

SECHABA

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Johannesburg is a city built on a foundation of gold, but the black man, who has provided the physical labour, enjoys little of the prosperity

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF NATIONALIST PARTY POWER

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African National Congress militant, PAUL PETERSEN (pseudonym used by Basil February) was killed in action against the white racist forces of the Rhodesian army in August 1967. Among his belongings was this article which formed one of a series of lectures he delivered to members of his UMKHONTO WE SIZWE unit. OUR REVOLUTION another of his lectures was published in our special December 1971 - January 1972 issue.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF NATIONALIST PARTY POWER

by Paul Peterson

For any political party to achieve and to maintain political power, it must have the support of the majority of the electorate. In a democratic society this would mean that the party in power must have the support of the majority of the adult population.

In 1960 the census showed South Africa to have a population of 15,841,000 people. In the same year a Referendum was held to decide whether South Africa was to become a Republic. Over 90% of the electorate participated in the Referendum. The results showed that 850,458 people had voted in favour of a Republic. South Africa became a Republic because 850,458 people out of 15,841,000 had decided that it should be so! Clearly there can be no connection between democracy and South Africa.

We have introduced our discussion with a somewhat inelegant collection of figures. We want to get to grips with our problem. We want to analyse the nature and the extent of the support that the Nationalist Party enjoys in South Africa. From the figures that we have quoted it becomes clear that the right to decide who shall govern the country and how they shall govern, belongs exclusively to the 3,068,000 whites (1960 figures) in the country. But the figures also tell us that only 52.3% of the votes had gone to the Nationalists. 775,878 people had actually voted against a Republic. The task of this article is to take a closer look at that section of the white population in South Africa that keeps Vorster in power.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY

There are approximately 1,750,000 Afrikaners in South Africa. The Nationalist Party is the party of this section of the population. The Party was formed in 1914 under the leadership of General Hertzog as the party of those Afrikaners who refused to accept the idea of a party serving both the English and Afrikaans-speaking sections of the (white) population.

It is not difficult to understand why the Afrikaners could not accept the idea of reconciliation with the English. From the time, in 1795, when the British had first set foot in South Africa, there had been strife between Boer and Briton. The inevitable climax had come in the form of the Anglo-Boer war. For the Boers the war was the climax to "a century of wrong". "There rose up before them . . . the memory of the past, . . . of the thousand and one defeats and humiliations to which



they had been subjected ever since the British presence established itself in South Africa." (Brian Bunting: THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH pp. 15-16). The war itself only served to intensify the hatred of the Boer for the British. They were chased from their homes and their farms were burnt to the ground. Some 26,000 Boer women and children perished in British concentration camps. Ramsay MacDonald wrote prophetically that "when every other memory of the war will have faded away, the nightmare shadows of the camps will still remain". (Bunting p. 17)

The growth of the Nationalist Party from its birth in 1914 until the present is admirably dealt with by Brian Bunting in the book from which we have already quoted. It was inevitable that an organism born of hatred and fear should grow into a deformed and repulsive monster. We shall not try to tell that *unsavoury tale once more*. We need only note that, coupled with its opposition to the British, the Nationalists came to power on the basis of the most rabid and vicious racialism. This, more than anti-British sentiment is what brought them to power. This racialism, as we shall attempt to show, is what is keeping them in power. The same racialism also contains the seeds of their inevitable defeat.

We have said that the Nationalists derive their main support from the Afrikaans-speaking section of the whites in South Africa. But even within the ranks of this small section of the population there are contradictions. The Afrikaners do not form one undifferentiated whole. Within their

ranks there are classes and, consequently, class differences. At the moment these differences are hidden behind the common benefit that the white section as a whole derives from the exploitation of the non-white people of South Africa.

But society is not a dead, unmoving thing. Contradictions that may at one time be suppressed may at another time assert themselves with shattering force!

THE WHITE WORKER

The government enjoys the support of most of the white workers in South Africa, especially that of the Afrikaner worker. In 1911, 80% of Afrikanerdom was still living on the platteland. The development of a modern economy, however, cut into the fabric of their simple way of life. Capitalism was penetrating into the innermost pore of South African society. Everything that stood in the way of the young but vigorous capitalism had to perish. The Boer with his subsistence farming was in the way. By 1925, the number of ruined and dispossessed "poor whites" stood in the region of 300,000.

The Nationalist Party was formed in the period when the ruined Boer was starting his reluctant trek into the towns. The towns were a hostile world for the Boer. On arriving there the Boer found that he did not have the necessary skills to compete with the immigrant white worker. He was left to find his way in the competition with the "Black worker".

To add to his humiliation he also found that his language was despised. It is easy to see why he saw salvation in the party of Hertzog.

The Nationalist Party and the other organisations of the "volk" made it their duty to rescue the helpless Afrikaner worker. Relief bodies were formed. There was a fierce struggle to have the language of the Afrikaner accepted. The Afrikaner organisations provided a cultural retreat for the homeless worker.

Over the years, therefore, the white worker has come to look to the Nationalist Party to protect him against the realities of life. This was the basis of his support for the Nationalist Party and it remains so now.

The white worker supports the government because the government keeps him in a position of privilege. Job reservation protects him from the competition of other workers. It is government policy to see to it that the white worker receives "white man's wages". In a word, government policy makes it very difficult for a white man to be poor!

Of course, it would be complete oversimplification to say that the white worker supports the government only because that government sees to it that he gets a good job. The white worker undoubtedly supports the ideology of the Nationalist Party. He supports the racialism of that Party.

Here someone may point out that even



the outlook, the ideology of the white worker is based on his privileged position. The white worker can see that his privileged position depends on a policy of racial discrimination. As long as racialism can secure his position of privilege, he will support racialism.

From this it may be concluded that the white worker may be persuaded to discard his racist outlook if he can be shown that racialism cannot any longer keep him in a position of privilege. In other words, if we accept that the outlook of an individual depends on his real situation in life, then we must also accept that his outlook will change when his situation changes.

This, in fact, is a profound truth. But like any other truth, if it is carried to extremes it will merely become ridiculous. If we just accept this as a formula, then we shall conclude that we have merely to bring about a change in the position of the worker and then we shall hold our breath (or our thumb if we are so inclined) and wait for the magic change to take place. We shall be sorely disappointed. All that will happen is that we shall become uncomfortable from holding our breath.

The ideology of people is indeed based on their material conditions in life. By this we mean a certain set of ideas. For instance, a person who is oppressed by others will grow to hate those who oppress him. But the important thing is that he will not stop hating those who have wronged him the moment they stop oppressing him. That hatred will be ingrained in him. He may even pass it on to his children. In other words, even though his former oppressors have long since ceased to oppress him, even though he may not be living in the same place anymore, that person may continue to hate them. And his children, who might never even have seen the people, will also hate them.

The example has its defects but what we wished to explain is that although a certain outlook grows out of the situation in which the person finds himself, that outlook may remain with the person long after the original cause has disappeared. In fact, the outlook may even be adopted by others who do not even know the original cause. These persons merely accept the outlook of those around them. Very few people ever stop to think why they have a particular outlook. A common example is the attitude of many people to communism. Many people who hate communism have never bothered to find out what communism is. But they hate communism nevertheless.

The same thing applies to the white worker and his racialism. Very few white workers, we are sure, have ever stopped to consider why they are racialists. It is just ingrained in them that they should hate black people. But they hate them all the same! In other words, from having an original cause, the outlook or ideology of the person eventually becomes something that can survive even after the cause has disappeared. It leads a separate existence, independently of the original cause. But in spite of this, the material conditions under which the man lives do finally determine his outlook. Therefore, if he should retain the same outlook even after the cause has disappeared, it now becomes possible to change his outlook. All we must bear in mind is that his outlook will not change automatically. Nor will it change immediately.

What are the practical conclusions to be drawn from this? First we must see to it that the material situation of the person is changed. But this will only be the beginning. Having achieved this, we must, by propaganda and otherwise, hasten and help the change in the outlook of the person.

THE MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE WHITE WORKER

The conditions of life of the white worker are most eloquently told by the fact that from 1935 to 1960, the wages of white miners (mine workers) rose from R1,617 per year to R2,296 per year. In the same period the cash wages of non-white mineworkers actually declined (!) from R144 to R140. Throughout the South African economy the story is the same. Always we shall find that wide gap between the income of the white worker and that of the black worker. The average income (per person) in South Africa in 1960 was R226. This figure places South Africa between the very rich and the very poor countries of the world. But this figure is very deceptive to the person who does not know South Africa. Actually, when we take a closer look, this average income is split up in the following way:

Whites: R631

Asians: R133

Coloureds: R86

Africans: R63.

(Houghton: THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY p. 159)

There is no need to elaborate on these figures. In any case, the immensely

privileged position of the white worker in South Africa has been the subject of a considerable body of literature already. This privileged position of the white worker has a history as long as the industrialisation of South Africa itself. But in 1948, with the coming to power of the Nationalists Party, their position became firmly entrenched.

Job reservation was made law by the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956. Under section 77 (as amended by Act 11 of 1959) the Minister of Labour may reserve certain jobs for the members of a certain race. The purpose of the Act was specifically to protect the white worker from the competition of other workers. It has resulted in a labour structure which has been called "multi-racial teams of non-competing workers". Furthermore, to make assurances doubly sure, the Act also provided for the racial exclusiveness of Trade Unions. Moreover, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 had already made it illegal for African workers to go on strike.

The white worker was cosily surrounded by a wall of protective legislation. But the very fact that it was found necessary to pass a law such as the 1956 Act, shows clearly how insecure and vulnerable is the position of the white worker.

South Africa is a capitalist country. For the capitalist, the main concern is to get as large a profit as possible. In other words, the capitalist is interested in exploiting the worker as much as possible. In practice this means that the capitalist pays the worker as small a wage as possible.

There are certain limits below which the capitalist cannot depress the wages of the workers. The worker must, for instance, receive sufficient to keep himself and his dependants alive. Then also, the worker must be paid enough to maintain a certain standard of living. But neither of these conditions are binding and absolute. If conditions make it at all profitable for him, the capitalist will do his utmost to depress the wages of the workers as low as possible, even below the level of bare physical survival. In the case where there is a large and constant supply of labour, for instance, the capitalist shows small concern for the health of the worker because he knows that the worker can be replaced. This is the case in a highly developed and wealthy country like America where about 4,000,000 people are unemployed. But the worker is especially vulnerable in a country like South Africa where it is illegal for him to defend himself by strike action. The



One of the first acts of the Nationalists when they came to power in 1948 was to release Robey Liebrandt who was convicted for pro-fascist activities during the war

worker is especially vulnerable where his Trade Unions are not recognised and where he has no voice in the political bodies of the country. Speaking about the conditions of the African people in South Africa, Comrade Tambo (OLIVER TAMBO, President ANC-Ed.) said that "in the urban areas 4 out of every 5 families are starving. The rate is higher in country areas . . . The average life expectancy of an African is 37-42 years. For the whites it is 67-72 years . . ." (Address to the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, London, 1964).

