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SOUTH AFRICA'S ATTEMPT TO HOODWINK THE WORLD

Exposure of the Bantustan and Indian Council Fraud

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FROM GANDHI TO MANDELA

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In commemoration of the 75th Anniversary of the formation of the Na-
tal Indian Congress by Mahatma Gandhi

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COMMENTARY

THEY MURDER OUR PEOPLE

Today we address ourselves to those gentlemen inside and outside South Africa who are always quick with advice for the oppressed majority. We address ourselves to those who counsel patience to us; those who counsel non-violence and a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa; those who oppose economic sanctions against the racist regime on the sanctimonious (and dishonest) ground that sanctions would hurt the oppressed people most; those who oppose cultural, sporting, diplomatic, economic and every other form of isolation of the racists on the spurious ground that it is only by more frequent contacts that it is possible to influence and change the fascist-racist mentality. Those who oppose the Revolutionary People's War on the pretext that bloodshed must be avoided.

Gentlemen, we have answered all these false arguments of yours before, many, many times over. We shall not do so today. For today we speak from anger. Those savages who rule South Africa in the name of Western, Christian civilisation have again murdered our people in a calculated manner and in cold-blood and we are very angry. Our blood boils; we are filled with a burning hatred for all that apartheid stands for; we seek vengeance against the perpetrators of the vile apartheid system.

Readers may recall that in several past issues of SECHABA we dealt with the forcible mass removals of thousands of our people from areas they had long settled, to the open veld. We dealt with the specific instance of the compulsory movement of 13,000 people from the village of Meran to the flat barren, tree-less stretch of land called Limehill. We deal with the latest removals on the opposite page and also deal with a new threat: the physical and mental genocide of political prisoners on Robben Island in a Stop Press article elsewhere in this issue.

We have all along opposed such mass removals of people as though they were mere pawns on a chessboard. The racists euphemistically describe such compulsory removals as "resettlement". But this so-called "resettlement" has always been to barren land with no houses, no sanitation, no running water, no schools, no employment, no shops - in fact, nothing. People are merely herded on to trucks and dumped right in the open far from other centres of settlement. We have, together

with others, time and again warned that starvation faces the people in the concentration camps and coupled with the unhygienic conditions, diseases would run rampant.

The fascist government, that standard-bearer of a dying culture, has ignored all protests and gone ahead. To them Black people are worse than animals to be hunted and herded without the least concern for their welfare. Now the worst fears of those who oppose the "resettlement" schemes have been confirmed. In the recent past 36 people have died of typhoid in the Limehill area alone.

Hundreds of others are ill. According to Father Rodney Nelson of the Roman Catholic Mission, "Hardly a child has not gone down ill. And up to Friday (6. 12. 68) not a doctor had arrived to . . . treat the children." The situation in Limehill has caused concerned people to begin looking at some of the other "resettlement camps". News is trickling in. The Kuruman mission hospital is unable to cope with all the cases of illness. The position at Sada, Stinkwater, Mnxesha, Weenen, etc. is similar to Limehill and these places are on the verge of a mass epidemic of disease and death. Our people are being killed and what is the reaction of the fascists? Let us quote M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (what a dishonest title!):

"We are acting according to certain planning at Limehill and we are going ahead with it. I am not in the least interested in the political campaigns of your newspapers and others, and in that bunch of clergymen. And you can tell that to the world. (Sunday Express, 8. 12. 68).

Our people are dying and this Cabinet Minister says he is "not interested". To him even the death from disease of our people is some kind of "political campaign". This is the voice of the racist white minority regime of South Africa, this the voice of a fascist, this is the voice of mass murderers.

Our "advisers" counsel peace and non-violence. We say to you, gentlemen, stop your idle chatter and your sophistries. The "peace" of the fascist-racists is more violent, more brutal, more murderous than the Revolutionary War we have embarked upon and it is only through this People's War that genuine peace will come to South Africa.

**This is the story of a ruthless crime;
a crime of brutal oppression and of naked
theft; a crime planned and executed in
cold blood by the rulers of a nation.**

FORCED REMOVALS

All over South Africa, a wave of crime is sweeping. It is unchecked; indeed it is encouraged. Its organizers are the South African government and its greedy White supporters. Its victims are Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

Every day, people are being moved from the homes which they have occupied for decades – sometimes for more than a century – and being forced into bleak unwanted places where it is impossible to gain a livelihood. From areas in every part of the country come new accounts of this monstrous terror.

Heroic Battle

In the Rustenburg district, the Bakabung tribe has been engaged in a dedicated struggle to remain on the farms which they have peacefully occupied for 77 years. This struggle started when the Government arbitrarily declared the farms 'White' in 1965. The tribesman refused to move. Since then, many of them have been arrested three times. When the latest batch of sentences were suspended, the State Prosecutor protested bitterly. He said 'When a child is naughty you hit him now – not tomorrow'.

What children is the Prosecutor referring to? The African accused are mature people, defending their heritage with true courage. Amongst those sentenced to a fine of R100 (or 3 months' imprisonment) was a 98-year-old woman.

Now, members of the tribe have been arrested under the Terrorism Act, under which they have no access to court or lawyer. Presumably, the authorities intend to exert the techniques of pressure which are their usual method of dealing with unco-operative detainees.

Cattle Forbidden

What future did the Government plan for the tribesmen after 'removal'? They have been allotted a patch of barren veld to which they are not allowed to remove the cattle on which their livelihood depends. Tents have been put up in the veld. Next to these tents, the authorities intend to dump the tribesmen's possessions. No sanitary facilities of any kind have been provided.

Now those villagers who are not under arrest sit in their homes. Their children play in the dust – there is no school for them to go to. The school was destroyed by the authorities in 1965 when they first tried to evict the inhabitants.

Agony of the Indians

The Bakabung are not the only people in the Rustenburg district who are being robbed of their property. The Indian community of Rustenburg is at present being dispossessed – to be moved to 'Zinniville', a suburb three miles away where the Minister of Community says they will make a better living.

'Why insult us by telling us we will do well there?' one Indian shopkeeper asked. 'There we are going to starve.' Lower Plein Street in Rustenburg has belonged to the Indians for longer than anyone can remember – even 105-year-old Mrs. Fatima Bhayat who has spent all her life there.

When Indian spokesmen met Government representatives, they were told: 'We are not here to discuss the decision or listen to arguments against it. We are here to acquaint

you with the steps already taken towards it and to inform you of the steps required from you.'

Already there are plans for 'prestige' buildings on the expropriated land. Two stands which Indians were forced to sell to a White purchaser for R70,000, two years ago, have already been resold for R453,000.

Affected by Act

The Indian community, who are being persecuted all over South Africa, are being harried with especial ferocity in the Transvaal. In a comprehensive survey published by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1966, it was shown that only 5,632 Indians (7.5 per cent of the Transvaal's total Indian population) were not affected by the Group Areas Act.

In the areas which they have occupied for generations in Pageview and the Diagonal Street complex in Johannesburg, they are being evicted daily. Lenasia – 22 miles outside the city – is their only source of alternative accommodation. Here the prospects for trade are almost negligible. All the smaller towns of the Transvaal had their communities of Indian traders. Now the list of those from which they are excluded grows longer every day. It reads like a memorial tablet on the grave of the legitimate aspirations of South Africa's Indians; Declared for Whites Only: Heidelberg, Vryburg, Nylstroom, Ventersdorp, Amsterdam, Ellisras, Hendrina, Krugersdorp, Marble Hall, Paardekop, Pilgrim's Rest, Thabazimbi, Tzaneen, Vaalwater, Balfour, Baberton, Koster, Mafeking, Messina and Lichtenburg.

Natal 'Black Spots'

Department of Bantu Administration and Development surveys declare that 2,000,000 Africans must be moved in Natal in the next ten years. (In the past 10 years, the Government has only been able to move 100,000 Africans from so-called 'black spots'.) How are the Africans to be moved? Government spokesmen are secretive about the details, especially after the recent Limehill scandal, when as a result of deaths from contagious diseases, including typhoid, conditions in this so-called 'resettlement' areas became notorious. But it seems obvious that, as the regime steps up its apartheid plans more and more feverishly, suffering will become more and more intense. The way in which it will do so, is clearly indicated by the 'resettlement township' in the Eastern Cape (described in an earlier issue of *Sechaba*). When Africans are moved out of 'White' areas and the 'reserves' cannot absorb them, the Government's policy is to select a piece of land so poor that Whites have no interest in acquiring it and use it as a dumping ground for the dispossessed people. The dead, despairing townships of Mnxesha, Ilinge and Sada in the Eastern Cape and that disease-ridden encampment, Limehill, in Natal, show the results of this policy.

Increasing Anger

The struggle of the Bakabung tribe, the resistance of Nana Sita, the Indian who preferred to be imprisoned rather than to leave his home, are examples of the defiance South Africa's people have shown in opposing cruelty and injustice. One thing is certain. As the eviction policy of apartheid advances, so will the anger of the oppressed people.

SOUTH AFRICA'S ATTEMPT

In the 60's under the ever mounting struggle of the oppressed, the increasing pressure from the international community and pressure from its own intellectuals, the South African Government was compelled to show Apartheid to be some kind of serious and meaningful doctrine. And so, in 1963, the Bantustan Scheme was launched. Later Indian and Coloured

THE BANTUSTAN FRAUD

The fraudulent Bantustan scheme was launched by the racist South African regime in 1963 after many years of preparation. Long before its implementation and ever since then the African National Congress consistently exposed the scheme as a sham and a facade. Recently (October) the people of the Transkei, the first Bantustan, went to the polls to elect a new legislative assembly. In view of the results of these elections and the publicity this has received it is pertinent at this juncture to review the political and economic position in the Transkei in the light of the fascist regimes theories of race. It goes without saying that the oppressed people of South Africa led by the A.N.C. have totally rejected the Bantustan fraud along with all forms of racism. Our express purpose here is to show that the scheme is a total failure even by the racist standards of the White minority regime. It is necessary first of all briefly to examine the Bantustan theory.

Bantustan Theory

The ruling Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 on the platform of apartheid or separateness. At that time this was a somewhat vague and nebulous concept designed to cover up naked racism and elevate it to the rarified atmosphere of political philosophy. From time to time long tracts were churned out expanding voluminously on apartheid as being in keeping with "natural law", as being based on the word of God, etc. Examples were (and still are) assiduously sought in any part of the world where there is racial friction to "prove" that the policy of apartheid is the ideal solution.

To satisfy the theorists and purists of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, the intellectual wing of the Nationalist Party, the Tomlinson Commission was set up in 1951 to go into the whole question of separate development with special reference to the geographical separation of the African people into various tribal units. The commission laboured for several years and eventually produced a report which glaringly underline the deep poverty, utter desolation and eroded barrenness of the reserves to which so many millions of Africans were confined by law and from which

only the most able-bodied and strong are allowed to leave to work on the farms, the mines and the towns which the White man regards as his personal and private preserve. Needless to say it is the very poverty of the reserves which compelled this clamour to leave the reserves to seek work at pitiful wages under miserable conditions. The Tomlinson Report pointed out that if the reserves, comprising only 13% of South Africa were fully developed they would be able to accommodate ten million Africans by 1987 still leaving more than half in the towns and the farms of the Whites. But even such development "necessitated the expenditure of £100 million over the next ten years" (from 1956). There were other recommendations about the setting up of industries, improvement of agricultural methods, etc., which the racist regime found totally unacceptable. It was all very well to talk about self-governing Bantustans in order to dupe the world and to appear to be "solving the native question". But to spend such vast sums of money on "kaffirs" was preposterous. The report was quietly shelved.

However, in the '60s the ever mounting struggle of the oppressed, the increasing pressure from the international community and pressure from its own intellectuals the government was compelled to show apartheid to be some kind of serious and meaningful doctrine. And so, in 1963, the Bantustan scheme was launched promising self-government and eventual independence to the people of the Transkei.

Transkei - The First Bantustan

At no stage were the people of the Transkei consulted as to whether or not they wanted Bantustans though they often expressed their opposition in various forms of protests. At scores of meetings peasants from all over the Transkei expressed their opposition to the establishment of a Bantustan. Some Chiefs, like Matanzima and Botha Sigau, capitulated. Others were deported. But, the peoples wrath cannot be contained. In Pondoland following an unprovoked attack by the police during which eleven tribesmen were killed at a peaceful meeting at Ngqusa Hill, the Pondos rose in revolt almost to a man. The months that fol-

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Councils were formed from hand-picked members of these communities. All were promised self-government and eventual independence in their "own" areas. In the following articles the writers expose the utter failure and the undemocratic nature of these fraudulent Schemes.

lowed saw yet another glorious chapter in the history of an enslaved people rising in revolt against the best equipped army and police force in Africa, in support of their just demand for full freedom and democracy in the land of their birth. A meeting of chiefs was convened in 1962 but even here Sabata Dalindyabo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu, the largest group in the Transkei, was not allowed to voice his courageous opposition to Bantustans. The racists apparently thought they knew what was best for the "child-like" Blacks. It must not be forgotten that in theory, at least, it was promised that the Bantustans would eventually become democratically governed, economically viable, independent states.

In practice, despite all the promises of the racists, the Transkei Bantustan was launched under the most inauspicious circumstances, such as:

- (1) The extreme poverty and economic backwardness for there were no plans whatsoever except that White capital would never be allowed in.
- (2) The Emergency Regulations proclaimed in 1960 at the time of the Pondoland uprising and still operative. Under this regulation opponents of apartheid are still being hounded.
- (3) Out of a total of 109 legislative assembly seats 64 were to be filled by chiefs nominated by the central government. These chiefs depended on the racist government not only for their titles but also for their salaries. Only the unusually dedicated would dare to go against the wishes of the Pretoria regime as such opposition almost invariably resulted in the withdrawal of the chieftainship as happened in the case of the late Chief Albert Lutuli.
- (4) The most dedicated and progressive of the people's leaders were either in gaol, in restriction, exiled or banned as was the only mass organisation the A.N.C.

