

SECHABA

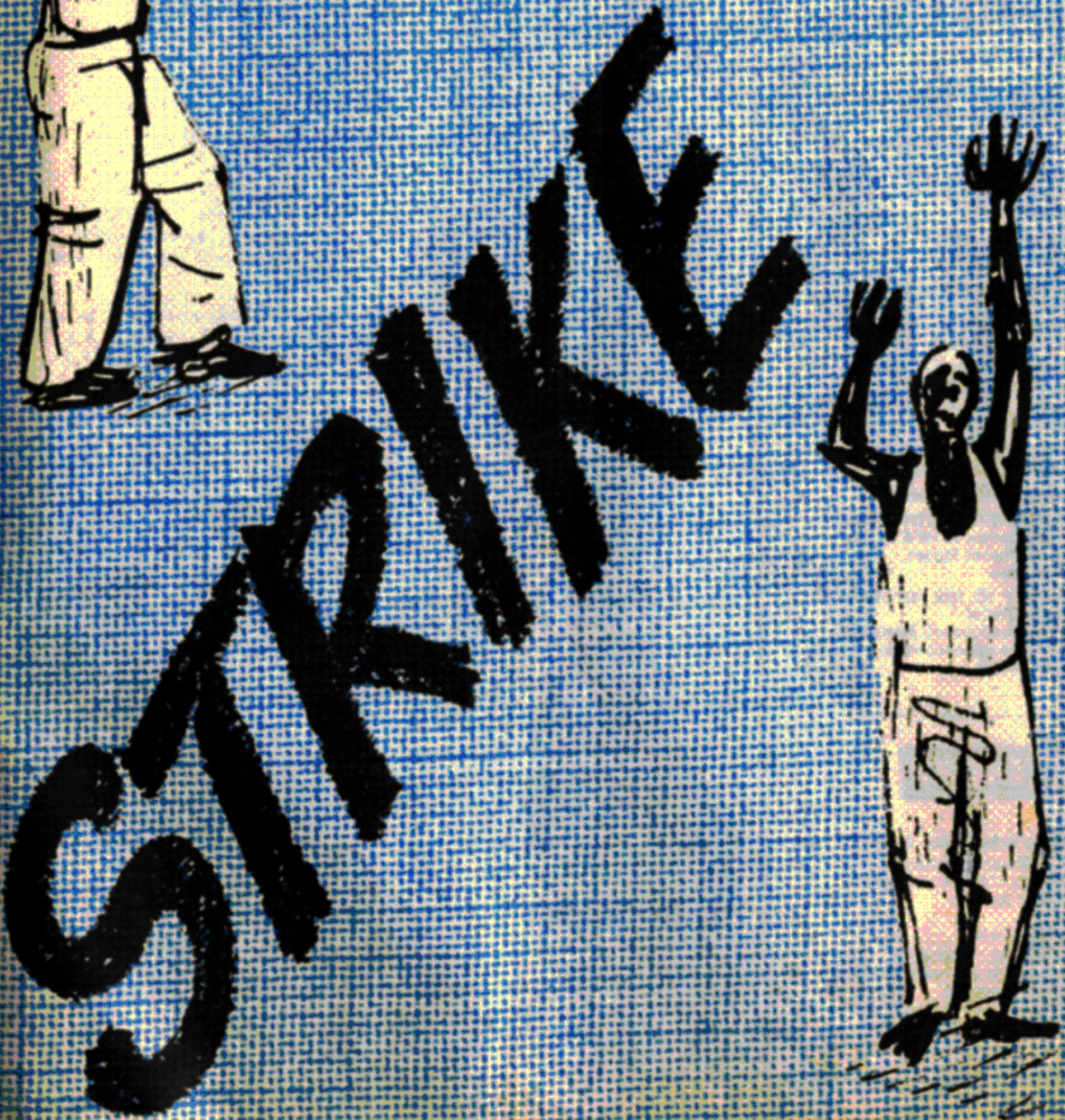
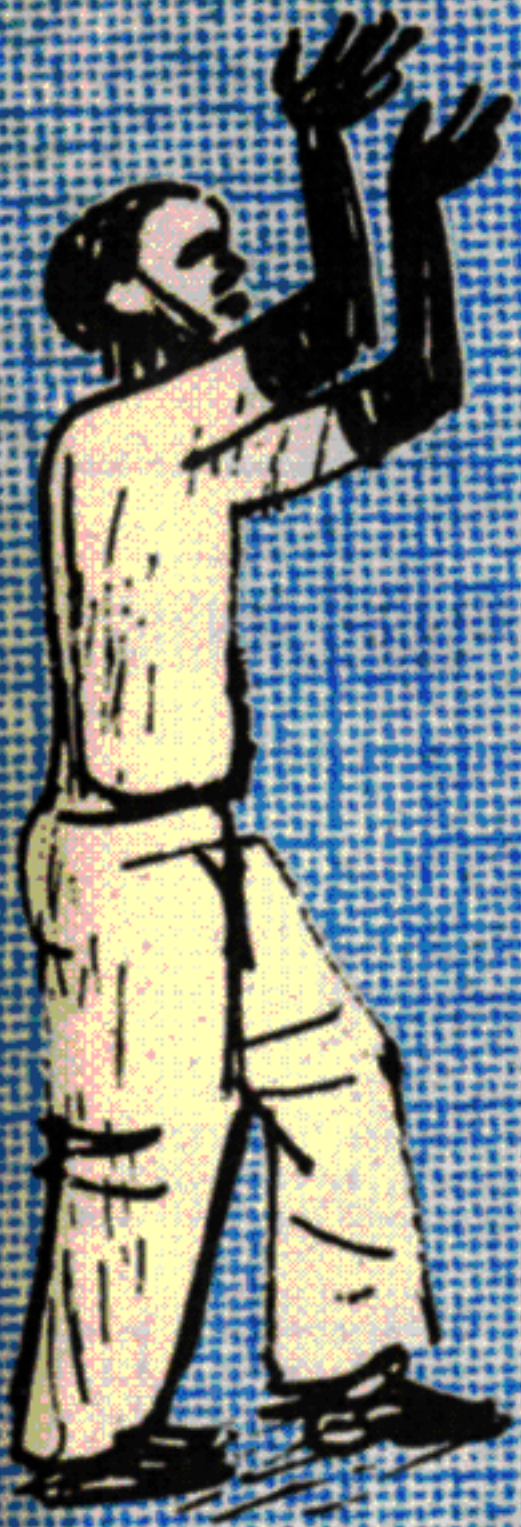
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SPECIAL ISSUE
on the Workers Struggle in South Africa