But if it is the aim of the capitalist to pay the worker such a low wage, how do we then understand the high wages

that are paid to the white workers? Surely the capitalist cannot approve of this great expenditure on white wages if he could get the same job done at a lower wage. True, there are laws which prevent the capitalist from displacing white labour by black labour. But would it not be natural then to expect the capitalist to oppose these laws so as to bring about a more profitable state of affairs for himself?

In the beginning of industrialisation in South Africa there was a real economic motive in paying white workers a very high wage. These white workers were immigrants who had to be attracted to South Africa to come to fill the need for skilled labour in the country. Neither the white nor the black wor-



◀ M. C. Botha – Minister of Bantu Administration and Development



Willie Maree – Minister of Community Development ▶

kers in South Africa had these skills. But by 1922 the situation was beginning to change. By that time about four-fifths of white mineworkers were Afrikaners. The black workers had also developed considerable skill already. So much so that the Chamber of Mines decided to increase the number of black workers at the expense of the white workers. The aim of this move was to reduce costs. In the "Rand Rebellion" that followed, the white workers stood up in defence of their position. Smuts called out the armed might of the State. During the strike the capitalists showed that their profits were more important than the welfare of any worker, be he black or white. Many white workers were killed. Three white workers were hanged.

Today, as much as in 1922, the white worker is a luxury that the capitalist economy cannot afford indefinitely. We should point out here that we are not speaking about economies in general but of the capitalist economy. In other words, we are not opposed to workers, white or black, getting a high wage. Neither are we saying that it is not economical to give a worker a high wage. What we are saying is that it is against the nature of the capitalist economy to give any worker a high wage.

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

From the point of view of the capitalist the white worker is a luxury which

he could well do without. But for the government it is important that the white worker should continue to get a high wage so that the government can be assured of the vote of the white worker. It has been estimated that "civil servants and employees of state capital number about one fifth of the white population, constituting with their families a majority of the electorate". (Bunting: RISE OF THE S.A. REICH P. 287). As G. Fasulo commented in "Fighting Talk" in 1952: "All the Nats have to do is to keep the dependants of the state happy and they can remain in power indefinitely . . ." And the government has made no secret of its dependence on the support of the white worker. Balthazar Vorster declared in the House of Assembly in 1956 that "We know one person only to whom we owe an explanation, and that is the white worker in South Africa, who has brought the Nationalist Party to the position it occupies today and who will keep it in that position in the future". (Quoted in THE RISE OF THE S.A. REICH p. 252)

This situation represents a contradiction between the capitalists and the government, between economics and politics. But the business world cannot carry its opposition (to government policy) to the point of open defiance without undermining its own interests. On the other hand, many capitalists fear that government policy may in the long run lead to total ruin. The more this fear approaches reality the more the capitalist may be expected to agitate for reform.

So far rumblings have been heard from the mining and from the manufacturing industry. We shall confine ourselves to the manufacturing industry. This is not so because of lack of evidence of the desire for change in mining. We are taking manufacturing industry because, as Professor Houghton says in his study of the SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY, "The importance of manufacturing in the future economic development of South Africa cannot be too greatly stressed because all the indications are that it must be the cornerstone of future expansion." Manufacturing industry provided employment for 782,000 workers in 1969. "Several government reports have stressed the importance of building up a powerful and diversified manufacturing industry." (THE S.A. ECONOMY p. 126).

The steps proposed by the Third Interim Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission proposes, amongst other things that:

1. Better use be made of labour, including the **increased use of Africans in industry** (my emphasis – P. P.)
2. There should be more equitable distribution of material income.

S. H. Frankel in 1944 and Harry Oppenheimer in 1950 both pointed out that manufacturing industry was heavily dependent on mining. Oppenheimer pointed out that manufacturing industry would have to increase its exports to become an independent and strong sector of the economy. "This is really another way of saying," said

Oppenheimer "that as a whole, industry in South Africa . . . must reduce costs."

The Viljoen Commission of 1958 proposed amongst other things that:

1. The purchasing power of the population be increased.
2. Employment opportunities be provided for the whole population.

With prophetic insistence we see the demand for the removal of Job Reservation. This, in fact, is what is meant by providing employment opportunities for all and by making more use of Africans in industry. The result will be that the white worker will be thrown into the general labour pool. The effects of competition will be felt. The capitalist will be free to employ an African at a lower wage for a job that was formerly done by a white worker. The demand that the purchasing power of the population should be increased means nothing else but that non-whites should receive higher wages. But at the same time there is a need to reduce costs and an increase in the wages of the non-whites will have the effect of raising costs.

Therefore, at the same time as the wages of non-white workers are raised costs of production will have to be reduced.

One way of reducing costs will be to make more intelligent use of the labour force. The worker must be allowed to develop certain skills. This means that migratory labour workers who have acquired certain skills must leave and other unskilled and untrained workers come to take their place. This is obviously a wasteful practice. The worker must be allowed to settle near his place of employment. He must have better living conditions.

Costs will also be reduced by replacing white workers by non-whites. (We must stress again that this is not the policy of the African National Congress, nor of any progressive organisation. We are here trying to see how the capitalist will reason. Our own aim is not to reduce the white worker to the starvation level at which the African worker must at present survive. Our main aim is to raise the African worker to the level that the white worker enjoys at the present moment.)

The needs of the developing economy demand the measures that we have enumerated above. And these changes threaten the privileged position of the white worker. If these changes are implemented, the white worker, in com-

mon with the other workers in South Africa, will suffer the fate of the worker in a capitalist society.

We must not conclude from this that we must merely sit back and wait for the change to take place. What we have shown here is that **tendencies toward change exists**. We have shown that these tendencies are backed by powerful industrial and financial forces in South Africa. We have shown that contradictions exist between the economic laws that operate in South Africa and the policy of the government. The government will try (is trying) to suppress these contradictions. It may even be successful for a time. But the government **cannot remove** these contradictions. The contradictions will only grow sharper.

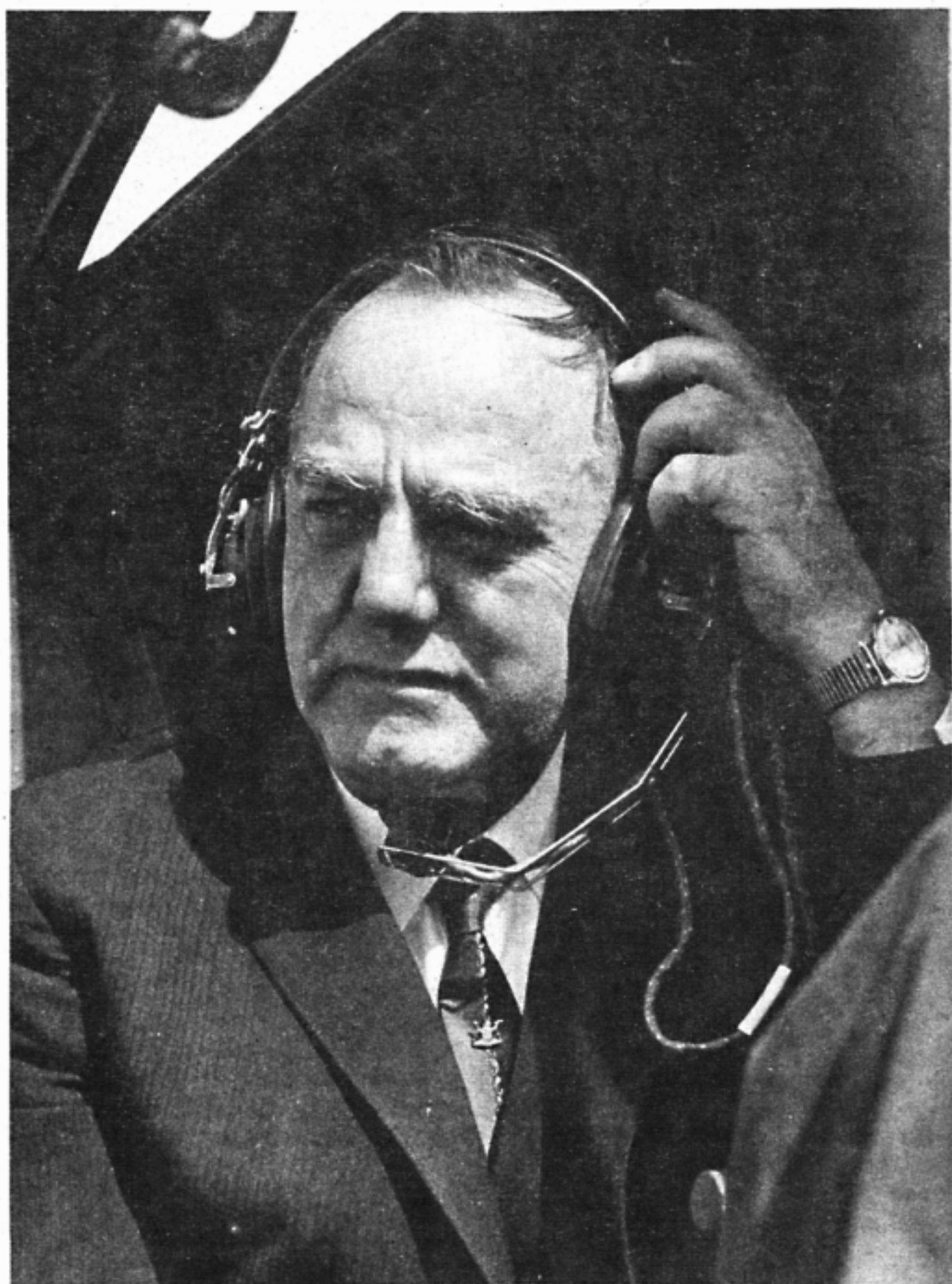
THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE WHITE WORKER UNDER CHANGING CONDITIONS

We are not going to assume the mantle of the prophet and try to predict exactly what path the white worker will follow.

At best we can indicate the possible paths and indicate how we might influence the development in the thinking of the white worker.

As the attacks on his standard of living, on his social position and on his material position as a whole become more real and effective, the white worker will be forced to adopt a certain course of action to save himself from

Balthazar Vorster - Prime Minister



complete ruin. In our opinion there are two possible courses of action open to him. The first is a drift into a more reactionary position. The privileged position of the white worker is completely bound up with the future of the Nationalist Party. The attacks on his position will, therefore, come in the form of attacks on the Nationalist Party. The attacks on the Nationalist Party are not deliberately directed against the white worker as such. To the white worker, however, it will seem as if he is the object of the attack. The government is fully aware of this. It encourages the white worker in his fear of "swart gevaar" ("Black Danger"). And as the crisis becomes more intense, the propaganda of the Nationalists will correspondingly increase. The 'laager' will be drawn tighter.

The success of the Nationalist Party propaganda will depend on the extent to which the white worker can be convinced that the regime is invincible. Nationalist Party propaganda will be successful if the white worker can be convinced that the government will be able to overcome the crisis. If the white worker can be convinced that the government is invincible, the white worker will be prepared to make sacrifices. In any case, the white worker will reason, the sacrifices will be only temporary.