Nevertheless, despite all these restrictions the Transkei electorate voted overwhelmingly for the Transkei Democratic Party (TDP) which stood for a non-racial South Africa and opposed Bantustans. Matanzima's Transkei Independent Party (TNIP) won only 25 per cent of the seats and was only able to form a government with the support of the nominated chiefs.

Who Governs The Transkei?

"From the point of view of real, legal power which rests solely on the control and exercise of the parliamentary franchise, the ballot papers in a Bantustan election might as effectively be dropped in a well as into a ballot box."

O.D. Schreiner "THE NETTLE".

Despite the farce of elections and despite the fact that the Transkei has been granted "departments" of Chief Ministry, Finance, Justice, Agriculture and Forestry, Interior, Education and Roads & Works, real power continues to be wielded by the Pretoria regime. All laws and decrees have to be sanctioned by the racist government. Matanzima's faint talk of replacing Bantu Education with genuine education was quickly silenced. Similarly his claims to more land have been frowned upon so much so that Matanzima is now very quiet about them. In 1966 Matanzima appointed Curnick Ndamse, formerly of Fort Hare, as professional assistant to his "Department of Education" but shortly thereafter the Pretoria regime imposed severe banning orders on Ndamse which, among other things, prohibited him from entering educational institutions. It took months of negotiations to have the banning orders sufficiently relaxed to permit him to enter educational premises. But the Bantustan way is indeed a strange one. Ndamse was last month made a member of Matanzima's new Cabinet. The Emergency Regulations imposed by the central government continue to terrorise the people of the Transkei. In 1966 alone almost 100 banning and banishment orders were issued against Transkei citizens. Matanzima's so-called government is powerless to prevent this even if it desired to do so. Despite conditions of terror, arbitrary arrest and banishments, opposition to the Bantustan scheme still manifests itself. Several people have been detained and jailed for alleged plots to kill Matanzima, including two opposition M.P's Jackson Nkosiyan and C. Nongcantsi who are currently serving a seven year prison sentence.

A few months before the recent elections several senior African civil servants were quizzed by the Special Branch (political police). Recently five men were detained under the Emergency Regulations among them Ezra Sigwela, Secretary of the Transkei General Workers' Union and Jongabantu Joyi, executive member of the union. The latter has been an outspoken critic of Matanzima describing him as a "bossboy" of the Whiteman. This attitude perhaps explains these detentions just prior to the elections.

We have quoted only the most glaring instances to show that real power continues to be wielded by the central government and is being used to hound even the mildest form of opposition.

The Role Of Chiefs

We have already pointed out that chiefs depend on the racist regime not only for their titles but also for their salaries. However, since the implementation of Bantustans the

powers of the chiefs have been enormously increased. Their vested interest in maintaining the present system has been given additional incentive by their right to conduct Chiefs' Courts popularly named „Bush Courts“. They are able to enrich themselves by taking a share of the damages granted to a plaintiff with the result that they are very interested parties even when they themselves conduct trials. It is well-known that chiefs often appoint their own agents to bring complaints against relatively wealthier peasants in order to aggrandise themselves. Opponents of the Bantustans are also brought to these courts on trumped up charges and heavily fined to fill the chief's coffers. To show how wealthy chiefs can get from all this -we quote from Govan Mbeki's book "THE PEASANTS' REVOLT":

"One attorney has been appointed a Chief at an official monthly salary of £30. He will compensate for the loss of his practice by making more money. And in addition he can readily surround himself with comforts by calling upon the people to impose a levy upon themselves for such purposes as to buy the chief a car . . ."

Also peasants have to have permits from chiefs to cut wood, to cut thatching grass, to brew beer, to hold initiation rites, etc., and for all this chiefs have to be paid. Chiefs also have powers to allocate land and to issue trading licences, again at a price. It must be borne in mind that aside from enriching themselves chiefs have the authority to refuse to grant permits, licences or land. Thus enormous powers have been placed in the hands of chiefs to influence the people by means of terror.

The Transkei Civil Service

The Pretoria regime boasts of the rapid Africanisation of the Transkei civil service. Impressive figures of Africans who have replaced Whites in the police force, prisons, etc. receive wide publicity. Four prisons are now headed by Africans. Two men, Lennox Mbuli and Donald Stofile, who have had long years of civil service in various dummy institutions set up by Pretoria, have been appointed district magistrates. The racist government has, however, made it clear no Whites would ever stand trial before Africans nor would any prison headed by an African be allowed to admit White prisoners. Needless to say African magistrates will administer laws in which Africans have had no say.

It must be pointed out that much of the so-called "Africanisation" is due to the acute shortage of Whites who find conditions in the civil service unattractive. On the other hand Africans find so many avenues of employment closed and those that are available are vastly inferior to those of Whites with similar qualifications and experience.

Obtaining these jobs with enticing prospects of promotion these men and women also begin to develop a vested interest in the Bantustan system. It gives them an opportunity, no matter how degrading, to escape from the

general poverty that surrounds them. Having had some chance of acquiring an education these men are not without influence irrespective of the nature of that influence.

Political Development

On the political front, too, significant changes have taken place. Political authority, no matter how limited, once tasted cannot but generate stronger demands. In the context of Bantustan politics this can only mean demands for greater freedom from Pretoria. In both the TNIP and the TDP such agitation has grown over the years, resulting in several vocal members from both parties breaking off to form the Freedom Party which demands immediate independence. Mantazima has been able to meet this challenge on its own merits by such phraseology as "The road to freedom is a long one and has to be negotiated carefully step by step . . . we cannot be political dreamers." The TDP with its total opposition to the Bantustans has found itself hamstrung not only by government terror but by its insistence on a peaceful solution in the face of such terror. The real opposition has been driven underground and is not in a position to influence electioneering and elections. In the recognised (by Pretoria) political parties the ultimate goal of freedom from White rule has become the dominant feature cutting the ground from under the feet of the TDP.

Conclusion

In this brief analysis we have tried to show that the Bantustan scheme of the racists is a complete fraud. We have also attempted to explain why it was possible for Matanzima's TNIP to win a majority of elected seats in the recent elections. We will reiterate the factors involved:

- (1) The strict control by the central government which has used its powers to attack opponents of the racist regime.
- (2) The increased powers and vested interests in the chiefs.
- (3) The Transkei civil service which is beginning to have a vested interest in the system and which, in an educationally backward society such as the Transkei, has considerable influence.
- (4) The understandable inability of the TDP to have any real impact has caused some people to think in terms of freedom from White rule, even if this is in a Bantustan.

It must be remembered that real opposition not only to the Bantustan scheme but also to the whole policy of racism rests not among those who are playing the parliamentary game but among the broad masses of the oppressed peasantry and the urban workers led by the A.N.C. These people have opted out of Bantustans in various ways and ultimately it is they, guided and led by the A.N.C., who will solve the problems of South Africa.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL FRAUD

More than a century ago, in 1860, the first Indians came to South Africa to work on the plantations of the White colonists of Natal. They came after much pleading and many promises made by the colonists. Within a short time of their arrival they transformed the agrarian economy of

Natal, particularly the sugar plantations. Exports began to soar and the White settlers became rich. Seeing this increasing prosperity and recognising that the Indian indentured labourers were directly responsible the colonists held out all sorts of inducements to encourage the Indian to

stay in Natal instead of returning to India. They were offered land, changes in employment, education and health facilities, service in the army including combat duties should the need arise and, above all, voting rights.

Since then much water has flowed under the South African bridge – or should we say, breach. For not only is apartheid a breach between various racial groups in South Africa, but the White man has been guilty of the most blatantly selfish breach of faith as regards the rights of the Indian people. Systematically and deliberately the Indians have been deprived, over the years, of every single right they possessed. The franchise, the municipal vote, the land which they won by toil and sweat from the wilderness – every right one can think of; social, political, or economic is now denied to the Indian people. Of course, it is not only the Indian people who are denied these rights but also the Coloureds, and the African majority is in a worse position, if such a thing is possible. In apartheid-compartmentalised South Africa the Indians are naturally Blacks and as such dehumanised creatures to be exploited when it is profitable to do so and to be rejected, hounded and humiliated if their labours are no more required by the "civilised", pure White Herrenvolk.

Revolts In Natal

In defense of the rights they once possessed and in the struggle for freedom and equality the Indian people, despite their small number (less than 5% of the total population of South Africa), have played a noteworthy part. Their struggles go back to the days at the turn of the century when Mahatma Gandhi, then a young practising lawyer, was active in South Africa. It was here that he first experimented with the technique of Satyagraha (Passive Resistance). There were many stirring revolts notably the great march of thousands of men, women and children from Natal into the Transvaal in defiance of the government of the day. It was Gandhi, 75 years ago, who formed the Natal Indian Congress which subsequently became the South African Indian Congress, and which to this day is the only mass political organisation of the Indian people. (This aspect is dealt with more exhaustively elsewhere in this issue under the title: FROM GANDHI to MANDELA).

Soon after the Second World War the Smuts Government attacked further the land rights of the Indian people. In protest the Indian people, led by the South African Indian Congress launched a great passive resistance campaign. Thousands went to jail in defiance of apartheid laws. So successful and so all-embracing was the campaign that the law could not be implemented and within two years the White minority government repealed it.

From the 1950's onwards the struggle of the Indian people has become indissolubly linked with that of the African majority led by the African National Congress. Being a member of the Congress Alliance, led by the ANC, the Indian Congress has participated in every major campaign launched by the Alliance – the Strikes, the stay-at-homes, the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, the boycotts, etc. A large number of Indian leaders were among the 156 accused in the infamous Treason Trial which lasted for four years between 1956 and 1961. Hundreds of Indians have been banned by the fascist-racist government, many scores have served or are still serving various terms of imprisonment for their part in the freedom struggle.

Indians And The Armed Struggle

When, in 1961, the ANC launched the armed struggle, many Indians immediately joined the military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, some in positions of command at various levels. Many are serving long sentences of imprisonment on the

notorious Robben Island for their activities in the underground army.

The present Indian population of South Africa is now the fifth and sixth generation. Most South African Indians have never left the shores of the country simply because they cannot afford to do so. Yet until very recently they were regarded by the Whites as an alien community to be "repatriated" back to India at the first opportunity! This abominably hard-hearted policy was not only unjust in the extreme but impracticable for various reasons notably the Indian Government's complete refusal to co-operate with such blatant injustice.

Finally, in the 1960's the racist regime has now acknowledged that the Indians are South Africans – 100 years after they first arrived! In a sense this is an acknowledgment of defeat; that in spite of numerous restrictions, repression and virtual economic strangulation half a million people could not be hounded from the land of their birth. But, despite this recognition, the restrictions, the oppression and repression continues. Indians together with other non-Whites continue to be non-citizens in their own country.

Permanent Inhabitants

In fact the statement "recognising" the Indian people as "permanent inhabitants" of South Africa was accompanied by another piece of apartheid legislation – the setting up of an Indian National Council. In their Grand Design the apartheid fanatics seek to bring about a total separation of the various communities comprising the South African population. The hard-headed politicians and economists are, of course, aware that this is not possible because the super-profits and the prosperity of the Whites is based on exploitation of the Blacks. So gestures are made. Thus we have the Bantustan fraud for the African majority, the Coloured Council and now the Indian National Council. The legislation authorising the setting up of this Council was passed five years ago. So total was the opposition of the Indian people to this fraudulent substitute for full citizenship right that even the stooge element within the Indian Community spoke out against it. None could be found to co-operate voluntarily with the racist government in planning the setting up of the Council. In desperation the Minister of Indian Affairs had to resort to sending 100 personal invitations to selected stooges and members of the teaching profession who are in a particularly vulnerable position being employees of the State. It is noteworthy that at the first meeting held in December 1963 the Minister was obliged to state that because of "agitation, intimidation and internal strife" democratically elected leaders of the Indian community could not be found. The Minister went on to say:

"If the required co-operation is still withheld it will not mean that I shall refrain from going ahead with the task entrusted to me. But I shall do so as I see fit and nobody will be entitled to accuse me of taking matters into my own hands without first having consulted you."

These statements of the Minister clearly demonstrate the solid opposition of the Indian people to the Indian National Council and their refusal to co-operate in their own oppression.

No Legislative Powers

The Indian National Council will obviously have no legislative or real administrative functions. It is intended as an advisory body to "consult" with the government on matters pertaining to Indian education, health services, Indian industrial development and opportunities for employment, old age pensions, the setting up of local government in

"Indian areas", etc. Some well-known stooges, such as P.R. Pather and A.M. Moola, seem recently to have had second thoughts about the Indian National Council. In the police state that is South Africa all opposition to the racist regime is silenced by the monstrous punishment meted out to opponents. Taking advantage of this fetid atmosphere the stooges appear to be coming out in their true, ugly colours. No doubt as a sop to their decayed consciences they have called for an elected council rather than a nominated council. They hope thereby to dupe and confuse the mass of the Indian people – as if it was not well-known that the government itself envisages an elected council in the hope of passing it off to the world as a democratic institution. The stooges represent nobody but themselves and will be dealt with by the people at the appropriate time. And the government has not the shadow of a hope of bluffing the Indian people, let alone the world.

The Indian people of South Africa are not interested in phony, fraudulent institutions such as the Indian National Council, nor are they interested in being "recognised" by the fascist-racists as "permanent inhabitants" of South Africa.

They were born in South Africa, like their fathers and grandfathers and they will accept nothing less than their birthright as citizens of South Africa.

But there are those who have capitulated and have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. Let us look at these men appointed by the racists in order to hoodwink the gullible into thinking that some measure of democratic rights has been extended to the Indian people.

