH TUC TAKEN TO TASK

Despite repeated efforts by SACTU, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC to get the British Trade Union Congress to change its decision to send a delegation to South Africa, the TUC has seen fit to ignore us.

The following appeal to the TUC by SACTU was also ignored:

"The South African Congress of Trade Unions appeals to the General Council of the British Trade Congress not to go ahead with the proposed visit by a delegation to South Africa. We are not questioning the sincerity or good intentions of the delegation, but as South Africans we can see how the Government and the white-dominated trade unions will divert this delegation from its main aim of meeting the black workers who are themselves sufferers under the system of apartheid. It is our opinion that there is a danger that the delegation will only be able to meet those few Blacks who acquiesce in the policy of white supremacy.

As with previous official visits by trade union delegations which have been sanctioned by the South African Government and assisted by the white-controlled Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), there is little possibility that delegates will be in a position to find out what is really going on there. For instance, when the TUC last sent a delegation to South Africa in 1953, the approved plans which, whether they realised it or not, amounted to an extension of apartheid in the trade union movement. More recently, delegations from the International Metal Workers' Federation and the Boilermakers' Union made recommendations which were contrary to the interests of African workers and identified closely with the position taken by TUCSA.

Victimisation

It is our considered opinion that the main effect of such visits has given to TUCSA the international cre-

edibility it is seeking and to foster the illusion that the South African Government is amenable to persuasion. Past experience suggests that, as was the case with earlier delegations, these visitors too would be restricted to meeting the management of British subsidiaries and representatives of TUCSA, upon whom they would necessarily have to rely for the arrangement of their programme. These are no friends of the African workers. In addition, they may meet leaders of legal political groups and members of Government. But it is extremely unlikely that they would be able to meet imprisoned and banned trade unionists, members of SACTU, the only non-racial trade union federation, since this could lead to their further exposure and victimisation. And meeting African trade unionists who have not yet been banned, including those who participated in the recent strikes, would be impossible since they too would only be exposed to the harshness of the law. And so, in effect, this visiting delegation would not meet representatives of the bulk of the South African labour force - the African workers.

We therefore believe that this visit would not help African workers. More than ample information is available on the oppressive system of apartheid in South Africa for British trade unionists to act against it.

The TUC itself has repeatedly condemned it and has already adopted a policy of discouraging emigration to South Africa, exerting pressure against British investments there, campaigning for the release of political prisoners and breaking off links with white-only trade unions. Surely now is the time to embark on concerted action to implement these resolutions.

In addition, a programme of action against apartheid was recently adopted by an International Trade Union Conference in Geneva at which 250 million workers were represented and where the British TUC delegation played a very progressive role. In fact, some of the resolutions passed at this Conference, organised by the workers section of ILO, have already been adopted by the TUC at the 1971 and 1972 Congresses, such as the withdrawal of trade union investments in British firms with subsidiaries in South Africa, the discouragement of emigration to South Africa and the breaking of ties with white-only trade unions."

They have gone. They have seen the conditions under which our people toil. We wonder what they will do about it. We doubt if it will be much.



John Gaetsewe, addressing a trade union meeting in Johannesburg when it was still legal to do so

Paper submitted by JOHN GAETSEWE, European Representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions to the 2nd. Annual Trade Union Conference, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Britain recently . . .

WHITE TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The early history of the South African trade union movement is rich in events of militant endeavour by white workers.

In its formative years, there was a vigour and determination which carried workers into nation-wide strikes in 1913 and 1914, and even rebellion in 1922. The 1922 strike ended in open revolt with many casualties. The cause of this strike was an attempt by the Chamber of Mines to employ Africans in jobs previously held by whites, at lower rates of pay. The white workers were defeated, many lost their jobs, most had their wages cut and the trade union movement suffered a setback.

Two years later the white workers got their revenge. The Labour and Nationalist Parties joined forces to defeat the South African Party led by General Smuts in the 1924 General Election. The new Nationalist-Labour pact government immediately restored the colour bar in the mines, which had been upset by a court decision, and enacted the Wage Act to protect workers not covered by collective bargaining agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 which excluded the African workers from its provisions.

Although this was an opportunity for the white workers to embrace the Africans into their trade unions, various reasons including racial prejudice, fear, suspicion and indifference in the established unions caused them to turn their backs on African workers. Rather than workers' solidarity in non-racial trade unionism, they preferred statutory and continual colour bars to protect them from cheap African labour competition. As industrial development took place, some unions attempted to embrace the African workers and this led to wrangling between them and other white unions.

After many discussions on the inclusion of African workers in the unions, in the 1930's the South African Trades and Labour Council was established. Membership of this coordinating body was open to all races but because of racial prejudice nothing was done earlier to organise the African

workers. By 1947 there were only 111 unions affiliated with very few small African trade unions.

In that year, several white unions left the Trades and Labour Council following a decision to press for legal recognition of African trade unions.

It is important to remember that one of the provisions of the first Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 was to exclude the African workers from the term "employees" because they were pass bearers. This was revised under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 and trade unions were now separated on racial lines.

This was the first Act of Parliament which brought about the statutory colour bar in the trade union movement up to the present day.

The promise which was made by the Smuts Government to give limited statutory recognition to African trade unions was scotched in 1948 by the success of the Nationalist Party in the election. From then onwards the government took a further and firmer step in the exclusion of African trade unions from the protection of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The publication of a revised Industrial Conciliation Bill in 1954 revealed the extent to which the new government had gone in relation to part one of the Nationalist Party programme of the apartheid policy of disciplining the trade unions.

Trade Union Conference

A conference of trade unions was hastily summoned to discuss the formation of a new body to fight the new measures. Conference took place in Durban in October 1954, when it was resolved to establish a new federation to be called the South African Trade Union Council, now called TUCSA. By



Despite various laws, gatherings such as this are once more becoming a common feature on the SA scene

a majority decision the delegates excluded the Africans from membership of the Council. The South African Trades and Labour Council and the Western Province Federation of Trade Unions were dissolved.

The exclusion of Africans outraged some unions and they decided to establish another coordinating body to cater for workers of all races.

At a conference held in March 1955 they formed the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

There followed the formation of many white unions between 1954 and 1956 which led to the intensification of racial discrimination. According to official statistics, the total membership of trade unions registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 in May 1967 was 533,405 in 172 unions. About three-quarters of these were classified as white unions.

After the rejection and acceptance of African trade unions at various TUCSA conferences, it was decided finally in 1969 to drop the African unions. The white trade unions clearly backed the government policy of apartheid and discrimination.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions declared itself to accept all workers without regard to colour or creed. This was the crime which this organisation committed in the eyes of the government. Many SACTU officials, participants, activists, officials of the affiliated trade unions, were banned, arrested, detained and imprisoned. By 1966, 150 officials and activists were removed from office by bannings under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the law which the government uses against anyone who

opposes the system of apartheid and discrimination. With all this harassment of bannings and arrests, not one single white trade union ever protested to the government. Many churches, including the Black Sash women, protested on humanitarian grounds, but not the white trade unions. **We might forget, but history has recorded this behaviour of the white workers.**

Despite this repression, SACTU by this time had 53 trade unions affiliated with a membership of 55,000. The majority of these unions were African.

The experience shows that the white workers regard anyone with black skin as a servant of the white man, so the position of fellow worker or brother in a trade union has no place.

Lip Service

That is why when the Africans go on strike the white workers stand on the side of the employer. This happened in 1920, in 1946 during the second African miners' strike, and again this year in Durban when black workers went on strike for higher wages. 150 white workers of the City Council staff and 30 white housewives volunteered to unload 80 wagons of vegetables at the market. In addition to this, not one single white trade union came but in support of black workers, yet they can strike without infringing the labour laws of the country.

The white trade unions are only paying lip service to the organising of the Africans. The Coloureds and Indians were accepted in 1924 as employees with the recognition of their

trade unions, but up to the present day they are still getting low wages, they are affected by the policy of discrimination, they are not exempted from the application of Job Reservation.

A statement appearing in the Rand Daily Mail of 18 August 1972 states:—

We see this as White superiority, says Norman Daniels, Secretary of the 2,500 strong Textile Workers Industrial Union, which opted for purely Coloured membership rather than be a party to the exemption. Although Daniels has never known any labour department or industrial council official to discriminate against a trade union official simply because he is Black and finds employers sympathetic on the whole. There are nevertheless severe handicaps which the Coloured workers in general and the all-Coloured union in particular have to face. Because they have no say in the power politics of the country no politician owes them loyalty and they have no leverage with any politicians who count. With their persuasive influence thus restricted to polemics, their power is insignificant in relation to that of their white counterpart. This much is realised by employers and the frustration Coloureds experience at their bargaining table can be compounded on arbitration. The arbitrators are political appointees who then proceeded to implement government policy — that is, continue the wage discrimination on a colour basis, says one trade unionist. There would be little point in their even contemplating a strike. Once the formalities have been adhered to, Black workers in the particular industry would not be allowed to strike anyway, so that protest in many industries could hardly succeed. On top of that, since the government is unlikely to take kindly to labour unrest, the leaders of the Coloured workers could well face criminal charges for incitement.

Yet another harsh predicament faces the Coloured unionist. When seated at a bargaining table with an employer who points out that his industry in a metropolitan area is competing in a common product market with an industry located in a border area not subject to minimum wage agreements, and that to accede to the union's demands would reduce his competitive edge or force him also to a border area, what does the unionist reply?

The argument is inhibiting indeed, and may be contributing to an undermining of standards in the metropolitan area.

The problem is serious, the more so since an estimated 32,000 Coloured families on the Cape Flats are living below the breadline, unable to afford continually increasing food, rent and transport costs, and there are limits to what even the more powerful mixed unions can do about it.

The majority of the union's members are women machinists whose top wage is R13.81 a week. Of this sum, between R2 and R3 is now being spent on transport."

Some of the white workers say they don't like the policy of apartheid, they want higher wages for the Black workers and they want the African trade unions to be recognised by the government, to be under their control — so they say. They don't want boycotts, South Africa must not be isolated. They accept the "floating of the colour bar", the term which Harry Oppenheimer used. But they do not want anything that means any real change in the status quo.

If they are opposed to the policy of apartheid, they have an important role to play and that is to organise the mass of white workers, to mobilise these whites who are themselves the voters, to reject the policy of apartheid and instruct their representative to withdraw if the government pursues this policy. There is no middle road. Apartheid is apartheid. All the Blacks are suffering under this policy and it must be abolished once and for all — so that all workers can play their role as workers without regard to colour or creed.

AN IMAGE OF AFRICA

Forward with confidence!

Why does Swissair fly to as many as 17 African cities?

— Because you can find there:

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Oil | 10. Rubber |
| 2. Gold | 11. Tobacco |
| 3. Diamonds | 12. Spices |
| 4. Copper | 13. Fruit |
| 5. Iron | 14. Coffee |
| 6. Platinum | 15. Cotton |
| 7. Wood | 16. Rare animals |
| 8. Cocoa | 17. Magnificent shady beaches |
| 9. Nuts | |

The above advertisement was spotted in "Der Spiegel" (the West German weekly) last October by "Terre Entiere" (September/December 1972) who added the comment:

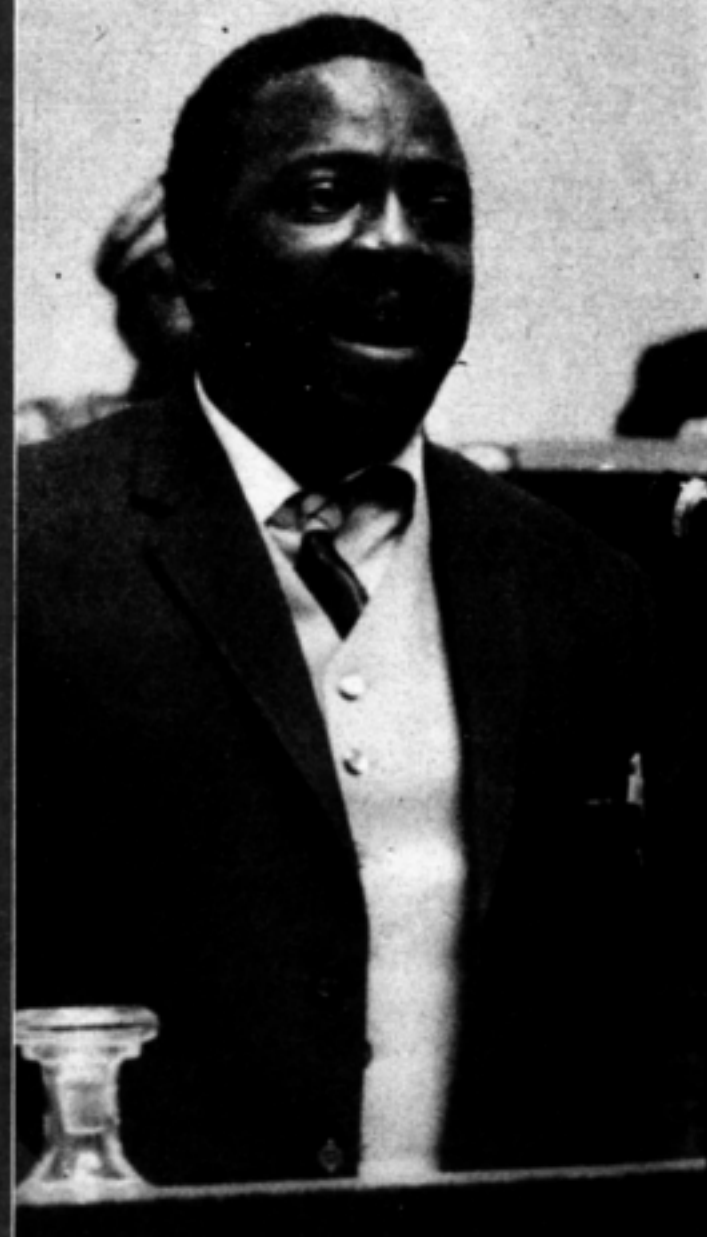
"Imagine the surprise of the Swissair passengers, when they disembark, on discovering that there are also people in Africa . . ."

Picturesque

that is what they call it
the tourists with cameras unslung
walking through the winding streets
the houses old with decay sloping against one
another like old men seated on crumbly stoeps.
A guitar player on a corner
fingers bird-wing flutter on the strings
accompanied the frenzied trill of
slum sparrows in bedraggled feather
eyes nervously darting for a crumb.
The wind carrying the keening of the have-nots
all part of the score of a symphony of sorrow
as the tourists trip through
cameras a'click and gaily crying
Picturesque

James Matthews
(From CRY RAGE, a book of poems
banned in South Africa)

CALL TO WORKERS OF THE WORLD



Mr. Dennis Akume – representing the African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) addressing the ILO conference

This is an abridged version of two speeches delivered to the International Conference of Trade Unions on Apartheid by MARK WILLIAM SHOPE and MOSES MABHIDA, Secretary General and Vice-President respectively of the South African Congress of Trade Unions

This World Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid has provided an occasion for the mobilization of workers of the world, affiliated to the three major trade union federations, continental trade unions as well as those from independent national centres, a platform from which they can work out together a common strategy and tactics on how best the World Labour movement can help their brothers and sisters in South Africa in their struggle, not only for trade union rights, but also for the basic principles of human and fundamental freedoms.

Indeed, the Africans and other black workers in South Africa are looking forward to positive results and positive action from this Conference.

United Nations

Historically, the policy of Apartheid in South Africa was first raised sharply by the Indian delegation to the United Na-

tions in a form of a complaint in December 1946. The Indian delegation raised it as a complaint to the General Assembly of the United Nations that "the South African Government had enacted legislation against South Africans of Indian origin in violation of previous agreements concluded between India and South Africa".

Replying to this complaint, the South African Government made a proposal that the International Court of Justice be asked for an advisory opinion on whether the matter was **essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Union of South Africa**. A proposal that was rejected by the General Assembly by adoption on December 8, 1946, of resolution 44 (X) expressed the opinion that the "treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa **should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the United Nations' Charter, and requested the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect**". (We shall talk about the problem of jurisdiction later).

Since then the racial policies of the Government of South Africa have been under consideration by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Year after year resolutions passed by the General Assembly reflect the mounting concern of world opinion about the racial situation within South Africa and the frustration occasioned by the refusal of the Government to respond to the repeated appeals by the United Nations that its racial policies should be brought into conformity with the United Nations Charter.

In 1954, the General Assembly invited the Government of South Africa to reconsider its position in the light of the principles of the United Nations Charter.



Platform of the ILO-UN Conference on Trade Unions – from the left, Mr. Abby Farah – former Chairman of UN Unit on Apartheid, Mr. A. H. Dunning, Mr. Morris Chaviman – Workers Group ILO, Chief Ogbu – Chairman UN Unit on Apartheid, Mr. E. S. Reddy – Secretary

On November 17, 1959, the General Assembly reminded South Africa that "policies which accentuate or seek to preserve racial discrimination are prejudicial to international harmony, and noted with concern that the policy of Apartheid is still being pursued".

In November 1962 the General Assembly adopted comprehensive resolution No. 1761 (XV11) which asked all member States to take specific measures, such as breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refrain from establishing such relations and the boycott of all South African goods.

In August 1963, the Security Council recommended that the sale and shipment of all arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa should stop.

At the same session, the General Assembly also established a Special Committee which would keep the situation in South Africa under review between sessions of the Assembly and would "submit reports to the Assembly and to the Security Council".

Thus, although the United Nations began its battle against Apartheid 27 years ago, we are still, to this day, searching for a solution. It is for this reason that the United Nations found it advisable to mobilize for the first time since 1945, that most healthy section of our modern world – the working people into the struggle against this cancer.

ILO

The International Labour Organization itself which declared war on forced or compulsory labour as far back as 1929, and adopted at its 14th Session in June 1930 (Convention NO. 29 of 1930) concerning forced or compulsory labour, is

still confronted with a subtle form of forced labour found in South Africa.

Why has Apartheid persisted? The reasons are not far to seek. Let us recognize that South Africa's brand of colonialism was not so different from that practised in other colonial situations as to invite concentrated attention and widespread condemnation.

But the achievement of independence of Ghana in 1957, followed by a rapid spread of independence in Africa to the banks of the Zambezi in the 1960s initiated a new era in Africa and the world.

Another factor of great significance has been the emergence of newly independent States in other continents, and the expansion of working class rule in large parts of Europe, Asia and Latin America. This change in the international balance of forces has contributed in a small measure to universal condemnation of Apartheid, and to our success in convincing the international community that racial discrimination is no less iniquitous than the slavery that was so widely practised until the middle of the last century.

Political Rights

The whole struggle in South Africa is the struggle for political rights, and not only a struggle against Apartheid, job reservation, better pay and conditions of work. These are problems which will fall away automatically when the big question is resolved.

The big question on the agenda for immediate solution in South Africa by the ever-sharpening political crisis, is the question of power, the question of democracy. The question

of to whom should power belong in South Africa: Who should decide or preside over the destiny, over the fortunes of its people and the country as a whole: Who should direct the political and economic developments of that country? Must power forever remain the monopoly of the White racist minority or must it be shared by all the South African people on the basis of one man one vote? Must power remain the monopoly of the White ruling circle or to the Africans and other Black workers and people of South Africa? This is the crux of the South African questions – crucial questions which have for long, and to this day continue to dominate the South African political climate. They are questions which even government appointed Chiefs in the Bantustans are raising very sharply these days. Men like Gatsha Buthelezi, speaking at the first ordinary Session of Kwazulu homeland Legislative Assembly, pointed out that "the credibility gap of the South African Governments' policy of separate development (Apartheid) was unbridgeable and contained the seeds of bitter resentment and disillusionment" . . . "I believe that it is in the interest of our peaceful co-existence on this tip of Africa that we should now share power in this land. This is not only necessary, but it is overdue".

Kaiser Matanzima stated that the South African Government should give equal rights to Blacks now or otherwise there is going to be a bloodbath in South Africa! "South Africa", he said, "has to choose between two alternatives – the division of the country between black and white in such a way that it is the blacks who have the bigger share of the land, or a multiracial state where black and white have equal rights on a one-man-one-vote basis". Kaiser went on to say: "The African people will not tolerate anything less than equality between black and white. We want to get all that is ours in this country".

These are not empty threats or statements. These leaders of the fraudulent Bantustans are being forced to give expression of the African people of South Africa as a whole. The question of power in South Africa, cannot any longer be solved in the way South Africa's ruling class and their supporters in the capitalist countries have for generations been accustomed to settling it – by Segregation, White Baaskap, White leadership, Trusteeship, Apartheid or Separate Development. They are urgent and vital political questions which require vital and bold political decisions, if South Africa is to avoid racial war – a war which can leave scars that may take generations to heal on both sides of the colour line.