The Nationalist Party starts off at an advantage. Their propaganda will not be falling on virgin ears. The Afrikaner is steeped in racialist ideology. He is steeped in the idea of the "God-given" task of the Afrikaner to rule the country. The Church, the school and every other influence to which he has been subjected has convinced the Afrikaner of his Holy Mission in South Africa. The white worker, especially the Afrikaner, will therefore, support the Nationalist Party. He will support it not only because the Nationalist Party promises to rescue him from the crisis but also because he is filled with hatred for the black man. He will be a good target for Nationalist propaganda. The Nationalists will try to convince him that it is the black man who has caused him to land in such a critical situation. There will be the old scare-story of the "swart gevaar". If this propaganda succeeds the attention of the white worker will be turned from the real cause of his misery. His anger will be turned against the black man. This will be a masterstroke for the government. We must remember that it is the policy of the Nationalist Party that has brought about the crisis in South Africa. The Nationalist Party is, therefore, responsible for the

critical situation in which the white worker will find himself. If the white worker could understand this he would direct his anger against the government. But the Nationalist Party, with its propaganda of the "swart gevaar" and the Christian mission of the Afrikaner, is turning the attention of the white worker away from the real cause of his troubles. But not only this. At the same time the Nationalists are succeeding in turning the anger of the white worker against the progressive forces.

EXCLUSIVELY REMOTE

History has many examples where the ruling classes used this trick. Hitler perfected the art when he turned the anger and frustration of the German people against the Jews. The whole of German history during the reign of the Führer is very instructive from the real cause of their discontent and **used for the most reactionary purposes.**

We see, therefore, that although the worsening in the condition of the white worker will **lay the basis for a change** in his outlook it can also be used to make him an even more fanatic supporter of the Nationalist regime. This should serve as a warning to those who see life as a simple process of cause and effect.

The revolutionary in this situation has a twofold task. He must prevent the white worker from throwing in his lot with the Vorster regime. He must also try to convince as many white workers as possible that they should side with the revolution.

These are very difficult tasks. In fact they are so difficult that most South Africans would not even bother to try. In the first place, the Afrikaner worker is going to prove a very unwilling listener to our propaganda. And even then, as we have already explained, a man's outlook does not change overnight.

The white worker is so exclusively remote that it is very difficult to reach him. Even apart from mere revolutionary propaganda, the majority of the white workers do not even read the English press. In other words, the white worker is constantly at the mercy of Nationalist propaganda that reaches him through the pages of the Afrikaans press. Trade Unions are racially divided, there are Group Areas. Above all there is the thick layer of racialism that only thickens over the years.

Furthermore, the apparent nature of the revolution antagonises the white worker. **The revolution is, of course, democratic and aimed at a non-racial society. But by the nature of South African society it takes the form of a struggle between black and white.** The white worker cannot be expected to be bubbling over with enthusiasm to listen to people who appear to him to be intent on destroying him. Moreover, revolution does not take place in a laboratory with someone to watch over it in case something goes wrong. **Revolution is made by people, people with feelings, with hatred and bitterness and a long memory.**

NOTORIOUSLY REACTIONARY

There are similarities between the white workers and the workers in an imperialist country. The workers in such a country too get some small portion of the benefits of the exploitation of the colonial country. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that working class leaders in such countries are notoriously reactionary as far as their attitude to the colony is concerned. But it is, nevertheless, the duty of the progressive workers in their ranks to explain to them that they should associate themselves with the struggle of the colonially exploited people. They must be shown that the colonial people and themselves have the same enemy. Working class solidarity must be forged, across the waves as it were, between the workers of the exploiting and those of the exploited country.

But although there are similarities, we must bear in mind that there are factors which make the task of the South African revolutionary infinitely more difficult. Outstanding amongst these difficulties are racialism and the fear of the black man that has so conscientiously been instilled into the minds of the white workers.

On the whole the prospect looks grim. But we must not despair entirely. Propaganda must be consistently directed at the white workers. The nature of the revolution must be explained to them. It must be made clear that ours is not a racial struggle. It must be made clear that there is a place for all in a democratic society such as that for which we are struggling. Above all, their real situation and their real future must be explained to them. It must



Umkhonto militants at a flag raising ceremony somewhere in the jungles

be made clear that the privileged and artificial position that they enjoy at the moment will not last for ever.

OUR WEAPON IS OUR STRENGTH

But our main weapon is our strength. We will not beg the white worker. We will not plead with the white worker. We will not make any concessions to the white worker. We shall be speaking from a position of strength. We must make it clear that we will win: We must make it clear that the government will crumble before our mighty onslaught. There must be no doubt in the mind of the white worker about the outcome of the revolution. He must realise that we hold all the cards. The future is ours. He has a place in that future.

Coldly, scientifically and confidently we must show him that the regime will crumble. We must explain to him the trends that are at work in South Africa. He must be quite clear in his mind that the present state of affairs will not last. It cannot last. He must be made aware

of the fact that Vorster and his band of lying madmen can promise him nothing but ruin and doom.

There is hope for the white worker. Much will depend on us. **But in the final analysis, the choice will be theirs.** We can do what is required of us. We can do no more. The freedom of our country is at stake.

THE AFRIKANER INTELLECTUAL

The most outstanding thing about the behaviour of intellectuals of any sort is that they do not behave consistently as a group. From the ranks of the intellectuals may be drawn both the most reactionary and the most revolutionary material. Some of the greatest revolutionaries in history have been intellectuals. Some of the most vicious reactionaries have also come from this group. This is because the intellectuals do not form a separate and independent class in society. At best they can attach themselves to the ruling class. But some of them, in the

minority, it is true, sometimes throw in their lot with the progressive forces.

Afrikaner intellectuals fit this pattern. The Broederbond, according to reports, consists mainly of teachers and priests. Intellectuals are prominent in the government. The Afrikaans universities are the founts of fascist doctrine in South Africa.

But the intellectual, because of his better education, is quick to discern the trends in society. They are in a better position than most to see how things are developing. Already in the ranks of the Afrikaner intellectuals there have been murmurs. The heresy trial of Professor Geyser was a case in point. Further defections from the policy of the Afrikaans churches, notably that of the Reverend Beyers Naude, have taken place. There have been other instances of prominent Afrikaner intellectuals showing signs of worry at the course of government policies.

With the increasing trend towards fascism, the intellectual becomes more disturbed. Fascism restricts the ideological freedom of the intellectual. The Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 raised an outcry from the in-

lectuals in the country, notably from the Afrikaner intellectuals. A vigorous correspondence was conducted in the columns of the Nationalist newspaper, 'Die Burger', complaining that art, and in particular Afrikaans art, would be stifled."

Prominent Afrikaans authors W. A. de Klerk and Jan Rabie were in a delegation that presented a declaration of principles to the Minister of the Interior which stated that "We are deeply alarmed at the future of creative effort in this country, since no frank discussion or honest inquiry or spiritual growth can be expected as long as the answer to such searchings may be silenced at the outset."

Uncertainty in the ranks of the intellectuals can have a tremendous effect on the entire political base of Nationalist power. Bear in mind that the intellectuals are the caretakers of the ideological loyalty of the "volk". If they, the intellectuals, waver, others must be expected to waver with them.

As with the white worker, the outlook and behaviour of the intellectual will be considerably influenced by what he considers will be the outcome of the crisis. But the worker is in a better position to judge for himself. Already in 1960 the Nationalist paper "Die Burger" contained a leading article which said that "History teaches us what power resides in movements that are imbued with the belief that time is on their side. And time, in superabun-

dance, is behind the black people, who are desirous of capturing political control in Africa."

THE FARMER

In 1958 there was a total of 104,093 farms in South Africa. "It has been estimated that some 82% of white farmers are Afrikaans-speaking and the majority of these undoubtedly support the Nationalist Party." (RISE OF THE S.A. REICH p. 279). In the 1953 elections 55 of the candidates returned for the Nationalist Party were farmers (POLITICS OF INEQUALITY p. 470). The Nationalist Party itself is fully aware of having its strongest ally in the farmer. In the statement of their programme it says that "while the interests of the different sections of the nation (meaning, of course, the whites - P. P.) will all enjoy equal attention and care from the Government, the existence and welfare of the rural population will be the object of particular endeavour and concern." (POLITICS OF INEQUALITY p. 470). This is one promise that the Nationalist Party has kept to the letter.

The first demand of the farmer has been for labour and once more labour. The figures for 1958 show that "the actual number of persons engaged in agriculture exceeds the combined totals of all workers in mining, manufacturing and construction industries in the country." (THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY p. 67). Of the 1,845,600 people employed in agriculture, 140,600 were white, 241,300 were Asians and Coloureds and 1,462,800 were Africans.

We can see, therefore, that agriculture, as indeed the entire economy of South Africa, is based on black, mainly African, labour. And it has been Government policy to provide this labour. The methods used are of small concern to the government. Always they have been crude and cruel, careless of the welfare of the people. Starvation, force and the law are used interchangeably. Recently a prominent official in the Prisons Department spoke with moving concern about the labour needs of the farmers. It was with difficulty that this overburdened caretaker of both convicts and farmers declared to supply the farmers with a constant supply of labour. But, he declared proudly, the Prisons Department was doing all in its power to see to it that the needs of the farmer are met.

Oliver Tambo describes, in his address to the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South

Africa, how the Prisons Department helps to "solve the problem" of the farmer. "It is now common knowledge that at least one thousand Africans per day are convicted by South African courts for petty pass offences. They are also convicted for tax offences, failure to pay municipal rents, breaches of numerous Government proclamations and ordinances in urban and rural areas, as well as convictions for offences the committing of which is the inevitable result of the drastically repressive conditions under which Africans live.

"When all these are taken into consideration, the number of Africans driven into South African jails every day, year in and year out, must be of the order of 2,000. From the jails they are distributed as convict labour to farmers and other employers, and payment for the labour thus given is made to the Government . . ."

Brian Bunting says that "conditions for farm workers on most farms can be described only as feudal, and have played a predominant role in determining the master-race attitude of whites to blacks in South Africa. Most farmers behave as though they counted their labourers among their personal possessions."

One could even disagree with Mr. Bunting in his last remark. Persons do, after all, try to look after their personal possessions and to preserve them. But the farmer treats his workers with all the contempt and cruelty that is usually reserved for objects of distaste. The workers are cruelly and regularly assaulted. They are given barely enough to enable them to survive. They are made to live worse than animals.

The farmer is protected in various ways by the government. Price fixing, marketing controls and a host of other legislation exist to make the farmer's life a paradise in this world.

The important thing is that the revolution is resolutely and decidedly against the white farmer. Point after bitter point (bitter for the farmer), our Freedom Charter paints the picture. "Restriction of land ownership on racial basis shall be ended and all the land redivided amongst those who work it . . . Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all those who work the land . . . farm workers . . . shall have the same rights as all others who work" and "there shall be a forty hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers." (My emphasis - P. P.)