They are, for the record:

From Durban: B. Rambrith, A.M. Rajab, P.R. Pather, M.E. Sultan, A.G. Khan, H. Naran, Cape Town: C.C. Palsania &

G.M. Patel. Pietermaritzburg: G.M. Sing & S.R.B. Naidoo. Lenasia: N. Phillips & N. Govender, J.N. Reddy (Chatsworth). R. Bhana (Port Elizabeth), H. Bodasing, K.R. Desai & E.M. Moola (Stranger), Y.S. Chinsamy (Verulam), S. Colakpoo (Germiston), M.D. Coovadia (Bethal). R.A. Govender (Umzinto), A. Ismail (Potgietersrust), H.E. Joosub (Pretoria), A.I. Kajee (Estcourt), H.F. Mayet (Johannesburg). All of them have one thing in common. None have ever taken part in any of the many struggles the Indian people have waged for freedom and democracy. None of them, except for P.R. Pather, have participated actively in any political organisation of the people. In the case of Pather his role in Indian politics has been one of dishonour: his period of office in the Natal Indian Congress prior to being thrown out by the present leaders of Congress in 1945, was one of dishonourable compromises, the most blatant being his role in the signing of the Pretoria Agreement with the then Smuts Government, whereby he, on behalf of the Indian people, agreed to residential segregation as long as the right to own property for the purpose of business and investment was safeguarded.

These are the traitors, who like Matanzima and others will be dealt with by the people in time.

Through the South African Indian Congress the Indian people have thrown in their lot with all the oppressed people of South Africa led by the African National Congress. Long after the fascists and their fraud and trickery will have been overthrown the Indian people will continue to flourish in South Africa as South Africans.

We are confident that we shall ultimately defeat the fascist-racists of South Africa and establish a truly democratic government of the people as envisaged in our programme the FREEDOM CHARTER, an abridged version of which states:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

and therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together – equals, countrymen and brothers – adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

- THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!
- ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!
- THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!
- THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!
- ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!
- ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!
- THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!
- THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!
- THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!
- THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.'

WHAT OTHERS SAY

On the Southern African Revolution

WESTERN EUROPE MUST SUPPORT LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Andrew Faulds, Labour M.P.
UNITED KINGDOM



Andrew Faulds British Labour M. P. at Khartoum Conference.

Some of us in Western Europe are involved in the worldwide ideological struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We have a total commitment to solidarity with all the peoples of the world who are struggling to throw off the shackles of the old and dying order of imperialism. We see in the contacts of our European governments with the fascist regimes of Southern Africa and the Portuguese territories the selfish political considerations that motivate and sustain imperialism which thrives on economic exploitation. On the other hand some of us in Western Europe are motivated not by political but by humanitarian concerns. We wish to show that concern by providing whatever assistance and support we can for those engaged in the fighting, for those languishing in the prisons of Southern Africa, and for the families who have suffered death or imprisonment in the struggle.

It is an inadequate contribution but it is a symbol of our involvement. We work to educate our communities to the realities of the repression and the suffering imposed by the racist regimes of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. We work to change the policies of our governments where they adversely affect the peoples awaiting liberation. We oppose all contacts between our countries and the racist regimes – contacts such as the economic, political, social, cultural and sporting links which provide the wellbeing, the arrogant assurance of the white minorities. But in particular we must bring to an end the disgraceful trade in weapons and vehicles of war which bring suffering and

death to the people of Southern Africa.

I can speak best of the work of the Anti-Apartheid movement in Britain which for ten years now has tried to stir the conscience of the British people. We have done this through lobbies of Parliament, at demonstrations and meetings, with pamphlets and the publication of our own newspaper, to try and commit the people of Britain to the freedom struggle.

We have involved a growing section of our community – trade unions, young people and students, writers and artists. We have even mustered support from some politicians. But the trouble with politicians is that when they become government ministers they seem to forget the lessons we taught them. We in Western Europe must devise a programme of aid, a peoples' programme of popular support. We must have the same common purpose that we can learn from the unity of the liberation movements.

Our programme must have the following objectives:

1. To obtain recognition and status from Western governments for the Liberation movements. The governments of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, West Germany, Finland and Denmark must accept their responsibilities in this respect as the governments of Eastern Europe have already done.
2. The UN has called for Freedom Fighters taken as prisoners of war to be treated with dignity and propriety under international law. We must ensure this.
3. We should be organising medical

aid for the Freedom Fighters. We should be providing assistance to the liberated areas in the form of school and hospitals, and food supplies where necessary.

4. We should be thinking now of what plans may be required to meet the inevitable movement of refugees.

5. One of the continuing tasks before us is the provision of assistance to the families of political prisoners and those who have been murdered. And where possible legal aid to prisoners. Because of the developing struggle demands on our work in this field – spearheaded by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa – will grow. We must see that peoples and governments increase their assistance in this humanitarian obligation.

The newly independent countries of Africa and Asia can provide that new voice of balance, of sanity. That voice will be enormously strengthened when you have achieved your liberation and independence and your opinions and your judgement are added to it.

We recognise that there is no choice but the armed struggle of the freedom fighters. We welcome the military activities that have started in Zimbabwe against that petty tyrant, Smith. We cheer your victories in Angola and Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. We look forward to the battle being joined in South Africa – that fortress of fascism. We wish you well in the fight and we in Western Europe will do what we can to help. We assure you of our solidarity in the struggle. The future of Southern Africa is yours. Victory will be yours.

FROM GANDHI

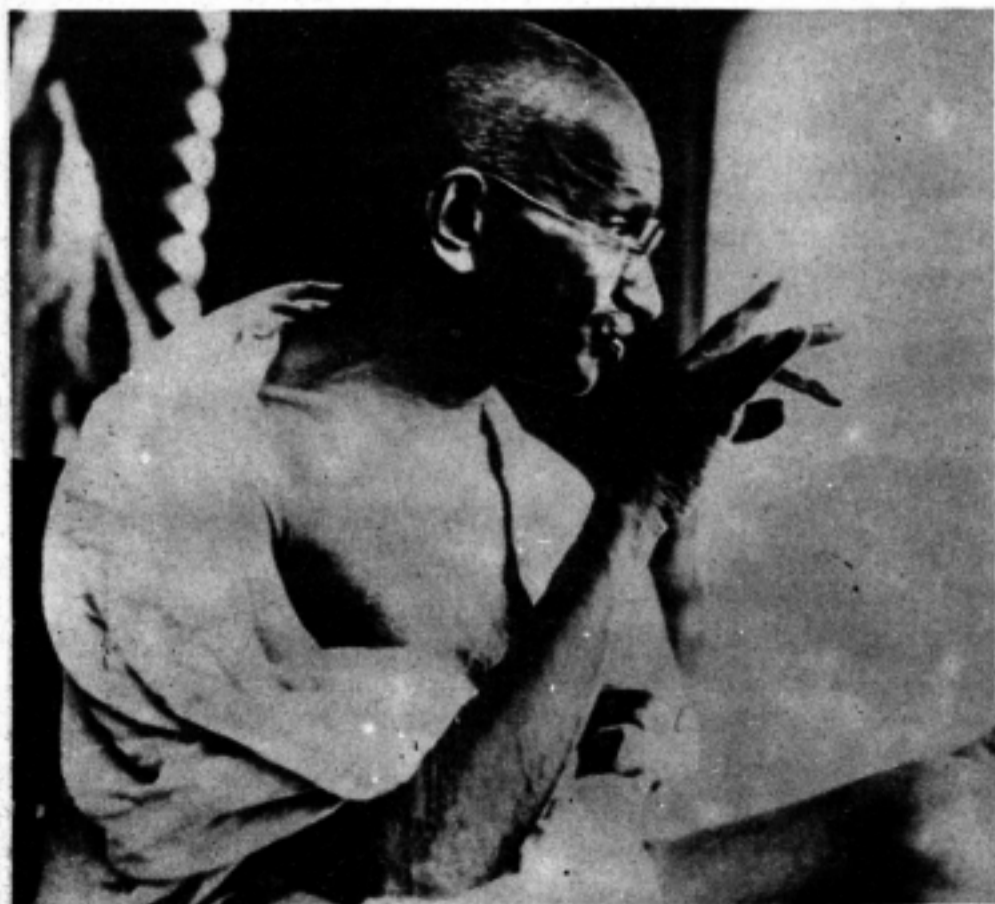


In commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the forma

“Where the choice is set between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. I praise and extol the serene courage of dying without killing. Yet I desire that those who have not this courage should rather cultivate the art of killing and being killed, than basely to avoid the danger. This is because he who runs away commits mental violence; he has not the courage of facing death by killing. I would a thousand times prefer violence than the emasculation of a whole race. I prefer to use arms in defence of honour rather than remain the vile witness of dishonour.”

– Mahatma Gandhi: Declaration on question of the use of violence in defence of rights. (published Guardian 16. 12. 38)

This year the world joins in commemorating the centenary of one of the greatest men that ever lived – Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It is also the 75th year of the foundation by Gandhi of the Natal Indian Congress, which was later part of the South African Indian Congress. All its main leaders are virtually proscribed by the Fascist government of South Africa. It is a commentary on the situation in South Africa that it will constitute a serious risk to the people of our country to endeavour to pay any proper homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi because of possible retaliation by the government. The ruling Fascist party has always hated everything Gandhi ever stood for.



Gandhi and South Africa

It is only natural that in this anniversary most attention will be paid to the role and contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the independence of mighty India. Yet no South African can forget the year 1893 when Gandhi landed at Durban. The future Mahatma was a young foppishly dressed English-trained barrister who had come to South Africa to handle his first big civil case. It did not take long for Gandhi to discover that he was a member of an oppressed community and he was treated to all the insults and even beatings that non-whites were subjected to.

He was about to return to India in 1894 when at the farewell party held in his honour someone handed him a copy of the Natal Mercury. The Natal Legislative Assembly had been debating a new law to disfranchise Indians. Gandhi agreed to stay in South Africa a little longer to help fight this new law. As it happened he was to remain in the country another twenty years before he returned to India in 1914.

The Legacy of Gandhi

Like all great historical figures Mahatma Gandhi was a very controversial man. For centuries men will try and assess the true legacy of Gandhi. But what cannot be doubted is that he moved millions upon millions of people into action for freedom and dignity against imperialism. Gandhi himself considered all his work a “search for truth”. In fact he called his autobiography “The story of my experiments with truth”. It is not necessary for our purposes to examine Gandhi’s philosophical views which derived largely from his religious beliefs. The main field of Gandhi’s activity lay in politics. And it is here that the role of the Mahatma is to be sought.

Space does not allow us to give an account of Gandhi’s struggles in South Africa. But he led the Indian people in

TO MANDELA

on of the Natal Indian Congress by Mahatma Gandhi

"At the beginning of June, 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkonto We Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government had left us with no other choice."

— Nelson Mandela: in his speech during the Rivonia Trial, 1963–64.

demonstrations, marches, strikes and passive resistance campaigns which involved courting imprisonment. Gandhi himself did not like the phrase passive resistance and argued strongly against its use to refer to campaigns he led. He preferred the word "Satyagraha" which meant soul-force. The real point is that he organised the masses of the people in struggles which had to be strictly non-violent. There is no doubt that Gandhi's campaigns both in South Africa and India showed that there was tremendous potential in his method for rousing the masses and organising them. Yet the method also caused undue power to be placed in the hands of the leadership to curb and take away the initiative of the masses if they so wished. Mass pressure combined with negotiation and compromise seemed the essence of the Gandhian political method. To disarm the masses in the face of an enemy determined to rule by force is a problem that Gandhi never really resolved except by extremely abstruse reasoning.

Violence not ruled out

Perhaps it was when confronted by such phenomena as Fascism and imperialism that Gandhi had to concede that there were circumstances in which violent struggle would be justifiable. It is overwhelmingly in the literature of the imperialist world that one finds unqualified non-violence as the specific contribution of Gandhi to political method. No doubt we will be hearing nothing else from the imperialists during this centenary year.

But Gandhi himself felt that violence was preferable to cowardice and dishonour. More than this no serious revolutionary has ever put forward. Every freedom fighter would prefer to achieve liberty and social progress by peaceful means and history has proved that the masses have generally been patient almost to a fault before resorting to armed struggle.

South Africa After Gandhi

After the departure of Gandhi to India in 1914 a deep void existed in the Indian political scene; the African National Congress had been formed two years earlier. Although he had been in the country twenty years Gandhi's links with the African people had been slight. Years later Gandhi was to express regret at this. On the other hand some revolutionaries have felt that it was not an entirely unhappy mistake as it meant the African liberation movement never absorbed some of the more unacceptable aspects of Gandhian philosophy.

But even among the Indian people the absence of Gandhi left a vacuum which was filled by an opportunistic leadership. The militant mass activities were abandoned. In their place were endless conferences, compromises, court cases and retreats.

It is the events in India which now became the centre of attraction. It was from there that a new generation of South African politicians gained the inspiration to resume once more the Gandhi tradition. Of these young men the most outstanding was Yusuf Dadoo, a well-known Communist, whose assumption of leadership in the South African Indian Congress Mahatma Gandhi himself approved against the protests of conservative elements in the community. In fact Dr. Dadoo was for many years Gandhi's personal correspondent on South African affairs. Another was Dr. G.M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, who has been and still is a staunch Gandhite.

The historic victory over Fascism by the Soviet Union and other countries in the Second World War laid the basis for the great advance to national liberation and independence in India, China and many countries of the third world.