Revolutionary Forces

True, the solution of political questions and social problems depends, in the final analysis, on the real needs of life and the armed forces of the state, but this is temporary. The great a given moment. And, at present the balance of forces in South Africa is not equally matched. The forces of terror and repression, in South Africa, supported by their trading partner in the capitalist world, is still holding sway.

The Revolutionary forces have not as yet matured to a point where the revolutionary movement can effectively challenge the armed forces of the state, but this is temporary. The great divide between Apartheid and progressive thought, as embodied in the constitution, conventions and activities of the ILO, is admirably stated in the Director General's Report, entitled *Prosperity for Welfare*. At p.7-8 I quote: "Few would now publicly deny that inequality is not justified when it results from massive inherited property, from political or economic monopoly, or from discriminatory privilege on the basis of class, race, creed or sex".

South Africa's regime perpetuates inequality in all respects, and not merely in one or two. Four million Whites, comprising one fifth of the country's population, claim exclusive proprietary rights over 87 percent of South Africa's surface area. That is surely a unique case of inequality resulting from "massive inherited property".

Gross inequality further results from the white man's monopoly of political and economic power. Black South Africans are not permitted to vote for or stand for election to parliament. Not only the legislature, but also the executive, the armed forces, the courts of law and the senior civil service consists only of Whites. They control the State and use their political power to extract super profits from the labour of the voteless majority.

How else can one explain the fact that the average per capita income of Whites is more than 13 times higher than the average of Africans; or that average monthly earnings of Whites in manufacturing are R276 as compared with R50 earned by Africans? Let us remind ourselves, while observing the enormous rise in the price of gold, and therefore in profits of the great mining houses, that the ratio between average White and African incomes on the mines widened from 9 to 1 in 1911 to 19 to 1 in 1971. Is it not a disgrace that African miners – 80 per cent of whom come from outside South Africa – earn less in real terms than their grandfathers in 1911?

South African Capitalism

We have in South Africa an extreme example of a vicious capitalism, with a highly modern technology, but reproducing the abuses and evils of early industrialization in Europe and America.

South African capitalism, however, is characterized by a vicious system of racial discrimination, the parallel for which is found in slave-owning systems of exploitation, rather than in the capitalism that took their place. Let me take this opportunity to congratulate the International Organization of Employers on their Declaration against Apartheid. It is worthy of note that the capitalists themselves find it necessary to condemn South African capitalism, and in particular the policies of work reservation, denial of trade union rights, and failure to observe standards in human rights approved by the International Labour Organisation.

We sincerely trust that the International Organization of Employers will utilize their great influence to dismantle the structure of Apartheid, if only by refusing to share in its ill-gotten gains. We particularly refer to the investors of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, West Germany, France, Japan and Switzerland.

The terror unleashed against the workers and people of South Africa for the past 25 years of nationalist rule – the arrests and torture, the murder of scores of our leading comrades by the South African Special Branch and their gestapo methods of persecution, the banning of African and other progressive political organizations, the banishment of leading trade union and political leaders, the arrests and imprisonments of thousands of militants, as well as the infiltration of spies and informers into all political and social organizations, left a deep mark on the lives of our people.

For ten years there was a temporary lull in extraparliamentary opposition in the country. This was a period of stock-taking, a period of adjustment and evaluation. But now a new phase of activity has begun.

Recent strikes by Africans and other Black workers in the first three months of this year – strikes which involved over 250,000 workers – ushered in a new epoch. This new mood has its origin in the strikes of fifty years ago – those of the

1920s, the 1930s, the 1940s, the 1950s, and early 1960s – which, like glowing embers under ashes, were temporarily suppressed during 1963 to 1973 only to flare up again. This is a continuation of the history of the Black workers of South Africa. This is a demonstrative proof that the spirit of resistance and struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa cannot be stopped by repression. No one shall succeed in stopping this spirit of advance to freedom – neither imprisonment nor death sentences. It will finally triumph for a democratic South Africa.

SACTU

Once again the spirit and teachings of the South African Congress of Trade Unions among the masses of the unorganized African workers is beginning to show itself. During the years that SACTU existed legally, she taught that the political role and political activities of a trade union movement lies in promoting the development and organizational strength of the working masses, in transforming their movement from a state of sporadic attempts at protests and strikes, into an organized struggle of the whole South African men and women, directed at the social and political system based on the oppression and exploitation of the vast majority of South Africa – the African people.

SACTU taught that "Only the working class in alliance with other progressive minded sections of the South African community can build a happy life for all South Africans, a life free from unemployment, insecurity and poverty, free from racial hatred and oppression, a life of vast opportunities for all the people".

We taught that "mere struggle for economic rights without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation, will only condemn the African trade union movement to uselessness and to the betrayal of the interests of the African workers themselves".

In all developed countries where people fought for democratic rights, these struggles were started by and waged by the working people. It is therefore correct and imperative for the South African Congress of Trade Unions to fully participate in the general struggle for the political, economic, social and cultural rights of the people of our country.

Therefore, our struggle in South Africa is not just for trade union rights but for political rights, for democracy.

We have emphasised the political aspect of the South African situation because we were convinced that if there was democracy the question of Apartheid would never have arisen.

We are aware that in terms of International Law, South Africa is regarded as an independent sovereign state, capable of running its internal affairs without outside interference. The core of legal concept of Sovereignty of the state, we are told, "has been, and continues to be the competence of the state to deal exclusively with matters essentially within the sphere of its domestic jurisdiction". In other words, as long as a country has an effective control over its nationals, whether by consent of its citizens, or by brute and cruel force – as is the case in South Africa – no outside country or countries have a right to intervene.

We submit that this concept or principle has in the main been responsible for preventing the United Nations from taking effective measures and implementing them against Apartheid in South Africa.

There have been innumerable statements, declarations and resolutions on the subject of Apartheid, all of which are treated with contempt by the South African Government. She is doing so with the full backing of her trading partners

Contd. on page 16

A Modern Miracle: Blood Into Wine



South African wine is the direct product of near slave labour. Over past years, New Zealand has imported hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of South African wine, and before it was voted out of office, the National Government raised the quota of wine that could be imported.

That South African wine is made by slave labour is easily proved. The following advertisement comes from the Cape Town newspaper, 'Cape Times', 26/10/71:—

PAARL.

550 morgen grain, wine, and sheep farm, 200 000 wine grapes. Quota 635 tons.

... Price R255,000, includes winery sheds and 10 convicts.

Further proof that the conditions for workers on wine farms are miserable and near-slavery comes from the 'Cape Argus' of 24/7/71.

Migrant workers in the Boland wine-growing centre of the Western Cape are paid R5 (about \$NZ5) for a 5½ day week, with free accommodation, but no food included, no sick pay, no benefits, and working hours from 5 a. m. to 7 p. m. The migrant workers are recruited from the homelands for work on the wine farms of Western Cape under 1-year-long contracts. Many were being recruited to work in factories and they only discovered they were in fact being contracted to work on Western Cape farms when they arrived.

Prisoners convicted for drunkenness and disorderliness in wine growing areas serve sentences of one week on wine farms i.e. South Africa produces wines from prison labour.

The **Cape Times** of 28/11/70 said there was substantial evidence that the "tot system" is still in use in South African wine-growing areas. This means that African workers are paid partly in wine, leading, as the 'Times' put it to "7-year-old alcoholics", "whole families drunk".

Issued by New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Committee.



Mark Shope

who continue to bolster her up by continuing their lucrative trade with the Republic. The reluctance and collaboration of powerful foreign and financial interests with the South African Government, have and continue to encourage the racist regime to persist in its Apartheid policies.

Far from heeding the ILO and the United Nations calls to respect the freedom and dignity of all human beings, irrespective of race, the South African Government is continually intensifying the suppression and exploitation of the African and other Black workers. New measures have stripped a vast number of Africans of the right to permanent employment and settled life in urban areas, reducing them to the status of migrants; the unemployed may be ordered out of the only areas where work is available; the aged, the disabled and the infirm are removed to rural settlements, far from places where they have laboured for the best part of their lives in the service of the White man.

Questions to be faced

Because of this legal concept and principles mentioned above, the United Nations has been grappling with this subject of Apartheid but without fundamental changes. In our view, this conference is now faced with the following questions:-

- To what extent should the United Nations take the part of men demanding respect for human rights, fundamental freedom and human dignity in South Africa?
- What efforts should the United Nations undertake to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, language or religion without intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the South African state?

- Does the duty to promote respect for human rights require the United Nations to oppose the Apartheid system with its laws which greatly enslave 18 million Black workers and people of South Africa purely on grounds of race or skin colour? Or

- Does the duty not to intervene in domestic matters of South Africa forbid effective action against South Africa on behalf of human rights? These questions are vital to the whole of mankind, and above all to the workers and their trade union movement and not only the Africans and other oppressed Black workers and people of South Africa but the whole world is looking to this Conference for answers. Why? **BECAUSE**

- Workers and their trade union organizations, play a vanguard role in the struggles of the people be it for political, economic or social change. They have joined directly in the political struggles of the people. They take a stand and organize big campaigns and demonstrations on all major issues of our time, they influence the results of Presidential, Parliamentary, Provincial and Municipal Elections and they enjoy political and moral prestige in the eyes of millions of the working people all-over the world-including the oppressed Black masses of South Africa. Their numerical strength, organization, discipline, class and political consciousness, plus the place they occupy in the social production in the economy of any country, qualifies them for the vanguard role which they play in the fight for genuine social, political and economic changes and progress.

- Time has gone when the workers and their trade unions did not participate independently and actively in deciding such vital questions as war and peace. We say, you as workers must wage an irreconcilable struggle against reactionary regimes which help the racist Pretoria Government, for the sake of their own selfish interests, to render ineffective all positive resolutions and measures of the United Nations.

- Workers and their trade union organizations play a most vital role in the life of modern society. They are the backbone of a society in any country – a social force to reckon with. They tackle the most diverse and most complex problems. They have attained a level which makes them a redoubtable force not only in the sphere of defending their economic demands, but also in the sphere of the future of society, of the establishment and reinforcement of democracy itself.

- The scale and character of their activities has in recent years, changed substantially. Mass strikes and demonstrations of workers today, even if held to back a particular economic demand, have become so important a factor that no serious politician dares ignore.

- Nation-wide action in support of demands relating to the general socio-economic policy of any state, becomes a factor of great political concern in its importance. Fresh examples in our memories are the 1968 strikes in France and Italy, Australia and New Zealand in the 1970's, the Longshoremen in the United States, The British Trade Unions, the Danish and Swedish workers etc. taking positions on various issues both at home and on South Africa.

Take Positive Stand

Let the workers and their trade union organizations take a positive stand on the question of sanctions, embargo and boycott and economic sanctions against South Africa. We say that if sanctions taken by the United Nations against Rhodesia appear not to have been effective, if arms embargo against South Africa by the Security Council in 1964 appear not to have been effective, this cannot be an argument against embargos, but against the powers which undermine their applications.

6We follow Slater Walker's lead — but — in the nick of time Vorster starts a wage restraint policy...9



Moses Mabhida (extreme right) seen together with other delegates at the conference during a break between sessions. They are from the left, Messrs. Roger Trask — Anti Apartheid Movement (Britain), Mzwai Piliso (ANC), Kader Asmal (AAM-Ireland) and Abdul Minty (British AAM)



It was for these reasons that the South African Government started panicking immediately they heard of the decision of the workers' representatives, attending the 57th Session of the International Labour Conference last June, to hold this Conference. They panicked because they know that the working people are men and women of action, and if they decided on taking and implementing their resolve, many things can go wrong for the South African racists.

Many of South Africa's trading partners and giant multinational corporations with subsidiary Companies in South Africa, are also unhappy about this Conference, because they know that with pressure from the trade union movement in the respective countries, they will be compelled to change their attitude towards the policy of the South African government.

African and other Black workers and people of South Africa know that the main task of liberating themselves from the clutches of fascist rule in South Africa, is their historic responsibility. But, the struggle of the workers and people of South Africa is at the same time, the concern and common responsibility of the workers of the world, and indeed, of the whole of progressive mankind.

Appeal

We, therefore, appeal to all delegates attending this Conference, and through you, to all the workers and their trade union organizations throughout the world to give total and unconditional support to the legitimate and just struggle for political, economic and social freedoms, and for all fundamental democratic rights and liberties by:—

- campaigning for the implementation of all United Nations Sanction resolutions against Apartheid South Africa in your respective countries;
- press on their government to honour the Security Coun-

cil' General Assembly resolution of November 1962, which calls on all Member States of the United Nations to take specific measures, such as "breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa; or refrain from establishing such relations as well as to boycott all South African goods";

- campaign for the recognition of African trade unions with full right to collective bargaining and to strike;
 - campaign for the enforcement of the 1964 Security Council resolution on arms embargo to South Africa;
 - campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all trade union and political leaders and militants;
 - campaign for the lifting of bans on African and other progressive political organizations in South Africa;
 - refuse to load or unload any goods or consignments destined to or from South Africa;
 - give financial, moral and material support to the workers and people of South Africa through their recognized trade union organization — SACTU — and the political movement — the African National Congress;
 - create an international strike fund to support the victims of strike actions in South Africa;
 - educate your members on the evils of Apartheid;
 - campaign against the emigration of skilled workers to South Africa;
 - pressurise your government to stop all contracts with South Africa — diplomatic, financial, military, social and cultural relations;
 - call for an end to the notorious contract or migrant labour in South Africa — which is a disguised form of modern slavery.
- Long live solidarity of the workers of the world!!!
 Long live the United Nations!!!
 Long live the ILO!!!
 Long live the workers and people of South Africa!!!

A WATERSHED IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

A brief background on the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions

In March, 1955, the SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS – SACTU – was born and a new force had entered South African life. Five months earlier at a Conference of the Trades and Labour Council, the existing leadership of that federation presented the delegates with a proposal which must be unique in trade union history. It asked them to dissolve their federation and to form an entirely new body, which would exclude African trade unions from membership.

At this Conference, 14 trade unions, white, mixed and African, had fought this proposal with all the resources at their command. However, the resolution for dissolution was carried by a large majority and the Trades and Labour Council disappeared from the South African scene. Shortly afterwards the TRADE UNION COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA was formed, a trade union coordinating body which excluded African trade unions from membership. At the Conference, the 14 defeated unions, representing workers in shops, chemical, food and canning, textile, jewellers and goldsmiths, baking, canvas and rope, tin and twine and the bag industry, issued a statement which read:

"We deeply regret the decision to exclude African unions from the proposed Trade Union Council. This decision taken by a majority of the workers present does not represent the best interests of the South African workers, nor their desires.

"Only a strong trade union movement can fulfill its task of defending and advancing the workers' interests. Only a united trade union movement can be strong. The interests of the African workers are in the long run no different from the interests of the Coloured, European and Indian workers.

"It is to the advantage of the employ-

ers and their Government to divide the workers. Division is a policy directed by the bosses and not in the workers' interests.

"Events will convince the workers in this country as in other countries that their salvation lies in unity and it is our duty to bring the knowledge home to our fellow-workers.

"We are determined to carry on a struggle against the policy of racial discrimination and to work for the achievement of a single trade union organisation embracing all sections of the working class."

A New Dimension

The founders of SACTU, most of them workers who had fought so heroically for unity the previous October, carried the trade union movement into a new dimension. In the preamble to its Constitution SACTU announced:

"The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers. Only the working class, in alliance with other progressively minded sections of the community can build a happy life for all South Africans, free from unemployment, insecurity, poverty, racial hatred and oppression – a life of vast opportunities for all.

"But the working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it itself is united and strongly conscious of its inspiring responsibility. The workers of South Africa need a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working class can play their part, unhindered by prejudice or racial discrimination. Only such a truly united working class can serve effectively the interests of the workers – their immediate interests, higher wages and better conditions of life and

labour as well as the ultimate objective of complete emancipation."

The workers of South Africa were being called upon to fulfill their historic role; to become the spearhead in the struggle for national liberation. The founders of SACTU realised that trade union rights, improved pay and conditions are not won in a vacuum, and that the slogan of "no politics in the trade union movement" which the white trade unions had tried so hard to foster, has no relation to the realities of life and the struggle for freedom. They realised that starvation wages, pass laws, the migratory labour system and all punitive laws, enmeshed and enslaved all the non-white people.

SACTU's inaugural Conference was a watershed in South African history. Here a handful of workers announced their intention of organising the enslaved workers in the mines, docks, railways and on the farms, as well as in every factory and in every workshop. They announced, in fact, their intention to attack and bring down the bastion of white supremacy.

This intention was emphasised at SACTU's First Annual National Conference in 1956, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"SACTU is conscious of the fact that the organising of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows that a mere struggle for the economic rights of the workers without participation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers."

From its inception, no SACTU meeting nor a meeting of an affiliated trade union took place without the presence of armed police and plain clothes detectives. A massive Government campaign was launched to infiltrate SACTU with paid informers, spies and splitters. Yet when SACTU was forced to hold its 10th Annual National Conference in secret, the Security Police were unable to find out where it was being held.

SACTU established Local Committees in all the main centres of South Africa and through them campaigned on every possible level; not only by organising workers, but by serving demands on employers, both provincial and national. Its protests, demonstrations and strike actions could not be ignored by the newspapers and SACTU became a recognised force. During the 1960 State of Emergency after the Sharpeville Massacre, with most of its leadership in gaol, the acting SACTU National Executive Committee served demands on employers in all major industries for a national minimum wage of £1 a day and correctly pointed out that the unrest in the country was due to the policies of Apartheid, the starva-



Stephen Dlamini – President General of SACTU – banished to a reserve after completion of a six year prison sentence

tion wages and the denial of trade union and democratic rights.

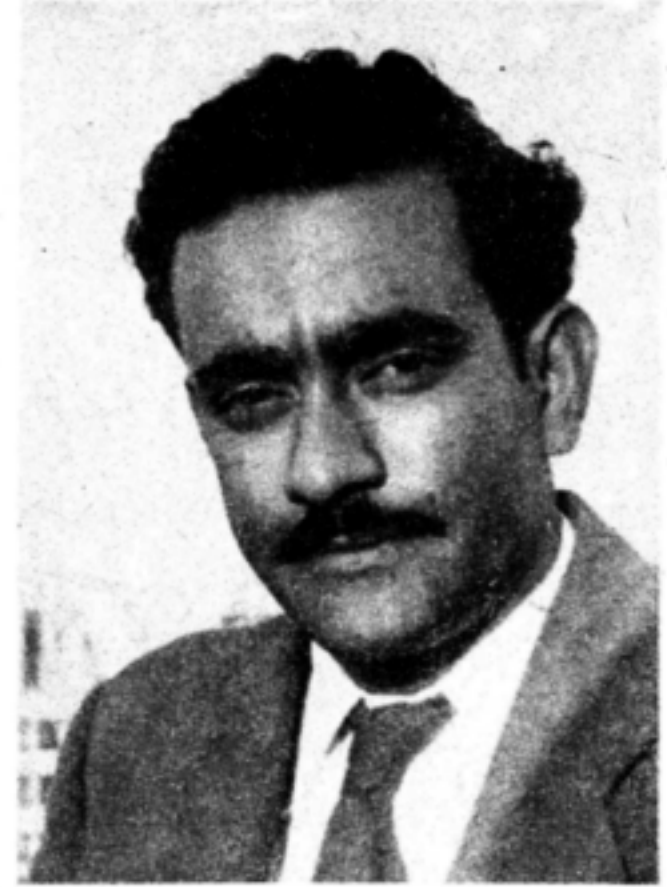
The National Executive Committee also published "Workers Unity", a lively trade union journal.

The £ 1 a day Campaign

The campaign for £1 a day and a national minimum wage was denounced in 1957 by the Government, employers and the press as "irresponsible" and "frivolous". Yet so great was the pressure by SACTU and its affiliated Unions that by 1963 the all-white Parliament was forced to debate the de-

mand. The demand was rejected, but in 1964, at a public meeting the Chairman of the Wage Board stated that the Cabinet had consulted him the previous year and it was on his advice, as a conservative economist, that it had been turned down. So close had SACTU been to victory! That same year, Anton Rupert, the tobacco king of South Africa, controller of an international tobacco empire, boasted that he was paying his employees £1 a day and posed as an enlightened and progressive employer. Other employers had round table discussions with SACTU National and Local Committees and conceded the justness of the claim for £1 per day. In a bus strike in Port Elizabeth in 1961, the Mayor and members of the City Council, together with representatives of commerce and industry, settled the dispute directly with the workers and SACTU representatives, ignoring all Government machinery set up in terms of the settlement of Disputes Act. The workers won increased wages in excess of £1 a day. These same workers were to pay a heavy penalty for their victory, as they were arrested 3½ years later and sentenced to imprisonment on the grounds that having taken part in the strike they had furthered the aims of the Africal National Congress which had been banned in 1960.