Each of these demands is as a stab to



the farmer. He differs in this respect from the white worker and the white intellectual whom we have already discussed. The Freedom Charter does not attack the white workers as such. It merely seeks to give those rights that are at present enjoyed only by white workers to all workers. The same applies to the intellectual. Those privileges which are rightly his as an intellectual will not be removed. They will merely be extended to all. "All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be opened to all . . ." (Freedom Charter). The white worker and intellectual will lose those privileges that are the result of racialism. But when they lose those privileges they will not die. IF anything, their position will be improved. The intellectual in a free and democratic society will be free of those restrictive effects that are so prominent a feature of our present fascist society. In the present state of affairs, for example, not "all the cultural treasures of mankind" are "open to all". There is no "free exchange of books, ideas . . ." and there is no "free contact with other lands." All these demands are contained in the Freedom Charter. The intellectual stands to gain from the implementation of these demands. The white worker will cease to be the tool of the real exploiters. He will cease to live in isolation and insecurity, haunted by constant fear. He will cease to live a life where he regards the vast majority of society as a constant threat. The white worker will be placed in a position, with the rest of society, to enjoy the full benefit of living in a healthy, prosperous society. And what have they to lose, the white worker and the intellectual? They will lose the privilege of living apart from the rest of humanity, scorned and despised by the whole world.

They will lose the privilege of getting more money, having better houses, better schools, a better life than the black people of South Africa. In a democratic society the government will strive to secure **everyone** the best life possible. In other words, the white worker and intellectual will have lost the privilege of **enjoying these privileges alone**. In a democratic society the government will strive to secure for **everyone** the best life possible. In other words, in a democratic society everyone will enjoy these privileges, including the white worker and intellectual. In fact, these privileges will cease to be privileges. They will become the rights of every member of society. In fact, therefore, the white worker and intellectual will have lost nothing. They will have lost only the right to be selfish.

The important thing is that the white worker and intellectual do not exploit the people directly. Can the same be said of the farmer? The white farmer is the most vicious and sadistic exploiter of the people of South Africa. He knows that the revolution means the end for him and his species. He will defend racialism to the last. He will defend the South African regime to the last. He will be buried under the ruins of that regime.

BIG BUSINESS

The capitalist, with the white farmer, exploits the people of South Africa. Government policy gives him cheap labour and, therefore, huge profits. Government policy also gives him helpless workers who cannot go on strike and who cannot disobey an order.

In spite of these choice conditions for the capitalists, the needs of a growing economy are increasingly and more insistently calling for changes in government policy. We have already dealt with these matters in another connection. But business, therefore, has considerable differences with the government. But Big Business' is also scared of the people! It cannot oppose the government too severely for fear that this might weaken the government sufficiently for the people to overthrow it. Its oppositions to the government, such as it is, has, therefore, been weak and halfhearted. It is torn between the need for change and the fear of change!

But the government realises, nevertheless, that Big Business is merely being opportunistic. It realises that Big Business needs the government to keep the people in subjugation.

The government is, therefore, trying to undermine the influence of non-Afrikaners in the economy of the country. The government could obviously not be happy with a state of affairs where "the dominant position in commerce, industry and mining is still in the hands of the English-speaking community". (Colin & Margaret Legum: POWER IN S.A.) But there are no Afrikaners to compete with the private financial might of an Oppenheimer or an Engelhard. The government's answer to the might of non-Afrikaner private capital has, therefore, been the development of State capital. In 1960 the total assets controlled by State Capital were estimated as being "somewhere in the neighbourhood of

£1,500,000,000. And if the assets controlled by subsidiaries and firms in partnership with State Capital were added, the total would be considerably higher". (THE RISE OF THE S.A. REICH. p. 287)

This development of State Capital is calculated to weaken the power of anti- or even non-Afrikaner big business. "The total of foreign capital invested in South Africa is approximately the same as the total State capital, but because it is split up among many institutions, its political and economic impact is by no means as great as that of State capital . . ." (S.A. REICH p. 287).

The influence of possibly anti-government Big Business is, therefore, diminishing and the State is becoming more economically powerful by the day. The reaction of Big Business has been to seek a closer alliance with the State and with growing Afrikaner capital in general. An example of this tendency is the formation of Main Street Investments as a joint venture by Anglo-American Corporation and Federale Mynbou.

* * * * *

Revolution is only successful when the conditions for such a revolution exist. In this article we have taken a look at the conditions in the ranks of the ruling white minority. The article is obviously not exhaustive and conclusions drawn are not final and binding on history. The article must be a disappointment, therefore, for those who look for final answers. It is a disappointment for which we cannot be held responsible and for which we consequently do not apologize.

At best, certain trends have been indicated. These trends may become more marked. They may also become less pronounced. The important thing is that they cannot be made to disappear — except by revolution.

The final act belongs to the people. In the final and most dramatic act, the stage will be occupied by the people. And when the curtain falls, history will have taken another stride forward.

**LONG LIVE THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!**

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE ARONAI!

Demo Against U.S. Genocide



Joe Nkhonko (left) and K. Moosamy of the ANC at the demonstration



The demonstrators on the way to the US Embassy



Among the demonstrators were ANC representatives in East Africa Ken Mtungwa and Dama Nolewe



Part of the demonstrators



Richard's Holy War. Credit all hands abandon ship

Photos and report from Eric Mshali. Drawings from U. N. S.

In front of the US Embassy



Over ten thousand angry Tanzanians marched from the TANU Youth Centre to the United States Embassy and finally to the United States Information Service in protest against United States bombing and mining of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's harbours. The procession was composed mainly of students, nurses, National Servicemen (the army) and workers. They were joined by the National Liberation Movements based in Dar Es Salaam and were carrying placards condemning Nixon's atrocities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam. They also pledged their support to the fighting people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In front of the US Embassy and Information Services where the procession ended, the angry Tanzanians sang and shouted slogans condemning Nixon's cowboy actions in Indochina.

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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA: Spotlight on Apartheid

Fear Grips White S.A.

White South Africans are in the grip of all-pervading, almost paranoid fear. With increasing regularity government and other spokesmen warn about the threat to the country's security and constantly urge the people to be vigilant. During the the most recent session of Parliament, the Minister of Defence indicated that the South African Defence force needs many more trained men "to cope with possible new defence situations." He was moving the second reading of the Defence Amendment Bill which he said was aimed "at improving the preparedness and effectiveness of the Defence Force." A provision in the Bill would mean that citizen force men would be liable to a total of 56 months service.

At about the same time, the Minister of Bantu Affairs, M. C. Botha, opening the Caprivi Bantustan Legislative Council, warned that a legislative council and so-called self-government for Eastern Caprivi would not stop "agitation and terrorist infiltration." The Eastern Caprivi is a restricted area which nobody, other than the local residents, may enter without the permission of the government.

In yet another blood and thunder speech, this time by the Governor General of Mocambique, Manuel Pimental dos Santos, speaking in Johannesburg said: "There could be no slackening of the vigilance and protection of the borders of South Africa and Mocambique, nor could there be any compromise with subversion." He added that he was proud to belong to a country which, through sacrifice and blood shed by its youth, "held back victoriously in Guine, Mocambique and Angola to onslaught directed against the essential values of the civilisation which South Africa and Mocambique defended."

Meanwhile, the first trained Blacks to be included in the South African Police contingent for border duty have left to their posts. Wearing jungle combat dress, the "fighters" - mostly Africans, but also including a number of Coloured and Indian police - are the first ever Blacks to carry automatic and semi-automatic weapons. After being addressed by General Crous, they sang the zulu version of "The Lord Is My Shepherd", and each received a pocket size bible. They will no doubt continue to receive roughly one third to a half of what their white contempo-

ries receive by way of wages, live in segregated encampments and eat inferior food.

Black Opposition Grows

Black opposition to apartheid inside the country continues to grow. Students at the African Turfloop University made a bonfire of their diaries which were returned to them by the university administration after they had expunged the policy manifesto of the all-Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) and a SASO inspired declaration of student rights, which the diaries originally contained. They demanded that the White Rector of the University, Professor J. L. Boshoff resigns.

At the University's graduation ceremony soon thereafter a student leader, Ramothibi Tiro was expelled after a speech he made on receiving his certificate.

His speech, which the Rector described as "disgraceful", but containing all the frustrations suffered by not only Black students but by the entire Black population of South Africa contained the following extracts which speak for themselves: "Our parents have been locked outside but white people who cannot even cheer us have the front seats. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land, the land of our fathers?"

"The system is failing. We Black graduates are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Of what use will be our education if we cannot help our people in their hour of need?"

"There is one thing the Minister cannot do; he cannot ban ideas from men's minds. The day shall come when all shall be free to breathe the air of freedom."

Students Strike

On receiving the news that one of their leaders had been expelled the students en masse staged a sit-in at their College. The police moved in and the 1,146 students who participated in the sit-in were expelled.

Reaction to this was swift. The Western Cape Coloured students came out on strike in sympathy with the Turfloop students. At the time of writing the students at Durban-Westville Indian University whose Students Council had resigned because they were refused the right to join SASO, are discussing what steps they should take in support of their compatriots in Turfloop. The Fort Hare African Students Union has called for a general strike of all Black students in South Africa.

We hope to be able to publish more on this subject in our next issue.

Violence Is The Key

The whole history of South Africa is punctuated with violence: violence by

Students protesting against Apartheid in University Education





Chief Albert Lutuli

the white oppressors against the unarmed and voteless Black majority. In this situation we hear cries for a peaceful approach to our problems from an increasing number of our so-called friends. The latest is a call by Roy Wilkins, a director of the U.S. National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People to the Black people in South Africa to seek peaceful means to solve their problems.

A fitting reply to Wilkins and others of his ilk who preach to us, was given by Chief Albert Lutuli when he was dismissed as Chief as long ago as 1952: "... thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door. What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary . . ." (Full texts of this and other speeches by Chief Lutuli are published in South African Studies No 3, Published by Sechaba Publications).

A more recent statement made after the Wilkins statement (not necessarily in reply to Wilkins) was made by the Black Bishop of Zululand, the Rt. Reverend Alpheus Zulu.

Speaking in Cape Town on May 17, this year, Bishop Zulu said: "Very few whites in this country are committed to non-violence. There is no reason

why there should be any more among Blacks. The harshness with which discrimination is enforced by law and custom makes a Black man look naive if he continues to talk of non-violence ever becoming effective.

"The only hope of survival for white South Africans is to adjust to new situations . . ."

Dealing with the Governments policy of creating Bantustans, the so-called self governing homelands for Africans, the Bishop said, this policy was "an affront and an insult" to any intelligent Black man who respected himself, loved his people and knew his history.

Inhuman Living Conditions

Because of the super exploitation of the Blacks, the South African White population is considered one of the world's most affluent. In almost every home one will find at least one Black servant. In very many cases four or more such servants are employed: One to look after the children, another to cook, yet another to do the housework and one to do the garden or drive the family car. Until recently, white householders accommodated their Black servants in a little room or rooms built at the end of their gardens or in rooms provided in the basements of large flats. However, the government in pursuance of its policy of removing all Blacks from the cities has decreed that Black servants can no longer live "on the premises" of their white employers. City Councils have been instructed to provide accommodation in Black ghettos for these hapless thousands.