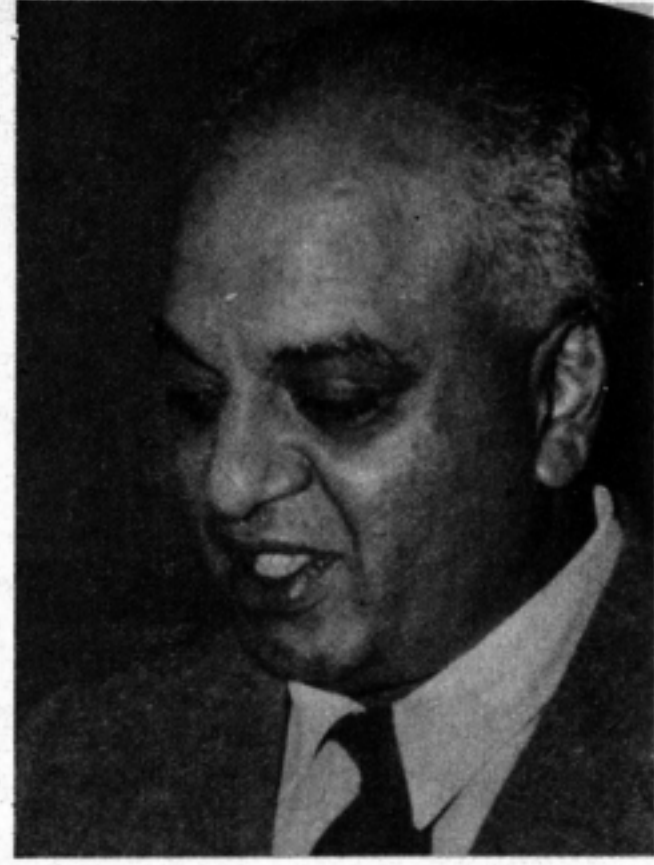
The Dadoo-Naicker leadership of the South African Indian Congress had a platform which differed somewhat from that of Mahatma Gandhi thirty years earlier. Yet it was



The Late Chief Lutuli who until his death was President of the A. N. C.



The Late Jimmy La Guma who at the time of his death was President of the Coloured Peoples Congress.



Dr. G. M. Naicker, banned President of the Natal Indian Congress.

widely acclaimed as a return of the Gandhi tradition. The SAIC now called for unity of all the oppressed people in South Africa, militant mass struggle and international solidarity with all peoples fighting for progress in the world. In 1946 the Passive Resistance struggle was launched by the SAIC against the so-called Ghetto Act which introduced restrictions on the ownership of land by Indians. Thousands participated in this campaign. Although there was much admiration for the Indian community the other oppressed people did not participate in the campaign. In the same year the great Miners' strike of Africans took place which helped to remove the sense of isolation of the SAIC campaign.

From then it followed naturally that the trend should more and more lead to co-operation among the oppressed. In 1947 the leaders of the African National Congress and the SAIC signed a pact of co-operation on common issues. This was cemented in the great campaigns for the Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress of the People. In 1955 the Freedom Charter became the common programme of all the progressive organisations in South Africa.

During the discussions on the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws there had been some debate on whether or not the Gandhi ideas and methods were being followed as a principle. In the result the Gandhi methods of civil disobedience, hartal, forms of mass organisation were borrowed from. But the ideas of Satyagraha in the Gandhian mould were rejected as not being in accord with the specific situation.

The Advance of Fascism

The attitude of the Fascists to any forms of struggle including those of Gandhi were clearly indicated in the monstrous Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. It was "communism" in South Africa to prosecute any struggle by the kind of methods used by Gandhi and the penalties for "advocating" such methods carried a penalty of ten years imprisonment. As more and more repression was forced on the people of South Africa the question of new forms of struggle came to the fore.

It was Nelson Mandela now serving life imprisonment on Robben Island who gave clear and public voice to the

widespread feeling that non-military methods of struggle had reached the end of their tether. This was in May 1961. By December of that year Umkhonto We Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) announced its formation. The preparations for armed struggle began which culminated in the beginning of guerrilla war in Zimbabwe in August 1967. The guerrilla war will gradually develop until the whole Southern Africa becomes a theatre of fierce armed revolutionary wars.

Gandhi Contradicted?

The main blow of the Gandhian campaigns was directed at those forces which dominate other people. He was a Nationalist and patriot. Yet he showed considerable concern for the conditions and welfare of the village peasants of India. Many of his ideas seemed to lack revolutionary consistency although it is now suggested that he was limited by the forces and colleagues who surrounded him in the leadership of the Indian Congress. He stood for unity and refused to take up any attitude of hostility to ideas which he did not accept such as Communism.

In the light of his life and work the South African revolutionaries consider that in taking up arms against the Fascists they are not acting in contradiction to Gandhi. On the contrary the armed struggle is a challenge to all those who prefer freedom to cowardice to join in the fight.

When Gandhi died at the hands of a religious fanatic in 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru said "a light had gone out". For the people of South Africa who had special links with Gandhi the tragedy had a particular poignancy.

Today under the shadow of the Fascist terror machine, a few people might repair to the settlement at Phoenix, Inanda, just outside Durban. Some cultural activity on a small-scale might be arranged. It is not easy to imagine more happening. With thousands of activists and leaders imprisoned, and countless others underground, and fighting as guerrillas the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi might pass by with barely a ripple in South Africa. This will be a purely surface condition. If the masses were to be free to do so they would commemorate the life of Mahatma in a fitting manner. We have not forgotten his example.

DRIVE TO SELL SOUTH AFRICA

1. In BRITAIN

Not content with being Britain's second largest customer, the South African Government is planning a massive export and public relations drive in Britain this year in order to cement further their imperialist alliance.

At least three Government departments – of Commerce, Information and Immigration – will supervise the plan. They will work in conjunction with the South African Tourist Corporation, Safmarine, South African Airways and other State-controlled bodies through the South African embassy in London.

Part of the plan calls for a "South Africa Week" to be held in at least 15 British cities during the year. Each South Africa Week will involve thousands of British importers, retailers and wholesalers who trade with the Republic or market South African goods.

The object of South Africa weeks, says the Johannesburg "Sunday Express", "will be to give a fair and attractive image of the country in all its aspects while boosting trade, industry, tourism and immigration."

Scotland has been chosen as the area where the new campaign will be launched and both Glasgow and Edinburgh will have South Africa weeks in the next few months. After the "trade and goodwill" campaign has been completed in England, Scotland and Wales, it will move to Northern Ireland and Eire, with South Africa Weeks planned for both Belfast and Dublin. A full-scale promotions drive will then be centred on London, where the bulk of South African exports are now sold.

The reason for starting the campaign in the provinces, before moving to London, is probably the fascist regime's fear of meeting head-on opposition to its lies and falsehoods in the more politically-aware capital. But with the backing of the more conservative centres, such opposition, the South African officials feel, may be more easily countered.

Spokesmen for the Department of Commerce said, according to the "Sunday Express", that the drive would probably be one of the largest undertaken by the Republic, "and has been planned in order to 'acclimatise' British consumers living in the provinces to South African goods and spread **knowledge and factual information about the Republic.**" (our italics).

2. IN THE U.S.A.

The American Committee on Africa has asked President Nixon to reconsider the decision of President Johnson granting a "foreign air carrier permit" to South African Airways and requested the Civil Aeronautics Board to reopen public hearings on the case.

South African Airways has started direct weekly flights between Johannesburg and New York via Rio de Janeiro. In a letter to President Nixon, the executive director of the committee, Mr. George Houser, explained that "our reason for asking this case to be reopened is not based on any technicality. Rather, it is founded on the fundamental principle of all American civil rights legislation. South African Airways as an instrument of the South African government

under the administration of the Minister of Transport, must work within the confines of the system of apartheid which prevails in all institutions under the direct control of the South African government.

"It is patently clear from the very extensive advertising being done by South African Airways in American journals and newspapers that the main purpose for the new route into Kennedy International Airport is to entice an even larger number of American tourists to visit South Africa. Given the nature of the segregated and discriminatory conditions which prevail in South Africa, this advertising is really aimed at white Americans only. Thus South Africa hopes that because white American tourists see only the friendly and government-sanctioned side of South African life, they will become friendly propagandists for her policies on their return home."

The letter continued: "In the photographs, only white families are pictured on beaches or in parks, in night-clubs or on golf courses. (Non-whites occasionally turn up as workers or sales people). This is natural because, although the text does not say, only whites are allowed at these tourist facilities.

"Ironically some ads feature the uncrowded conditions of beaches and other playgrounds, leaving the potential visitor without suspicion that 80 per cent of the people are not permitted there. The wonderful vacation of the South African Airways ads is a racist vacation, and part of South African Airways' function is to sell the acceptance of South Africa's form of racism to the American people."

Mr. Houser added: "Since South Africa is a police state, tourists will not see or hear the other side when they get there. Tourist material does point out that cars may travel on main roads through 'Bantu' African areas but may not leave them without a permit. The American visitor will not see the transit camps or relocation areas hidden in barren country far from main centers, where non-whites exiled from their urban homes by apartheid legislation, are suffering. Nor will he meet the opposition – it is banned, imprisoned, or exiled."

Further, the letter emphasized that Section 402 (d) of the Federal Aviation Act requires that a public hearing be held by the Civil Aeronautics Board when a permit such as that granted to SAA is under consideration. But according to a CAB document of September 18, 1968, at a pre-hearing conference the participants, which included only representatives of SAA, Pan American Airways and the CAB Bureau of Operating Rights, "agreed to waive the filing of a report of the conference by the examiner and the issuance of a notice of hearing which was therefore convened." Thus although the CAB considered that granting SAA a permit for "an unlimited period" was "in the public interest," the public was really never advised of the proceedings leading to the CAB's decision.

Mr. Houser concludes that it is within President Nixon's power to reopen this case, and hopefully adds it "could be reopened through new public hearings being held which were by-passed previously." The American Committee on Africa believes firmly that "it is in the public interest to do so."

SWAZILAND AND AFRICA

CO-OPERATION OR CONFLICT?

On 6th September 1968, Swaziland – the last British territory in Southern Africa – was given independence. It comes at a time when the region is being increasingly dominated by two contradictory forces. The South African Government is on the offensive. Elated by its diplomatic and aid ties with Malawi, it is moving swiftly into Swaziland, to ensure that it remains a buffer zone free of freedom-fighters. The latter are also on the rise – led by ZAPU/ANC in Zimbabwe, and by Frelimo in Portuguese Mocambique (although the latter is not yet operating militarily in that part of Mocambique between Swaziland and the sea.) In such a situation of collision, what is Swaziland's relationship with South Africa, and – the other side of this coin – what is her attitude to the freedom-fighters and Africa?

Swaziland's position is specially interesting. Although the smallest in size and population of the former High Commission Territories, it is the most prosperous (it hopes to finance its own expenditure within three years). It also has most cause to conflict with South Africa.

The Power of Imbokodvo

Three factors shape its politics. The first is King Sobhuza – Head of State, and Founder-patron of the ruling Imbokodvo National Movement, which won 79.6 % of the votes in the 1967 general election. Imbokodvo forced Britain to provide a Constitution in which the House of Assembly is composed of eight huge, threemember constituencies. This has swamped the small urban areas with rural votes, thereby preventing the sole opposition party, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, from winning a single seat. If Imbokodvo monopolises the legislature, the Royal Family dominates Imbokodvo. Prime Minister, Prince Makhosini Dhalmini, is a son of King Sobhuza – as are two other Ministers and a back bencher! A further three Princes dominate the Minerals Committee, which is appointed by the King to advise him on the issuing of mineral licences and the disposal of mineral royalties which do not accrue to the Government's revenue. The King further appoints (not on the advice of his Prime Minister) six members of the House of Assembly, and one half of the Senate. Most Imbokodvo back-benchers are loyal to the chiefs. While the political backbone of Imbokodvo is the Royal Family and chiefs, its administrative competence comes from the small minority of educated Swazi who support it. In particular, the two Nxumalo's who led the Swaziland Democratic Party up to 1965 and who are now Cabinet Ministers.

The Settlers

Imbokodvo also relies on the support of some 8,000 White settlers. While no longer electorally important, they dominate almost completely the cash sector of the Swazi economy. Owning over 40 % of the land, all mining and industry, they are also the main benefitters from the economy. Mostly South African by origin and citizenship, they are divided into two factions – a large racist one, and a small liberal non-racist one.

Imbokodvo ended its electoral alliance with the former

about two years ago. It now favours the latter. This is reflected in the Whites who have been appointed to the legislature – pre-eminent among whom is the cautious liberal Mr. Leo Lovell, a former Labour Party member of the South African Parliament, and now Swaziland's Minister of Finance.

The Opposition NNLC

The N.N.L.C. is the sole significant anti-Imbokodvo force. Led by Dr. Zwane, its support – the urban working class and the Swazi intelligentsia – has resulted in policies far more radical than Imbokodvo. It recognises and deplors Swaziland's neo-colonial relationship with South Africa. It wants the King to be a purely titular figurehead. It wants the Swazi to share control of the economy with Whites. Despite the closing of its Dar-es-Salaam office since Independence, and the defection of some of its leaders, it retains some vigour. It publishes a monthly journal, recently organised a large demonstration against higher polltaxes, and increased its share of the vote in the 1967 election to over 20 % – or over 48,000 votes – which corresponds with the 56,000 Wage-earners in the territory. However, it is not yet a major power factor. It has no place in the Legislature. The next election is not due for three years. And Imbokodvo is already putting on the screw – it has tried to deport one N.N.L.C. leader to South Africa; it has cancelled the registration of three Trade Unions on which the N.N.L.C. relies heavily.