For these actions the South African Government retaliated by banning, arresting, detaining and removing from their offices the officials of SACTU and its affiliated trade unions. The offices of SACTU in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Kimberley and Johannesburg were raided several times by the Special Branch (Security Police). When found in the offices of SACTU by the Special Branch, workers were later interrogated and reported to their



Billy Nair – Natal Regional Secretary of SACTU. Serving 20 years on Robben Island

employers so that the employers could sack them from their jobs, as agitators. Landlords were also threatened against allowing SACTU to have its offices on their premises. These and other methods used by the government, through their police, rendered SACTU ineffective. SACTU concentrated mostly on factory committees, which still exist even today.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions accepts all workers, irrespective of race, colour or creed. From its inception it has demanded the abolition of the Pass Laws, or Reference Book system, which in effect control the African workers from the cradle to the grave.



Combined with the £1 a Day Campaign was the Anti-Pass Campaign. Here workers are seen carrying loads of passes for a grand 'bonfire'

LABOUR BUREAUX:

Slave Labour Centres

■

The Labour pool in the rural areas and reserves, which can easily be drafted into the urban areas if necessary, reinforces the limitations on African trade union activity. These labourers are often used to replace workers who defy the law by striking. This happened in the case of the Durban dock strike in 1969.



The 'pass laws', which closely control the movement of Africans in and out of the urban areas, act as an additional sanction against African trade union militancy. Because of the pass laws, it is risky for Africans to move between jobs. If unemployed, they face 'endorsement out' of the urban area, through the labour bureaux. They tend to treat all Africans as unskilled. The way in which these labour bureaux operate was clearly set out by the Department of Bantu Administration:

"By means of the labour bureaux system the demand for labour insofar as it affects urban and rural areas is correlated with the supply by orderly canalisation. In this connection an obligation rests on every employer to report his vacancies to the appropriate labour bureau and not to employ any Bantu unless he is in possession of a reference book (the pass) which has been signed off by his previous employer and which indicates that he is authorised to remain in that particular area and work there . . . The control resulting from the labour bureaux system makes it possible to combat the following undesirable conditions in the interests of employer as well as employee: uneven distribution of labour; unemployment at some places and shortages elsewhere; squatter conditions; poor health conditions because of housing shortages and social evils." (Report R. P. 18/1967. p. 5).

At first, when the bureaux were set up in 1949 they were operated voluntarily by local authorities but three years later a statutory system was introduced. This - Act No. 54 - was the same law which ruled that Africans - with a few exceptions - could not remain in an urban area for more than 72 hours without permission. The system was made tighter in later years, particularly after the Bantu Labour Act of 1964; in the urban areas not simply work-seekers but all male, healthy, non-student Africans between the ages of 15 and 65 had to be registered with a labour bureaux.

During the first year of operation of labour bureaux, per-

mission to enter Johannesburg, to take just one example, was refused to more than 71,000 Africans. By 1970 the total number of workers registered with labour bureaux in urban and rural areas was 3,5 million. The department of Bantu Administration has thus been able to claim: 'The labour shortage problem in the rural areas has been reduced to a minimum. It is also significant that the greatest contribution of the labour bureaux in supplying agricultural labour was drawn from the urban areas and not from the Bantu areas.'

Removing 'Idle Natives'

The power of labour bureaux is far-reaching. In 1964 under this system almost 100,000 Africans, or about 10 per cent of those dealt with by the bureaux, were endorsed out of the major urban areas. With the extension of labour bureaux control over the allocation of African labour, numbers endorsed out naturally declined. They numbered 40,000 in 1970.

Indeed, one of the purposes of the system is, in the words of the Native Affairs Commission, to 'facilitate the removal of idle and undesirable natives'.

In industries with a white trade union, minimum wages are set by industrial councils, and in those without one, by the government Wage Board. No minima are set in domestic service, agriculture, or mining. Industrial councils include representatives of the employers and white employees, but not Africans, and set wages and conditions of work for the whole industry, including the African labour force. A white trade union council official explained: 'Usually there is an off-the-cuff handout for the white worker, and human nature being what it is, the unions have to put the interests of members first.' (Rand Daily Mail, 14 March 1969.)

White officials from the Department of Bantu Administration sit in on industrial council meetings simply to prevent the rate for African workers being set so low as to be con-



Women waiting in a queue for permit to seek work, failing which they suffer the fate of the lady on the left

ducive to African unrest. Government intervention here takes the form of refusing to give legal effect to industrial council agreements. The fact that the government regularly exercises these powers is an indication of just how weak the position of the Africans is under apartheid.

In non-unionised industries the government directly sets the minimum rates through Wage Board determinations. These also provide the basis for the minima set in the industrial council agreements for African workers. This is because the government will normally intervene if the minimum set in a council agreement is lower than that which would be set by a wage board determination. In 1972 determinations affected approximately 300,000 African workers, industrial council agreements 540,000 African workers. Therefore in the unionised and the non-unionised industries the protection of African interests has become the responsibility of the government. Effectively, only the government can intervene to set rates above the poverty datum line.

Barriers to Promotion

In 1972, in an interview with the *Financial Mail*, the chairman of the Wage Board, Mr. Hugh Tindale, indicated the government's approach to minimum wagesetting at that time. He argued that it was the function of the Board to protect unorganised workers, but it was 'beyond its scope deliberately to raise their standard of living by making constantly higher determinations'. He also said that the Board was worried about 'creating still further unemployment among urban Africans through excessive determinations' (*SAIRR Survey*, 1972, p. 242). In fact it is possible to show that official wage-setting policy has not only been determined by economic considerations (the need to combat inflation, fear of driving weaker firms out of business, or causing unemployment), but has also responded to large-scale African unrest.

For example, during the wave of disturbances between 1957 and 1962 that followed the passage of major apart-

heid legislation in the mid-fifties, minimum wages rose dramatically though the economy was in the doldrums. In 1960 alone, the year of the massacre at Sharpeville, 19 minimum wage determinations were made, as many as were made in the whole period of economic expansion, 1950 to 1955.

There are direct legislative barriers on the promotion of African workers. The industrial colour bar in its narrow sense applies only to mining and building.

It places an absolute prohibition upon the promotion of non-whites in the mines, though it is being eroded in the building industry. Job reservation is the system under which certain mainly semi-skilled jobs are preserved for whites. Exemptions to its provisions are in practice easily negotiated but can be revoked at any time. The effect is that in many jobs, non-whites are employed only by permission of the government. It becomes less worthwhile to train non-whites.

In 1969 approximately 200,000 non-white workers fell within the provisions of job reservation. Under the Apprenticeship Act, no one is legally allowed to be indentured as an apprentice if, as the Act puts it, 'it is not in the interests of the person, taking into account the possibility of his finding a position on qualification'. Since most industrial council agreements permit only registered trade union members to practice skilled trades and Africans are legally debarred from joining registered unions, this provision acts as a bar to Africans being employed in jobs requiring an apprenticeship. Coloureds and Asians can be apprenticed if they meet the relatively stiff schooling requirements, if they can find white craftsmen to train them, and if their application for training is accepted by the relevant (white) Apprenticeship Committee. A pointed example of the effects of these laws is that out of the more than 25,000 fitters and turners shown in the 1960 census (the latest available), only 200 were Coloured and 62 Asian. No extractable figures were given for Africans."

U.S. BANKS BACK APARTHEID



The American Committee on Africa released materials documenting \$215 million of loans made available to South Africa. The European American Banking Corporation of New York was named as the organizer of several loans which have provided substantial credits for the Government of South Africa.

Confidential documents from within the European American Bank outlined the details of these loans. Over forty banks in the U.S.A., Canada, Britain, France, and Holland participated in funding the loans. Among the major American banks involved were Wells Fargo Bank (N.A.), Republic National Bank of Dallas, First Israel Bank and Trust Company of N.Y., First National Bank of Louisville, Maryland National Bank, United Virginia Bank, Central National Bank in Chicago, City National Bank of Detroit and Wachovia Bank and Trust Company.

The American Committee on Africa released the materials in conjunction with the Southern African Committee, Africa Information Service, and the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, all groups actively involved in opposing apartheid. Opposition has been growing in the U.S.A. to U.S. business involvement in South Africa, especially in the black community, churches, universities and unions. The banks involved will invariably face censure from many of these groups for these loans.

The relevant documents showed that a large number of the banks desired to keep the fact of their participation out of the public eye. Desiring to remain anonymous as "undisclosed participants" in the loans were Wells Fargo Bank (N. A.), Central National Bank in Chicago, Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis and the City National Bank of Detroit. Public opposition in the midsixties to bank loans to South Africa may have been responsible for this desire for confidentiality.

The information released detailed five major transactions. Loans were arranged for the South African Ministry of Finance (three loans of \$50 million), the South African Government's Iron and Steel Corporation (\$20 million), and the public agency, The Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa (\$30 million) as well as other smaller loans.

While the total of \$215 million for five loans was confirmed by the confidential European American Bank documents, only one of the \$50 million loans to the Ministry of Finance was accompanied by a list of participating banks. Therefore it is likely that other American banks are also involved in the additional \$100 million loans.

Many of the U.S. banks involved utilized their branch offices

in Nassau for the loans. The future application of the Bahamas to the United Nations and therefore its desire to please independent African states may create pressure in the Bahamas against these loans.

Opposition

Commenting on the bank loans, George Houser, executive director of the American Committee on Africa, said, "These loans directly strengthen the white South African government as it pursues its oppressive policy of apartheid. Such loans bolster South Africa's balance of payments position, help white South Africans become economically self-sufficient and are an international vote of confidence in apartheid."

Don Morton, staff parson on South Africa for the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, commented, "The direct financial support of these banks for racist South Africa demands a response. We must and we will organize broad based opposition to these loans and demand that they stop."

Note:

American Banks participating in Loans Arranged by European American Bank

	MILLION \$
1. To the South African Ministry of Finance	
● Wells Fargo Bank (N.A.), Luxembourg branch	2.0
● Central National Bank in Chicago	1.0
● Merchants National Bank and Trust Co. of Indianapolis, Nassau branch	1.0
● City National Bank of Detroit, London branch	0.5
Republic National Bank of Dallas, London branch	3.0
First Israel Bank and Trust Co. of N.Y., Nassau branch	2.0
First National Bank of Louisville, Louisville	2.0
Maryland National Bank, Nassau branch	2.0
United Virginia Bank, Nassau branch	2.0
	15.5 million
	(out of \$50 million)
2. To the South African Iron and Steel Corporation	
Wachovia Bank and Trust Co.	\$ 2.0
	participation in a loan of \$20 million

● Desiring to remain anonymous.

U.S. CHURCHES PLAN ACTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID



The Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa — 1973, is a coalition of six Protestant denominations that hold stock in a number of U.S. companies investing in Southern Africa. Church agencies that hold stock have filed stockholder resolutions with over a dozen corporations in 1973.

In 1972 stockholder resolutions requesting full disclosure of the involvement of Mobil, Goodyear, IBM and GM in South Africa and Gulf Oil in Angola were filed. Mobil agreed to voluntarily disclose this information and sent it to all shareholders. IBM made a similar agreement but in the end disclosed an inadequate amount of information. GM and Gulf, after a proxy contest, finally disclosed data along the same lines. Goodyear stalwartly refused to provide any information.

This year an updated version of the disclosure resolution will be filed with eleven corporations. The resolution and the filers follow.

Standard Resolution

WHEREAS the increasing involvement of United States business corporations in the Republic of South Africa is a matter of growing public concern, due to the denial of basic human rights to the majority population,

WHEREAS specific information is vital for stockholders to make an informed decision about this Corporation's involvement in South Africa,

WHEREAS it is the right of a stockholder to have access to non-competitive information about the Corporation's business,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the shareholders request the Board of Directors to provide a full, written report to the shareholders within four months of the date of the 1973 annual meeting on the involvement of the Corporation in the Republic of South Africa . . .

The Companies on whom this resolution was filed are the following: —

- International Business Machines — Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (8,496 shares, approximate value \$3,275,208)
- Xerox Corporation — American Baptist Home Mission Societies (9,000 shares, approximate value \$1,300,000)
- First National City Bank — The American Baptist Board of Education and Publication (3,428 shares, approximate value \$240,000)
- Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company — National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (1,000 shares, approximate value \$84,750)
- General Electric Company* — Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (400 shares, approximate value \$28,400)
- Burroughs Corporation — Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church USA (4,400 shares, approximate value \$946,000)
- International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation — Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (8000 shares, approximate value \$467,000)
- Chrysler Corporation — Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (31,845 shares, approximate value \$1,256,000)
- Caterpillar Tractor Company — Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, the United Methodist Church (8,000 shares, approximate value \$544,000).
- Texaco — World Division, Board of Global Ministries, the United Methodist Church (24,574 shares, approximate value \$940,000)
- Eastman Kodak — World Division, Board of Global Ministries, the United Methodist Church (19,496 shares, approximate value \$2,875,000).

* A slightly different version of this resolution and statement has been filed with GE.

BARCLAYS BANK AND ITS OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



For some years Barclays Bank has been one of the main targets of the campaign against British firms which operate in Southern Africa.

Barclays Bank is the biggest bank in South Africa and has large interests in Namibia (South West Africa), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Angola and Mozambique. In 1971 Barclays South

African subsidiary's paid-up capital and reserves were approximately £42.5 million. In 1971 Barclays had over 855 offices in South Africa and Namibia. Barclays has been in South Africa since 1925 when it took over the National Bank, which was founded in the Transvaal Republic under charter from President Kruger in the 1890s. In 1972, the first year for which Barclays has disclosed separate profit figures, its earnings in South Africa were £6.7 million.

differential between the average wage for black and white. In the banking sector as a whole in 1970 average earnings for whites were almost £210 a month and for blacks £47 a month. Barclays black clerical employees almost all work in 'black' areas. The Coloureds and Indians work in two Indian areas in Durban and in Athlone, a Coloured area in Cape Town. The Africans work in the 'homelands' and in Dube and Soweto, African townships near Johannesburg.

Barclays "Neutrality"

Barclays Chairman has said that Barclays is politically 'neutral' and that its presence in South Africa no more implies support for South African government policies than its operations in Britain mean that it supports the government of the day there. But a look at the way Barclays operates in South Africa shows how it directly implements apartheid policies.

In September 1971, in response to the campaign against its South African involvement, Barclays announced that it would pay equal rates for equal work to black and white clerical workers.

In fact Barclays employs very few blacks as clerical workers - less than 200 out of a total work-force of about 9000. Those that it does employ are all recent recruits at the bottom of the salary scale, so it is unlikely that equal pay will make much difference to the

Racially Segregated

In the case of one black teller, Johannes Noge, whom the Bank did post in 1971 to a bank in Johannesburg City Centre - a 'white' area - it climbed down when faced with enquiries from the Department of Labour. After the branch was visited by a Department of Labour Inspector a Barclays spokesman explained that Mr. Noge had been appointed to the branch to serve its black customers: the bank employed a white commissionaire to direct black customers to Mr. Noge's counter. He said that Mr. Noge was provided with separate washing and toilet facilities. Later Mr. Noge was moved to a specially built cubicle 20 paces away from the nearest white teller and partly hidden behind a wall. The spokesman said that it employed 11 Africans in similar circumstances. Entrances and counters at Barclays



South African branches are racially segregated – Sir Frederic Seebohm, Barclays DCO's then chairman, admitted this at the Bank's 1971 Annual General Meeting. When Rev. David Head, then General Secretary of the SCM, visited a Barclays branch at Umtata, capital of the Transkei, in 1970 he found that "black customers, supposedly at home in their own area, were served apart, two steps down."

Barclays 1971 booklet "Emigrating to South Africa" recounts the official South African Government view of South African history. It repeats the South African government's assertion that 45 % of the most fertile land is located in the 'Bantu homelands'. There is no mention of the fact that these comprise only 13 % of the total area of South Africa.

In 1971 Barclays DCO changed its name to Barclays International and Barclays bought out shareholders in Barclays Bank DCO so that Barclays International became a wholly-owned subsidiary.

Huge Profits

At the same time it hived off its operations in South Africa to a separate wholly-owned subsidiary, Barclays National Bank. The reason behind this was so that Barclays could eventually offer shares in its South African operations on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and comply with the recommendation of the Franszen Commission which enquired into the activities of foreign banks in South Africa, that foreign banks should take local capi-

tal into partnership. In March 1973 Barclays National made its first share offer of 5 million shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The effect of this is that Barclays will continue to draw profits from its majority shareholding in Barclays National, but will progressively hand over control to South African investors. It makes nonsense of the statement of Barclays International's Chairman, Mr. A. F. Tuke, quoted in Barclays Bank's 1972 Annual Report, that the justification for Barclays refusing to withdraw from South Africa is that "Barclays, who are recognised as a liberal and international organisation would have given way to a South African owned company possibly with a narrower outlook."

Barclays assisted in financing the Cabora Bassa Dam through credit to contractors during its crucial early phase up till the beginning of 1972. The purpose of the Cabora Bassa scheme is to create a densely settled white populated area in the strategically vital Tete province of Mozambique and to halt the advance of the Mozambique liberation movement FRELIMO. Among Barclays customers are some of the biggest South African mining and manufacturing companies. Anglo-American Corporation, African Oxygen, Leyland Motor Corporation, Associated Engineering etc. Anglo-American is the central firm of the ZAMCO consortium, based in South Africa, which is building the Cabora Bassa Dam.

In Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) Barclays has



continued to operate since UDI. Its Rhodesian Board includes Sir Frederick Crawford whose passport was confiscated by the British Government on the grounds that he was one of the Smith regime's 'active supporters'. Barclays has also fallen under suspicion of helping illegally to transfer money from Rhodesia to Britain via South Africa.

The extent of opposition to Barclays role in Southern Africa has forced Barclays to spend quite a lot of time defending itself. Its efforts to do so are one of the most telling indictments against it, including a long statement at Barclays DCO's 1971 annual shareholders meeting in which Sir Frederic Seebohm attacked the campaign against Barclays operations in Southern Africa and said it was being run by groups "bent on destroying our society".

WHAT DO BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS SAY?

'The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and on a small scale (as yet) we die at the whim of a policeman.'

— Chief Albert J. Luthuli

'I have come to New Zealand to ask you to isolate South Africa in all ways — economically, in culture and in sport. True, my people will suffer too, but we are suffering now. We would rather suffer for something, our freedom, than for nothing, as we are now.'

— John Gaetsewe
South African Congress
of Trade Unions

LILIAN NGOYI IS FREE!

For 11 years Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, President of the African National Congress Women's League until it was banned, was confined to a ghetto-suburb of Johannesburg. Now, after 4018 days of restriction to Orlando Township, her banning order has been lifted. For the first time in 11 years, journalists were allowed to interview her and publish what she said. We reprint below an interview Lilian gave to a Drum Magazine reporter.

During her time Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, former president of the A.N.C. Women's League and also president of the ban-crippled Federation of South African Women, was an above average singer and dancer. She still loves music. But the sweetest sounds she has heard for a long time were not from Nat King Cole or Ella Fitzgerald. They came from the most unlikely source – the voice of an S.B. cop who called at her home.

"Your banning order expires today at midnight. You are free. You can go wherever you like", the cop said.

This was indeed sweet music to the ears of Mrs. Ngoyi who for 11 years has been confined to the dusty streets of Orlando. "This is the best present I could ever wish for", a beaming Mrs. Ngoyi said as she welcomed Drum to her municipal semi-detached house. "It has been quite a strain but I willed myself to stick it out. I wish my mother, who died in 1970, was still alive to share my happiness. Through many years she was the pillar of my strength", Mrs. Ngoyi added. "I had to give up my trade union job and do dressmaking at home but the S.B. scared my customers away. They would come in at all times and start asking for passes and asking a lot of questions. So, many people decided to keep away from my place. I must say I have had a tough time, but my spirits have not been dampened", said a happy Mrs. Ngoyi who did not show any signs of strain.

What are her plans?

"If I had the money I would buy a tourist ticket and travel all over my beautiful country and see all the things and people I have been missing for 11 years", she said.