The Johannesburg City Council, controlled by the United Party which we are told is the more "progressive" of the two major parties in the country, has devised a grand plan to solve the housing problem created by the government's edict.

They propose, as a first step, to build 20 hostels to accommodate 60,000 people. The first of these hostels which will accommodate around 3,000 women only, regardless of whether they are married or not has been completed at Alexandra African township where the other hostels will also be built. No provision is made in the plan for women with children. The plan says they live singly. They have to, because no family accommodation, existing or planned, is available in the cities for them. Existing family houses in Alexandra township are being demolished to provide the land on which these bleak, austere structures are to be built. What is to happen to the present inhabitants no one will say. Those who wish to work in this area will have to break up their family lives and live separately in their respective hostels. If

they have children or even a single child they will have to go. Where? Who cares. Certainly not the White Baas! What are conditions like in these hostels. Women will sleep four to a room. The dormitories are built entirely of concrete and are cold and impersonal. The men's quarters will have 60 per cent 4-bed, 20 per cent 6-bed and another 20 per cent 8-bed accommodation.

Each wing of this 20-Hostel concentration camp, can be sealed off from the rest by a drop-gate, and the whole place locked by heavy iron gates. There are no provisions for social contact among the residents or their friends from elsewhere except for a beer hall which seats 300 people.

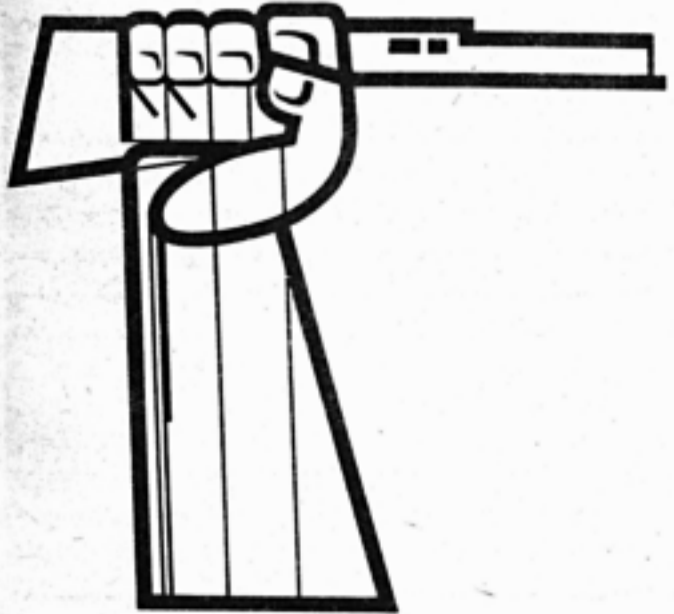
One does not have to be a sociologist to predict what living in conditions such as these could do to the people, but there are other aspects of this diabolic plan which makes the mind boggle at the callousness of the so called more enlightened United Party. **First**, the women will pay R5. 70 per month for a room they are forced to share with three others. This is equal to over 150 per cent more than women in older hostels pay. According to the authorities the rents are higher because of higher building costs. Yet by any standards R22. 80 per month for a room shared by four people is exorbitant and smacks of the most blatant form of rack-renting from a people who are, by law, forced to live there.

Secondly, there are no heating facilities whatever. Even though South Africa's climate compared with Europe is mild generally, Johannesburg's winters could be extremely severe.

There are no provisions for people wishing to provide their own heating. Electric plugs were not put in on the spurious grounds "that they are too dangerous." Yet daily these women have to use all manner of electrical equipment in the white homes where they work.

Thirdly, there are only five baths (small according to one official because the people will stay in it too long) and three showers. Considering that workers come home only at night, they have only three hours in which to wash and bath. Hardly adequate normally for such a large number of people, but in the summer months one can imagine the discomfort that this inadequate provision could cause.

Lastly, the communal kitchens provided are planned to accommodate "14 per sq. ft. per person", and not a single recreational facility is provided. Let no one, who has not experienced these inhuman and degrading conditions, speak to us about finding peaceful methods, for change in South Africa. Nor must anyone ever try to justify apartheid: Our answer will be plain and simple: Will any City Council in South Africa even suggest such a plan for the sons and daughters of White voters?



Pawns On A Chess Board

Our people have been moved from one area to another like pawns on a chess board. Settled communities, many living in an area for over a century have been moved helter skelter from where they have been living to another area in order to fulfil the mad dream of White South Africa to have complete apartheid in the country. In the process, the people have lost their businesses, their homes, their places of worship. Many have been impoverished. Many have committed suicide rather than move. A few, who could afford to do so, have left the country. Some who refused were moved at the point of a gun and their properties bull-dozed into the ground.

The latest bit of apartheid madness is the decision of the government to move four hundred families for a second time in as many years. These families now reside in two areas - Vlandondo and Hobsland, 12 kilometers away from Ladysmith in Natal. Now they are to be "re-settled" 24 kilometers away from the city, in Ezakheni.

The reason for this latest move according to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the region is that "the move would put the people of Vlandondo and Hobsland near Msinga, an area of the Zulu homeland."

The people were never asked if they wished to move; it was decided for them by some White master sitting in his comfortable chair in Pretoria, the administrative capital of the country.

Teachers Not Paid

Hundred of African teachers appointed at the beginning of this year when the school term begins, have not received their salaries. They have been forced

to live off friends and relatives. This goes on every year when new appointments are made. One wonders what a white teacher would do if he was not paid for six months!

Yet the African teacher does infinitely more than his white contemporary.

No Classrooms

Overcrowding is the key word in African education. In primary schools classrooms are shared, classrooms are borrowed - and there are no classrooms at all. Sometimes a teacher is faced with a class of 80 or more, most without desks. They sit on satchels, writing on their knees, or squat over books on the floor. Most of the children come from large families squeezed into small township houses where homework has to be done in crowded, noisy conditions. They have to study by candlelight as most homes do not have electricity.

In these conditions the poor teacher has to brave on, imparting the education our children so crave.

For all this, new teachers have to wait for over six months before they receive their first pay cheque.

Life Under Apartheid

LAST YEAR alone 54 persons were killed and 233 wounded - shot by the police "in the execution of their duties." Section 37 of the Criminal Procedure Act justifies the killing by a policeman, or anyone assisting him, of a fugitive suspected (merely suspected!) of having committed a wide range of offences.

BLACK DOCTORS are not allowed to treat their patients in whitestaffed hospitals. Recently a Coloured doctor in Outshoorn could not treat his private patient in the hospital. Commenting on the reason for this, Dr. L. A.

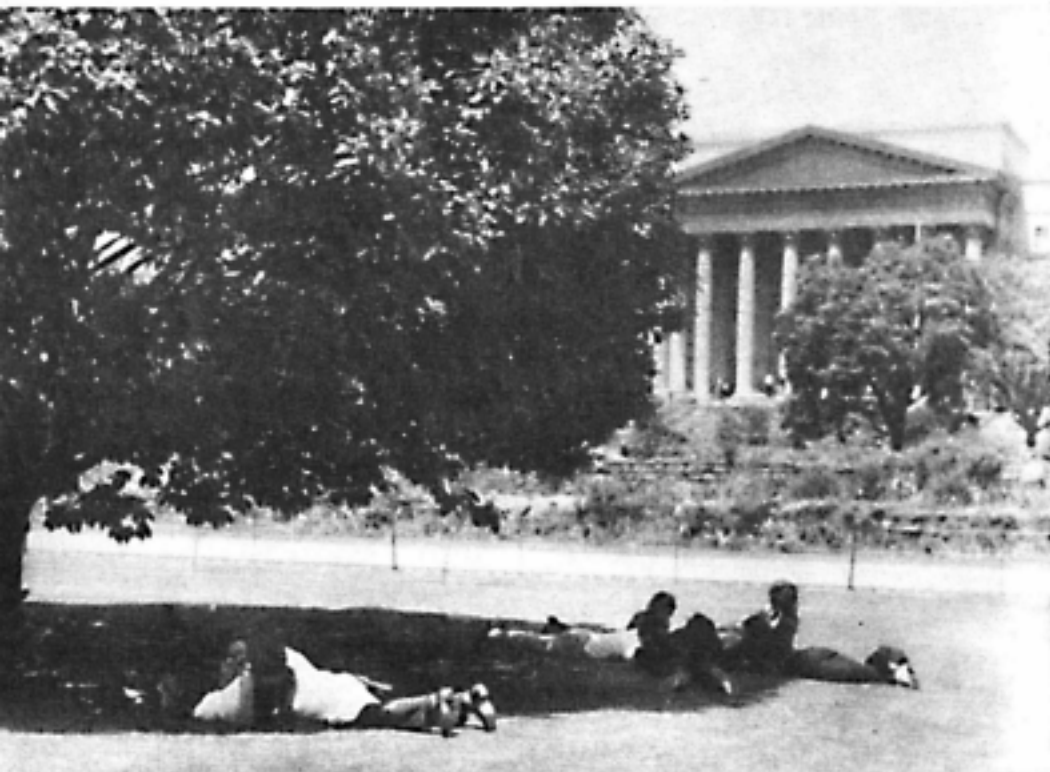
Munnick, in charge of hospitals in the Cape Provincial Administration said: "Our ruling is that we do not place Coloured doctors in a position where they are in authority over any white staff, from junior nurses upwards."

EARTHA KITT, the American Black entertainer who has agreed to tour South Africa despite appeals and finally a decision by Black organisations in South Africa to boycott her segregated shows, is being given the bird by at least one City Council. The Management Committee of the Bloemfontein City Council has decided not to consider an application for the City Hall where the organisers hoped Kitt will perform. The City Hall cannot be used by Blacks, either as entertainers or spectators unless regulations governing the hire of the hall are amended. To do so, it would mean the Management Committee will have to first get their amendment to the regulations before a full meeting of the Council and then, if the Council agrees, send it to the Administrator of the Province for approval. The chances of any change of heart are remote as the all-White City Council will be facing an all-White electorate in about nine months time when the municipal elections are due.

MR. BUSINESS DLAMINI, aged 46, is a Malawian. He has lived in South Africa for 26 years. He has a South African wife and 11 South African-born children. Now he has to leave them and go back to Malawi because a Magistrate says he is an illegal immigrant. At the time of writing, Mr. Dhlamini, who has lost his job, is in jail awaiting the outcome of an appeal.

MR. EPHRAIM LEGODI was on his way to a cinema one evening when he witnessed a fracas in the course of which one person was killed. He was kept in prison for 109 days before he was brought to court to give evidence in the murder charge that followed.