Contradiction Within Imbokodvo

Nevertheless, Imbokodvo suffers from three inner contradictions which can in the long run weaken it. Its greatest strength – Sobhuza (King since 1921) – is also its weakness. For he is 70 years old, and no successor is likely to have anything like his prestige. Secondly, as Imbokodvo implements its promise to develop the economy by attracting industry and opening a second asbestos mine, so it increases the objective basis – the working class – of an N.N.L.C.-type party. Finally, it can only increase the standard of living of the rural Swazi speedily if it regains a lot of the land now in settler hands. Yet not only the economy but the goodwill of South Africa depends on Swaziland not taking any drastic measures against South African settler-citizens. Britain's refusal so far to finance the buying back of settler land, has, in Prince Makhosini's words, "planted a time bomb in our country" which "will, not solved, amount to a major political problem and may disrupt peace and harmony among the races."

Britain On The Way Out

Clearly, Imbokodvo's dominance is likely in the long run to be reduced. But meanwhile, what is the present international environment with which the Imbokodvo Government is faced? One thing is clear: Britain is not likely to be a counter-weight to South African influence. Admittedly her present ties are significant. She is Swaziland's biggest

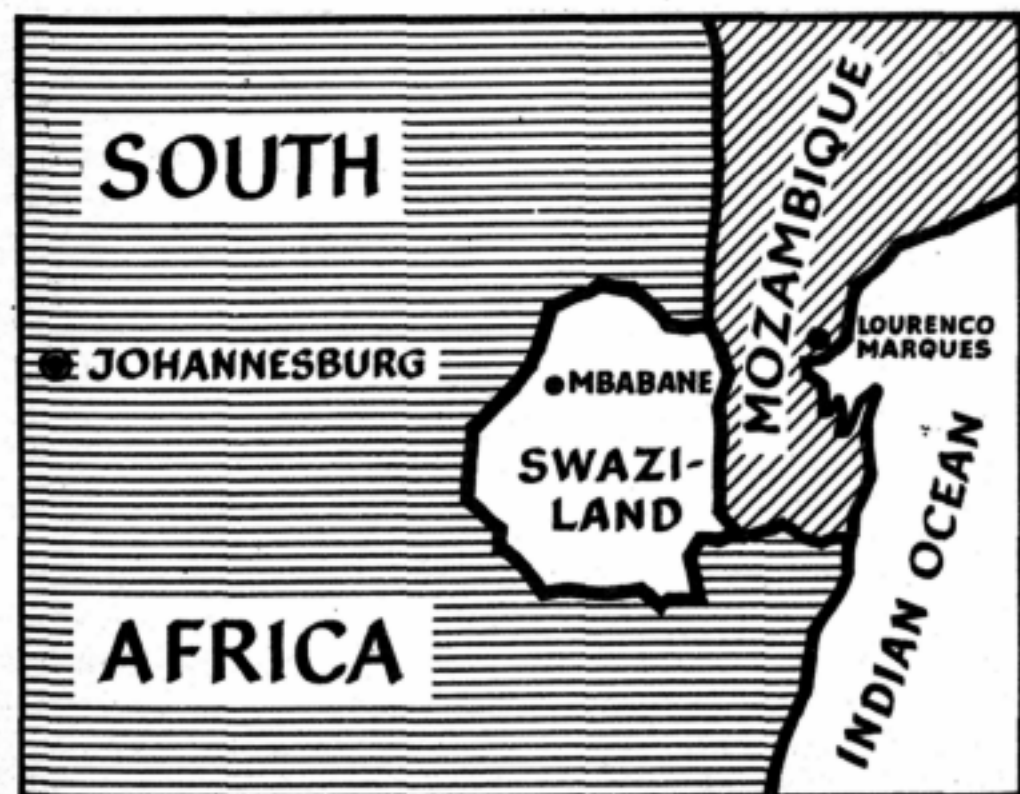
customer. 62% of all exports come from enterprises run by the Commonwealth Development Corporation. Aid in 1969/70 amounts to roughly £2½ million. But this Britain is planning to reduce, and Swaziland herself wishes to diversify her exports towards Central and East Africa. Above all, as the Rhodesian conflict has shown, Britain is not prepared to clash with South Africa regardless of what that country does.

South Africa Moves In

South Africa, on the other hand, is moving in fast. The S.A.B.C. is doing a survey on how to develop Swaziland's broadcasting. On January 31st 1969, South Africa agreed to send white staff to any Swaziland local authority in any capacity. In the absence of the U.N. complying with an Afro-Asian request to guarantee Swaziland against possible aggression or pressure by South Africa, and in the absence of the O.A.U. taking any effective action to prevent Swaziland becoming further dependent – the Republic has at hand a whole range of means whereby to exert pressure. For Swaziland is surrounded on three sides by South Africa, and on the fourth by South Africa's close ally, Mocambique. The Swazi population of 374,000 is a mere 2% of the Republic's; her gross domestic product of £25 million is roughly 0.5% of South Africa's; 20% of her £20 million exports go to South Africa, and 75% of her imports come from there. Her currency is Rands and cents. She falls within the South African Customs Union. In addition, over 5,000 Swazi work on the South African goldmines at any one time. The headwaters of all Swazi rivers lie in the Transvaal and South Africa has already made plans for their use.

The Attitude of the Swaziland Government

What meaning can independence have in such circumstances? Can Swaziland play any role in the liberation of South Africa itself? What is the present thinking of Imbokodvo? It has two contradictory aspects. On the one hand, it has gone a long way towards placating South Africa. The Government wants South Africa to build a railway to line up with its own. It has sent a mission to Lourenco Marques. Sobhuza has promised since independence not to interfere in South African affairs, and Makhosini has told the O.A.U. that "we shall have no patience with refugees who enter our country, . . . to use it as a base for attacking other countries." He has stated "economically, there is nothing we can do unless we have support of these two coun-



tries . . . we will continue to have good relations with South Africa and Portugal." Clearly freedom-fighters can expect no aid from the Swaziland Government. But the picture is more complex than this. The Swaziland Government does not wish to be a puppet. It has declared for majority rule and non-racialism. Imbokodvo leaders have stated "we belong to Africa", and again, "it is unthinkable that we could allow a new master to lord it over us." In pursuance of this, political refugees were specifically excluded from a new extradition treaty Swaziland has signed with South Africa. Swaziland has refused to accept South African proposals to revise Customs Union, because the latter country is trying to dictate what industries shall be erected in Swaziland. (Financial Mail 24/1/69). She is trying in vain so far – to get South Africa to ratify the U.N. Convention on Transit Trade of Landlocked States which guarantees unhindered passage of goods. She has joined the O.A.U. and the Commonwealth. At the latter's Prime Minister's Conference, Prince Makhosini attacked Britain for selling out over Rhodesia. Most important of all, Swaziland took the initiative in sending a trade delegation to Zambia and East Africa. Minister Simon Nxumalo has made a plea to Africa: "We need the goodwill of Africa." These are not the actions of a puppet. Swaziland is desperately weak, but it does not wish to be weak. It is aware of the whole range of issues where its interests clash with South Africa's – the headwaters of her rivers, the Customs Union, South Africa's clumsy attempt to prevent industrialisation, South Africa's reluctance to see a just land settlement at the expense of the whites, perhaps above all, the fact that two-thirds of precolonial Swaziland was grabbed by the Boers and now lies in the Transvaal. Indeed the whole history of the Swazi nation – and it was very much alive in King Sobhuza's mind on Independence Day – makes Swaziland hostile to South Africa.

A Strategy for the O.A.U.

The rulers of Swaziland appear to be following a reactionary policy and have made it clear they will not allow the country to be used as a base by freedom fighters. Furthermore the future of Swaziland is inextricably linked with that of South Africa and the people of Swaziland cannot avoid becoming involved in the growing liberation war; in the circumstances it is perhaps not the wisest course for the O.A.U. to wash its hands of Swaziland. The following points are suggested as steps which might help and influence Swaziland to move away from the South African sphere of influence.

1. Several states can station ambassadors in Mbabane, as a diplomatic counter-weight to South Africa. Zambia has already done this in Botswana.
2. The African block at the U.N. could organise states to press South Africa into signing the Transit Trade Convention.
3. States could follow Zambia's lead in negotiating trade agreement with Swaziland. The latter can offer iron, asbestos, sugar, fruit, cattle. And in return there is a Swazi import market worth £17 million a year. East African and Horn of Africa states have a special opportunity here because of short and easy transport routes.
4. Some 23% of the Whites in the Swaziland civil service have resigned. The 100 vacancies so caused could easily be filled by each state loaning two or three men, thereby squeezing South Africa out.

Finally, a joint O.A.U. contribution of one or two million pounds a year would almost eliminate Swaziland's budget gap – once again reducing her need to turn to South Africa.

Africa has a great opportunity in Southern Africa. It is up to her to take it with both hands.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on the South African Police State

COLOUR BAR IN TRADE UNIONS

At its recent annual conference, the Trade Union Council of South Africa amended its constitution once again so that African trade unions cannot affiliate to it. Mr. A.G. Soobiah, a leading non-white trade union worker representing the Indian Tea and Coffee Workers' Union was one of only two people who voted against the amendment. He pointed out that "the largest labour force is the African, and is denied worker recognition in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act." He also stated that its policy of closing its doors to African unions will mean that TUCSA will "find it difficult to continue convincing friends abroad."

FINES FOR TRAINING NON-WHITES

The powerful white Motor Industry Employees' Union in a circular letter from its national secretary, Mr. D.J. Pienaar, said that its Grand Council has ruled white members must "under no circumstances agree to training non-white apprentices." This was to be the official policy of the M.I.E.U. Breaches of the Grand Council's ruling could result in fines, suspensions, or expulsions from the trade union, white motor workers were told.

This decision has been condemned by the National Union of Distributive Workers (also white) on the grounds that it is "contrary to the very policy of white leadership in South Africa." It says "This attitude is also completely contrary to official Government policy, which recognizes the need for training our non-white people, if only with the object of eventually serving their own people in their own area."

WHITE WORKER SHORTAGE

The Management Committee of the Transport Department of the Johannesburg City Council is in a quandry. Mr. Pieter Roos, chairman of the Management Committee said that his council has done all it could to encourage the enrolment of white drivers. "We were

assured by the Johannesburg Transport Workers' Union that the answer was higher wages . . . we granted increases amounting to an extra wage bill of R250,000 a year."

The full complement of drivers is 902, and after a further 16 resignations in one week, there was a shortage of 219 drivers and conductors, despite a panel of 211 part-time volunteers. Mr. Roos said that the only alternative was to fill the vacancies with non-white running staff.

SCHOOL CLOSED

When 100 Indian schoolchildren and their teachers returned to school after the holidays, they were told: "We are closing down. This is going to be a Coloured school."

It happened at the State-aided St. Theresa's Indian Primary School at Mayville, Durban, which has been run by the Roman Catholic Church for the past 43 years. Mayville has been declared a Coloured residential area.

The oldest member of the staff, 63-year-old Miss Martha Wynard, who has been in charge of the infant class since St. Theresa's was started 43 years ago, said that everyone had expected the school to close eventually. "We knew it must close. This has been declared a Coloured group area and the Indians have been moving out gradually for a long time," she said. "Pupils have dwindled from 450 to 120 in eighteen months. But we did think it would stay open for at least another year. It is such a shock to come to work on Monday and be told the school is closing." Mr. G.A.C. Lawrence, who has taught at the school for his entire career of 37 years, said: "The department has indicated that it will do its best to place us in other schools in the Durban area. But none of us knows yet where he is going. The whole thing has been a shock."

WHITE NURSE SHORTAGE

South Africans (white) must be prepared to allow Coloured nurses to

work in white hospitals, Mr. Lionel Murray M.P. chairman of the Cape Town Teaching Hospitals Board said recently. "The employment of Coloured nurses to nurse white patients is a matter of mathematical necessity," he said. "There are simply not enough white girls available." Unfortunately, there is a steady exodus of Coloured nurses to Canada and elsewhere, largely because salaries paid in South Africa to Coloured nurses, were substantially lower than the salaries earned by white nurses.

HAIR-RAISING CONDITIONS

In the Johannesburg Sunday Times of 23rd February, 1969, an eye-witness account of the "hair-raising" conditions in the non-white section of the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria was given. "I witnessed scenes that reminded me of casualty clearing posts and field dressing stations close behind the battle front in World War 11," the eye-witness said.

"It was a normal day and the hospital was running according to its normal routine. I made an unannounced visit to a number of wards in the orthopaedic section and what I saw sickened me. "African men, women and children suffering from many kinds of bone fracture occupied beds in wards which were obviously designed to accommodate only half as many patients.

"The area was also crowded by walking patients who sat around on benches and on the ground. In fine weather some of the walking patients spend part of their day on the slope of the hill above the hospital. They come down for meals, and sleep on the stoep at night - two to a bed or on the ground. When it rains and the temperature drops, I was informed, they simply move into the ward and lie in the passage between the two rows of beds. Some even crawl beneath beds to enable the night staff to attend to patients who need nursing. "Conditions in the non-European Hospital, which forms part of the sprawling H.F. Verwoerd complex - the Transvaal's principle prestige hospital - can fairly be describes as primitive."

"Plans were drawn up and approved 30 years ago for amenities but are still lying in pigeon-holes in Pretoria. "I walked down a passage cluttered by stretchers with patients waiting to be operated on, while members of the hospital staff were mopping the floor or carrying utensils, linen and other materials. At a sliding door which gives access to an operating theatre I paused to watch an operation in progress. "The doctors and staff in the theatre were all masked and shrouded

in conventional clothing and footwear. But even though this part of the operation-room ritual was being observed, the fact that the door was ajar made me wonder whether the atmosphere in the theatre was as fully anti-septic and germfree as one might expect.

"The medical staff dare not invite any foreign visitor to visit this part of the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital for fear of destroying the image they have created by their outstanding achievements."