SECHABA

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SECHABA

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This issue of SECHABA is dedicated to the Black workers of South Africa who, despite intense police intimidation and a host of legislation denying them the right to strike; the right to collective bargaining; the right to choose their place of employment and, in the face of severe poverty and starvation are once again fighting back in the best traditions of the working class for higher wages, better working conditions and for the recognition of their trade unions

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

Strikes Snowball

- 150,000 Black Workers Strike in Durban
- Natal's long, sleepy economic summer shattered
- In South Africa it costs more to be poor
- The ruthless exploitation of Black Workers exposed

In the last issue of SECHABA we reported that in the City of Durban and its industrial environs over 35,000 black workers were out on strike, mainly in support of demands for a living wage and better working conditions.

Since, then, within the very short period of less than six weeks, the total number out on strike increased to over 150,000 bringing scores of factories, mills and commercial firms to a standstill.

Although this wave of industrial unrest centred mainly in Durban, there were also massive strikes by Black workers in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley.

Not all strikes were in support of demands for higher wages and better working conditions.

Two hundred African bus drivers in Pretoria, for instance, went on strike after a colleague had been dismissed unfairly according to the workers.

African bus drivers employed by a different company in Pretoria also struck following a fight between one of their colleagues and a inspector.

Durban Strikes

The strike in Durban began with 1200 night watchmen employed by the Durban-based Natal Safeguards Ltd., demanding an increase of R10. per month. (Note R1 = approximately 50p. = \$1.20)

This was followed by 1,500 African brick and tile workers striking for higher wages and improved working conditions.

Then the strikes snowballed. In quick succession African and Indian textile workers, tea workers and long distance lorry drivers, came out on strike.

Other striking workers who followed included workers in such diverse areas of employment as furniture removers in Pinetown and canvas and rubber workers in Durban; women woolwashers and engineering workers; milling workers and concrete pipe manufacturing workers; agricultural workers in the sugar industry and spinners; toy makers and weavers.

In many cases the strikes had political overtones. At one, the workers on strike gathered at the gates of the factory singing: "Nkosi Sikelele", the African National Congress national anthem. At another, as reported in the last issue of Sechaba, demonstrating strikers were led, in a march through the streets, by one worker carrying a red flag. In yet another cries of "Amandla!" (Power) the A.N.C.'s clenched-first salute were raised at the end of a meeting called by strikers.

What began slowly, with one strike in Johannesburg and another in the Cape Province; one in Pretoria and another in Durban, grew into an avalanche in Durban and its industrial environs totally paralysing economic activity in the City.

Workers Win – But

Most of the employers affected by the strikes increased the wages of their workers from between 12½ per cent to 50 per cent. Others, hastily increased wages in their industries in order to avert any strike action by their workers.

Although in many cases these increases were rejected by the workers as being inadequate, they were forced back to work after nearly six exhausting weeks with no strike pay and facing increasing intimidation from the bosses and the authorities who threatened the strikers with dismissal and deportation. Over 200 strikers were arrested.

Poverty Datum Line

According to a survey conducted by the White Johannesburg City Council's, Non – European Affairs Department (NEAD), an average family of five in its African ghetto of Soweto need R69.86 for their very barest necessities. R84. would make additional modest provision for furniture repayments, recreation, beer, tobacco and emergencies. The Urban Bantu Council of Soweto, however, considers that in order to maintain a reasonable standard of living, a budget of R116 per month is needed.

In a paper – "Non-White pay and Productivity in South Africa" – presented by J. A. Horner to the South African Institute of Personnel Management, the figure of R104.70 is mentioned as being the amount needed by a Soweto resident to live reasonably.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, whose members are as guilty as any other employer in South Africa for underpaying Black workers, released figures at the beginning of this year showing that an average African family of five needs at least R90. a month to survive at the lowest level of existence.