Maybe it was talking about people she had been missing that reminded her daughter. "I got a call at work today. Uncle in Pretoria is sending a car to come and fetch you tomorrow", Edith her daughter chipped in. "Maybe you people don't know my mother like I know her. She is restless, always on the go, full of vim and always wanting to meet and talk to people. For a person like her the ban must have been a blow. Like clipping the wings of a bird and putting it in a cage."

How did Mrs. Ngoyi's restlessness start?



Lilian Ngoyi (centre) together with Dorothy Nyembe leading a demonstration of women in Natal during the late 50s

Church Unconcerned

"I was a very staunch member of the church. But what worried me was that the church was not concerned with our problems. Then in 1952 came the Defiance Campaign.

"I saw boys hop into police vans volunteering to go to jail to fight unjust laws. I was moved by the spectacle, and by the dedication of these youngsters.

"I was so moved I decided to join the Women's League of the ANC at Orlando and with others we defied at the Post Office. After appearing four times in court we were discharged," she said. So began the eventful political career of Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi. The energetic, eloquent Mrs. Ngoyi worked with such devotion for the ANC that a year after she had joined even old members conceded that she take up the chair of president of the Women's League. In 1954 she was also elected president of the Federation of South African Women, a body that was not banned, but had to disband after the leaders had been banned.

In 1955 Mrs. Ngoyi was a delegate at the Congress of the Federation of World Mothers in Switzerland. "The theme of the Congress was 'No More War'. As a mother I still believe that there should be no more war, I have seen its horrors. Like when I was invited to Germany.

"I visited the Buchenwald concentration camp. It was there where I saw how man can sink to the lowest depths, and at the same time rise to the noblest heights. First I was shown the horrible gas chambers. I was shown a lampshade made out of human skin by the wife of the commandant in charge of the camp. I just could not believe it.

"But what saved my day was when I was shown how and where other prisoners saved the life of a 14-year old boy. The boy's mother and father had already been gassed. The

prisoners hid the boy under hay and sacrificed their meagre rations to see that he was well-fed. The warders never came to know the presence of the boy and when the war ended he was saved. It is incidents like this which restore one's faith in mankind. I always think of these great prisoners who died whenever I am in difficulties, and then my troubles seem smaller than I had imagined," she said. Well, when it comes to trouble, Mrs. Ngoyi has had her fair share. During the state of emergency she was detained for five months. "Funnily enough I didn't feel like a prisoner. I always felt that I had done nothing morally wrong and that in the end, right would prevail. It did, though it took five horrible months," she said.

Worst Experience

"My worst experience, however, was when I was detained under the 90-Days Act. I was detained in solitary confinement for 71 days. It is an experience I shall never forget.

"While detained my health deteriorated so much that one day I fainted. I just collapsed. For a moment I thought the end had come, but somehow I pulled through." She flashed another smile at us.

Cried In Moscow

The well-travelled Mrs. Ngoyi says her visit to China stands out most vivid in her memory. "A very old man came up to me. He pulled me away from our group and showed me a piece of land. 'You see that patch there? Since we got liberated it produces crops five times more than it used to. So it is not only the people that are free, even the land is free,' the old man told me."

She said that on a visit to the Soviet Union she insisted on seeing the University of Moscow. "I was keen to compare it with the kind of education our children get. And was I surprised! The buildings are beautiful and the swimming pools are weather-conditioned. Each student has a telephone in his or her room.

"Another thing that greatly impressed me there was that everybody, young and old, is forced to read for 30 minutes every day. I was treated so well that I cried.

"I cried because, I thought to myself, here are complete strangers giving me royal treatment. Why can I not be decently treated at home? I will always remember their hospitality," she said.

The irony was that Mrs. Ngoyi returned from the Soviet Union after the V.I.P. treatment to be bundled into jail for High Treason. "I was among the last group to be discharged. Although the trial took long and we were worried about the outcome I made many dear and lasting friendships," she said.

Has she any fears of another banning order being slapped on her? "Anything can happen. I am always prepared, like I have been in the past, and if it does happen I will take it in my stride. I think I have already been schooled in weathering storms.

"You can tell my friends all over the world that this girl is still her old self, if not more mature after all the experiences. I am looking forward to the day when my children will share in the wealth of our lovely South Africa.

"I am glad that now all is over and it only the memories, bitter and sweet, that remain," Mrs. Ngoyi said, standing up while talking as though remembering the old days when she used to address meetings at Freedom Square, Trades Hall and other places.

"I just pray that I be left in peace now, and that my children's friends can visit them without fear. I intend to use my newly acquired partial freedom to the best of my ability," she ended.

SART: Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour

Press Statement on the Proposed British Rugby Team of South Africa

The vicious policy of apartheid racism is firmly entrenched in all areas of South African society, including the national sports of cricket and rugby. All international sports bodies forbid racism, and racial discrimination is of course totally opposed to all ideals of fair-play. Sport does not lend itself to such an inhuman policy and nearly all the countries in the world have refused to play with racist teams. Britain is one of the few exceptions.

At the meeting of the International Cricket Conference recently, South Africa was excluded from international cricket. The cancellation of the British Lions rugby tour to South Africa in May next year, would leave the racist South African sportsmen isolated. This would force changes in the present repressive system.

The British Lions Tour is of special significance for another reason; the Lions are scheduled to play against 3 different South African teams (black, white and coloured). This would serve to consolidate the apartheid policy, a state of affairs that should be anathema to all true sportsmen.

We believe that the majority of people in Britain will be opposed to a tour under these conditions and expect massive support for our campaign. The first phase of the campaign will be an information service to educate the public; followed by the setting up of local groups, particularly in the rugby areas. The second stage will be negotiation with national unions, clubs, players and officials to persuade them to refuse support for the tour - this will include a delegation to Mr. Albert Agar, Secretary of the Home Counties Rugby Union. The third stage will be leafletting, placards, pickets and protests at various places. Among the supporting and sponsoring bodies at this stage are the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, African National Congress, South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, National Union of Students, Student Christian Movement, Catholic Institute for International Relations, Young Communists, Young Liberals and Young Socialists. Sports bodies, trade unions and churches will be solicited for support. MPs sympathetic to our cause will lobby in the Commons, and similarly, Peers in the Lords.

Sports campaigns have been the most successful attacks on the apartheid regime and SART has on its committee members who are well known for their efforts to eliminate racism in sport. All interested individuals and organisations are invited to contact us for further information and help in establishing local groups.

Chairman: Ron Taylor.

Vice Chairman and Press Officer: Peter Hain.

Secretary: Julian Brutus, 18 Hilton Avenue, N. 12

Telephone: 01-445 6109

VORSTER'S GEOG



GOOD MORNING
if Mr. Vorster were black,
his day might well start in
an overcrowded hostel
with 15 other men.



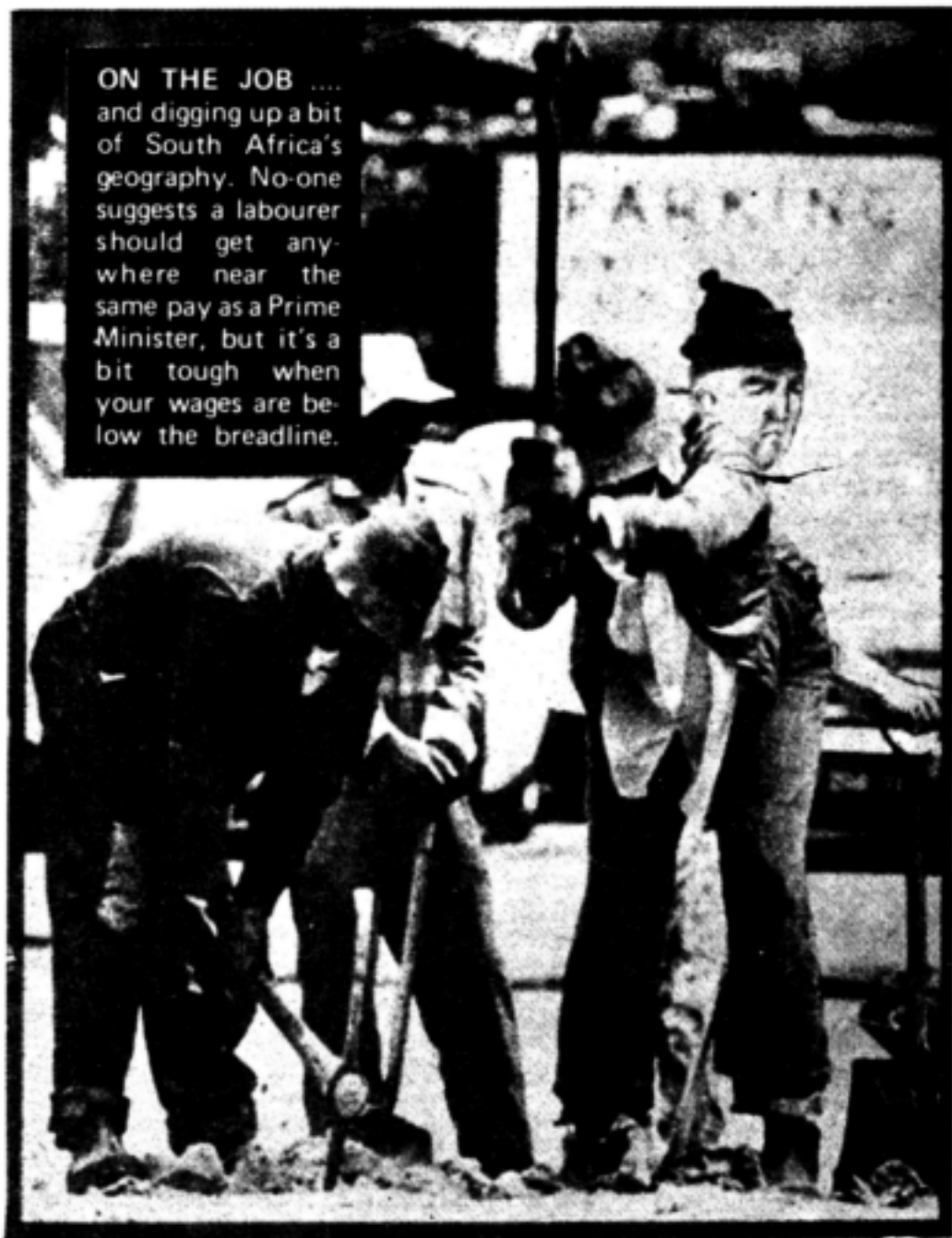
The South African Prime Minister, Vorster, said in Parliament that, if he were to wake up one morning and find himself a black man, the only major difference would be geographical. **Drum** magazine in Johannesburg thought more was involved in being black in South Africa and, to make the point, published a series of photographs putting Vorster in typically

black situations. Several Nationalists objected to the photographs and said they were an insult to the Prime Minister. **Drum's** editor denied any insult: "All we wanted to do was to show that geographic differences were not the only differences between blacks and whites in South Africa". These are some of the photographs.

GRAPHY



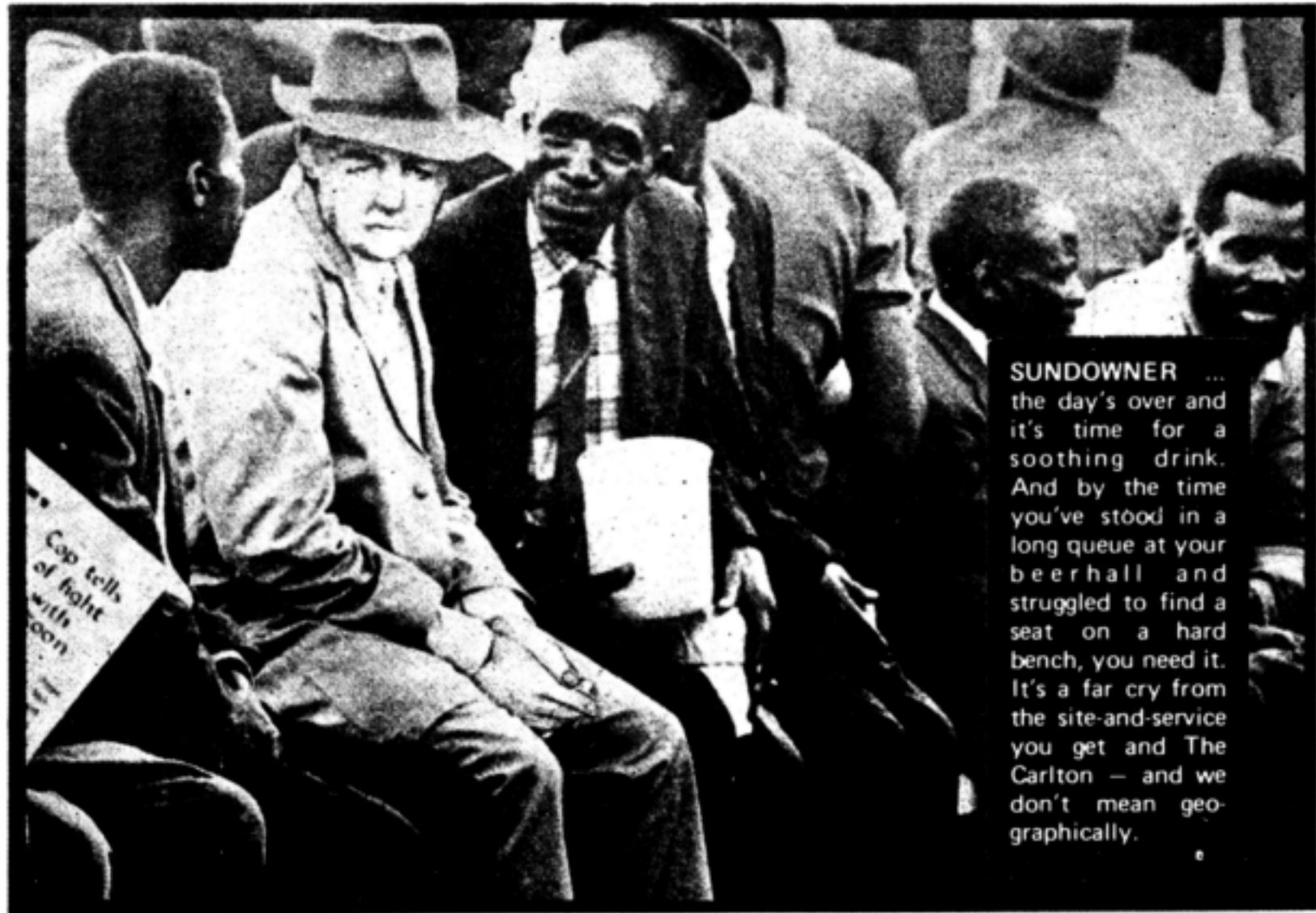
OFF TO WORK standing in long queues, squeezing into overcrowded trains — it's a bit different from going to work in the back of a spacious, air-conditioned Cadillac.



ON THE JOB and digging up a bit of South Africa's geography. No-one suggests a labourer should get anywhere near the same pay as a Prime Minister, but it's a bit tough when your wages are below the breadline.



OH OH! pass left at home. Make sure there's no pass-hunting cop around the corner. It's not quite the same as being saluted and bowed to by men in uniform wherever you go.



SUNDOWNER the day's over and it's time for a soothing drink. And by the time you've stood in a long queue at your beerhall and struggled to find a seat on a hard bench, you need it. It's a far cry from the site-and-service you get and The Carlton — and we don't mean geographically.

MRS. FLORENCE MAJOLA

A Personal Testimony

(Mrs. Florence Majola, a former executive member of the Federation of South African Women, was for 10 years hounded and harrassed by the South African Security Police for her involvement in this women's organisation and for her political views. She sent this testimony to the 302nd meeting of the Adhoc Working Group of Experts of the U.N. Human Rights Commission.)

The Plight of Africans in South Africa

Africans are being uprooted from urban areas, irrespective of whether they are born there or not. This means even depriving them of the ownership of their houses, which they have bought. After the death of the husband, for example, his widow cannot own the house.

Africans are being endorsed out, in their hundreds every day, to far-flung camps where they conveniently provide cheap labour (or even free labour) for the white farmers. Children born in towns but who do not have a birth certificate, are denied reference books and are therefore endorsed out to the rural areas to provide future cheap labour.

In 1968, the entire population of the Shangaan tribe from the Venda areas was removed to their so-called homeland. Their belongings were loaded onto trucks and they were dumped in a lion-infested open veld. Some people died of cold and some were killed by lions. When the menfolk working in the towns heard about the plight of their families, they left their jobs and joined their people to help resettle them. Some of the men found their families camping in the open veld, with the wreckage of their belongings strewn about them. No shacks or even tents had been provided for these people, they lived under trees until they themselves put up some grass huts. The authorities had obviously felt that as these people were being moved to a remote and isolated area of the Transvaal lowveld, there was no need for the token provision of even the crudest temporary shelter - no one in the outside world would know about it.

Even in other areas where temporary shelter is provided there are usually no schools and clinics, no water supply or work opportunities. The old and infirm are removed from the so-called white areas because they are no longer useful to serve the white community. Those who are said to qualify for

old age pensions get R7.00 (about \$8) every alternate month.

Removals of Africans from their homes in the urban areas to the government resettlement is the order of the day. The land they are "resettled" on is divided into small plots irrespective of the size of the family. Livestock is limited and heavy taxation is enforced. The areas allocated for resettlement are always barren, stony and sandy places. This is the plight of our people in South Africa.

My Personal Experience

I became involved in politics in 1960. From that year onwards I became a target for harrasement by the Security Police, both at home and at work. My employers adopted a threatening attitude towards me for no tangible reasons as far as my work was concerned. On June 30th in 1963, at 8 p.m., my house was surrounded by Security Police, each knocking at windows and doors. My husband opened the door, and in rushed four policemen, two whites and two blacks, who demanded to know where Mr. Sisulu was (Walter Sisulu is a prominent leader of the African National Congress who is now serving a life sentence on Robben Island.) They started searching for what they termed "communist" correspondence and magazines. At the end of the search they got my six-year old daughter and searched under her armpits and in her panties for any hidden documents. They took my husband for detention and left the house with a magazine of the Federation of South African Women and a few personal letters from friends outside South Africa. From then on they checked on me regularly, at least once a month, at any time of the day or night.

In 1965 I was elected to the executive committee of the Federation of South African Women, and early in 1966 I took over as secretary. In March 1966 I was taken to the Greys Building (The Security Police eHodquarters in Johannesburg) for interrogation. This was followed by many and regular interrogations. On October 31st, 1966, I was taken from my house to the Meadowlands Police station by two African detectives. When I arrived, a Mr. van Rensburg told me he was giving me a banning order. He pushed a copy into my hands and started reading from the one he had. I refused to accept the banning order from the police station as it was addressed to me at my house. He became furious but I was adamant as I knew he wanted to avoid having to go the Moroka Township where I lived. But he had to

yield at my insistence on the correct way of issuing the order. We drove to my house where the banning order was handed to me.

Interrogations at police headquarters, frequent visits by security police, and being shadowed became the order of the day. One Monday morning in December 1968, I went as usual to report to the police station, as I had to do once a week under the banning order. The usual register was missing and I was made to sign a different book. A week later I was visited by the Security Police who asked me why I hadn't reported to the police the previous Monday. I told them that I had, explaining what had happened, and they left.

On Monday 29th April, 1969, I was picked up by the police from my house at 7 a.m. and taken to the Meadowlands Police Station where I was questioned on the whererabouts of my son who had left the country a few months previously. I denied knowledge of his whereabouts, said he had left for school in Swaziland and that he had a valid document. At the end of this session I was told to appear at the Orlando Police Station the following day, where I was charged with having broken my banning order for "not reporting to the police" on a Monday in December 1968. The case dragged on for three moths until I was found guilty and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, all suspended except for four days. I was defended by Mrs. Kuper instructed by Mr. Carlson. I served my four days from 1st August, 1969.

Plight Worsened

On my discharge I began to worry about my suspended sentence and the police visits were intensified to the point where they checked on me almost daily, at home and at work. Mr. Swanepoel also came to try to find out why I was so "anti-government", making all kinds of offers and giving me names of my fellow-politicians whom he claimed were now free and comfortable because they had decided to give up their struggle. This of course was a police stunt. I told him I was more determined than ever to fight for my rights, since he had won others to his side. My plight became worse as pamphlets would be planted in my letter box and seized again by the police.

In December 1969, because of police harrasment I forgot to report to the police one Monday until after 8 p.m., when I would be breaking my banning order if I left the house. And since I knew that this fresh charge would bring the implementation of the suspended sentence I decided to leave my country. On March 19th, 1970 I left and arrived in Gaborone, Botswana with my two daughters on the same day.