DOCTORS STRIKE

At the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban which deals each month with 70,000 out-patients, non-white doctors have gone on a "work-to-rule" protest against the racial discrimination in wages. Although they have undergone exactly the same training as whites and share equal responsibilities, they earn about half that of white doctors in Provincial hospitals.

One of the doctors described the campaign in the following terms: "We will not overwork ourselves. We are going to work as doctors would be expected to work in a normal civilised hospital."

FARMERS RESPONSIBLE FOR TYPHOID

Angry farmers are demanding the removal of the acting district surgeon of Camperdown, Dr. J. Donald Napier, because he blamed some farmers in the Eston area for a recent outbreak of typhoid. Late in January Dr. Napier reported a serious outbreak of typhoid among 10,000 African in the rich Eston farming community. Many of the Africans work in Durban which is 40 miles away. Dr. Napier laid most of the blame for the outbreak on some farmers for not providing adequate sanitary facilities for their African employees.

"Conditions on some farms are far worse than Limehill, where this disease has been causing alarm for months," he said. The Beaumont-Eston Farmers' Association held a mass meeting at the village to condemn Dr. Napier for his attack, and unanimously passed a resolution calling for the removal of Dr. Napier from the district. This action is without parallel in Natal's medical history. The Magistrate of Camperdown, Mr. S. Buys, attended the meeting.

DIVORCE

White engineering worker Mr. Christiaan Minnie, aged 23, was given only his bride's identity card number when he filled in the forms for his

wedding. Then after the couple had settled down to married life at his parents home in Brakpan, he saw her identity card. She was classified as Coloured. He ordered her to leave the house and the marriage was annulled by Mr. Justice Cillie in the Rand divorce court in accordance with South Africa's laws against mixed marriages.

But 20-year-old Susana said after the case: "I am still deeply in love with Chris." Her former husband reacted differently: "I don't want to have anything more to do with her," he said.

7 YEARS IMPRISONMENT DEMAND

A Public Prosecutor, Mr. A.J. van Wyk, asked the Magistrate, Mr. D.H.J. Coetzee, in the Brits Magistrate's Court if the time had not come for sterner application of the provisions of the Immorality Act, which carries a maximum sentence of seven years' imprisonment. Mr. van Wyk submitted to the Court that offences under this Act had become a plague in the Brits-Rustenburg district. There had been eight immorality cases in the district in two months. The Magistrate agreed with this opinion and said "It would seem as if the light sentences imposed up to now have not had the desired effect. Contraventions of the Immorality Act have become a tidal wave."

PEEPING TOM

In one of these cases Sergeant P.J. Ras of Brits told the Regional Magistrate, Mr. L. van R. Luyt, how he instructed an African domestic servant to allow him to hide himself in the house of her 80-year-old pensioner employer and to take two photographs of the employer after the latter undressed himself in the presence of the woman, and then arrested him.

PHYSICIST TEACHER

Mr. Alfred Msezane, a 28-year-old nuclear physicist from Springs, returned from Saskatchewan University in Canada with a master's degree in nuclear physics to find that the best offer of a job he could get was a R55 (approx. (£ 30.) a month post as a teacher in Zululand.

SPECIALIST G.P.

Dr. J. Mphahlele, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a member of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, must work as an ordinary general practitioner at Baragwanath Hospital in Johannesburg because it is "not traditional for a black man to have authority over white" according to officials.

STOP PRESS

GRIM NEWS FROM ROBBER ISLAND

"There are no political prisoners in South Africa only convicted prisoners" - So the diabolical Fascists of South Africa answer the demand of the world for the release of political prisoners. In the same breath Vorster announces that there can be no remission of sentences for political prisoners!

For Africans and other non-whites, back-breaking labour, bad food, damp cells and beatings have always been a feature of South African prison life. The authorities have now added another grim weapon to their armoury against prisoners especially at Robben Island. This is the sadistic and deliberate neglect of the health of prisoners. How many people have died as a result? Majeke from Port Elizabeth who died of starvation and exposure; Marks died; Simon Mkele; Headman. And that wonderful young man Sindile Ngcapayi, founder of the African Students Association. He reported ill on the 6th August last year. The prison doctor only turned up on the 26th August! On the 30th August he was taken to Somerset Hospital, Cape Town. He died on the 1st September. Always simple ailments are allowed to develop into major illnesses.

The ingredients of Tuberculosis, Asthma, pneumonia and kidney trouble are always there. And when complaints are deliberately ignored that is the prescription for death. Unable to break the spirit of our comrades the government has decided to allow them to die out from deliberately induced ill-health.

The whole world must cry out with indignation against these monstrous crimes!



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news
and comment from
apartheid South Africa

DON'T WORRY ABOUT ME - I'M PURE

The whip is about to crack on all publications which corrupt public morals. And about time too. The authorities and we prudish columnists have had our gutsful. I'm ashen-grey with immodest pride because I know what morals are and will never be caught napping. Just in brief, this is what I'll publish to make sure I keep above board.

I will say loud and clear that apartheid is NOT a four-letter word. All those who say so are detractors who try to shrink the image of my country abroad. The truth is that apartheid is a double-four-letter word.

I'll continue making it clear that all who complain about separate beaches for the different race groups are people who are born just to carp. Truth is that we swim in the same sea and bathe under the same sun. People who want such a unique situation removed are perhaps not aware that they are depriving playwrights and writers of valuable material for hilarious skits or side-splitting novels.

I'll also make it clear that those who scream that there is something anomalous about our code of morals need head transplants.

For my part I'm glad that I live in a country where it isn't criminal to cuckold my neighbour. I can go on making love with impunity mindful of the laws of my country because there is no charge like having fun with somebody's wife without his consent.

What I'll make clear, however, is that it is immoral for Jan Ek and Mary Nta who are studying at varsity to fall in love. When love crosses the colour line it becomes a four-letter word. Jan and Mary are criminals and if they admit to such a love they will be jailed under the Immorality Act.

Talking about the Immorality Act reminds me that it has come under fire of late, even from a former top cop. What these people don't realise is that this law is meant to keep races pure. To keep White white, Black black and Coloured coloured.

I admit we have Coloureds. I'll also admit that with the Immorality Act we might be closing the cage when the bird has flown but there has to be a start somewhere. If the Coloured population is to increase let only Coloureds be held responsible.

Sportwriters as a rule need never fear the snip-snip of the censors' scissors. That is if they confine their reporting to left hooks, goals, bogeys and boundaries. They must know where to draw the line.

When I report sport I will not be influenced by colour-blind overseas selectors who will include a man who isn't altogether white just because he is a good cricketer. That's sensation and the sensational can't happen here.

Of course I'll concede that our footballers, boxers and athletes have time and again proved that they find nothing obnoxious in competing against each other and skin colour be damned. I've nothing against them doing this as long as they cross the border for their fun. Here it is criminal. It's not what you do or how you do it but a question of where you do it. We must, like Moses, know there is a place where we have to slip off our shoes because the place is holy.

Priests always utter something about nobody putting asunder those that God has joined in holy matrimony. Well and good for the priests, but like a patriotic South African my first allegiance is to the State. Haak Vrystaat!

In my reports I will state bluntly that Peter married Josephine by Christian rites. Peter is a Johannesburger and Josephine's home is in Pietersburg. The two can't stay together because Josephine doesn't qualify under Section So-and-So of the influx laws to stay in Johannesburg. The law is the law and long live the law.

For my part I'll advise Peter and Josephine to conduct their marriage and restore conjugal rights to each other by remote control.

In my writings anxious to beat the ban I'll plump for sociologists who insist that the family unit is very important in society. But what am I expected to do when the family unit is sometimes used to justify people who violate the laws of my country? As a citizen though somewhat voteless, I'll chime that the family unit is maudlin and should be thrown aboard. Especially in a case like the one that follows.

George Nkomo knows full-well when he comes to Johannesburg from Lesotho that his stay here is only for the purpose of working. But Mr. Nkomo goes and marries a Johannesburg girl and they have 13 bright children.

When the law says Mr. Nkomo's permit to stay in the Republic has expired, because he might be out of a job or maybe physically not worth having, then Nkomo must pack his grips and go out to Lesotho and pronto. The law is explicit on this.

Mrs. Nkomo is a Johannesburger and so are her 13 children. They qualify to remain in the Republic, not the head of the family.

Some malcontents are howling about Bantustans. In my writing I'll make it clear that I find the experiment most exciting. Another thing, we've been promised our independence in the Bantustans. How exciting will it be then for me to be shipped to the tropical Northern Transvaal because I just hate hot weather. It makes it even more exciting to know that I don't enjoy being pushed around but won't be going there of my own free will.

My wife is in for an even bigger kick. When we are independent Bantustan nations she will know that her parents belong to a totally different nation.

We'll have our boundaries and our own laws, and what's more our own wars. How tickling it is to think that my son, Tikinyane, might find himself shooting it out with his maternal granny's army.

In my reports I'll avoid sensation. I'll call a spade a spade. I'll put it bluntly that the ambulance driver in the Western Transvaal who left a man dying without giving him help was only doing his duty.

The injured man belonged to another race group and the ambulance driver had strict instructions as to what colour his cargo was to be.

To please the censors I'll repeatedly make it clear to readers that what's legal isn't necessarily moral and that what's immoral isn't necessarily illegal.

Simple.

Stanley Motjuwadi, written for DRUM magazine.

PUMPKINS AND DARK SKINS

Alex La GUMA

On a smallholding in the Western Transvaal, Mrs. Maria Haasbroek raises pigs, turkeys, and hens, and grows vegetables. She is separated from her husband for the last six years and apart from the sales of farm produce, gets a welfare grant and some money from her husband.

One day a four-man deputation, including a dominee from the Dutch Reformed Church, the Deputy-Director of Education in the Transvaal, and the Inspector of Education for Potchefstroom, advanced on the small farm.

The dominee was the first to speak, addressing Mrs. Haasbroek with prescribed unction. He said that God had sent them to help her in her troubles. He would open the discussion with a prayer, asking God to help, as the woman stood in the place of her husband and she had "Hell to fight through."

It appeared that the "troubles" all revolved around the fact that while Mr. and Mrs. Haasbroek were "White" according to South African standards and carried the appropriate identity cards, one of the sons, Flippie, aged 13, was creating "hell" not only for Mrs. Haasbroek, but for the whole Apartheid State, including the Population Register and the Transvaal Education Department.

The fact of the matter is that Flippie looks Coloured, has a dark skin and kinky hair, and while he is described as a bright and appealing boy, his looks are enough to upset the whole apartheid apple-cart.

His parents having registered him as "White" he was sent to a White school for the benefits of a "White" education. But problems arose when his schoolmates, no doubt acting in the best interests of White civilisation, turned upon him and made his life difficult with taunts of "Coloured". In any event, Flippie's presence at the Ventersdorp High School became an embarrassment to all and sundry involved in his education, and ways and means had to be found of getting rid of him.

Flippie was thereupon expelled for stealing pumpkins. But his brother Lewies was also found guilty of stealing pumpkins, but was not expelled from his school. Lewies is fair-skinned. "I see this whole thing as victimisation of my son on account of his appearance," Mrs. Haasbroek told the Johannesburg Sunday Times.

When he was at Junior school, the principal and members of the school committee had approached Flippie's mother, asking her to withdraw him because, they said, other parents were threatening to send their children away if Flippie stayed. When Flippie passed to High School the "problem" went with him.

Finding it difficult to make "Operation Pumpkin Stealer" work, the *panjandrum*s of the Transvaal Education Department took a new course. They would offer to send Flippie, an "expelled" pupil, to a private school and pay all the expenses. This is a departure from the normal treatment of expelled children.

It is not difficult to imagine the furtive running around to find a White private school that would be willing to gulp down its race pride and admit Flippie into its hallowed Aryan environs. After many refusals and much juggling, the deputation advanced in triumph upon the Haasbroek household, waving aloft an offer from a school, "Not one where fees are necessary, but no doubt a donation will be made to the school by the department." It was emphasised that it was a school for Whites.

However, Mrs. Haasbroek, almost gummed up the works. She did not want to sign any papers before she had inspected the school herself. No matter what persecution her child was undergoing for not being the right colour, she

wasn't going to let the side down. She was a good White South African.

"I feared that they would send Flippie to a school for Coloureds. I asked them what pupils attended the type of school they had in mind for Flippie, and they said there were mostly English-speaking children, including Roman Catholics and Jews. I said I was afraid Flippie would be influenced at a school like this and become a liberal. I don't want him to become a liberalist. Flippe is a good Afrikaner boy and that's how he should be brought up and that is how I want him to be educated.

Faced with this outburst of patriotism, the deputation promised to investigate further. The Director of Education for the Transvaal subsequently stated, with official pomp not unmixed with relief and glee, "The department has obtained the co-operation of the mother of Phillipus Haasbroek in connection with the placing of her son in a school which is regarded in the best interests of the pupil. Both the mother and the school concerned have, at the Department's request, given their wholehearted co-operation and the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned."

Flippie went to his new school. The pumpkins have been carefully stored away. What will happen when Flippie finally wants to realise his boyhood ambitions, is another bridge to be crossed. When he grows up Flippie wants to be an airline pilot.

One can almost imagine the Ministers of Transport and of Labour already reaching for their aspirins.

The story of Flippie is really not a new one in the lurid pages of South Africa's cloud-cuckoo anthology of Apartheid. As Mrs. Haasbroek herself remarked, it is another "Sandra Laing" tale, referring to the girl removed from her White family because she was dark skinned. The chapters can become more grimmer when one looks back on such incidents as that of a 12 year-old "Coloured" boy who hanged himself because he could not adapt to his "White" family. The fact is that in spite of claims of White supremacy, there are really few pure white South Africans, a great deal of miscegenation having taken place between settlers and slaves during the early days of South Africa's colonisation. So that "throwbacks" can occur within a "White" family, leading to consternation in the offices of the Population Register, and the Ministry of the Interior.