White students relaxing during a break in studies



Black students relaxing during a break in studies



SOUTH AFRICA'S "SECURITY LAWS" MEAN

A PERMANENT STATE OF TERROR

The experience of revolutions show that it is not superior 'intelligence' (in the sense of information) nor even superior arms, technology, material resources or means of communication and transport which determine the outcome of history-making struggles. Ultimately and decisively it is the masses of the people who make history, and there is no force on earth which can defeat a people united in a just cause and determined to achieve their freedom. This point was made in Sechaba (May 1972) when discussing the wide powers of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) in South Africa. It was likewise pointed out however, that while no opponent of apartheid and racism in South Africa should allow himself to be unduly impressed by the tremendous resources and far reaching resources of the Republic's vast security services, conversely no serious revolutionary should underestimate the power of the enemy.

The police reign of terror, bolstered and reinforced by the direct intervention of the Minister of Justice and the sweeping powers of the Security Police who in turn derive their powers from the network of security legislation has resulted in South Africa having no equal in the machinery of state oppression of the people's struggle for liberation. It would be difficult to find another country which today compares with Nazi Germany in the use of repressive state machinery.

South Africa's security legislation assumes that South Africans live in a permanent state of emergency. For the White population basic rights have become precious privileges which they may exercise only as long as they are not in fundamental opposition to the policies of the ruling National Party. For Blacks political activity is virtually impossible without committing some offence or other against the totality of White rule.

The laws and machinery of government

in South Africa are being used to consolidate the economic and social advantages and the political power of a minority section of the population, and the security system will reflect that objective, states a commentator in the South African newspaper, the Rand Daily Mail in April of this year.

"While a government committed to the pursuit of group power and privilege might initially get along without the use of repressive measures, the rising demand for recognition of other interests will soon force it to choose between making concessions or suppressing its political opponents. Thus, "security legislation will abolish the remaining vestiges of liberty and place the Government in a position of total power," says Professor Anthony Matthews in his book, "Law, Order and Liberty in South Africa. Professor Matthews is Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Natal and the work was written originally as a thesis for a PhD degree in 1969.

PRESERVING STATUS QUO

He pointed out that South African security legislation revealed it is as much concerned with preserving the political status quo as with acts directed towards the overthrow of government. Thus 'normal' protest on the part of non-Whites in particular, demands for the extension of rights even within the system, apart from more radical demands, more often than not meet with the full power of the apartheid police machinery.

Since political activity by non-Whites is now virtually impossible without the commission of some offence or other, any non-White programme of change is likely to be declared a statutory form of communism. One must ask therefore how longer the demands of parties in the government's own Coloured Representative Council, for example, will

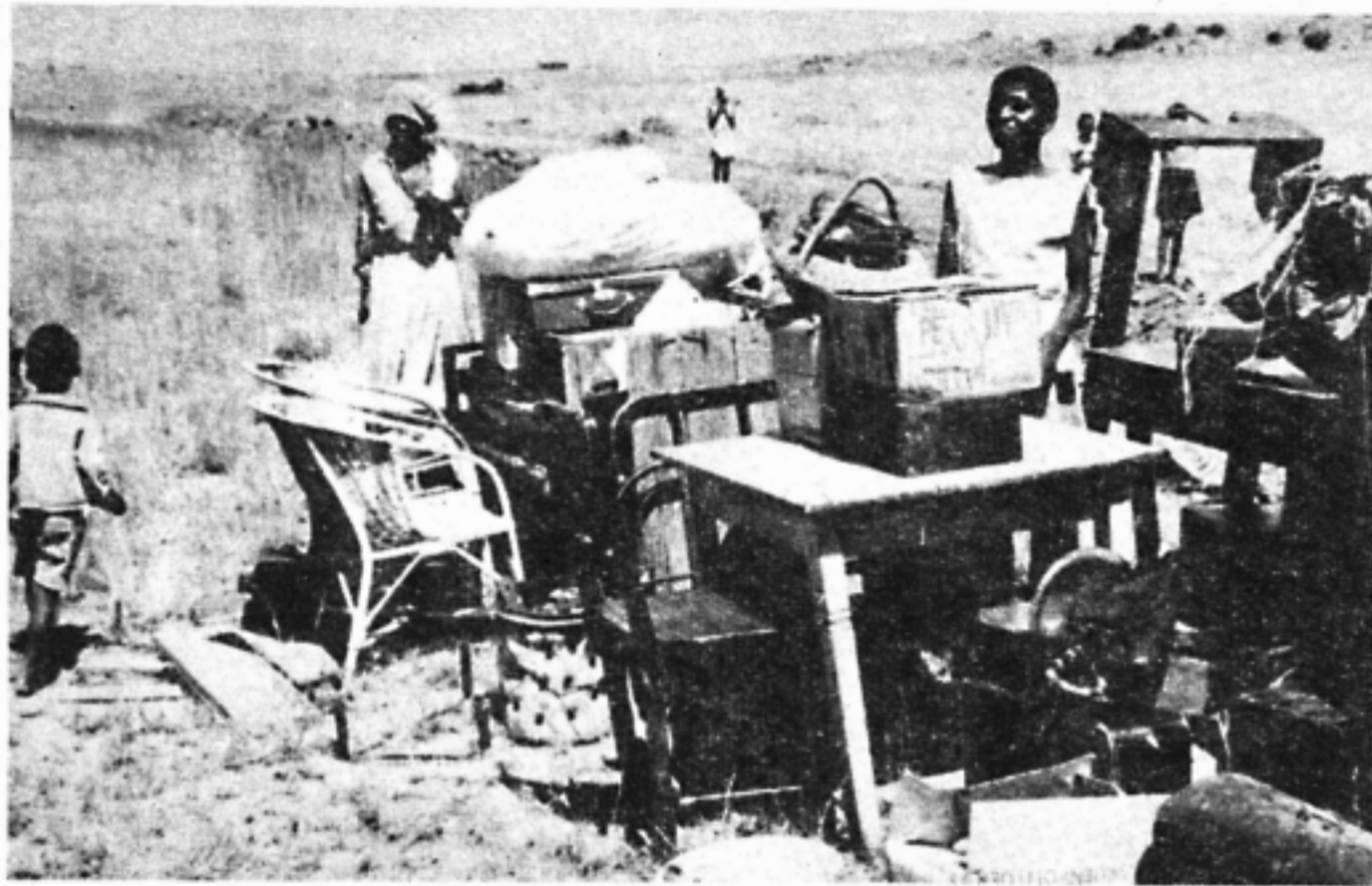
be tolerated, or the attitudes of the Black People's Convention. The inquiries into the activities of the Institute of Race Relations, NUSAS, the attacks on Churches, are all examples of the widespread tentacles of South Africa's state security machinery and the functions of the law in the preservation of the rule of fascism in South Africa. Under the definition of "communism" in the Suppression of Communism Act it is criminal to seek political change by programmes which include the breach of any law.

The definitions of sabotage and terrorism are designed to stigmatise various kinds of ordinary political activity as criminal. The penalty for the breach of these laws is a sentence ranging from five years imprisonment to death. The new crime of terrorism was introduced in 1967, but its operation was made retrospective to June 1962.

Under this act somebody who organises a lawful protest march, knowing there will be some disturbance of traffic, might be guilty of terrorism since he has committed an act which obstructed the free movement of traffic. A robber might be guilty on the ground that he has committed an act which was intended to 'promote by intimidation, the achievement of any object.' While any serious assault may become terrorism because the accused intended 'to cause bodily injury or endanger the safety of any person.' Likewise, a person who might write lawfully to an agency of the United Nations to suggest that some depressed community be given financial assistance can also be accused of terrorism in that he has committed an act in order to encourage social change in co-operation with an international body. The Terrorism Act goes further than the sabotage law in depriving the accused person of normal procedural rights. The trial must be a summary one without preparatory examination. The accused may not be released on bail or otherwise without the Attorney-General's consent. The trial must take place before a superior court but may take place anywhere in the Republic, regardless of where the alleged offence was committed. Persons alleged to have committed offences under the Act, whether jointly or severally may be tried jointly, and the danger of prejudice to the accused in such a joint trial is obvious. And acquittal on the charge does not preclude a further trial on different charges arising out of the same offence, a provision which legalises double jeopardy.

POLITICAL TRIALS

It has become noticeable in recent political trials in South Africa that many of the accused have faced trial in courts situated in regions far from the area of their arrest. Thus trials of politicals arrested in various parts of



A typical removal scene

the Cape Province or the Transvaal have appeared in the Pietermaritzburg court. Again, many political prisoners serving sentences have been convicted on charges arising out of offences of which they might have been acquitted previously. This was seen in the case of 17 men and five women who were arraigned before the Supreme Court, Pretoria in December 1969 on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. After the indictment was withdrawn and the judge had discharged the prisoners, they were immediately detained. On June 18 the following year nineteen of the original 22 again appeared in court, together with another man, Benjamin Ramotse. After several weeks of argument the Prosecutor again announced that he was withdrawing the charge, and they were found Not Guilty, with the exception of Ramotse who was given a separate trial. Of the 512 new charges which had been brought against them, 500 were exactly the same as those on which they had been found not guilty in the first trial.

Sabotage covered in the main physical acts which had to be both wrongful and wilful. The definition of terrorism incorporates speech, writing and physical action, and it applies to lawful and unlawful acts.

The Attorney-General also acts under the general direction of the Minister of Justice. If the Minister ordered a prosecution, the Attorney-General could not legally decline to comply. The possibility of politically directed trials therefore becomes more obvious. Professor Mathews says, "Law, especially criminal law, must operate through known standards, not through an uncontrolled personal discretion. When laws are stripped of their normative quality, as they are in the case of sabotage and terrorism, we have the shifting, haphazard rule of men instead of the impartial standards of general rules."

PERSONAL TYRANNY

A Professor Larson is quoted likewise: "If you pass a statute which gives the police and the executive authorities free rein to do almost anything they please in the way of violation of human rights, and then excuse this by saying you will of course rely on the discretion of the authorities not to abuse this power, you have for all practical purposes thrown away law and substituted unlimited personal tyranny."

The 90-day detention clause was suspended in November 1964 only to be replaced by a more rigorously drawn enactment authorising 180-day detention. Unlike the earlier detention provision it is a permanent measure which has been incorporated into the Criminal Procedure Act to remain operative until it is repealed. Detention without trial has thus become a regular law of the land.

With the enactment of the terrorism Act came the provision for indefinite detention without trial. This means a detainee under that Act may now be held without trial for life. His isolation from the outside world is made absolute by the provision that no person is entitled to information relating to or obtained from the detainee. Even the fact of detention itself may be suppressed, so that parents, children, husbands or wives are denied information.

"Disappearance in the night," that dreaded phenomenon of the Nazi state is made a reality by the law.

POLICE RULE

Hilda Bernstein, states in her "The Terrorism of Torture", "The most vital change is that today, in effect, legal

power resides not in the courts but in the hands of the Security Police. Judges now play a relatively insignificant role in the trial system. Basically it is the Security Police who decide guilt and select who is to be punished. The role of the judge is virtually reduced to the passing of sentence within the limits laid down in the law as agreed on by Parliament.'