Even if we take a figure between that of the NEAD and the Chamber of Commerce – around R80. per month – as being the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), the present increases given to the strikers added to their present wages falls far short of their requirements to avoid starvation. **Unskilled workers, who form the bulk of the African working class earn between R16 and R40 per month!**



Strikers being harrassed by police

"... The recent strike hit a Durban tea Company (see last issue of SE-CHABA - Ed.) which had been planning to bring minimum wages into line with poverty datum line by July next year (our emphasis - Ed). The estimated cost: R115,000. The company's pre-tax profit last year: about R1,600,000."

- Editorial in the Rand Daily Mail

Super Exploitation

The worst culprit of all in the super exploitation of its Black workers in South Africa is the gold mining industry. The average earnings of the Black underground workers is about R18 per month, while that of the White miner is R400 per month!

The goldmining industry's total Black wage bill was R95 million in 1972, but its profits before tax were R548 millions R212 million more than in 1971. This represented a profit increase of 63 per cent for that year.

The increased profits alone were thus more than double the mines' total Black wage bill!

The situation in the manufacturing industry is little better. For the purpose of this article let us examine the situation in the Frame group of textile companies, which, with 22 000 employees is the third largest employer in South Africa and was severely hit by strikes in Durban and East London.

Frame's Shame

The head of the Company, Philip Frame, is a member of the ruling Nationalist Party, a member of Prime Mi-

nister Vorster's Economic Advisory Council and reputedly one of the richest men in South Africa.

He was paying* his Black workers an average of R10.51 per week and more than 50 per cent of his workers are contract labourers. Mr. David Hemson, Natal-based officer for the Textile Workers Industrial Union, in a statement recently published in the Financial Mail said that many contract labourers told him that they were promised higher wages when they signed the contract and then received lower wages when they arrived.

"What is more, though the contract stipulates that the workers must have housing when they enter the urban area, there is no more housing available in the Claremont African township outside Pinetown and New Germany areas where Frame's mills are located", said Mr. Hemson.

Frame is exempted from the provisions of the Factories Act prohibiting female workers from working on night shift.

The wages he paid to his employees up to the time they went on strike has been the same since 1964! Yet the cost of living has soared by 74 per cent between 1963 and 1972.

During this period White workers in the manufacturing industry were able to negotiate pay increases averaging 94.7 per cent!

The Financial Mail quoted the case of one of Frame's workers, Annie Msomi, a 60-year-old woman who has to support her pensioner husband and five grandchildren on R7.20 a week. She is employed in one of Frame's woolwashing and processing subsidiaries where wages are even lower than at his textile factories. Seven years



Phillip Frame . . . you should hear what your employees think of you.

ago when she started working for Frame her wage packet was R3, a week from which she had to somehow finance her own bus transport from her home 20 miles away and which now takes R2 per week out of the R7.25. That leaves R5.25 for food, clothing, rent and so on against a poverty datum line at least three times higher, which in itself supports not much more than starvation.

While Frame and his management were paying their Black workers such deplorably low wages and arguing during the strike that to pay much more would ruin the company - last November they told fellow shareholders in Natal Consolidated Industrial Investments, the parent company of the

THE BIG BRICK DEAL

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Statutory minimum wage determined in 1967	Built-in escalation after two years*	Median wage at July 1971	Wage drift: amount by which 1971 media exceeds 1969 minimum (col 3-col 2)	1973 recommended statutory minimum	1967-1973 increase in statutory minima (col 5-col 1)
	Rand per week					
Grade I workers (qualified).....	9.20	9.89	9.90	0.01	11.96	2.76
Grade II workers (qualified).....	8.05	8.74	8.85	0.11	10.58	2.53
Grade III workers.....	7.36	8.05	8.50	0.45	9.66	2.30
Labourers (male adults).....	6.90	7.59	7.60	0.01	9.20	2.30

*The 1967 Determination provides for increases after one and after two years.

†Median wage figures include the value of food and quarters.

‡Minima are operative for 12 months, followed by escalation.

All figures apply to the Witwatersrand-Pretoria-Vereeniging complex. Those in columns (1) and (5) also apply to the Durban-Pinetown area.

woolwashing subsidiary where Annie Msomi is employed, that pre-tax profits had risen from R1.4 million in 1971 to R2.5 million in 1972, an increase of over 70 per cent!

"In Cape Town I was employed by a company which employs only Blacks. I was Production Manager and the factory came under my supervision.

When one of the employees does something wrong he is fined. A male or female worker may go to the toilet and if he or she remain too long to the liking of the director, he will fine the person 50 cents or R1. It may happen more than once a week and the men earning R12 per week and the women between R7 and R9, anybody can guess what they get at the end of the week. "Because I refused to mark the pay cards of these employees and so reduce their production costs, I was forced to resign.

My appeal to the Minister of Labour drew a blank."