- **More Strikes on the Black Campuses**
- **Students expelled, banned, arrested**
- **Two Universities closed down**

Just over a year ago the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking of Black student unrest, claimed publicly that "more and more" Africans, Coloureds and Indians were throwing their weight behind the State.

This stupid boast showed either just how ignorant the Government was on the depth and nature of the upheaval on the campuses or, as we believe, a white-washing exercise to placate the growing horror with which the world community is viewing events in the country.

Whilst alienating the entire Black urban working class, as we have shown in a previous article, the Government is also alienating a whole new generation whilst continuing to blame "a handful of trouble makers." At present there are ugly troubles once again on several Black campuses and high schools.

The pattern of legitimate discontent leading to protest, leading to official smothering, leading to open conflict is all too familiar in our country. Since Abraham Tiro was expelled from the University of Turfloop for opening his mouth in May 1972 (see *Sechaba* Vol 6 No 8), there is hardly a single Black centre of higher learning that has not had its share of conflict. Unrest on the Black campuses has become endemic. And it will continue to be so unless there is a radical change

in the attitude of the authorities towards the aspirations and aims of the Black student population.

Suspensions, Expulsions

Suspensions, expulsions, the calling in of the police have become almost an instinctive response to the situation.

During last year's unrest the Coloured University of the Western Cape locked out all 1600 students and called in the security police. The Government ordered 800 suspensionus at two Indian colleges in Natal. At the Indian University of Durban-Westville, a boycott by 650 students was followed by suspensions and bannings. At the African University of Zululand, 500 went on strike, nine were expelled and 17 left in sympathy. At Fort Hare, an African college in the Eastern Cape 13 were expelled and 35 sympathisers left the college. Turfloop expelled 23; 250 refused to re-enroll.

Meanwhile nothing is done about the fundamental student complaint, which is that the Government is ramming down Black throats what it considers to be good for them. Nationalist imperialism and paternalism combine to frustrate their aspirations. Nearly every

rector is a Nationalist Afrikaaner disciplinarian; Blacks have no say whatever.

A SASO (South African Students Organisation) spokesman crystallised the resentment: "As long as the authorities think that Black students are small boys and girls who must be kicked around at will, the present situation will always prevail."

Present Troubles

At the time of going to press there is widespread unrest once again at some universities and High Schools.

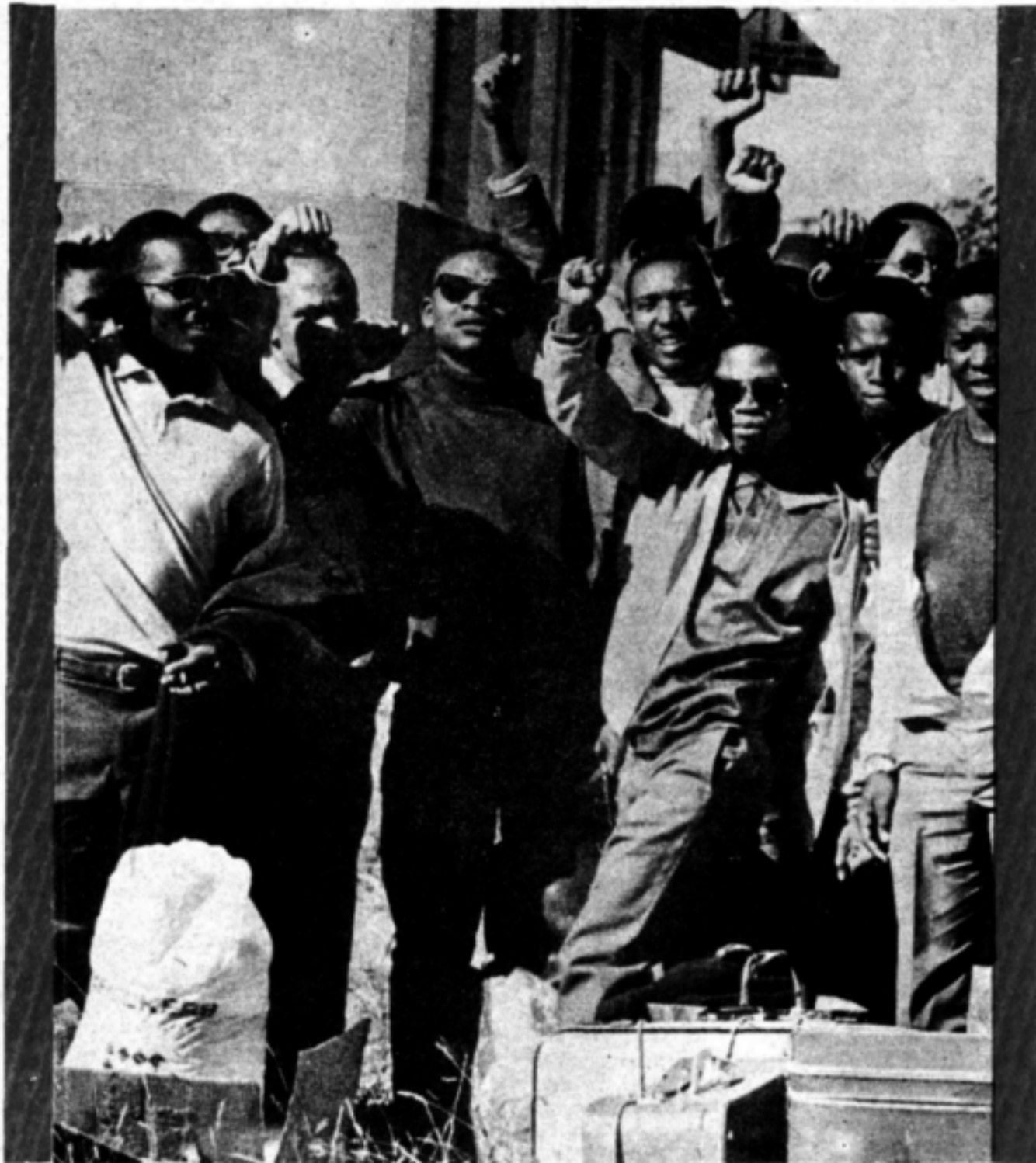
- The Coloured University of the Western Cape (U.W.C.) is totally deserted.
- At Fort Hare a little over 200 students out of a total of 1000 are on the campus.
- At the Bethesda Teacher Training College in Pietersburg, 115 students were found guilty "of disturbing the peace."
- At the Rhoda High School in Cofimvaba 116 students were found guilty following a riot.

UWC: Hamfisted Action

The University of the Western Cape was established in 1960 to "serve the needs of Coloured students." The University has a total of 1600 students. Yet the Governing Council is White (except for two recently appointed Coloured members), the Senate is White (except, until recently, for Mr. Adam

Is it any wonder that unrest prevails in Black schools and universities when Black children are forced to learn under conditions such as these





Strength is Ours – say these determined Black students

Small a Coloured lecturer), there are 79 White staff members and only 13 Coloured staff members (most of the Coloured lecturers were appointed only recently), there are 19 White professors; no Coloureds, and the Whites are paid more than the Coloured staff. And the Government has the temerity to call it the Coloured people's "own university."

Trouble at the university began seriously in May last year. So the Security Police were called in. Students started a food boycott, so six of them were expelled from the hostel.

Among others, Tom Swartz, the Government-appointed Chairman of the Coloured Representative Council asked for a Black rector. A White Dutch Reformed Church dominee, Professor C. J. Kriel, was appointed.

When the students became restive the council responded by gazetting, last September, a long list of regulations which prohibited: all campus organisations except officially approved

ones; the distribution of student journals or pamphlets; the issuing of press statements and so on. At every point at which rector-student relations broke down, the Security Police appeared on the scene. No one thought of redressing the students' grievances.

Defiantly the students elected a new SRC more militant than the former one.

The Security Police intensified their activities which consisted, in the main, of harassment, intimidation and constant interrogation.

In May this year, SRC president Henry Issacs was suspended but refused to pay a R50 fine, and was finally suspended from the university. Later he was banned and confined to Pietermaritzburg in Natal.

Resign Call

The SRC suspended itself because it felt it could not function as it was not

officially recognised, and a 10-man action committee was appointed.

Prof. Kriel was asked to resign, but instead the police were called in again. Lectures were boycotted, and the council closed the university on June 12, with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe.

Students were told that if they want to be readmitted by July 15, when the University would reopen, they would have to give a written undertaking "to abide by the rules and regulations."

This naturally angered the students. They decided not to apply for readmission. The escalation was gathering momentum.

In a press interview, the Minister took a tough line, saying that he would not "tolerate disorder and intimidation." Then he had to climb down and waive the demand for a written undertaking of obedience from the students.

Earlier the University Council had announced the appointment of two multi-racial committees to investigate student grievances, and to screen the registration of students. Whites dominated both committees, so the three Coloured members of the second committee withdrew.

Still the situation at the university deteriorated. Mr. Adam Small, head of the Department of Philosophy, senior member of the Coloured lecturing staff, a noted poet and a prominent member of the Coloured community, resigned from the university in protest against the blatant discrimination and the manner in which the students were being treated.

The students rejected the university's committees of inquiry into their grievances and demanded a judicial commission. A somewhat chastened council backed their request to Van der Merwe, the Minister who, however said "No."

Later, Dr. Van der Merwe had to climb down for a second time and appoint a judicial commission.

At the time of writing reports indicate that the university is a deserted institution. Mr. Ruben Hare, one of the 18 student action-committee members suspended by the rector, in a statement said that most of the students who walked out of the university were going to take jobs. Others would tour South Africa to enlist support from the community for the students' walk-out and raise money for their free university.

"As far as we are concerned," he said, "UWC no longer exists. We will concentrate on getting our free university off the ground."

Free Black University

Meanwhile, spearheaded by the UWC students, Black students and some lecturers held a meeting at the Athlone Stadium in the Cape at which a fund for a private Black University, free of Government control and authoritarianism was launched. At the same meeting a decision was taken to call a "Black summit" of African, Coloured and Indian leaders in South Africa. Such a meeting was subsequently held and unanimously agreed to work for the establishment of a Free Black University.

* * * * *

Fort Hare: Students Quit

Fort Hare, that great institution which produced such revolutionaries as Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Oliver Tambo and many, many others has had a turbulent history. But, none it appears as turbulent as the present one. At the time of writing a little over 200 students out of about 1000, remain on the campus following widespread resentment felt by the students against those in authority at the University. The statistics speak volumes for the degree of frustration and anger among the University's African students.

Apart from 150 initially rounded up, like common criminals, by the police and sent home as a result of the unrest, hundreds more have voluntarily chosen to walk out. Such a drastic form of protest is all the more significant because, for all of them, the obtaining

Such are the facilities provided by Bantu Education - none



of a university degree offers the great hope of breaking through barriers which their skin-colour creates. The fact that they are prepared, like their compatriots at the Coloured UWC, to put their degrees, and hence their future, at risk indicates the strength of their feelings.

The immediate cause of the present troubles was student dissatisfaction with the behaviour of a Black hostel warden, Mr. O. H. D. Makunga. The students alleged that Mr. Makunga was not prepared to cooperate with their house committee on matters affecting the students. They said further that the rate of expulsions since Mr. Makunga became a warden was one a week. Since last year 24 students were expelled from the university. When the students took the matter up with the rector he refused to consider their complaints.

However, while this may be the immediate cause of the dissatisfaction the roots of the trouble go far deeper. The first cause of grievance is simply that grievances, however legitimate, cannot be freely aired. And this in turn results from the apartheid mentality which is basic to the existence of Fort Hare - and the other Black universities.

* * * * *

Student Teachers Riot

The provocative and often blatantly racialistic attitude of the White principal and staff towards the students at the Bethesda Training College for African teachers came to a head when the principal, Gideon Theron, insulted the students at assembly criticising them on their personal hygiene.

The students enraged by his remarks attacked the staff with sticks and stones. They then damaged cars belonging to the staff and broke down doors.

As a result 116 students were arrested and charged and found guilty of disturbing the peace. Ninety four were each sentenced to one year in jail (six months suspended) and the remaining 22 were sentenced to 8 strokes with a cane.

Nkosi Sikelele

On being sentenced the students burst into song: singing the African National Congress national anthem: 'Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika.' This anthem has been adopted by Zambia and Tanzania and is sung with "Die Stem", to welcome Cabinet Ministers and the State Presi-



dent when they visit the various Homelands.

Unlike "Die Stem", which has arrogant overtones, "Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika" is a humble and beautiful plea for the protection of Africa.

The translation of the anthem is:

Lord have mercy on Africa,

Let its horn be raised,

Hear our prayers.

Lord have mercy

On us its children.

Let it be so,

Let it be so, for ever and ever.

Lord save our nation,

End all strife and suffering,

Lord save our nation.

* * * * *

Another 116 Sentenced

One hundred and sixteen students at the Rhoda High School in Cofimvaba were found guilty of public violence in the Magistrate's Court following a riot at their school.

Nine of the pupils were sentenced to fines of R40 (or 120 days imprisonment) of which R20 (or 90 days) was suspended.

The others were sentenced to receive from four to eight cuts with a cane depending on their ages. Twenty three of the pupils under the age of 14 were discharged.

The cause of the trouble: The students who had paid for their school uniforms did not receive them although two terms had passed and their repeated requests were ignored by the school authorities.

GENERAL DECLARATION AND RESOLUTION OF THE 1ST PAN-AFRICAN YOUTH FESTIVAL

**The African Youth Must Be The
Avant-garde Of The Struggle
For Liberation, Progress,
Justice And Independence In Africa
And In The World**



At the initiative of the Pan-African Youth Movement, the first Pan-African Youth Festival, a major event in the history of our Continent's Youth has taken place in Tunis, capital of the sister Republic of Tunisia from July 13 to July 22, 1973.

4,100 participants from 38 countries have met in an unequalled climate of African friendship united around the mobilising slogan of **Independence, Unity and Solidarity.**

The African youth addressed their brotherly salute and their solemn homage to the youth, the people and the government of Tunisia for the warm welcome and the efforts undertaken for the complete success of this great meeting of the African youth. They expressed to the Supreme Combatant President Habib Bourguiba, who has made this Festival possible through moral and material support, their thanks, their respectful considerations and they follow his example in the African man's fight for liberty and development.

The massive participation of the youth of ANC, FLCS, FRELIMO, MLSTP, MOLINACO, MPLA, PAIGC, SWAPO and ZAPU made it possible for the Festival to have its real dimensions by allowing the Africans to express their determination to free themselves and to unite the Continent.

The presence by our sides of the delegation of the Liberation Movement of Palestine, Vietnam, FLNA, the Delegation of the Socialist countries and of the progressive forces of the capitalist countries as also of international democratic organisations allowed us to express the internationalistic feelings of the African youth, its will to work for the intensification of the anti-imperialist world Front and to express our attachment and solidarity with the fight for the establishment of an era of Liberty, Justice, Democracy, Social progress, Solidarity, Peace and Friendship between the peoples. We salute and thank the OAU for having accepted to be with us showing therefore, that between the African Youth and the states, no contradictions would exist if all identify with the interests of the African masses.

The participation of UNESCO at this Festival has demonstrated the greatness of its impact in the world. The African youth on the occasion of the Festival reaffirms its full and complete adherence to the clear and just principles of the Pan-African Youth Movement.

The first Pan-African Youth Festival salutes the heroic fights which the



President Habib Bourguiba opening the 1st Pan African Youth Festival

African National Liberation movements are leading against colonialism, imperialism and racism. It also salutes the fights of all other peoples and in particular that of Indochina and Palestine.

The African youth pays its respect to the memory of all the fighters for freedom who died in the name of the ideals of the progressive humanity.

The first Festival salutes with recognition and respect the memory of Patrice Lumumba, Eduardo Mondlane, Albert Luthuli, Amilcar Cabral, Kamel Nasser, Nguyen Van Troi, Ernesto Che Guevara, Julian Grimandi, Lambrakis.

The Festival salutes with respect the memory of Presidents Gamel Abdel Nasser and Kwame N'Krumah, prestigious leaders and founders of the Organisation of African Unity.

Youth of Africa!

Our Festival, the first to bring together the African Youth Organisations of many countries is held in African and international conjunction marked by the rise of the popular fight for national liberation from the system of exploitation and oppression of man.

We have just celebrated the 10th anniversary of the OAU under the banner of Liberty and Unity.

This event is of cardinal importance to our people as long as the OAU remains the only organisation on the level of a continent which clearly roots its actions in anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism and for African Unity. That is why we believe that it is our duty to firmly back up the OAU to get all the states to carry out the just principles which inspire and work towards the end of all forms of colonialism and imperialism present in our Continent because we are convinced that such is the only way which will lead Africa to become the unique mother-land for all Africans from the Mediterranean sea to the Cape and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and Red Sea.

The greatness of the African Youth is being shown as great victories are reaped by our brothers who are still dominated especially in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Cape Verde.

In spite of the fact that the Portuguese colonialists backed by the aggressive group of NATO have thrown 200,000 men in these colonial wars and even though this enormous force of aggression spends more than \$2,000,000 per day, the invaders sustain defeat after defeat.

In Angola the fighters of MPLA after having extended the combat to over

half the country are making important offensives in order to consolidate the freed zones which represent half a million square kilometers.

These victories, the undeniable patriotism of the people of Angola and the action of the brother countries especially Congo, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia have created favourable conditions for the unification of the nationalist movement of Angola. Thus between the MPLA and the FNLA has been constituted a Supreme Council and their combined efforts will surely lead to the crushing of the Portuguese colonists.

In Guinea Bissau the PAIGC, having destroyed the airforce supremacy of the Portuguese colonialists, has been able to get to a new phase of the fight with important long-lasting combats, of shutting in and destroying enemy bases. This has been proved by the Amilcar Cabral operation against the entrenched camp of Gutledge. The next meeting held by the National Assembly elected by popular vote will allow the people of Guinea and Cape Verde to declare the legal existence of the state which corresponds to the concrete reality of the country.

FRELIMO in Mozambique, after having destroyed many attempts of blockade and of counter-offensive, has succee-

ded in extending the fight to the zones most sensitive to the Portuguese and imperialist domination in Southern Africa, i.e. the mining province of TETE, the zone of the giant dam of Cobora-Bassa and now the zone of Manica and Sofala, strategic centres and vital means of communication for Rhodesia.

FRELIMO is now fighting vigorously in an attempt to consolidate the freed zones which represent over 200,000 kilometers.

The South African and Rhodesian troops and air forces, which are trying to help their colonialist allies, sustain severe defeats.

We congratulate the development of the peoples anticolonialist fight at S. TOME and principally under the leadership of the MLSTP.

All these victories have allowed the rise of a new reality in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique. For the first time in Africa and in the course of the liberation movements, the colonial power is being destroyed and new forms of governments whose interests lie in the people of Africa are being established.

Therefore, the African youth is expected to respect the decisions taken by several states and international bodies e. g. the OAU and UNO who consider the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea, Cape Verde and Mozambique the sole and legitimate representatives of their people.

The severe military defeats and the isolation must explain the present series of murders and crimes of genocide committed by Portuguese colonialism.

Having failed in its attempts to scare the masses by threatening them with mass imprisonment, internment of millions of people in concentration camps, napalm bombings, the throwing of chemical products, etc., Lisbon has chosen to murder leaders and slaughter unarmed populations.

The killing of African heroes like Eduardo Mondlane and Amilcar Cabral and the unsuccessful crimes attempted on the lives of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC revolutionary leaders, demonstrates clearly the criminal mentality characterizing the Portuguese regime. The recent act of genocide, to "drain the water where the guellila fish breeds" which included the massacre of women, children and old people on the Wiriamu village in Mozambique is one of the most striking examples which prove the barbaric and fascist policy pursued by the Portuguese colonialists. The Festival denounces and strongly stigmatizes these crimes and asks the PYM along with African democratic youth and world organizations to create a commission composed of world-known jurists that would inquire into the atrocities committed in the Portuguese colonies.

The principal task of our continent remains for us to intensify our support for the struggling people of Portuguese colonies, since they constitute the

weakest link of the imperialist chain in Africa. At the same time we must reinforce our support for the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and other colonial territories in struggle, who are faced with an enormous complex of imperialistic interests.

The ANC has succeeded by underground work of great importance to draw along in its ranks a great proportion of workers.

The Festival greets the victories won by ZAPU over Smith's regime and is glad to learn that agreement has been reached between ZAPU and ZANU, an agreement that will make patriots' attacks against the racists more efficient. The Festival asks African and World youth to intensify the campaign for the liberation of all patriots who are imprisoned and in particular President Joshua Nkomo.