The victims are taken from prison cells by the Security Police, who even find ways of concealing how long they are kept out of their cells under interrogation. The victims are beaten, tortured, threatened, terrorised, mentally confused by sleeplessness and finally the Security Police prepare the statements and only bring them to court after months of solitary confinement. The case is conducted with legal decorum. The motions of a trial are carried through by court officials, by prosecution, by the judge and by the defence counsel, many of them who cautiously but courageously still try to expose some of the worst police irregularities.

'But the outcome,' Mrs. Bernstein says, 'rests entirely with the Security Police . . . It is the Security Police who decide who shall be witnesses, and who shall be accused; they work for months to compel the accused to provide the evidence for their own trial; and it is they who escort the prosecution witnesses from solitary confinement to the witness box, and back to solitary confinement again.'

But basic to all South African law is of course the important fact that non-Whites have no say in the enactment of laws. The executive, the administration, the judiciary all remain in the hands of the White minority, serving the interest of that minority. As the Namibian, Toivo Herman Ja Toivo, told the court before being sentenced to life imprisonment: 'A court can only do justice in political cases if it understands the position of those that is has in front of it. We know that a court that has not suffered in the same way that we have, cannot understand us. This is perhaps why it is said that one should be tried by one's equals. We have felt from the very time of our arrests that we are not being tried by our equals but by our masters, and that those who have brought us to trial very often do not even do us the courtesy of calling us by our surnames.' The justification is always that these methods and the presence of the network of 'security laws' is that they are essential for the security of the state.

'It is typical of the mood of war which Nationalist leaders have conjured up to divert attention from needful reforms blocked by their policies,' says Professor Mathews. 'The reason why the emergency is permanent in South Africa is that the Government is committed to maintain, not eliminate, the fundamental deficiencies in the social system.'

MOONANSUN, MANANGUN

Think of those at home
those in gaol
those alone
moonansun
manangun

Think of thoughts to hear
thoughts to fire
thoughts to fear
moonansun
manangun

Doing is an act to be
a fact o life
necessity
moonansun
manangun

Tears are stranded on the moon
blood is storming in the sun
think and act
thought and done
moonansun moonansun
manangun



Nelson Mandela stitches away his life sentence

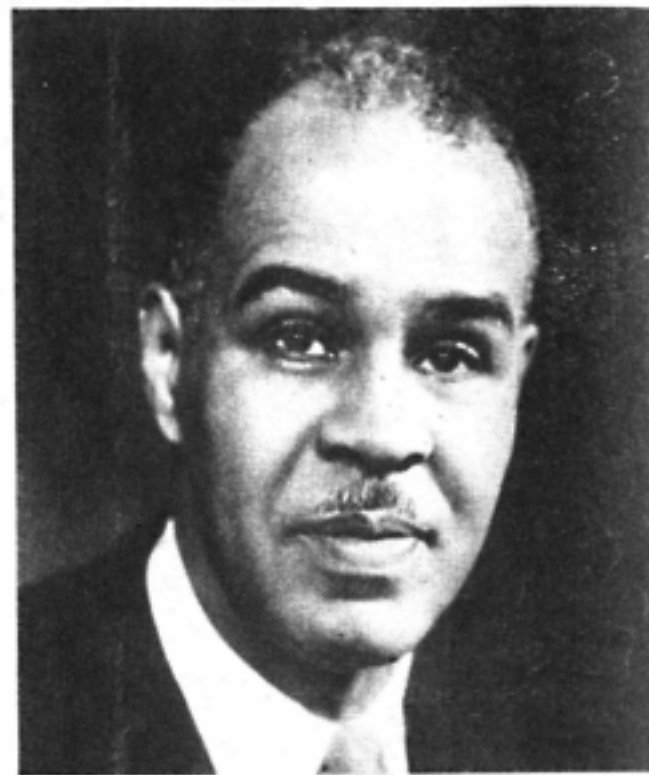
In the stark prison yard, one line, mostly murderers or robbers, break stones, and another, mainly political prisoners, sew prison clothes



Roy Wilkins, a black member of the U. S. National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) is the latest of a number of so-called anti-racists to fall into the trap, so neatly laid by Nixon's new policy OF "Selective Involvement" with white governments in Africa. This involvement, so the argument goes, is based on the false theory that friendly persuasion rather than constant condemnation would be more likely to make the racists modify their racial policies.

The following is a joint statement issued by the American Committee on Africa and the Africa Research Group on the Wilkins statement defending U. S. business enterprises in South Africa, made during a recent visit to the country. In our next issue we hope to present a fuller analysis of the new Nixon Doctrine for South Africa.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST REJECTS CIVIL RIGHTS



Mr. Roy Wilkins

It is appalling to learn that NAACP director Roy Wilkins has chosen Johannesburg, South Africa as a platform from which to defend the role of U. S. business in that segregated police state. Which side is he on?

Mr. Wilkins' statement is a betrayal of the expanding struggle of the African people for freedom and self-determination. It is made in the face of growing opposition in the United States to continued government and private collaboration with the racist minority regimes of Southern Africa. It can only serve to give aid and comfort to businesses badly needing to justify their continued exploitation of the oppressed African majority. It will give a tremendous boost to the South African government, which has been desperately seeking conciliatory blacks to improve its world image.

It flies in the face of the often stated NAACP position on South Africa, and undercuts the policies of the United Nations and the Organization of Africa Unity.

It is hard to believe that an American civil rights leader could have stated: "I am not advocating the violating of laws" in South Africa, where two and a half thousand African men and women are imprisoned daily because they cannot avoid breaking the vicious pass laws. South African laws have torn a million people from their homes to enforce segregation and are splitting families every day.

South African laws specifically bar all who are not white from participation in making the laws. No African, Asian or Coloured has any legal means of influencing or changing such laws. Yet Mr. Wilkins says "Changes should be made legally".

Education for Servitude

Given the recent upsurge of activity across the country against American corporate involvement in Southern Africa, Mr. Wilkins' sudden statement feeds an attempt by American corporations to neutralize sentiments which are calling for a complete withdrawal of U. S. corporations. They very organization that Wilkins spoke to, the Association of Educational and Cultural Advancement (ASSECA), is the same organization that Polaroid gave 15,000 Dollars to as part of its "experiment". Therefore, Mr. Wilkins' statement is merely a continuation of Polaroid's and other corporations' strategies to promote so-called educational and employment gains for blacks under apartheid. What Mr. Wilkins and Polaroid do not acknowledge is that any amount of money, be it 15,000 dollars or 15,000,000 dollars, or verbal support, only serve to aid the South African government in more efficiently educating South African blacks for inferiority. It is the law in South Africa that all African education is for servitude. The government's Bantu Education Act states explicitly that the "Bantu (black) must be guided to serve his own community. There is no

place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

Labour Units

U. S. finance and business give powerful support to the government. This was clear a decade ago when after the massacre at Sharpeville, foreign investors withdrew their capital and the economy of South Africa was threatened with collapse. An 85 million dollar credit loan from US banks, 50 million in trade with the US and 23 million in investments by US corporations turned the tide and saved South Africa. Today, US support continues to strengthen South Africa's economy: IBM's doubling its investment and GM's expansion plans (to mention only two) play a large role in keeping the South African economy safe and stable.

To argue that the preservation of African jobs in US corporations in South Africa is the crucial issue is to ignore the central tragedy. Africans in South Africa exist only as labour units. The white government decides how many Africans an employer can have, what jobs they can hold, and how long they can stay. The South African government needs US know how and US capital and it, therefore permits US businesses to employ Africans under conditions conforming to apartheid laws. US business is in South Africa because cheap labour and great natural resources provide the highest profit returns in the world, and not as a benefactor of Africans. Withdrawal of all American business from South Africa would strike at the white-controlled economy, which depends on and profits from US investments. Withdrawal can aid the African forces which bear the brunt of the struggle against apartheid.

The New York Times report closes with a dangerous fallacy (not attributed to Wilkins) that South Africa has come a long way, as if outside contact and involvement had meant better - if not yet good - conditions inside South Africa. This is simply not true. While wages for some have increased, the gap between white and black wages has actually widened. The past decade of increasing US involvement has coincided with the destruction of the last representation of non whites in government and the prohibition of multiracial parties. It has seen the banning of African political parties and press and a definition of "terrorism" which includes advocacy of disengagement (economic withdrawal). Continuous political trials and punishments reveal to the world an opposition that no amount of terror is able to silence.

Until the black majority of South Africa wins basic human and civil rights, they will remain prey to exploitation, poverty, and persecution regardless of the ownership of any specific industry. That is the basic question. And the fact is that US corporations by accepting and strengthening the apartheid system are helping to postpone the day of majority rule.

BOOK REVIEW

REVIEWERS DO NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Title: APARTHEID

A collection of writings on South African Racism by South Africans – edited by Alex La Guma.

Issued simultaneously by Lawrence & Wishart, London, International Publishers, New York and Seven Seas Books, Berlin, 1971

While browsing in a Berlin bookstore, a friend asked me for a snap opinion on the collection of South African writings compiled by Alex La Guma. My answer was, "The poetry itself makes the book 'Apartheid' really worthwhile". And this is indeed certainly the case. One can read the poems over and over again and each time find something new, and something inspiring – the spirit of the South African Revolution, the sorrows, joys and hopes of her people and their hard and just struggle for a free and happy South Africa. But there is a lot more to the book than just its deeply moving poetry.

Throughout the world Apartheid has become a swear word. One immediately associates it with brutal racial suppression. But Apartheid is not just simply a case of white against black, of a white minority, with the full violence of the state apparatus, ruthlessly suppressing the non-white majority just out of sheer racial madness. Its roots, its purposes and its meaning go far deeper than pure racism for the sake of racism. Apartheid is a system. A system which feeds the powerful capitalist monopolies, both local and foreign, and the big landowners and also provides white South Africans with the highest living standard in the world by brutally exploiting the labour of the non-White, particularly the African worker. Apartheid seeks to squeeze every possible ounce of surplus value out of the labour of the African workers. How can one measure the misery and poverty which this entails for the non-White majority of the South African population. In order to channel African labour where it is required by the capitalist monopolies and the big land owners, an ingenious network of laws and regulations have developed which control every aspect of the lives of the non-white majority. These laws are approved of by a parliament consisting exclusively of whites and being elected exclusively by whites.

In order to guarantee that this network of laws does not break down, the Apartheid regime has created the biggest and best equipped military and police force in Africa. It has devised a judicial system that works like an assembly line in a large industrial enterprise. This means a daily prison population of 90 000 which is twice as much as Great Britain which has a far larger population. Each year some 500 000 are convicted for offences against the Apartheid network of laws. In order to ensure the continued exploitation of the labour of the non-white majority South Africa has become a fully fledged police state – a fascist dictatorship. And this is exactly what Apartheid is.

Alex La Guma's collection of South African writings does much to expose the real meaning of Apartheid. Take for instance the poem "Hands Off" by Barry Higgs. Though obviously written to inspire the boycott of South African goods, it shows how these goods are squeezed from the grinding toil of the Africans, as illustrated by these three lines:

I thought: "Black hands picked this fruit for me.
But a grasping hand has whipped the effort on
And white fists with steel guns guard the tree".