- H. J. Mulder, Hillbrow, in a letter published in the Rand Daily Mail

Wage Board Support

The Government - appointed Wage Board which meets at regular intervals to discuss and determine minimum wages for workers in the different industries, aids and abets the employers in their callous, inhuman and selfish greed for more and more profits squeezed from the blood and sweat of the Black workers.

In the Brick and Tile Industry for instance, the Board's report published a few weeks after the Brick and Tile workers struck in Durban (see last issue of SECHABA) recommends that the 13,000 or so labourers employed in this industry should receive from as low as R6.21 to R9.66 depending on the district where they are employed.

At Coronation Brick and Tile, in Durban, minimum wages had already been increased as a result of the strike to R11.04 while the Board's recommendation which appeared soon after suggested that the minimum for the Durban area should be - believe it or not - R9.20.

Reactions

The immediate outcome of the strikes, apart from some increases in wages, is that it has evoked widespread, if limited, debate throughout the country. They are going on in almost every circle. An "in-depth" discussion by academics, economists and trade unionists, all of them White, at the University of Cape Town; a white-washing discussion in the all-White Parliament; prolonged discussion at the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) which expelled African Unions after the passing of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act rather than fight this piece of fascist



legislation which denies African workers the right to strike or even to form officially recognized trade unions, and discussions are going on in the White press; among White market researchers; Discussions are taking place among White City councillors and employers federations.

In all this current wave of debates about labour problems and Black wages, one essential and vital element is missing. This is the realisation that Black workers themselves are becoming a force to be reckoned with.

White South Africa, does not seem to realise that the time is past when the Blacks are going to accept pious "solutions" to their problems arising out of discussions such as they are now having.

White South Africa does not, even at this stage, perceive the need to con-

sult with Black workers themselves, and to have them, the Black workers, participate in establishing a new policy.

"The present miserable wages were the creation of White Trade Unions and White employers.

In the industrial wage agreements - which are planned, discussed and agreed to by White trade union leaders and White employers' representatives - The Black workers conditions and wages that now prevail in Natal and the whole country were determined.

Black trade unions have been excluded by law from participation in the making of these despicable agreements. "We therefore strongly object to White trade unionists now wanting to intervene in the strikes in Natal and to negotiate on behalf of the Black workers who are on strike."

- Black Allied Workers Union

Thieves Fall Out

In the process, the mainly English-speaking employers in Natal have been getting a roasting for the wave of strikes, and they most certainly deserve it.

But it is ironic that some of the angriest response should come from the apologists for a government that must share the blame.

"Rapport", the pro-Government Sunday paper, for instance, commenting on the strikes chortled:

"That it should now be precisely Natal that is harrassed by a series of strikes; that it should be Durban that shows the country how scandalously some industrialists treat their non-White workers. That is the irony of the year."

"Because no one has ever abused the Natalers in general and the Durbanites in particular for being Nationalists. It is precisely from these sources that the Nationalist Party gets the most venomous criticism over its non-White policy of 'suppression', precisely they who tend to tear into shreds the governments' labour policy . . ."

There is indeed something phony with this picture of the Nationalists censuring Natal's industrial scrooges for paying their Black employees too little.



Wage Board's chief Hugh Tindale . . . gave too little too late

Low wages for Black workers is universal, in every industry throughout the country and not just in Natal.

"Absolutely nothing has happened to change the government's attitude to African trade union membership.

"I have made our standpoint abundantly clear time and time again. We believe, that there is no place for the Bantu in the existing trade-union movement because his needs are adequately accommodated in the existing system."

— Marais Viljoen, Minister of Labour in the S.A. Government

The fact is that the Government is as much to blame for the low wages paid to Blacks as the selfish, callous and frightened employers in Natal.

Business has simply operated within the framework of a Government — created system, tailor-made to exploit to the full all Black workers.

Voiceless, deprived of training for skills, intimidated, denied the right to strike and form recognised trade unions, cut off from the right to choose his own job and the right to collec-

tive bargaining with his employers, in fact, denied every single basic human right, the Black worker is just another raw material for the employers to requisition according to their needs.

Payment? Business and Industry buy their Black stocks rather like any other commodity, like copper or tin on the international metal market where prices are dictated by supply and demand.

Because of the various laws governing the Black man the supply is vast, Black stocks are cheap.

Addressing the Wage Board for the Heavy Clay and Allied Products Industry (referred to earlier under subtitle: (Wage Board Support) a spokesman for stock brick manufacturers on the West Rand, for example, said that he was "strongly opposed" to any wage increase whatsoever for labourers on the grounds that employers could get whatever labour they wanted at existing rates of pay! (Financial Times February 9, 1972).

The pay gap between White and Black workers in South Africa's public sector is a massive 560 per cent.

Statistics show that the overall number of workers in this sector of the economy during the third quarter of 1972 was: 314,187 Africans; 250,951 Whites; 67,896 Coloureds; 14,576 Asians. Average monthly wage rates are as follows:

- **Central Government:**
Whites R324; Coloureds R158; Asians R216; Africans R56.
- **Provincial Administrations:**
Whites R333; Coloureds R71; Asians R118; Africans R46.
- **Local Authorities:**
Whites R328; Coloureds R98; Asians R75; Africans R49.

— Dept. of Statistics News Release

What Next?