In Namibia, the workers' general strikes and the victory of SWAPO's guerrillas exhaust South Africa's plans of annexing this country. These popular victories succeeded in putting an end to the attempts made in certain quarters to thwart the decisions of the United Nations and of the International Court of Justice as regards Namibia.

The First Pan-African Youth Festival:

- Condemns Great Britain's systematic use of veto at UNO because it prevents all effective action that would oblige the racist and white minority governments to accept the rule of the majority in Zimbabwe.

ANC delegation entering the stadium at the Tunis Festival

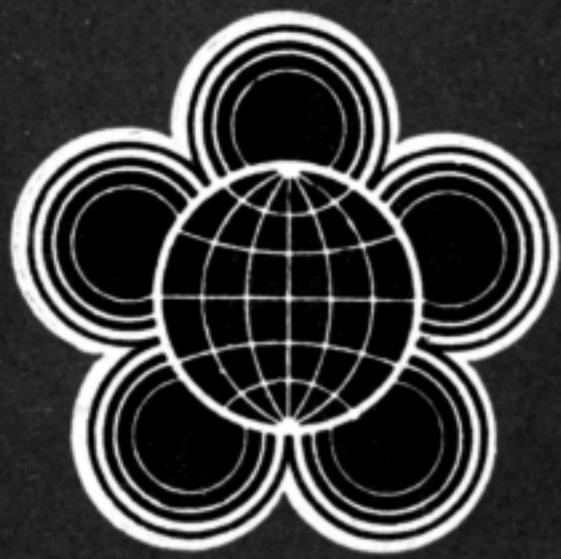




ANC delegates at one of the many conferences held during the festival. From left they are Joe Ntshangane leader of the delegation, Jacqueline Molefe and Antonio Mongala (above) and below – SWAPO delegation at the opening of the festival

- Denounces the numerous arrests and imprisonments on Robben Island which befell militants and patriots in South Africa.
- Condemns the illegal presence of 25,000 South African soldiers in Namibia and the perfidious manoeuvres to introduce non-white South African troops.
- Condemns bombings over villages in the district of Caprivi and the imprisonment of thousands of Namibians in the operating districts of SWAPO.
- Demands that the South African and Rhodesian governments treat prisoners of war conforming with the dispositions taken by the Geneva convention.
- Asks that in Africa and throughout the world a vast campaign for the release of African political prisoners be engaged.





X WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS

**Appeal from Berlin
to Youth of
of the World**



The 750,000 participants in a ceremony concluding the tenth World Youth Festival on 5 August passed an Appeal from Berlin to the Youth of the World. The appeal, which was read out by Angela Davis, reads:

"We, 25,000 representatives of millions of young people from 140 countries of all continents, of various political and religious persuasions, have gathered at the 10th World Festival of Youth



GDR youths in a mighty demonstration of welcome to the participants of the X Festival of Youths and Students

and Students for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship, in August 1973 in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

"We have demonstrated our commitment to and our responsibility for contributing unrelentingly to the profound changes taking place in our time. "We are entering a new stage in history, which through the struggle of the peoples and youth, is opening up new

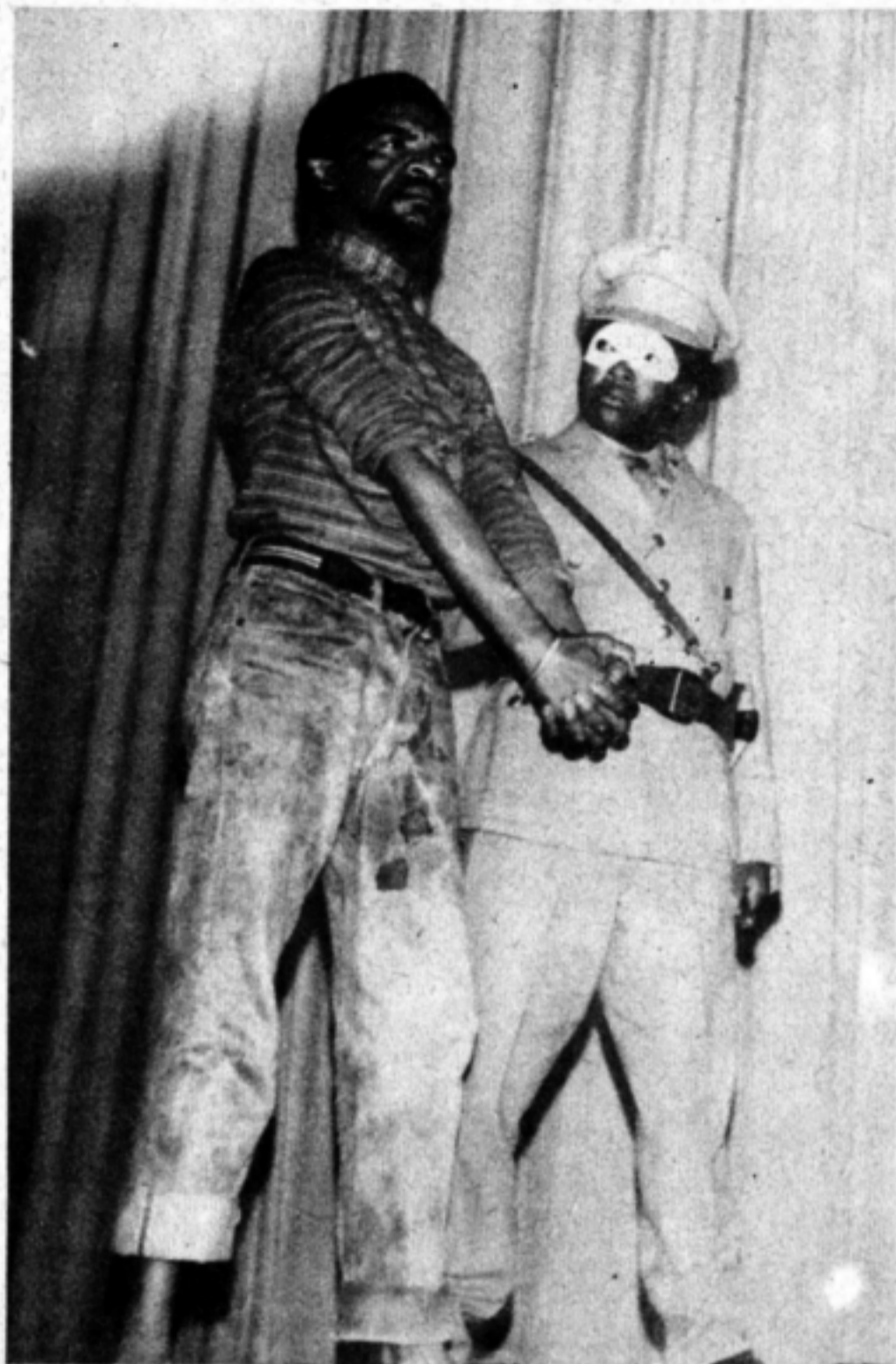
prospects to us. Today the development of the socialist countries, the progressive forces in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements are defeating the policy of aggression pursued by imperialism and are limiting its sphere of activity. Great successes have been scored. The victory of heroic Vietnam is a historic proof of this.

"However, we know imperialism, and

will therefore intensify our actions and our struggle, unite our efforts and develop our cooperation, in order to make the striving for peace and social progress into an irresistible force.

"We, the youth of the world, in close cooperation with each other, will continue our struggle:

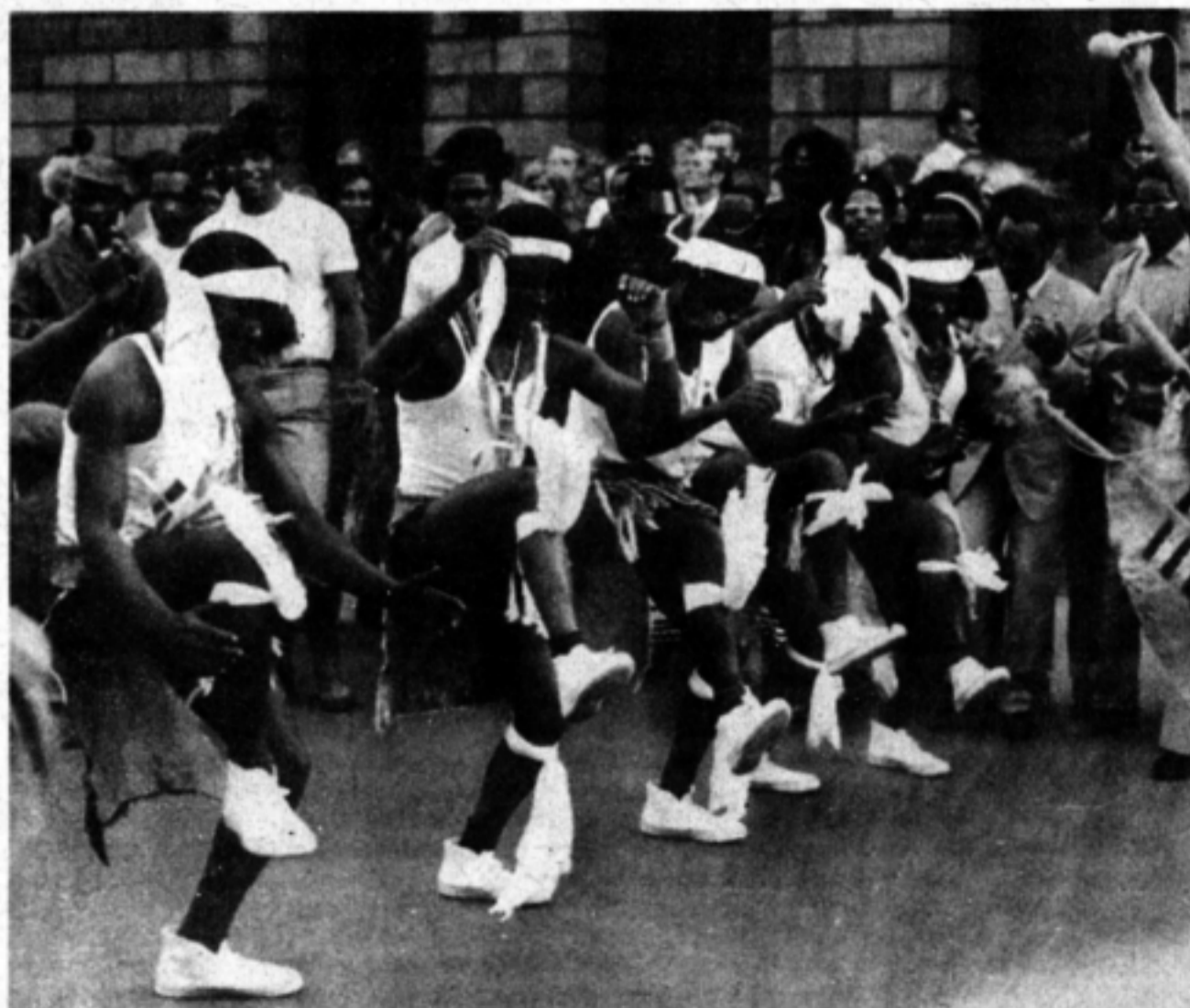
"For peace: so that imperialist aggression, war and the arms race will cease,



Pule Sees it Through was the title of a play produced by South Africans in the GDR and staged during the festival (left)

Photographs from Tunis and Berlin by: Hannes Wagner (3), Latiff (7), Ndindah (1), ADN/Zentralbild (5)

South African Folk dances and songs were very popular features at the festival (below)



so that peace and security in Europe and in the other regions of the world will be ensured, so that the World will advance on the path of peaceful co-existence, so that the right of the peoples to decide their destiny themselves will be recognised, so that a peaceful and just solution of international conflicts will be guaranteed;

"for national independence: so that an end will be put to colonialism, neo-colonialism and monopoly rule, so that the resources of each country will be put to the service of national and social development, in the service of the people and youth;

"for democracy and freedom: so that fascism and neo-fascism will be defeated, so that dictatorship, oppression, apartheid and racial discrimination will be ended, so that the basic liberties and rights of man will be recognised, so that profound social change and social progress will be achieved;

"for the rights of youth: so that the oppression, exploitation and discrimination of youth will be ended, so that everywhere the young generation will get the right to work and to study, the right to a democratic education, to an over-all participation in the management of society, the right to culture and leisure.

"From Berlin our Appeal is addressed

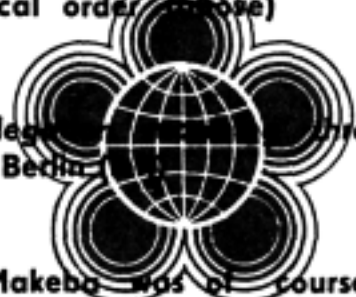
Triumphant entry of the ANC delegation in the stadium at the Berlin Festival – (below)





Assembly point of all delegations before the march into the stadium was the famous Unter den Linden. Our delegation is seen awaiting its turn which was in strict alphabetical order (above)

ANC delegation marching through the streets of Berlin



Miriam Makeba was of course Miriam Makeba, cooing and wooing her way through millions of hearts in the GDR (below)





to the young generation of the whole world:

- let us develop anti-imperialist solidarity – now more than ever: with the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples; with the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa; with all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; with the peoples of the capitalist countries; with the Socialist countries and with all peoples treading the path of progress and peace;

- let us reinforce our action and our unity in the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

Long live the World Festival of Youth and Students!"

The people, of the GDR are great autograph collectors and during the festival foreign delegates were the chief 'targets'. Yasser Arafat leader of the Palestine Liberation Movement was no exception (above)

Gathering of South Africans in front of the State Opera (below)

This young man from the GDR Pioneer Movement seen standing in the central square of Berlin and collecting signatures for release of political prisoners in Spain (below)





Angela Davis reading out the Appeal from Berlin at the closing ceremony. On her extreme right is Erich Hon-ecker, 1st Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Next to her are Roberto Viezzi, President of WFDY and Willie Stoph, President of the State Council of the GDR (above) and below, some of the ANC delegates seen together with their hosts of the Free German Youth (FDJ)



Zimbabwe delegates at a mass demonstration on the streets of Berlin (left)

West German Students Express

SUPPORT FOR ANC

Joint Communiqué of the ANC Youth and Students Section and the Confederation of German Students

At the invitation of the Confederation of German Students (VDS) – West Germany, a comprehensive and fruitful exchange of views on problems of international political developments, the anti-imperialist struggle of students, as well as on problems concerning close cooperation on the development of a continuous exchange of experiences took place on the occasion of the Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students at the national guest house of the delegation from South Africa in Berlin,

capital of the GDR – on 1 August 1973. In the course of the talk it became apparent that there is agreement between the VDS on the ANC Youth and Students on major issues of the present, on problems of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. Both organisations consider this agreement, evidence of the advancement of the international youth and student movement.

The Tenth World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin will continue to be

an impulse in bringing the international and national democratic student movement closer together and in advancing the unity of students throughout the world. In this, the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS) have an outstanding share. In the course of the talk, the VDS manifested its deep solidarity with the students fighting for their most elementary human rights in the Republic of South Africa. Special emphasis was attached in this talk to the disgraceful role of the monopolies of the FRG and their support by the SPD/FP government in their racial discrimination and super-exploitation of black workers. The VDS announced that it will intensify its activities in informing the public of the FRG on this issue and initiate actions against neo-colonialism by the FRG towards the peoples of Africa.

The ANC Youth and Students Section and the Confederation of German Students have agreed upon practical measures that will strengthen their friendly cooperation. They are convinced that this extension of the bilateral relations will contribute to strengthening the international unity of the youth and student movement.

The policy of Apartheid is coming more and more under the hammer by the progressive forces in West Germany. The picture on the left shows a demonstrator in Hamburg carrying a poster which reads "Racialism in South Africa harms the workers of West Germany" and the other picture is of a demonstration at the South African Embassy in Cologne on June 26 demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. Needless to say that the police were called in and a number of arrests made



Whites Must Change Ways

Certain Whites had to be cured of their dangerous attitude towards Blacks, Mr. Justice Hiemstra said recently when jailing two White youths for attacking an African woman and trying to rape her.

The two men, Gerhardus Beukes and Robert Brits attacked a 25-year-old African woman on the Greylingstadt station late at night as she was waiting for a train.

The woman told the court that one of the accused grabbed her by the throat and dragged her into a lavatory. He tried to pull her "slacks off. The other followed and hit her in the mouth with his fist.

Beukes hit her on the head with a chain and pointed a gun at her.

She screamed and two African men came to her rescue. The two accused fled.

Despite the judge's comment that certain Whites should be cured of their attitude towards Blacks, he sentenced the two men to only 18 months imprisonment.

Had the accused been Black and the woman White we have no doubt the sentences would have been much greater. Scores of African men are serving periods of up to 10 years at least for attempting to rape White women.

Almost all Africans convicted of raping White women are sentenced to death. Never has a White man convicted of raping a Black woman or even a White woman been sentenced to death!

Railmen Use "Kaffir" Slur

The incident reported above is by no means an isolated one. Insults, assault and even murders by Whites against Blacks, as this and other stories in this article will show, are a regular feature of the South African scene. The same



Sunset over a 'playing field' in one of South Africa's ghettos

week as the good Judge made his remarks (above) a Railway constable, a ticket examiner and a station master were involved in separate incidents when they insulted passengers and threatened to beat them up.

The first incident involving the constable took place on the railway platform at the Johannesburg station when a White constable slapped Mrs. Thandi Maqubela, a woman journalist, and called her a "bloody Kaffir maid". In a report to the press she said: "The whole thing started when the constable called my uncle a bloody kaffir and when I objected he said in Afrikaans: 'Keep quiet, you Bloody Kaffir Maid, otherwise I will slap you.'

"The first slap missed me. But the second one landed on my right cheek and another White constable, in plain clothes, said he was arresting me for failing to produce my pass and for disturbing the peace."

In the second incident a ticket examiner on a train demanded tickets from two children, and they told him their mother had them and that she was in the toilet. He got furious and went to the toilet door and kicking it shouted in Afrikaans: "Come out you bloody fuckin' Kaffir Maid."

The woman, Mrs. E. Matle, a senior staff nurse got a fright and opened the door.

A member of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, Mr. H. M. Leshabane, who was travelling in the same compartment remonstrated with the conductor and later reported the matter to the System Manager of the Railways.

In the third incident, African coal merchants in a statement to the press alleged that the station master at Nancefield constantly called them "kaffirs" and said that they wanted to kill him.

Murder One

A White, Lourens van Niekerk, who stabbed an African labourer working on a building site nearby, for using the tap in his yard, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrates court at a preparatory examination on an allegation of murder.

According to evidence the African was washing at the tap in van Niekerk's yard when van Niekerk asked him why he was there and told him that he was dirtying his yard.

As the African was going to the gate, van Niekerk told him to go back and clean the yard. He agreed. Von Niekerk then went to his car and came back with a "shining object".

The next the witnesses saw was the African jumping over the fence. He was bleeding from a stab wound in the chest and collapsed on a sidepath, where he died. According to the building contractor, the firm had obtained permission to draw water from van Niekerk's house.

The case is adjourned.

On the porch of an Orlando East home





Murder Two

A former warrant officer and station commander of the South African Police at Port Nolloth, Albertus van Wyk was sentenced to six years by Mr. Justice Baker at the criminal sessions in Cape Town after being convicted of culpable homicide.

Van Wyk was originally charged with murder following the death of a Coloured man, Mr. Joseph Abrahams, after he had been assaulted by van Wyk in the police charge office at Port Nolloth. According to medical evidence, Mr. Abrahams died of multiple injuries while he was held for questioning by van Wyk. He suffered a fractured skull, brain haemorrhage, 12 broken ribs and extensive abrasions and lacerations.

Despite the severity of the injuries, the court found that van Wyk had not intended to kill Mr. Abrahams, and that he did not appreciate the seriousness of the injuries he had inflicted until it was too late.

Sentencing van Wyk the judge said the court took into account the fact that van Wyk's career had come to an end after 17 years service.

"Having to sentence a senior police officer, I am today facing the most difficult task of my life," he said.

Naturally, he had nothing to say of the dead man. Who was now going to feed and clothe his family? No word at all except that van Wyk did not realise how badly he had beaten up

the dead man — a broken skull, 12 broken ribs the lot, notwithstanding. And that van Wyk's career had ended. How heartrending!

Murder Three

A White farmer who killed a one-year-old Black baby girl by striking her with a shambok (whip) was fined £13 by a court in the Transvaal.

The court was told that the farmer, Jacobus Benade, struck the baby's mother with the whip.