When the Race Classification Act was first enforced, officials took it upon themselves to decide who belonged to which racial group. They ran pencils through the hair of their victims. If the hair was kinky and the pencil did not go through smoothly, the victim was Coloured or African as the case may be. By forcing a victim to repeat a tongue-twister, they could discover, by his accent and pronunciation, his category.

Later the legislature had to enact a series of definitions which rapidly became meaningless, involving "appearances", "associations" and a host of other stipulations.

Recently, Mr. Justice Hiemstra wearily criticised "sterile legalisms" in the Race Classification Act that led him "With the greatest regret" to reject an appeal by a mother and her adopted daughter to be reclassified White (the husband is classified White) although they are in appearance White and accepted as White.

The adopted daughter, the mothertold a welfare officer, had been born illegitimately, and the father might have been Chinese, although the child in everyday life benefits from all those good things reserved for the master race. The Justice declared, "The fact that a man and a wife are now classified into different race groups is highly unsatisfactory, and must be utterly mystifying to them."

Not only to them. The pretexts for racial divisions and discrimination must be mystifying to any sane person. But then in South Africa one must expect the standards of a lunatic asylum when it is run by those who are fit more to be the inmates of such an institution rather than its governors. There is even more bewilderment caused by victims such as Mrs. Haasbroek who proudly proclaims that young Flippie's heroes are the late Dr. Verwoerd, former President Swart, and the wrestler, Vrystaat (FREEDOM!).

THE FACTS IN BLACK & WHITE

There are times when a worker, through no fault of his own, cannot support himself and his family, because of unemployment, accident or illness. He must then turn to the State for maintenance until he can work again.

How does the South African State care for him and his dependants while he is off work?

We must look at the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1966; the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1941, and the Pneumoconiosis Compensation Act, 1962. 1) And we will find, as we might expect, that there are great differences, enforced by law, in the treatment of white workers, Coloured and Asian workers, and African workers.

Unemployment

To meet the contingency of unemployment, there



tural Union which said that if Africans could draw £1.2.6. a week doing nothing in the towns, they would be reluctant to work on farms, presumably for less. 5)

Not Responsibility of Government

Dr. Verwoerd would have excluded Asians as well. "It must be remembered," he said, "that unemployed Indians are not the responsibility of the Union government." 6) But though Coloured and Asians are not excluded by virtue of their race, as are Africans, they are discriminated against in that their earnings are less than those of whites. And benefits are based on earnings.

To sum up - a white worker, earning R3536 a year, or R295 a month, when unemployed can

5. INEQUALITIES IN SOCIAL SERVICES FOR WORKERS

has been established an Unemployment Insurance Fund to which workers and employers contribute. When out of work, the worker is entitled to draw benefits for a specified period to tide him over until he is again able to earn.

But only contributors, as defined in the Act, are entitled to benefits, and contributor excludes the following:

Africans employed in gold or coal mines; Africans employed exclusively or mainly in rural areas; domestic servants; persons employed in agriculture (except in forestry); persons employed by the South African Railways and Harbours non-European Staff Association; seasonal workers; Africans whose earnings are less than R 546 per annum (or R45 a month) and persons whose earnings exceed R3536 per annum.

Mineowners and farmers saw to it that Africans on mines and in agriculture were excluded even from the 1946 Act. Of nearly 4 million African wage-earners, half are employed in these two categories. 80 per cent of all domestic servants are Africans, and almost all the remainder Coloured. 2)

But it was the Nationalist government that amended the Act to exclude African factory workers, who earned less than R45 a month, and that is the great majority. 3) The Minister of Labour, Senator de Klerk, "explained" that Africans did not understand the principle of insurance, and in any case, being migratory, could 'go home' when out of work. 4) A less dishonest reason for their exclusion was submitted by the South African Agricul-

still draw benefits of R14 a week; an African whose earnings are R44 or less a month, when unemployed draws nothing. He must starve in the city, or be sent "home" to starve in the reserves.

Accidents at work

Compensation for injury incurred at work depends on the degree of seriousness. Perhaps this can be best explained by giving the following examples:

Temporary disablement:

A worker breaks his arm, is off work for a period for treatment, recovers the use of his arm and returns to work.

Permanent disablement of a minor degree:

He loses the tip of his finger in a machine. After a period off work he is able to return to the same job, but he is permanently injured.

Permanent disablement of a major degree:

A worker loses both legs, or both eyes, or both arms, or breaks his spine. He is totally incapacitated and will never be able to return to his job again.

Loss of life:

The worker is killed and his dependants have lost their breadwinner.

What compensation is paid? Unhappily it depends not only on the degree of injury, but also on the worker's race.

For temporary disablement, all workers are entitled to 75 per cent of their monthly earnings while off work. There are some minor discriminatory provisions against Africans, but the main discrimination is that 75 % of his earnings are so much less than 75 % of the white worker's earnings.

For permanent (minor) injury, all workers are entitled to a lump sum equal to 12 × monthly earnings up to R40, of such earnings, plus 10 × monthly earnings in excess of R40 up to a maximum of R150.

A white worker therefore with average earnings of R230 a month will get a lump sum of R1,580; an African with average earnings of R40 a month would get only R480. For permanent disablement where the worker is incapacitated for life, whites, Coloureds and Asians are entitled to **monthly pensions** but Africans to only a lump sum.

Pensions

The minimum pension payable to white, Coloured and Asian workers is R13, for the rest of their lives; the lump sum payable to the African whose average earnings had been R40 a month would be R480, paid out to him by the Bantu Commissioner at R12 per month 7) this would be finished in 3½ years from the date of his discharge, and after that he is left to starve, or to apply for a 'disability pension', (described in a previous article.)

Inequality in death

A widow of a white, Coloured or Asian worker killed at work, is entitled to a lump sum plus a pension. The African widow gets only a lump sum of an amount that "the Bantu Commissioner deems equitable."

The Workmen's Compensation Commissioner may authorize a lump sum payment of up to R150 for the funeral expenses of a deceased white, Coloured or Asian worker. But the amount which the Bantu Commissioner may authorize to bury the dead African may not exceed R75.

The amounts of compensation to which Africans are entitled are shabby enough; but the greater injustice is that many thousands of injured Africans who are entitled to compensation never get it at all.

The names of workers to whom compensation is owing are published at intervals in the Government Gazette. The lists contain thousands of names, and about 80 % are those of Africans 8). The addresses given are those of the firms where the injured man last worked. Many are of mining companies, a fair number of local authorities. Neither the employer, nor the medical practitioner have taken the trouble to record the African's home address. On being injured, he loses his job, is endorsed out and "cannot be traced."

In the last list there appears the name of Mr. Jim Mhlongo, No. 32247/66, whose address is given as care of the Caretaker, National Parks, Kruger National Park, P.O. Skukuza. An amount of R1,234.40 is owing to him. Almost the largest sum recorded for an African. He must have experienced an extremely serious accident. Why has he not received his money? 9)

The Minister, in reply to criticisms, promised to devise a system which would reduce the number of Africans who lose their compensation as they cannot be traced. But the scandal will continue until Africans are accepted as permanent urban dwellers, with permanent jobs, trade

unions to protect their rights, and to explain to them industrial legislation.

There is one comic-tragic aspect of the Workmen's Compensation Act. With the consent of the South African Medical Association, the Minister has laid down the scale of fees payable to practitioners who attend to injured workmen. For treating a septic finger of a white worker a doctor can claim £3 – for giving the same treatment to an African worker, only £2. For amputating a white foot, he is paid £15. A black foot is worth only £10.

Pneumoconiosis

This term means diseases of the lungs (including Miners' Phthisis) contracted by miners who work in dusty atmospheres.

In South Africa's gold mines, where the majority of Africans work underground, are herded into comfortless compounds by night, where the colour bar is at its most stringent, and the ratio of white to black wages is at its greatest, miners are attacked by killing diseases of the lungs – pneumoconiosis and tuberculosis.

The amounts of compensation laid down by law illustrate the care and attention paid to the white voter, the callousness and contempt meted out to the African. In the case of the miner (defined in the Act as a white man) he gets a monthly pension for life, ranging from R46 to R73, 11) depending on the seriousness of the disease. His wife and his minor children are also entitled to pensions. The African, who by definition is a labourer, gets a lump sum of R480 paid out to him in instalments by the Bantu authority. If he is paid the customary R12 a month, it is finished in 3½ years.

The widow of a miner dying from the disease, and his dependent children get pensions: the African's widow gets a lump sum, and it is left to the Bantu Commissioner to decide who, if anyone, are his dependants. White Miners suffering from tuberculosis get a lump sum of from R1500 to R2000 depending on length of service: Africans get lump sums of from R250 to R480 depending on the number of shifts worked.

Coloured miners, of whom there are not many, are entitled to pensions, like whites, but, unlike whites, the amount is about one quarter of the white rate.

In brief –

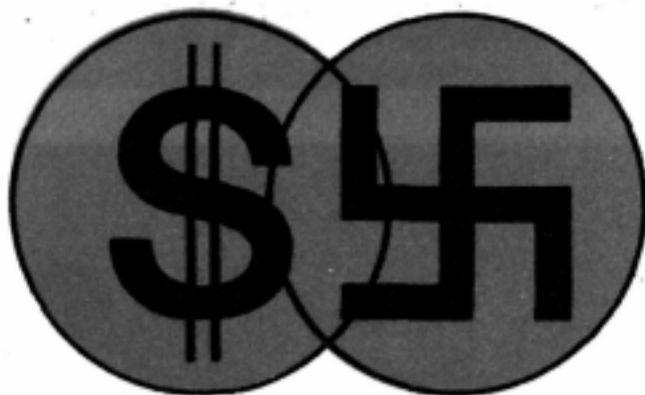
Three and a half years after discharge on account of having contracted pneumoconiosis, the white miner, his wife and, say, three minor children, will have drawn an amount of R4,746. If he lives another 30 years, he will continue to draw his pension.

Three and a half years after discharge on account of having contracted pneumoconiosis, the African 'labourer' will have had an amount of R480 paid out to him. If his lungs still breathe for another 30 years, he will still not draw another penny.

References

- 1) The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1966 is a consolidating measure, Unemployment Insurance was introduced in 1946. Numerous Miner's Phthisis Acts preceded the Pneumoconiosis Compensation Act of 1962.
- 2) Population Census, 1960, Sample Tabulation No. 8
- 3) *Star* 24 8 68
- 4) *Cape Times* 14 2 57
- 5) *Cape Times* 2 10 47
- 6) *Cape Times* 30 6 59
- 7) Hansard, 1967, c.3927
- 8) Hansard 1966, c.1669
- 9) Government Gazette 2185 of 9/10/68
- 10) Government Gazette 5739 of 14/9/56
- 11) Pensions for white and Coloured widows and children were increased above these amounts by an amendment to the Act in 1968; the lump sums payable to Africans were not increased.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA



Part 3. CANADA

An examination of Canadian investments in South Africa must first note that, whereas Canadian investment has kept pace with South Africa's economic development, the actual source of investment capital is often difficult to ascertain. Canadian investment in Africa totalled \$75 million, but one half of this was indirectly owned by non-Canadians, i.e. the actual figure was 3 1/2% of Canada's total foreign investment. At that date Canada's share of the \$4.2 billion foreign investment in South Africa was \$36 million. Of the 20 Canadian companies in South Africa, six have investments of under \$1 million; 3 companies account for two thirds of the total investment. The largest, Aluminium Ltd., has an investment of \$30 million. Its fabrication plant in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, sells sheets and foils etc. Aluminium Ltd. is owned by Aluminium of Canada which is in turn owned by the Mellon Group in the U.S. This is just one instance which demonstrates the difficulty of discerning the international economic links. However, since the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth, the parent U.S. companies have tended to by-pass Canada and deal more directly with their South African subsidiaries.

MINING

Of particular importance is the close communication between the mining communities of Canada and South Africa. This was demonstrated by the attitude of J. R. Bradfield, President of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, at the time of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth: "Most of us deplore the part our government has played in South Africa leaving the Commonwealth." (Montreal Star, April 26, 1962). Amidst applause and in the presence of Oppenheimer, the President of Noranda Mines Ltd., then sat down and made no further comment. During this period Oppenheimer's Anglo-American had bought a 15 1/2% interest in Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting Co. (Financial Post, Toronto, May 5, 1962).

Mining in both countries is at a similar stage of development. Projects such as the joint explorations carried out during the last eight years by International Nickel of Canada and the even bigger Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa serve to underline their close relationship. These two companies formed Kaffrarian Metal Holdings (Pty) to follow up mineralization in the Transvaal and exploration in an area of the eastern Cape Province. The area at Kaffraria has similar mineralization to the ore in Canada's Sudbury area, which is the centre of INCO's nickel empire. The work of INCO in South Africa is reciprocated by the work of an Anglo American of South Africa exploring subsidiary (New Conex Canadian Exploration Limited and the New Conex Holdings Ltd.) established in Canada. The same parent company bought 400,000 shares in one of the leading copper and gold

mining companies in Canada giving it a 15 1/2% interest in the company. This company, Hudson's Bay Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., is in turn controlled by U.S. finance. One must also note that INCO is controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan groups.

A particular example of complex international mining finance is the Rio Tinto complex. It's Canadian company, Rio Algom Mines, reversed the trend of South Africa's investment in Canada by it's huge investment in South Africa. The largest single example of this is it's \$100 million project in conjunction with the American Metal Climax, Newmont Mining Corp and Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation. This could become "one of the world's larger open pit copper mine . . . with annual output equalling one fifth of the entire Canadian output of copper." (Rio Algom Ltd. Annual Report 1965, Toronto, p.2-5). This complex \$100 million project is geared as a bigtime income earner years hence when the uranium operations dwindle.