These strikes, it must be borne in mind, as extensive as they were in Durban, are just the beginning. The workers who won higher wages are

not satisfied with the increments they got. The majority of the workers, not only in Durban but throughout the country feel as strongly as the Durban strikers on the question of higher wages and better working conditions. They may appear to be silent and calm at present, but there is no gainsaying that they are seething with discontent and the South African industrial scene is a tinder box.

If anything, these strikes have taught the Black worker that he has a latent power that no legislation can curb.

It is all very well for the government to have legislation such as the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act which prohibits strikes, but we have seen it cannot prevent them.

The White population is hell-bent on the road to its own destruction. It still refuses to be persuaded either by the strikes or by saner counsels among its own people to share its wealth with the impoverished Black man.

They refuse to learn the lesson of history in virtually every country in the world: that if the privileged class is not prepared to share, it loses everything.

These strikes are, we predict, the forerunner of the most turbulent period

Marais Viljoen, Minister of Labour . . . "there is no place for Bantu in Trade Unions"





Natal strikers . . . could you and your family come out on R 7.50 a week?

of industrial and political unrest in South Africa's history. Coupled with the power the workers have shown they can exert, is the growth of a new and dynamic concept among the youth in particular and the people at large: the concept of Black consciousness, of Black unity against White Racism. This concept is receiving widespread support amongst the people and will, when the working and national liberation forces join hands, be a force to be reckoned with.

Meanwhile, the underground African National Congress is building its forces and continuing to prepare the people for armed struggle. Elsewhere in this issue we reproduce, in part, the ANC's underground newspaper produced and distributed by our underground press. The march towards a final showdown between the forces of progress and the White racists moves inexorably forward.

"The series of wage protests and strikes in Durban is undeniably the work of skilful agitators."

— Die Transvaler, a pro-government daily.

STRIKE: STOP PRESS ● STRIKE: STOP PRESS

160 Bus Drivers employed by the Johannesburg City Council and serving over 30,000 passengers a day were out on strike for about three hours while officials and police stood by during negotiations.

The workers who had met in one of the Council's buses to discuss what action to take were in an extremely militant mood. At the end of their meeting which agreed on strike action in support of their demand for a 4 cent-per-hour raise over and above the Councils' offer of between 21 and 27 per cent.

The employers, together with officials of the Labour Bureau and a large group of armed police in attendance, spent three hours with the workers appealing to them to return to work until the matter was discussed by the Council.

Usual Ballyhoo

The official of the Labour Department, E Reynierse, addressing the workers said that he was not there to tell them what to do. "I am just here to make you think", he said.

"I want to warn you of the grave con-

sequences of your action and beg you to think again.

"If you strike it will be on your consciences," he added. With the usual stupid paternalism that white South African officialdom reserves for times such as these when they are in difficulty, Reynierse told the workers: "Please don't think just of yourselves. Think of the thousands who are trying to get to work today as well."

In one final attempt to split the workers he added: "Remember also that if you get into trouble your Liason Committee will not look after your wives and children." (The Liason Committee is a body elected by the workers to represent them in their negotiations).

Replying to Mr. Reynierse, Mr. R.R. Bali, Chairman of the Liason Committee told him that the workers had heard it all before.

"What you tell us is not new," he said. "The workers all know what the Council has offered us; they know that the Council wants another four days in which to make up its mind, but they think that this is just a delaying tactic", he said.

"We are ready for jail, — anything", he concluded.

The City Needs You

The City Council of Johannesburg never known to be the least bit concerned with the plight of its huge African population, was represented by Mr. Max Neppe, Chairman of the Council's Utilities Committee which controls the bus services in the City. (It was this Council that destroyed the homes of African workers in the city and built huge bachelor quarters thus forceably separating men and women, and breaking up whatever little family life that existed among the African city dwellers. (See SECHABA Vol. 6 No. 7). Disregarding this and other similar actions by the Council when dealing with the African people residing in Johannesburg Mr. Neppe pleaded with the workers to give the Council four more days to consider their demands. "It breaks my heart that Johannesburg's African bus services, which are so reliable and depended upon by so many, are not running today," he said.

"The City needs you", he pleaded.

Mr. Kubeka, one of the oldest employee told the meeting that he had worked on the buses for nine years and this was the first time he had heard of a management committee and met the general manager.

"I feel like crying", he told the meeting. "I feel like falling down into pieces.

"For so long I have been pushing the buses with no break. All I wait for now is my death.

"I've waited nine years for things to improve, but instead they have become worse."

Stating that the Black workers were not treated like men, Mr. Kubeka said: "We are treated like babies, not like men with brains.

"Only now that there is trouble they are talking to us like men."

He however appealed to the workers to give the Council four more days to make up their minds and after going into Committee for almost an hour, Mr. Bali, the Chairman of the

Liason Committee announced that the workers were agreeable to go back to work.

On the fourth day, the Council announced an increase of 3 cents per hour to a meeting of the workers and this was accepted with jubilation by the workers.