This publication is certainly a valuable weapon in the hands of all anti-Apartheid fighters. It can be used as a ready reference and also supply immediate information and background material on almost any aspect of Apartheid, from Bantu Education, Bantustans and the Origins of Apartheid to the South African Revolution. The articles "Call to Revolution" by Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress, "The Development of the South African Revolution" by Joe Matthews, "The Strategy and Tactics of the South African Revolution", an ANC Political Report and "The Communist Party of South Africa" by Michael Harmel give a deep insight into the national and class struggle in South Africa. In the paper "The Communist Party of South Africa" the reader also gets a glimpse of the role of the trade unions but this is not completely satisfactory and is not really the subject of that particular report. On page 225 Michael Harmel writes, "The determined and experienced working class of South Africa has its own class organisations: The Congress of Trade Unions and the workers party – the South African Communist Party". A paper on the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the role of the workers in the liberation struggle would have therefore, served to enrich these writings dealing with the South African revolution.

The paper "The Outward Drive, South Africa's Military Machine", by J. Maoto and T. Temba throws much light on South Africa's imperialist ambitions in Africa and is also a damning indictment of the all-out support which the main NATO states are giving to the apartheid regime. But I would like to remind Messrs. Maoto and Temba that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee which brought out the documentation "Bonn-Pretoria Axis", page 125, is the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. There are Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees in other countries and I think it is necessary that the reader should know which particular Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee issued this telling indictment.

Mining and agriculture play the predominant role in South Africa's economy. The apartheid republic is the biggest supplier of gold in the capitalist world, yet one does not find a paper on the mining industry in these writings. After mining, agriculture is South Africa's main source of exports and a treatise on this is also missing.

In both mining and agriculture in South Africa the exploitation of the African worker is most intense. It is mining and agriculture which form the basis of exploitation in the land of apartheid – it is from here that the kernel of racism is nourished and cultivated. Thus one cannot grasp the real meaning of Apartheid without looking into the mining industry and agriculture.

In relation to mining, the "Freedom Charter", page 235, says, "An ANC government shall restore the wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, to the people as a whole. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole".

Concerning agriculture, the Freedom Charter, page 236, says, "The bulk of land in our country is in the hand of land barons, absentee landlords, big companies and state capitalist enterprises. The land must be taken away from exclusively European control and from these groupings divided among the small farmers, peasants and landless of all races who do not exploit the labour of others". These are two basic features in the ANC's blueprint of a future free South Africa. And to really get to the roots of Apartheid, a study of the mining industry and the agricultural economy is a must.

Nevertheless, I find the book "Apartheid" of great value to me in my work as a radio journalist and a very good companion when I take part in forums and meetings on South Africa. Mr. La Guma is to be congratulated on compiling these writings and "Hats Off" to the publishers for publishing it.

Arnold Selby

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In a paper prepared for the United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Miss Barbara Rogers challenges two claims made by South African propaganda: (a) that Africans in South Africa are better off than Africans in independent African States; and (b) that their standard of living is improving as the South African economy expands. This is an abridged version of her paper.

In challenging the South African propagandists on their own ground, this paper is confined to an examination of African incomes only, as Africans constitute both the largest community and the lowest income group in South Africa. Comparisons with white South Africans are kept to a minimum in this study as it is generally accepted that the net benefit to the white minority of any economic growth is out of all proportion to the net gain to other groups. Official statistics for African real incomes, cost of living and employment levels are extremely inadequate, and in many cases the only available sources are non-official organisations such as the Institute of Race Relations, Market Research Africa and various academic surveys. The evidence that is available from these sources confirms the suspicion that the Government has something to hide.

Part 1.

Situation of Africans worsening

Inside South Africa, the majority of Africans are living below the Poverty Datum Line (1), which has been criticized for being too low to include all the necessities of life. It is already well documented that the situation of the more than 5 million Africans inhabiting the reserves is critical. Poverty is growing and there are widespread instances of malnutrition and starvation. The situation is aggravated by the Government's continuing policy of forced resettlement of thousands more Africans annually.

The standard of living of Africans in the cities is also low. Real average wages are at best static, and in fact appear to be falling. Even for the privileged minority who work in the manufacturing industry, the last three years have seen a fall in real incomes. It appears that in the African townships of Johannesburg, the majority of people have incomes below the Poverty Datum Line. Their number is increasing. And if one takes into account the facts of an increasing number of wage-earners per family, rising taxation and a higher incidence of poverty, then average incomes are falling faster than the official figures indicate. Any attempt to quantify the worsening quality of life would also add to the picture of worsening living standards.

Over the last fifty years, the Africans in South Africa have been progressively deprived of their share of South Africa's resources, have lost their political rights and, as a result, have been unable to improve their living standards. This process has been actively assisted by the outside world which permitted unrestricted investment to support the economic and political structure, and granted Commonwealth trade preferences to ease the strains of South Africa's balance of payments. At the same time as world opinion denounced apartheid in increasingly sharp tones, capital poured into the country. The great economic boom of the 1960's was made possible by this inflow of capital, a protectionist trade policy and seemingly endless reserves of mineral wealth, as well as by an abundance of cheap labour at falling real wages. Far from improving the conditions under which the Africans operated, the boom depended on their further impoverishment. Otherwise, inflation would have gotten out of hand and it would have been uneconomic to mine the low grade ores or produce manufactured goods in such an inefficient manner.

Real reason for "Outward-looking Policy"

South Africa has been fostering the illusion of permanence in this unprecedented growth. But over the last two years the illusion has become increasingly difficult to maintain. The stock exchange boom collapsed in 1970, and there are few signs of recovery from the continued decline which followed. The labour situation appears to be insoluble in terms of the present system. There is a crippling shortage of skilled labour. Africans without enough to live on cannot provide the expanding consumer market of increasing sophistication which economists are so desperately looking for. It is in the light of this stagnant consumer market that the South African Government has initiated the "outward-looking" policy. As an alternative to improving the purchasing power of its people, the Government is trying to build up a captive market in the countries within what it considers to be South Africa's sphere of influence, as well as in any other African states that it can penetrate.

African incomes in South Africa and in Independent African States

Friends of South Africa are fond of comparing the incomes of its white inhabitants with the per capita incomes of the

richest countries of the world, and point out that white South Africa ranks fourth. However, the incomes of Africans in South Africa are invariably compared with those in some of the poorest countries of the world, the independent African states.

The claim that black South Africans "enjoy the highest standard of living of any black people in Africa" (1) seems rather too categorical in view of the difficulty of comparing standards of living in different countries. There is a shortage of comparable statistics; current exchange rates often offer a false picture of incomes; and the cost of living varies greatly between different countries and between different areas of the same country. Because the black South African population is so highly urbanized, their money incomes would also tend to inflate the South African figures, although in reality this is largely cancelled out by the higher costs of living in cities and towns. South Africa has the highest proportion of wage earners in Africa with 30%. The country coming closest to this figure is Zambia with 10 per cent. (2)

Bearing these facts in mind, it is still interesting to look at the comparative figures for South Africa and black Africa. The annual per capita income for certain African countries has been estimated as follows: - (3)

Country	Average annual income (in US Dol.)
South Africa (all races), including Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland	375
Ghana	187
Senegal	162
Liberia	137

Women farm workers



Zambia	137
South Africa (Africans only)	108 (4)
United Republic of Tanzania	75
Nigeria	75
Mozambique	75
Kenya	75
South Africa (Africans in reserves)	45 (5)
Guinea Bissau	25
Malawi	25

South African Africans therefore appear to be less well off than the population of at least four other African countries all very much poorer in resources than South Africa.

Further, Africans in the South African reserves, who constitute about 40 per cent of the Africans in South Africa are among the poorest people of Africa. The average income for Africans in Africa as a whole has been estimated at between \$110 and \$120 (6). By contrast, the average income for Africans in South Africa is only \$108 a year. A further survey by Business International has confirmed that in four African countries and territories, Ethiopia, Angola, Gabon and Nigeria, Africans are paid higher wages in industry (7). Comparison with Zambia with respect to average wages and educational facilities, a key factor in future advancement, is instructive (8):

AVERAGE WAGE OF AFRICANS BY SECTOR (in rands)

	Zambia	South Africa
Mining	1,248	216
Manufacturing	629	612
Construction	732	589

The Quality of Life

Several publications of the United Nations Unit on Apartheid have documented the extreme poverty among Africans in South Africa and the paucity of medical and educational services for them, belying the Government's claim of an

increasing standard of living (9). The incidence of extreme malnutrition or kwashiorkor and tuberculosis among Africans seems to be rising in South Africa. Apart from poor diet and general poverty, a major contributory factor in this worsening health situation is the shortage of medical services for Africans in South Africa. While South African whites are among the best off in the world, Africans are among the worst off. There is one white doctor for every 455 white inhabitants in South Africa, compared with an average ratio of one to 750 among rich Western countries. On the other hand, there is one African doctor per one hundred thousand African inhabitants, as compared with an average of one to 9,200 for Africa as a whole (10).

The shortage of doctors is clearly a result of inadequate educational facilities available for Africans in South Africa. There is a heavy demand for school places, but the drop-out rate is nearly 95 per cent before secondary school (11) and less than 1 per cent actually complete secondary grades (12). This is partly due to economic pressures, as Africans alone in the Republic have to pay for school texts and uniforms for their students.

The proportion of the national income devoted to African education fell from 0.57 per cent in 1953 to 0.396 per cent in 1966 (13). Expenditure per capita fell from R17.08 (\$23.19) in 1953-1954 to R11.50 (\$16.10) in 1962-1963 (14). In real terms, per capita expenditure on African education declined still further during the 1960's as the actual expenditure remained static.

By contrast, in the developing countries of Africa, up to 20 per cent of the national income is spent on African education. A comparison of statistics on the education of Africans in Zambia and South Africa is shown by the following table: -

EDUCATION OF AFRICANS	Zambia	South Africa
Expenditure (in Rands)	55 million	40 million
Per capita expenditure	58	16
Pupils in secondary schools (as % of all published)	7	4
Professionally qualified teachers in secondary schools (as % of all teachers)	59	22
Number of full-time university students	1,250	1,600
Number writing secondary school leaving examination	5,467	2,289

(Note: the African population of South Africa is about 3.5 times the population of Zambia).

And finally, the South African Government's argument, namely, that since migrant workers are flocking into South Africa in such vast numbers, South Africa must then offer a better living standard than most of the rest of Africa, is open to criticism. The picture is a misleading one. Firstly, African miners who go to South Africa come from countries in the South African Customs Union, or Malawi, which is one of the poorest countries in Africa, and from the Portuguese colonies.

Thus the influx into South Africa can be explained either by the close economic association of countries in the Customs Union with South Africa or by the specific inter-governmental agreements which guarantee the supply of cheap labour to South Africa. And secondly, massive migrations are taking place from rural to urban areas everywhere on the African continent, combined with immigration in the millions into such countries as Kenya and Ghana. Migration into South Africa, therefore, is not significant compared to the general trend, particularly as it is almost exclusively short-term contract labour for the mines.

(to be continued)



African farm labourer

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