This reversal of investment of money and mining personnel in South Africa was greatly increased in 1964 in spite of strains in Canadian-South Africa political relations. Of significance at this time was the move of Falconbridge Nickel Mines in association with New Wellington Mines, Victoria, to form a subsidiary in an exploration agreement on the Haib River in South West Africa. Thus, through an agreement with the Union Corporation of South Africa over a copper property, they extended the Canadian mining interests over this disputed territory.

OIL

A new and vital area of cooperation is developing. It concerns South Africa's first big attempt to find oil. In spite of the obvious strategic necessity of oil if South Africa is to become self-sufficient from and immune to international boycotts, Canadians have now offered themselves as drilling and exploration experts for the government sponsored South African Oil Exploration Corp. rigs at Murraysburg.

FOOD PROCESSING

Garfield Weston controls another international investment complex, which links have been purposely obscured. A vast team of Westonologists have tried to unravel the various corporations controlled by Weston. (Economist May 7, 1966). In Canada his company accounts for one quarter of all the food sold, and he has huge sales in the UK, US, Australia, as well as South Africa. Hundreds of brand names come under the Weston umbrella, of which "Weston" is just one. Sales of this business empire run to about \$4,200 million. Typical of his expansion is his purchase of Premier Milling from one family business by using a local "front" company, and developing it from June 1963 to the position in 1966 as the seventh largest industrial company in South Africa.

From this base he purchased 51 % of all the mills and the control of South African Milling Company Ltd., thus making Premier Milling the largest baker in South Africa. As a foreign controller of substantial share of the food industry and the employer of 6,000 South Africans, Weston's views on apartheid are nonetheless similar to those of the Nationalist Party of South Africa.

INSURANCE

The two major underwriters of insurance in South Africa are Sunlife Insurance and the Manufacturers Life Insurance, the former holding insurance business totalling \$30 million. The latter writes business only in South Africa. No new business is transacted with the rest of Africa, where their liabilities are in the process of running out. With the prevalence of high interest rates in South Africa, the insurance companies have taken advantage of investing in industrial debentures. With credit restrictions, the demand by industry for short term bank loans has been considerable and the Manufacturers Life found a ready home for their funds at high interest rates.

SYNTHETIC RUBBER

Other Canadian corporations, notably in the sphere of manufacture, include Polymer Corporation, a Canadian Crown Corporation which produces synthetic rubber and assists South African Synthetic Rubber Company (SASRCL), (in which it holds a minority interest) in establishing a synthetic rubber plant. Polymer and Fluor Corporation, in conjunction with Synthetic Rubber Corporation, designed, engineered and constructed a plant near Johannesburg which produces 300,000 tons of synthetic rubber annually.

FARM MACHINERY

The ninth largest plant in the world, with 400,000 square feet of floor space belongs to Massey Ferguson of South Africa. It is larger than any of the other Massey Ferguson plants in Europe. This typifies the rapid expansion of this company in South Africa and its steady acquisition of other companies, which culminated in its 1961 takeover of South African Farm Manufacturers Implements Ltd., and in the subsequent consolidation of its holdings into Massey Ferguson (SA) Ltd. However while the Canadian Massey Ferguson provides technical advice and research, it has severed its formal ties with the South African company so as not to endanger its other international investments. Another Massey Ferguson plant with a floor capacity of 5,000 square feet exists in Southern Rhodesia. An associate of Massey Ferguson complex, E. P. Taylor has made recent investments in South African brewing industries through Canadian Breweries. It has recently been reported that Canadian Breweries are now in turn tied up with Rothmans. (Times, London, June 8, 1968).

SOURCES OF INVESTMENT INFORMATION

The sources of information for the above investors are many and wide. Amongst them, Draper Dobie of Toronto have offices in various mining centres and have done many mining studies. They list the capacity of fields, lease profits and other essential details. These are available in their reports done on four South African gold fields in 1963.

The Canadian Government is relied upon for guidance by investors and traders in Canada. Of these, the foreign trade officers and their journal "Foreign Trade" gives valuable information on trade possibilities. The National Industrial Conference Board based in the U.S, is of particular importance to North American investors. The Board publishes a report outlining the conditions of investment in various parts of the world. The report on South Africa during 1962-64, despite the crises in South Africa during that period, described the investment prospects as being very favourable. The Canadian Financial Post and the recently established Financial Times also provide information and investment opportunities about South Africa.

INVESTMENT OPINION

The South African Government encourages the favourable evaluations on investment possibilities in South Africa which the above publications in North America publish from time to time. Even the least optimistic, thinking that the apartheid policy minimises the chances of long-term investments, usually agree that since quick returns are forthcoming from South African investments, the long range political stability of that country is not of great

concern. An example of the optimistic view of South Africa is seen in "Industrial Canada":

land of paradox, not the least of which is its internal stability and growing economic prosperity in face of hostility from abroad and attempts by foreign nations to undermine its political structure. (September 1965, p.76).

The above publication is produced by the Canadian Manufacturers Association, an important interest group which coaleses the voices of many Canadian traders and investors in South Africa. Part of its optimism is based on its favourable appraisal of the South African economy from the depressed days of 1960, despite being "ostensibly boycotted by millions of world consumers, strongly attacked in the UN and condemned in much of the world press." This belief that the attempt at a world wide trade boycott had failed completely led them to state that "there seems every likelihood that South Africa will continue its economic expansion because the US, UK and other traditional partners . . . would trade with it." (ibid) It was the Canadian Manufacturers Association that "found" South Africa in 1947, and on its tour the president Mr. Barkinshaw (also the president of Goodyear in Canada), consolidated the relations of the Canadian business community with South Africa and Rhodesia. It did then, and does now, accept the very effective collaboration of the trade commissioners of the Canadian government. Whereas the Canadian Chamber of Commerce has not made any specific policy statement on trade and investment in South Africa, they have a general policy which states that expansion "of trade with all countries under agreements consistent with the national interest is essential to the maintenance of Canada's continued economic growth." (CCC, Statement of Policy, September 1965, p.51). The two provinces that stand out in pressuring Canadian government on stabilizing Canadian-South African relations are Ontario and British Columbia. In Ontario, the financial centre of Canada, the mining and industrial elites also exercise great power. In British Columbia, the Lumber Manufacturers Association tries to keep timber exports to South Africa at a high level. Mr. Hobart, the president of Consolidated Papers said, soon after Sharpeville, that South Africa was misrepresented by press publicity and extremists. (Natal Daily News, February 22, 1961).

CONCLUSIONS:

The political strains between Canada and South Africa during Sharpeville and South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, have not affected the fundamental economic ties. In the post-Sharpeville era there was a slight decline in trade but South Africa still enjoyed the preferential treatment and trade has picked up. The same is true after the withdrawal from the Commonwealth, since the Commonwealth trade preferences were not withdrawn. South Africa sent a 5 man team to Ottawa on April 20, 1961 to secure long term trade agreements in anticipation of sanctions and also to secure investment for new industries (Financial Post, Toronto, April 1961). Canada, in anticipation of arms boycotts and other sanctions helped South Africa by supplying help in drilling for oil; and the Ford Motor Company had installed machinery to make South Africa self sufficient in military vehicles.

Canada, which in itself is a branch plant economy has very strong ties and extremely dependent upon US and UK. Hence these two powers exercise a great influence on determining Canadian policies towards South Africa. If Canada performs any middle power function it is to mediate between US and UK interests and not between the western world and the third world. Branch plant economies like South Africa and Canada, in turn control segments of one another's economies, making it impossible for the Canadian government to take a really free course of action and policy towards apartheid. Despite this, however, a powerful peoples' movement, in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa, can force the Canadian Government and investors to change their policies. An intensification of 'the economic' boycott against consumer goods will no doubt help to raise such a solidarity movement to new heights. Ultimately, however, it is we South Africans who will change the situation in our country and, in doing so, we shall remember those who supported our enemies whilst our brothers were dying on the battlefields of South Africa.

(Note: Parts 1 and 2 of this Series appeared in our November and December issues respectively)

BOOK REVIEWS

"A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING"

("A REPLY TO THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA") 144 pp.

AUTHOR: W. A. LANDMAN

PUBLISHER: DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH PUBLISHERS,
CAPE TOWN.

This book is published by the D.R.C. Information Bureau, and the author the Rev. WILLEM LANDMAN, is the "Scriba Synod" and Director of the Bureau (Cape).

To say it is a peculiar "book" is an understatement. A foreword by the Rev. J. S. GERICKE, DRC Moderator Synod, a copy of the 1967 "Statement on S.A." by the U.S. Reformed Church and the reply by Mr. Landman takes us to page 38, the "author" having contributed 19 of those pages. From then on the book is completely composed of "Annexures", 23 of them to be exact, which gives this peculiar literary concoction something of the character of a Rembrandt painted by a Van Meegeren using a "painting-by-numbers" set. In his own few pages the reverend gentleman stresses his concern that the truth about S.A. should be known, however, I find his attitude to "the truth" at times remarkable – reminiscent of a recent "Top 20" number – "Bend me, shape me, any way you want me . . ." The American "Statement" of 1967 attacked apartheid and DRC support for it and was rather scathing and condemnatory, but Mr. Landman quickly sets his brothers on the path of righteousness "You have uncritically adopted . . . the worst misrepresentation . . . of the most rabid and partisan of the anti-apartheid campaigners.

Most of these representations have already been thoroughly discredited . . . Nevertheless, the Rev. spends his 19 pages attempting to discredit them a little further, whilst adopting an attitude of tolerance for the mistakes of the Americans which is more paternal than fraternal.

The 23 Annexures consist entirely of "quotes" and statements from various South African authorities and international apologists for apartheid (the art of Apartheid Apologetics – which owes as much to Dr. Goebbels as it does to Lewis Carroll – will soon be up-graded to degree status in S.A. universities, surely?).

Taken as a whole the annexures contain a feast of semantic somersaults, not to mention the half-truths, relevant facts suppressed and blatant terminological inexactitudes – in other words it is typical S.A. propaganda. The contributions are by the S.A. Information Service in New York, the S.A. Foreign Affairs Dept., "DIE BURGER" editor PIET CILLIE, Denis Worrall ("English" columnist in the Afrikaner press), the late and very much lamented Dr. Verwoerd, the REV. SOL SELEPE, an African – perhaps I should say „Bantu"? – supporter of apartheid, Professor EDWIN MUNGER, and several "Impartial Observers" . . . These latter contributors include at least two leaders of the pro-S.A. American-African Affairs Association, Professor THOMAS MOLNAR and DR. MAX YERGAN (mis-spelt "YERGEN" by the Rev.) and similar "impartial" people from several countries. Curiously, their "impartiality" never leads them into the error of criticising S.A. . . . The apologists plead repetitively for comparisons of S.A. "non-white" conditions to be with countries to the north, say, Burundi or Rwanda, rather than with countries at a similar stage of industrial and technological development.

Mountains of praise are heaped on the solicitous and benevolent white paternalists, so loving in the tender care

and guidance they give to their lesser non-white brethren. Schools, hospitals, social welfare, nothing is lacking, and the cumulative effect of all this is to make one wonder why West Indians and Pakistanis want to come to Britain (even if they could get in) Should they not be fighting for entry to S.A.?

Imagine a television advertising feature of a Butlins' Holiday Camp, written by Ananias and sited in Utopia, and there you have the picture of S.A. which emerges. Unfortunately, no comparative statistics are given, so that per capita figures showing the differential between white and non-white education, health, etc., spending cannot mar the DRC/SA case. One can understand their caution, but cannot commend their honesty.

Annexure 7, for instance, "Industry and Labour in S.A." contains sufficient shoals of red herrings to satisfy the Russian fishing fleet. We are told, without a blush, that: "Nearly all black African workers in industry are covered by . . . minimum wage determinations . . . compelling employers to pay at least fair wages . . . It is often found that wages actually paid exceed these established minima." And why are there no strong African Unions? – "Various attempts have been made to form black African trade unions, but, due to lack of interest and . . . the difficulty of organising Africans belonging to different tribes, these attempts have failed." – Now even the novice student of the S.A. labour situation knows that Africans are forbidden to strike, that they have no negotiating power and that the militant SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF T.U.s (SACTU) Unions who led the "£1 a day campaign" were met with the iron fist of apartheid Gestapo tactics. Perhaps the writers are unaware of this? Or perhaps they have the gift of relegating uncomfortable facts to the subconscious?

The annexure on South West Africa entitled "Economic Advancement of Indigenous Groups" even portrays those 20th century slavetraders, the South West Africa Native Labour Association as a hybrid offspring of the Ministry of Social Security and a Benevolent Society. However, "agricultural workers recruited from the northern territories start at a minimum cash wage of R7.50 a month". (approximately £3 18 6)

Another annexure covers welfare services and assures us that all non-whites are entitled to old-age pensions. Curiously again, the amount and a comparison with the white rate is not given.

As so many quotations are given from Verwoerd speeches I think I could extract one of my favourites: – "Reduced to its simplest form the problem is this. We want to keep South Africa White. Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not "leadership", not "guidance" but "control", "supremacy". (Hansard, 25/1/1963, Column 242).

Do we need any more from Dr. Verwoerd? I can only recommend the book as an Encyclopaedia of Apartheid Apologetics which contains all the major pro-apartheid arguments the student of S.A. propaganda may meet in a life-time, but there is certainly nothing new, for the analytical reader, who should refrain from buying and donate to THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT instead (DRC sinners might read it as a useful penance).

Nevertheless, it is fully illustrative of the DRC mind, so enthusiastic in supporting Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid, and as it will probably be the DRC's major literary propaganda effort of 1968/69 it is of interest to the analyst or researcher. It is a sobering thought that it is published in the name of Christ.

Dave Shipper