* * * * *

Frame Blames

Meanwhile the great debate on wages and working conditions of Black workers in South Africa continues. Philip Frame in a lengthy statement to the press complained that he was being made the scapegoat "for the total system of wage differentiation for which every White citizen in this country shares responsibility. I believe that everyone, from the Prime Minister down - and I, of course, include myself, has learned a lesson from the past few weeks. We now all have to take stock and do some deep and hard thinking", he said.

Johannesburg bus workers . . . "we have won!"



The Migrant Labourer

**A million
and
a half non -
people**

"It's a custom you know. Bantu women prefer leaving their children with their grand parents - they don't like children around them while they are working."

Coen Kotze,
Manager of the
Peri-Urban
Board's Bantu
Administration Dept.

In South Africa today, it is estimated that there is a total of 1.5 million non-people.

These are the men and women who neither belong at home nor at their place of work.

They are not wholly accepted in the urban areas where they lodge and are employed. Neither, eventually, are they wholly accepted in the homelands whence they come.

For there, children grow up not knowing their fathers or mothers. The migrant parent is treated like a stranger when he or she visits the rural home.

These are the migrant workers of South Africa. The Black people on whom our country relies so much, yet gives so little.



These are the non-people whose basic human rights – taken for granted in other countries – are stripped from them by law, including the right to live a normal family life.

Listing the devastation caused by this system of slave labour, Dr. Francis Wilson, a South African economist has published a book* in which he states that this system causes or will cause . . .

• **Illegitimacy, Bigamy, Prostitution:**

Many men under pressures of the migrant system become bigamists with two families – one in their homeland and one in the town in which they are working.

Under the system, too, prostitution thrives, as does venereal disease.

A weekend raid on the men's hostels in Port Elizabeth would find between 600 and 700 prostitutes in the building. What, asks Dr. Wilson, is going to be the situation in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township when the square mile of land there contains 40 000 men housed in single-sex hostels and, across the road, 20 000 women also housed in single-sex hostels?

Who will look after the children? What is the future of a society raising hundreds of children who form a community of the rejected?

• **Homosexuality:**

Priests and others who know the compounds and hostels believe the migrant system encourages homosexuality, reports Dr. Wilson.

He quotes Mr. F.R. Mohlabe, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church: "Young men reaching the mines get involved in this practice.

"There are even men who move around the compounds and their sole business is to entice men to sleep with them."

Comments Dr. Wilson: "The extent of the distortion caused by the migrant system in this regard may be seen from the fact that there are cases where men are prepared to pay lobola (dowry) in order to 'marry' other men."

• **Drunkenness:**

For men living in bleak hostels there is little else to do but drink. In some areas this has led to a phenomenal increase in the consumption of liquor.

In Cape Town, for example, in the beer halls and bottle stores controlled by the municipality in the townships of Langa and Guguletu, the annual turnover in hard liquor has risen over 500 per cent in seven years.

• **Malnutrition:**

The lack of proper feeding is due not only to poverty but also to the failure of men to feed themselves properly when not living with women.

• **Beriberi:**

The results of a scientific study published recently in the South African Medical Journal (Nov. 11, 1972) show clearly that beriberi – a heart condition due to a deficiency of the vitamin thiamine – is largely a disease of male migrant manual labourers who live a hostel-type of existence, going without food and drinking heavily.

• **Violent Upheaval in the Longrun:**

There is the growth of hatred against the White man in general and government and police authority in particular, writes Dr. Wilson.

This hatred, he says, is generated by the sense of injustice that men trying to find work in order to feed their families should be "chased by dogs, arrested like criminals."

Dr. Wilson quotes Dr. Anthony Barker, superintendent for more than 20 years of a large hospital in Kwa-Zulu: "There must be a harvest of aggression, with the weeds of violence growing rank within it.

"Those who, having had no responsibility laid upon them, owe none to any man. In that chill climate will there be any place for trust? And hope for human intercourse at all?"

• **Criminal Violence:**

Thousands of men living in barracks far from the restraining influence of their families has led to dreadful violence in Black townships.

Rape is a common crime. So is murder. In Soweto alone, 80 people a month were murdered in 1971.

Dr. Wilson finds that many experts say that township violence is exacerbated by the feeling of rootlessness and the breakdown of social structure engendered by the migrant system.

• **Poor Management:**

Dr. Wilson quotes Professor Hobart Houghton's book on migrant labour: "The general instability caused by the migrant system has led the majority of employers to accept unstable and inefficient African labour as inevitable and in the nature of things."

• **Prevents Women from Earning:**

Under a pattern of compulsory oscillating migration; neither daughters nor wives of migrants are allowed to come to town.

• **Costs of Turnover:**

In an American survey it was estimated that for every 20 per cent of staff turnover, the cost to industry was one per cent of the total wage bill.

In South Africa there are whole industries and individual enterprise employing oscillating migrants, with an annual turnover of at least 100 per cent.

Thus, says Dr. Wilson, as a rough approximation the cost of Black turnover on the goldmines in this country must be between R3-million and R4-million a year.