After two strokes she turned away, and a third stroke hit the baby strapped to the mother's back.

Yet another case of justice — South African style.

Doctor Ordered Out

An Indian doctor, who was assisting at an operation on his sister-in-law in a Cape Town hospital, had to leave the theatre after a White nursing sister objected to his presence.

The patient was already under anaesthetic, but the operation was delayed while a White doctor was called



hurriedly to assist the White gynaecologist.

The incident occurred at Woodstock Hospital. Mrs. Jamila Brey, of Athlone, was under anaesthetic on the operating table. Her brother-in-law and personal physician, Dr. O. A. Brey, had been asked by Dr. Wulf Utian to assist him at the operation. When Dr. Brey entered the operating theatre the sister assigned to the operation objected to his presence.

Cape Point, South Africa



CONCENTRATION CAMPS:

A haven for disease, malnutrition and death

One of the policies among the many which deny the African all fundamental human rights is the South African racist government's policy of so-called resettlement. Africans in their thousands form settlements in concentration-camp-style housing. This new system of accommodating Africans in urban areas is one of its kind in the world. The African urban dweller is not consulted. He is removed by order of the white bureaucrats who rule South Africa today.

The Government decides who should move and to which hostel one should go. Separate segregated hostels are built for men and women. The husband is put in one and the wife in another. Neither is allowed to visit each other. The children? No one as yet knows where they must go!

Concentration Camps

The first of these concentration camp structures have been built in Alexandra, in Johannesburg. The concrete structures are divided into identical wings, generally three built around courtyards. The one and only entrance to each hostel is a large gridded gate. The gates are electronically operated. The reason is obvious. In the event of any trouble these electronically operated gates would close and divide the entire building into three, thereby separating up the inmates. A member of parliament of the Nationalist ruling party had the temerity to suggest that they were for fire protection. He did not explain how people trapped within these gates could escape in case of fire.

Between 2,800 to 2,900 people are accommodated in each hostel. 40 people are provided with single rooms, the rest are two and four-bedded rooms for women and four, six, and eight-bedded for men. Each room has one tiny window at eye level and the other right up near the ceiling running the length of the room and way out of reach.

There is a single electrical adapter overhead. There are no electrical plugs, no heating and no cooling system. Electric plugs are not fitted for the ridiculous reason that they are too dangerous, a common phrase used by the fascists. Yet both men and women operate far more complicated electrical equipment daily in their places of employment whether it be domestic or industrial.

Alexandra, 9 miles from Johannesburg, has a climate, in the summer of temperatures that go up to almost 99 degrees (F) while in the winter it could drop below zero. Yet no heating or cooling systems are provided for the people. They sleep on narrow mattresses placed on concrete beds. All possessions go into a 6 foot by 1 foot locker. No provision is made for hanging clothes. There are no tables or chairs provided. Space is inconceivably limited being 40 square feet per person.

There are no reading rooms, no dining rooms, no lounge or a recreation hall. There is a bar lounge which accommodates only 300 people. This means that of the 2,800 people living here, 300 can occupy this lounge while the others remain in

their rooms. A gas ring provided for every five persons is the only cooking facility. Baking or roasting is a luxury not catered for even if on occasion one can afford such a luxury.

There is one bath or shower and one toilet for every 14 persons. One wash basin is provided for every eleven inmates. All these facilities are cramped in one small area. Each morning and evening people queue up for ablution and to use the toilet facilities in a passage 150 feet long and 4 feet wide. With most workers having to begin work around 7.30am, queues begin to form from around 4am, as bus services to the city, 9 miles away are also inadequate.

Overcrowded high density living conditions must lead to unhygienic conditions. Eight people sleeping in a badly ventilated room, having 40sq. ft. per person means each one living on and breathing into one another; 14 people to one toilet morning and night with no one having a decent bath or wash when 13 others are queuing up impatiently to do the same. Within a space of 150 feet by 4 feet, 70 people would be rushing around, washing, cooking, eating and queuing.

Malnutrition and Disease

With such inconceivably poor facilities provided for cooking what kind of meal is anyone going to prepare. There is no space to prepare a decent meal. No one can afford a balanced cold meal, e.g. fruits and cold meats. Such a luxury does not exist for the Africans. The best fruits are exported or are available in white shops, so is the cream of everything else for whites only.

Beri-beri a heart disease caused through lack of vitamin thiamine is already rife among people who have lived in hostels of this type. Epidemics which are likely to spread to all parts of the country are likely to start here. The South African Medical Journal of November 1972 reported that the highest alcoholic rate and the poorest nutrition is among the hostel dwellers. An unbalanced diet must lower the resistance to disease. Because of the inhuman separation of man and woman, prostitution thrives. Therefore venereal disease must also thrive. Fatigue also lowers ones resistance to disease. Overcrowding, extra travelling, queuing for everything for hours on end adds to the peoples problems. The unavoidable noise in the hostel prevent many from having a restful sleep.

Social and Psychological Results

The new set-up in Alexandra is beyond human conception, something completely rootless, artificial and static, an enforced, unnatural existence. Here a city with 60,000 people stripped of all basic human rights, with no married couples, no families and no children, has been established. The people here are going to be deprived of a clearly defi-

ned concept of social identity, self respect and human dignity. This deprivation is going to result in anti-social and irresponsible behaviour. Lack of privacy would lead to depression, apathy, listlessness, tensions, frustrations and resentments.

There is no kind of entertainment provided here, no sporting facilities. There is no provision for one who might want to take up part-time studies. There are no libraries not even a table or chair available.

Desperate adventurous acts are taken on by men living in such overcrowded high density living conditions far from the restraining influence of their families. Rape is an everyday crime. In other hostels of the same fashion an average of 100 murders are committed every year.

The sale of liquor which is consumed in various hostels throughout the country has risen 500% in seven years. Frustrated and lonely, the people resort to crimes, delinquency, faction fights, disorder, violence, rape and sodomy.

High Rents

With the measly salaries that Africans are paid only those who are in the "upper" earning bracket can afford to live

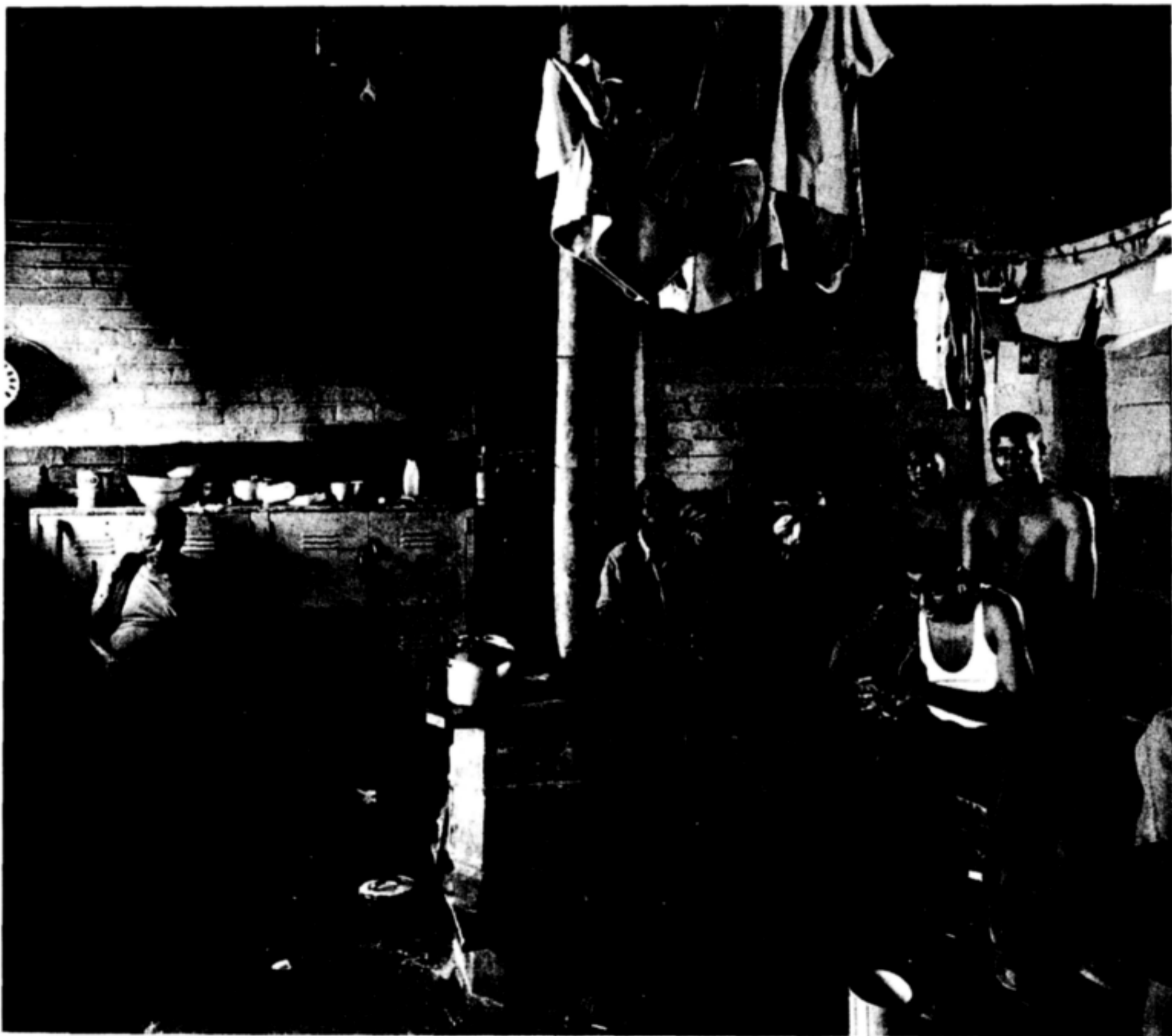
here. For a single room the rent is R7 and a four-bedded room R5.70 each. Almost a quarter of one's salary goes to his or her family in the reserves. The cost of food and clothing is very high in the city and gets higher every year. The price of such commodities is not decreased for the African because he earns less. He pays the same price as whites even though the white man earns many times more than the Africans.

The high rents in fact only prove the callousness of the government's plan. It is the most blatant form of rent racketeering. A little arithmetic shows that from one of the women's four-bedded rooms the government receives R22.80 and for one of the men's 8-bedded room they receive R45.60. By any standards these rates are exorbitant and more especially when underpaid and exploited Blacks are forced to live here by law.

Break-up of Families

The government's plan in Alexandra proposes 20 hostels. These 20 hostels will ultimately accomodate 60,000 people. The existing Alexandra African Township is being uprooted

'Single' men (some are married but may not bring their wives into the area) in the living room of a men's hostel



and these bleak, austere, concrete, cold and impersonal structures are being built in its place.

Regardless of whether they are married or not, women are forced into the women's hostel and the men into men's hostels.

Where do the children go? No child is allowed in these hostels. No provision is made by the government for the care of these children.

The government's answer is that they should be sent to their homelands to live with their relatives. But, most have no connection whatever with the reserves any longer, having lived in the city for generations.

A manager of the Peri-Urban Board of the Bantu Administration Department with characteristic callousness said that it is customary for "Bantu women to leave their children with their grandparents"

Uprooting People

The Alexandra Project which the fascists call "The Formula for Single Bantu" is part of a national programme for the whole country. Its objective is, as often stated by government spokesmen, to keep only economically active Africans in the city. The remainder must go to their so-called homelands. These "homelands" consist of 13 per cent of the entire country, catering for a population of over 15 million. There are eight "Homelands". In these depressed barren areas people live at starvation level. Daily, thousands upon thousands clamour for permits to go out

and find work because there is none in the "homelands". Even in these allotted "homelands" many "spots" are regarded as "blackspots", which means the people would again be uprooted since all "black spots" are being excised.

Foreigners in Their Own Land

In Nazi Germany Jews and foreigners had to wear badges as a means of identification. In South Africa, people living in these bleak ghetto-type structures are given a number for identification purposes. Every bed, locker and room is given a number. All Africans are already made foreigners in their own country through the imposition of "pass laws". These 'Passes' "entitle" the African to live and work in South Africa, his own land. Without it he goes to gaol. These enforced methods of identification are an affront to the human personality.

These hostels are not their homes. They are numbered prison boxes.

There can be no denying the fact that what the white racist government is doing in South Africa is "legalised" genocide.

But, the resentment, the temper, the everlasting humiliation, the super-exploitation of our people, is but the catalyst for the bloody revolution that must come.

And, in such a revolution, although many Black lives will be lost, the Black man will ultimately rule his own land once more - with those Whites who see light in time and join him or without them.

S. S.

OBITUARIES

Mrs. Amina Pahad and Mrs. Miriam Cachalia



A group of resisters against unjust laws. Extreme left (standing) Mrs. Pahad and extreme right (standing) Mrs. Cachalia

The African National Congress of South Africa regrets to announce the deaths of two women members of the liberation movement - Mrs. Amina Pahad and Mrs. Miriam Cachalia. Both were active members of the South African Indian Congress for over twenty five years.

Both were among the first to volunteer in the Indian resistance campaign against the law barring Indians from moving from one Province to another without a permit. They both served terms of

imprisonment for crossing the border between Transvaal and Natal. Later in the same campaign they served a term of imprisonment for occupying land in a "White" area. In the 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, conducted jointly by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, Mrs. Cachalia and Mrs. Pahad were among the 9000 who braved the rigours of prison life once again. Besides their terms of imprisonment, both were extremely active in the socio-economic

struggles of our people, they helped to raise much needed funds for the liberation movement in the 'forties and 'fifties and were found at practically every demonstration against racial, unjust and oppressive laws enacted with monotonous regularity by the white racist regime of South Africa. Mrs. Cachalia was the wife of Molvi I. A. Cachalia a leading member of the liberation movement in South Africa and former Deputy Representative of the Asian Mission of the African National Congress in New Delhi.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the views of the African National Congress

LABOUR IN THE S. A. GOLD MINES 1911-1969

by Francis Wilson

Cambridge University Press 1972

There can be few business empires in the world where the wealth of the owners is so sharply contrasted with the poverty of its employees as in South Africa's gold mining industry. Harry Oppenheimer, the man at the top of high finance is said to control well over a thousand million pounds. His black workers are paid a miserable £90 a year in cash plus a few extras thrown in to confuse the issue. The story of this power house of super-exploitation has still to be fully told, but we have an excellent exposure of some aspects of the tale in this most revealing book by a courageous South African academic.

Francis Wilson sets out to show that African mineworkers have been subjected to the most gross deprivation by the combined forces of avaricious mineowners and a selfish white aristocracy of labour. Caught in the net of this unholy alliance, the African mineworkers are kept down at the wage levels of the last century in a system of labour which is certainly forced if not wholly slave in character. It is important that we fully appreciate the scale of African deprivation, particularly at a time when there is an awakening of a sense of responsibility and even complicity abroad. At a time when many are urging a rise in African wages it is important that people should realise just how much leeway there is to be made up. It is equally important that the broader aspects of the mine labour system are understood since it would be an easy matter for the mining houses, who are now drawing fantastic profits (sometimes doubled in a few years) to appear to be meeting the call for an increase in wages while leaving intact the whole rotten labour structure which ensures that Africans remain deprived. Sure enough, in the wake of the recent strikes in Natal, the mining companies have suddenly found the resources to raise black wages by some 25%. But the problem goes deep, very deep, as

Wilson proves in his remarkable story of the complex labour relations in the mines.

There are two major themes in this book which reveal the structural basis for black exploitation. First there is the migratory nature of African labour and then there is the built-in disparity between the conditions of white and black workers. Wilson shows that mining history began with the use of migrant Africans who were recruited by a specially set up agency which prevented competition between the mining houses and which managed to cajole the already hard pressed African peasants into accepting work on the mines for a mere £1.50 a month. They were contract workers, who returned to their farms at the end of their stint, but often went back to the mines more than once. There, they lived in bachelor compounds of appallingly low quality, and where, even today, no more than 1% are permitted to bring their families.

Wanting to give a rounded picture, Wilson shows that there are disadvantages in the migratory system even for the mining companies. It seems that it is impossible to reduce the turnover of black workers much below 100% a year, and this makes training difficult and continuity on the job out of the question. Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, the benefits of migrant labour have been enormous. In fact, the whole structure of apartheid has been built around it; "for their labour policy in all sectors of the economy, the architects of apartheid have taken the gold mining industry as their model."

The benefits for the mineowners include lower wages, less leave and absenteeism, better control and greater output in jobs involving hard physical work. All these arise directly out of their being able to prevent the emergence of the kind of labour solidarity that comes in more stable situations. Though migration requires

an elaborate recruiting network with workers often being flown in from far afield, the overall cost is little more than £20 a year per head, a small price for the certainty of cheap labour.

For the African worker migration is an albatross. He is caught in the trap of a low wage at work and neglected poverty-stricken plot in the countryside which cannot even sustain his family in food. Unable to organise for improvements at work, his home, undermined by the pressure on land, the migrant is the major victim of apartheid. In recent years conditions in the reserves have deteriorated drastically and with particular bad weather over several seasons, starvation has been widespread. Even the employers of labour in other industries are now prepared to concede that the migrant's families are unable to feed themselves and that the wages paid in the cities are inadequate to look after the worker and his family. But a kind of see-saw situation has developed where industry looks for a balance of earnings between town and country which will force the migrant worker to seek work in the towns but where there is sufficient income in the countryside to keep the worker's family at subsistence level. If the output in the countryside falls below subsistence, industry is forced to pay higher wages to subsidise them through the migrant worker. But Wilson says that the declining rural incomes have not been matched by higher wages in the mining industry, and this is because they have tapped labour from other sources outside South Africa. The only time that wages did rise was when Tanzania applied a boycott in respect of labour and then the mining houses began to feel the pinch. Nevertheless, it is probably in the mining houses interest that incomes in the rural areas should increase and it is possible that some of the support for the homelands policy is connected with this.

On the other hand there are also dangers in the proposals that there ought to be a big push for higher wages, says Wilson. This could lead to redundancies arising out of capital substitution which would lead to the choking off of the labour from the reserves with the consequent greater hardship there. This clearly fair warning that any piecemeal attack on the problem needs to be viewed with caution.

If the migratory system is the basis for the cheap labour system it is by no means the only major factor responsible. The role of the organised white aristocracy of labour emerges very sharply in this book as the author takes us through the various phases showing how Africans have been excluded from trade union organisations and prevented from advancing into better jobs.

Discrimination at work is recorded as early as 1893 when the first legal colour bar in industry ruled that only whites could do blasting. White workers entrenched their positions by a strike in 1907 which sought to prevent blacks doing skilled work and which, though lost, led to government insistence on a definite ratio of white to black labour. From then on the upholding of the ratio principle has been a central plank of the white trade unions. It was a central issue in the 1922 strike, and even recently, white miners have resisted numerous management proposals for dilution. Skilled work, they hold, is white work, so much so that they even refused to train African miners in the 'Homelands' even though this is supposed to be the arena for African self-development.

It is not surprising therefore, that given the power of the white workers, the growth of the mining industry and increasing profitability and productivity has nevertheless left African wages static. Wilson says: "the superior bargaining strength of the white workers enabled them to appropriate to themselves most of the share of the increased productivity that was due to the labour of whatever colour." (Productivity increased by 59 % between 1936 and 1965). But white worker obstruction goes even further than this as Wilson shows. They have upheld a policy of denying educational and training facilities for black workers, they have opposed black unionism, and sought to prevent blacks from developing the kind of public pressures which the white workers have so successfully used themselves. White workers can vote, blacks cannot.

This is why, despite the enormous development of the gold mines over the period 1889 to 1969, black wages seem to have actually fallen. Meanwhile, real earnings of whites increased by at least two thirds even though the ratio of black to white labour has not changed for most of this period. The wage gap has therefore, widened considerably, particularly over the last twenty years, that is, since the Nationalist Government has been in office with solid white worker support.

This pattern of an increasing gap between skilled and unskilled workers is of course contrary to international experience. Elsewhere, the gap has been closing steadily especially when there is a shortage of labour. In South Africa there is a very substantial shortage, at least of skilled workers, yet the gap remains colossal.

Two more points may be made in this connection. First, the official separation between white and black work actually conceals a considerable degree of skill among African workers and Wilson points out that often the so-called unskilled African is much

more expert than the lower ranks of white, supposedly skilled workers. Secondly, even if the companies were prepared to make major concessions to blacks, the white workers invariably insist, as they did at J.C.I. in November last year, that their wages should be increased proportionately. Thus African wages are doubly blocked.