• **Unemployment:**

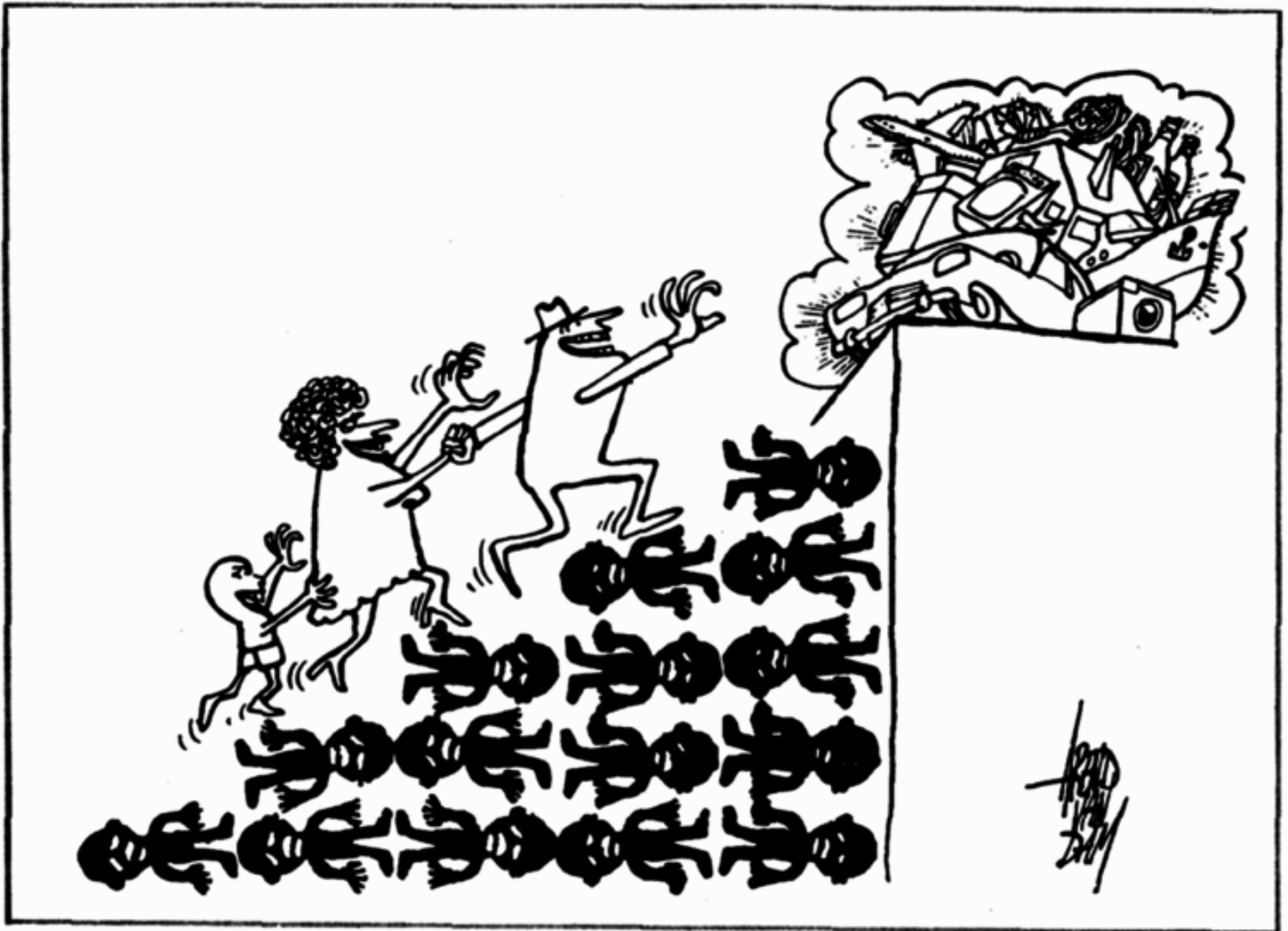
Action which stunts the economy in one place does not thereby cause it to grow elsewhere. For example, in Cape Town, where men are not legally permitted to seek casual jobs as gardeners, the result is that people who need gardeners can't find them. Yet in the rural areas there are men who would be more than willing to work in Cape Town as gardeners.

In his book which is illustrated with pictures, maps, diagrams and a graph, Dr. Wilson quotes a biblical injunction. To argue as some do, he says, that a family can survive provided the man can visit at least once a year to sleep with his wife, is an utter travesty of the biblical teaching on marriage as summed up by the Lord, when he taught:

"They are no longer two individuals. They are one flesh. What God had joined together Man must not separate."

"Migrant Labour in South Africa" by Dr. Francis Wilson. R1.95. Obtainable from Spro-Cas, 508 Pharmacy House, 80 Jorissen Street, Johannesburg.

Portrait of a migrant worker



MR. THABO PHIRI is a migrant labourer. He works in a Johannesburg factory.

His family live in the Tsonga homeland of Gazankulu in the Northern Transvaal.

Thabo has problems.

One is how to keep five adults and seven children on R44 a month.

Another is how to keep his sanity, living as he does in a city hostel with seven other men in his room while his wife and kids live far away in the homeland.

This is part of Thabo Phiri's monthly budget (he is paid R11 in cash each week):

Hostel accommodation R3,00
Transport to and from work . . R5,50

Food for himself R8,50
Incidentals for himself R5,00

Beer now and again, a few cigarettes and – who knows? – the occasional prostitute.