Wilson goes to analyse the various possibilities for reform and their consequences for profitability of the mines. It becomes clear that the mines can well afford a very considerable increase in black wages, but he also

argues that this is not enough. The migratory system has to be broken and job barriers removed. But, he argues, this will require the recognition of black trade unions, and here we must particularly endorse his proposals. What is more, with industrial unrest growing and spreading, it is possible that even the walled-in mineworkers will find a way of organising strike action and rebuilding their once powerful union. When they do so, the walls of Oppenheimer's citadel will tremble. After all they are half a million strong. B. T.

MODERNISING RACIAL DOMINATION

by Heribert Adam

Published by the University of California Press, 1971 Price US \$ 8.00

Dr. Heribert Adam lived for 6 years in South Africa. During this period he observed, did six months of field research and taught sociology for one year at the University of Natal. This book is the result.

The book has useful extracts from the government and opposition press, statements made by Nationalist and United Party members in parliament, and a good collection of references to articles and books on South Africa.

Dr. Adam is an optimistic opponent of Apartheid. He considers that 'deracialisation', namely, the abandonment of colour bars and racial stratification, is conceivable without recourse to violence on the part of the oppressed majority. He finds two major reasons for this conclusion.

First, the South African whites, and particularly the Afrikaaners, are flexible and would adopt a policy of gradual 'deracialisation' and 'economic concessions' if these were necessary to retain control of the country's wealth. (p. 181-182)

His second reason is that increased industrialisation accelerates the process of absorbing Africans into skilled and semi skilled occupations of strategic importance. (p. 154) He does not, however, agree with the widespread view that economic growth will on its own bring about a change in the system of Apartheid.

It is only when Africans resort to political action that significant changes in the power structure can be expected. He suggests that the policy of Apartheid may facilitate this process by encouraging a separatist, racial nationalism akin to that which developed in Black Power groups in the United States. The very fact of separatism and exclusion will create the political force necessary for liberation from white domination. (p. 182-183)

The conclusions do not flow logically from Dr. Adam's argument and analysis and must be regarded more in the nature of wishful thinking and conventional optimism. He does not, specifically, present evidence to show that Afrikaaners will at any stage be willing to relinquish their hegemony which now rests upon their numerical superiority in the white population, a separate national cohesion based upon their language and culture, and a monopoly of political power.

In order to maintain their cohesion, Afrikaaners carry on an offensive on two fronts - against the English who threaten to undermine their culture and against the African, Coloured and Indian who threaten to destroy white domination.

By playing on these fears, Afrikaaner leaders in the Nationalist Party, church, universities and press isolate their people from radical and liberal tendencies. What reason therefore has Dr. Adam to suppose that they are likely to be flexible to the extent of surrendering their monopoly of power. Afrikaaners like other people when facing certain defeat may well adopt new techniques rather than commit suicide, but they must be brought to this point. That can only be achieved by revolutionary struggle.

The whites in general and Afrikaaners in particular have not yet shown their ugly side to the fullest extent. They will do so when forced to make a last ditch stand. Dr. Adam's doubts whether they are 'fascist' or 'totalitarian' will then be settled beyond dispute. Now they use only so much violence as is needed to keep them in power and even this is more violence than Dr. Adam seems to realise. Ask the men and women who have been house-arrested, restricted, banished,

resettled', interrogated, tortured and kept in solitary confinement for 90, 180 and more days.

Dr. Adam does not indicate the circumstances in which Afrikaansers would be prepared to share political power with the Black people on such a scale as would destroy the foundation of their dominant position.

He accepts the view that white domination is compatible with economic growth, but argues that economic development must undermine white supremacy in the long run (p. 154). He therefore supposes that the 'rationality' of the whites will lead them to look for and find allies in an African, Indian and Coloured bourgeoisie. 'Just as the white rulers have learnt to come to terms with foreign African dignitaries they could change their attitudes towards the local non-white bourgeoisie. Such a coalition would coincide with the Bantustan concept that would add the traditional elements to this pact. p. 157)

He finds support for this analysis in Leo Kuper's concept of social pluralism (p. 161). But whereas Kuper is reluctant to do more than point to a variety of possible solutions, including that of violence, Adam is a bolder prophet and ventures to predict an evolutionary advance towards a non-racial society. 'It is likely that the evolutionary change of white South Africa will take place through more concessions under the pressure of increasingly powerful challenges that would otherwise jeopardize white interests altogether

through a structural change'. (p. 168)

These predictions are not supported by an analysis of the distribution of power or of political trends among the national movements opposed to white domination.

Dr. Adam appears to have been overawed by the apparent strength of the South African state, and its level of development. He does not consider these aspects historically, or give sufficient attention to the underlying weaknesses. For instance, he claims that 'The Apartheid system has been viewed as simply the most outdated relic of a dying colonialism, yet possibly it is one of the most advanced and effective patterns of rational, oligarchic domination.' (p. 16)

I interpret this to mean that South African whites have developed an exceptionally effective technique of racial domination. It is 'rational' in so far as it serves the purpose of keeping the majority of the population in a state of subjection. As much could be said of other oppressive regimes whose weaknesses and irrationalities became apparent only after they had been overthrown. Who thought that the colonial empire of Holland which had endured for 300 years could crumble overnight under the combined attacks of an external aggression and an internal opposition?

Dr Adam's admiration of the South African achievements appears in his statement that 'Africans are on the whole materially far better off in South

Africa than in the rest of the developing, newly independent African states'. (p. 6)

Now this is precisely what South Africa's spokesmen tell the UN and the world at large. In 1971 the South African government spent £4 million on persuasive, attractive propaganda claiming that its Apartheid system is fair, honest, generous and Christian, and that South Africa's Africans are better off than Africans in the rest of the African Continent. This propaganda includes major and deliberate untruths, shrewd half-truths, vital omissions and exaggerations. Dr. Adam should have scrutinised the propaganda with great care before accepting it as gospel truth. One would have expected him to have compared the position of Africans in the South with the advances made by people in the Independent states before identifying himself with the claims of South Africa's superiority. He does not give us the empirical information to substantiate his claim, nor does he acknowledge that Africans in the Independent states are able to move further and faster up the social scale than any black man can in South Africa. He does not point out that the gap between the white man's wages and the African's wages has widened in South Africa or that the African share of the total wage bill has not risen above 25% for the past 15 years. He does not compare the position of the African miners in South Africa with that of the Zambian miners on the Copperbelt.

R.E.S.

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LATE NEWS

Two strikes on the Rand Goldmines involving several thousand black workers were viciously suppressed by armed Police. Twelve African miners were shot dead and an unspecified number injured. Among the dead are five workers from Lesotho and two from Botswana. The Lesotho Government has already decided to suspend further recruitment of labour for the goldmines, pending a satisfactory explanation of the need to kill workers who were only fighting for higher wages.

Colonel L. M. Loots, Divisional Inspector of Police for the Western Transvaal, when asked if he felt the cost in life was high compared with the relatively small amount of damage, replied, "Sometimes property means more than life".

Reuter reports from Accra, that the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, has condemned the shootings as an inhuman act perpetrated against the majority of oppressed people in South Africa. The Ghana National Committee on Apartheid said, "It is quite clear that such wanton shootings and killings could not have happened if the demonstrators had been white miners".

In New York a spokesman for the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Waldheim, hinted that the Security Council might be convened over the incident. There were rumours of a move by some African Members for a Council meeting.

A full report on this and the **FOURTH CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS**, held in Algiers will appear in our next issue.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

On Black Consciousness

(We regret the delay in publishing this letter due to pressure on space in recent issues of Sechaba -Ed.)

Dear Mr. Editor,

It is surprising that there are people in the ranks of the A N C who get so cheesed-up and infuriated by the mere mention of Black Consciousness and/or Black Power: (Letter by Comrade Arnold Selby, (Sechaba No. 2 Feb. 1973). For this reason, I therefore feel it is necessary to restate the basic fundamentals whilst at the same time adding to the thoughts expressed by Comrade Dan Crowe.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is an integral part of the African Continent and the people there are African - the indigenous Black majority - and not an extension of western Europe. The African Continent is in turn a part of the broader Afro-Asian and Latin American community of peoples together with the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe. After the revolution our Motherland, South Africa, will take her place in the O.A.U. alongside her sister republics - the independent African states - and actively contribute to the forces of world peace by her participation in the day to day affairs of the broader Afro-Asian-Latin American and Socialist community of peoples, the majority of mankind. This is how it should be and I am confident that this is how it will be when liberation shall have finally arrived in our occupied Motherland.

THE ANC

The African National Congress is an African nationalist organisation dedicated to the cause of African Liberation and the ultimate destruction of apartheid slavery and the evil forces of white occupation of our country. In other words, the elimination of white supremacy will usher in a time of peace and all-round reconstruction by all our people under a Black majority ANC government.

To a black man therefore, Black Consciousness means the power to stop our white tormentors from raping our women at will and with impunity (See Sechaba Jan. 1973). It means the power to stop their so-called heart surgeons with the help of police thugs from capturing and murdering pregnant black women, stealing their

hearts in order to save the lives of old and senile white racists. It means the ability to prevent vicious white racists from beating black men with shamboks as if they are their animals. It means the possession of the means to eradicate malnutrition, hunger and disease which are prevalent among the black population, when the white slaver lives in privilege and abundance in the land of our fathers. It simply means a fair and equitable distribution of the basic things of life: food, clothes, shoes, education, work, houses and medical care for all the people of our country irrespective of creed, colour or race and free from the pettiness and greed of white racists. These basic needs can only be provided for by a government of the ANC, a government of Black Consciousness.

Black Consciousness to me simply means the human right of the Black man to define himself as against being defined by his white tormentor. Black Consciousness means the Black man ridding himself of slave mentality and self-hatred. It teaches the Black man to love himself and his kind more and to despise and loathe the slave master so that he is psychologically prepared to resist him. It is about time that the critics of Black Consciousness persuaded themselves to sit back and listen to what we have to say because after all we are the victims of white racism. It is us who carry passes. It is our women who slave for them. It is us who are subjected to daily insults and humiliation. It is us who are paid pittance wages. It is us who are derogatively called nonwhite and bantu. It is us who are called coolies, kaffirs, boesmans. It is us who are called Jim, John and Annie. It is us who are called boys and girls. It is our country, the land of our forebears that they occupy. It is us who wear the shoe. It is us who wear the slave collar. So, we know what we are about. It is our women who are raped by white police racists and their so-called law courts reduce the charges to immorality instead of rape when we know what the consequences would be if the criminals were black.

Black Consciousness is the single most important development within our country, among our people, that has occurred following the banning of our people's organisations and the Rivonia and other trials of the early and midsixties. The importance of this development is manifested, among other things, in its bringing together the youth and people of the three black communities in an uncompromising manner. We are indeed very proud of the youth of our nation who

are tirelessly forging this spirit of national unity among all our people at a time when the fascist monsters were certain of their success in having crushed the will of the people to resist, and all in spite of the maze of terror laws which have been enacted over and above those which existed prior to the bannings. This is selfless courage and daring of which we ought really to be proud, especially those of us who live in forced exile, the pure and sacred valour and patriotism which our ancestors demonstrated in 250 years of wars of resistance to western European invasion, the special sort of South African patriotism which should make us ever more confident that those who die do not die in vain. Black Consciousness is forging and nurturing a people's unity which is deep and profound and is the surest way of forestalling any possible emergence of a South African Asian problem; so that all our people will be one, having a common birth-right and a common purpose, with nothing to lose but our dignity and our common country to regain as equals among all free peoples. The ANC therefore, is faced with the historical task of rising to the challenge posed by the forces of Black Consciousness within South Africa. Instead of us decrying these forces and thereby aiding our tormentors, it is necessary that the ANC gears itself to lead and to provide armed protection for these forces. At this very moment inside our country, black workers are engaged in industrial struggle for better pay while the fascists have called out armed police to force them back to the factories to continue slaving for pittance wages. Those black workers; as well as the entire Black Community, need and are entitled to armed protection by the ANC.

SASO recognizes the leaders of the ANC as the undisputed leaders and heroes of the Black majority and therefore the national leaders of our country (See Sechaba No. 1 Jan. 1973). If the ANC fails to heed developments within our country and acts to lead the struggle by providing the most vital link - armed resistance - and instead indulges in a game of petty rejection of Black Consciousness, as some people suggest, then we will ultimately see this great organisation become irrelevant and superfluous. I am sure this is not what we want to see happen and I know this is not what will happen. The responsibility therefore, of the ANC to fulfil its historical mission is summed up by these lines from the SASO Manifesto "SASO further believes that no amount of preaching will alter South Africa

from her course towards total and lasting subjugation of the black peoples of South Africa". (See *Sechaba* No. 1 Jan. 1973). The operative "... no amount of preaching will alter ..." emphasises my contention that ultimate victory for our people redness and capability of the ANC to depends upon the willingness, prepa- provide the vital link - Armed Cover.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER:

The Freedom Charter is to me the nucleus of a constitution of a free Peoples Republic of South Africa. It is a specific and categorical document embodying the articles of the constitution of a peoples democracy. The articles and/or pronouncements enshrined therein presuppose the availability of dedicated patriots and good Socialists to implement them. This means South African men and women who are selfless in their love for their country and live and work for the advancement of their people in all spheres, at all levels. The emphasis on good Socialist is important here since all sorts of people pretend to be Socialist whilst denying Marxism-Leninism. Patriotism and Socialism are inseparable as the examples of the late Amilcar Cabral, Fidel Castro and Van Trap illustrate, or that great and tenacious father of Socialism who declared from the rostrum of the Smolny Institute in 1917 on the successful seizure of power by the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers "We shall now proceed to build Socialism". These are all good Socialist and uncompromising patriots whose heroic deeds and writings have inspired men and women throughout the world still held in bondage by western European monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

APARTHEID SLAVERY

When 120 million Africans were uprooted from their homes and countries they were heartlessly reduced to mere animals, by breaking down their cultural roots, suppressing their languages, christening them negro and rendering them utterly dependent upon their tormentors. The conquest and occupation of our own country and people have always been aimed at exactly the same objectives hence the white invader, over and above his rape, plunder and enslavement of our country and people, has even gone so far as to usurp our name by calling himself African (*Afrikaaner*) and christening us kaffir, bantu, non-white non-European. Unfortunately for them, there were men and women who inhabited South Africa and who could not be beaten down like animals. Our sacred duty to those men and women and especially to ourselves and our children is to eliminate scourge. Capitalism is based on murder and

plunder. From its early inception to this day capitalism and latter day monopoly capitalism survive on ruthless exploitation at home and blatant plunder, robbery and murder abroad. Imperialism is capitalism gone mad. Lenin called it the higher stage of capitalism. Chattel slavery was an economic activity of imperialism, so also is apartheid slavery. Apartheid slavery is no less odious and criminal than chattel slavery. Black Consciousness seeks to combat and eradicate this pestilence. Black Consciousness is diametrically opposed to apartheid slavery and for anybody to condemn Black Consciousness as racially exclusive or reactionary is, I think, arrogant and silly.

THE CAPE SEA ROUTE

With the elimination of apartheid slavery, western capitalism and especially British imperialism could not and will not survive in its present form. They do not only steal millions of dollars worth of our wealth, they have even resorted to stealing our wild animals, the heritage of all South Africans. Recall the cargo of white rhinos from Natal during the 1972 British dock workers strike which had to be suspended to allow for the unloading of these animals? Or the boxes of apples which their emaciated Foreign Secretary brought back with him after signing away the human rights of the people of Zimbabwe? This is how the ruling classes of western capitalist countries have operated for the past 400 years. This is what the scramble for Africa was all about. This is why they will always support the subjugation of our people by their local fascist gangs who occupy our country. When the spokesmen of British Imperialism talk about their interests in Southern Africa and the defence of the Cape sea route, they are talking about their continuing to plunder our part of Mother Africa. The suppression and pillage of our people and country constitute their interests in Southern Africa. The Cape sea route - the west, south and east coasts of our contry and the sea around - comprises the life-line of their economic system, a system drenched in blood, hated and detested for its repression and exploitation of our people. These are the evil and moribund forces that Black Consciousness seeks to combat. Or are we expected to act like those Malcolm X described as "house niggers" who, when the white slaver lay prostrate dying from over-indulgence and chronic syphilis would assume a misguided posture of bereavement and, when asked by their fellow men, the "field niggers", what the matter was would droop their heads like dogs and say "we is sick"? No, we reject this role with the contempt it deserves. Fascism and apartheid slavery in our country use the myth of white supre-

macy and anti-communism to hound, terrorise and incarcerate our compatriots and, for us to allow anybody, especially within the ranks of our national organisation, to attempt to suppress Black Consciousness would be an unpardonable folly. When we remember that the actual physical and mental condition of our people has been deteriorating at an alarming rate ever since the 1880's then perhaps we will all appreciate how inexcusably criminal it would be for us Black men to allow any form of suppression of our human right to define ourselves. Mandela is held captive on Robben Island by alien savages who are bereft of humanity when he should be occupying the highest position of honour and power in a government of his own people and country, and we are told that Black Consciousness is being racially exclusive by agitating against this unnatural state of affairs in our own country.

In conclusion, may I remind Comrade Selby and those who think like him that one has to suffer the daily humiliations that is the lot of our life experience inside South Africa to be able to recognize the sacred message of Black Consciousness within the context of our country. To me it is a humble recognition of the heroism and courage of our ancestors who stood up and walked tall and challenged the savagery and murderous barbarity of the invading scoundrels and infidels from western Europe; when the whole of the African Continent was being ravaged and 120 million Africans were captured, murdered and taken into chattel slavery; when Leopold of Belgium was slaughtering 14 million Congolese and the indigenous peoples of North America, the Carribean Islands and South America, Australia and New Zealand were being systematically exterminated. The foresight and valour of men like Makana, Cetewayo etc. etc. held at bay those marauding rogues for over 200 years in bloody battles and wars so that we may be alive today.

Black Consciousness and/or Black Power to me a Black man from our occupied Motherland reinforces and rekindles in my heart that which is infinitely noble and delicately beautiful and it manifests the indomitable spirit of our forebears; their unconquerable will and determination to survive so that we, their Sons and Daughters, should be able to continue the struggle from where they left off until victory is achieved and we can all enjoy peace in Independence, Self-determination and National Sovereignty in our own Godgiven land free from all forms or shackles of race, creed, and colour. This is what Black Consciousness and/or Black Power are all about. Black Consciousness and/or Black Power are anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly capitalist and have

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nothing to do with racial exclusiveness. This is what all power to the people is all about.

Makana, before Mandela, was incarcerated on Robben Island and he died swimming back to the mainland. I wish Mandela and his comrades will be liberated by the ANC army (MK) so that we deny our tormentors the second pleasure, and officially rename it Makana Island.

Ontisitse K. Setlhapelo.

* * * * *

South African Culture in Chains

An article under this title appeared in SECHABA No. 2 (February last). There was much to agree with in it. But if I am writing so late about this stimulating and otherwise perceptive piece its because I very sharply disagree with one of the author's statements and assumptions. To quote: —

"The African who writes in his mother tongue, starts with a tremendous handicap by comparison with the English-speaking South African who

has a world language at his disposal". This formulation reveals an extraordinary obtuse attitude to find in the organ of our National Liberation Movement. The African is at a disadvantage not because his mother tongue is not a "world language" (That phrase needs analysis too) but because his culture (inseparable from his living language) is deliberately suppressed by Afrikaaner and English imperialism. "Book production for a tiny market is unprofitable" we are told. This philistine piece of nonsense (the Dutch, Finns, Slovaks, Bulgars and even smaller nations do not find it "unprofitable" to produce books in their languages) conceals the hard fact that book production is monopolised by white establishment concerns which are not interested in encouraging and developing Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and other indigenous literature.

The only African-language books which get published as a rule are those which are suitable to be prescribed in Bantu educational institutions i.e. which induce submissiveness and conformity.

Like all national liberation movements,

ours must go hand in hand with a cultural and language revival and awakening. I am afraid our movement has been lagging in its duty in this respect. We are failing in using even those legal opportunities which are present both in the republic and the border states which share our languages.

"The political and literary lingua-franca of Black South Africa is English", writes your contributor. This is true only in a very superficial sense. The "richer and more profound culture" which the writer looks forward to in a free South Africa will certainly emerge. But it will not be an "English language" culture. Its richness and profundity will derive from its national form. And if we are ever going to develop it we must start now. Let us now issue the clarion call to our poets, novelists, dramatists, musicians to ennoble our own languages and instil in our people a legitimate pride in their expressive mother-tongue which embodies the soul of the nation. This is not a distraction from the South African revolution. It is an essential part of the revolution.

TITSHALA.