Thabo already has spent R22 of his monthly earnings of R44 – just keeping himself going.

Now he must send R15 of the balance to keep alive his homeland family of four adults and seven children.

In theory he has R7 over. But in practice, Thabo will tell you, it doesn't work out this way.

When he does have a couple of rands to spare he pays it into a savings account. More often than not he goes without food so that he can buy an

item of clothing. Then there is the periodic call from his wife pleading for additional funds for school fees and books.

When this happens he sends the extra money immediately.

And cuts down on his food and goes without shoe repairs or some vital item of new clothing.

Medicines

Thabo Phiri's tight budget does not take into account sickness, medicines or other emergencies, involving either himself or his faraway family.

The adults Thabo keeps on his meagre wages are his wife, his elderly mother and his two sisters.

Of the seven children, four are his own. The other three are his sisters' children.

That he makes himself responsible for maintaining two adult sisters is not an unusual custom among migrant workers.

That the sisters find themselves in the situation they do is not unusual either. Neither of Mr. Phiri's sisters is married. They were brought up by their uncle in Soweto.

When the uncle died a few years ago the girls were endorsed out because, according to law, they were living in Soweto illegally.

Towards the end of their stay in Johannesburg they found jobs as domestic servants.

Then they became pregnant. Both women, according to their brother, would like to work and keep themselves and their children.

What is stopping them from registering at the labour bureau, Thabo Phiri says, is the thought of having to live in a city hostel, leaving their children in the homeland.

What is their homeland village like? They live in a fairly large village of huts near Giyani, capital of Gazankulu. The country-side surrounding their rural settlement is typical of the bushveld - flat, wooded veld studded with hills.

The rivers are dry. Water is scarce. The sun is scorchingly hot.

Women walk single file through the bush with four-gallon drums of water on their heads. They get the water from a borehole. They walk about four miles for it.

In the veld, cattle graze. The land cannot be ploughed until the big rains come.

If they come, the people can expect a fair harvest.

If the drought persists the women will depend even more heavily on the money the men send them from Joni, their name for Johannesburg.

How did Thabo Phiri get his job in Johannesburg.

He registered his name at the labour bureau at Giyani. Some time later he was called to meet a White man from Johannesburg who wanted workers for his factory.

Married Two Weeks a Year

The signing on process involved Thabo's reference book being stamped and signed. He was not given a copy of the contract.

Thabo was told by his employer that he would be paid R9 a week to start off with. He would live, he was told, in one of the hostels for which he would have to pay R2,75 a month.

It has since gone up to R3.

Is Thabo Phiri happy in his job?

Yes, he reckons, he's happy to have got work because there was nothing to do at Giyani, except, a job with the road gangs there.

He didn't want that job because the pay would be much lower than the R44 a month he was getting in Johannesburg.

What he dislikes about his Johannesburg job is being away from his wife and children for so long.

He sees them for only 14 days in the year. In other words, he says, he is married for only two weeks a year.

He says: "I do not really have a choice. If there is no proper work for me in my homeland then I must go to Joni to work.

"If the law allowed me to live with my wife and children in Joni, then I would be very happy".

Feel Like an Animal

How does Thabo Phiri feel about living in a hostel?

"It's like herding cattle in a kraal. We are eight men in a room and there are many rooms. You never feel you are in your own place."

Some of the men, Thabo Phiri claims, are troublesome. They fight. They drink a lot.

"We are given wire cupboards for our things. But so often the locks are cut and our things disappear.



"It is very hard. You cannot be a man. In a hostel you feel like an animal". "There are natural desires that all men have. This kind of life encourages men to have concubines.

"Some Whites believe this is natural for us. It is not so. It is not natural for us to live like this.

"What the Black man thinks is strange is that White people, who taught Blacks Christianity, condemn polygamy. Yet by the laws they make they condemn us to worse than polygamy."

Thabo Phiri claims he is a Christian. That he tries to live a Christian life. He says: "I must admit that in Joni I have girl friends. But I am careful.

"I try to avoid getting caught up with women who usually claim support from you."

Cynical

According to Thabo, many migrant workers go to Johannesburg thinking they will be there only a few years until they have saved enough money to return to their homeland and their family.

This, of course, is impossible on the wages we earn, he says. None ever make it back home with enough saved, he added.

In rage and frustration, he said: "We are not allowed to be proper people. "But, I am sure it will not go on for ever. A time must come when we, who suffer today, will fight back and right all the wrongs the White man has perpetrated against our people for so long."



APARTHEID HAS NO FUTURE

•The South African
Economy
in trouble –
The people Suffer”

Statement by the
South African
Congress
of Trade Unions

The oppressed people of our country have been cast into even lower depths of deprivation, want and suffering. The country's economy has slipped into a recession which is particularly affecting certain important branches

of industry such as building and construction and durable consumer goods. This is a direct consequence of the continuation and intensification of the policy of apartheid.

The other most important cause is the retrogressive policy of job reservation and the colour bar. While this policy has served its purpose of attaching the white working class to the white alliance in order to keep South Africa white, it is now acting as a limiting factor even to the industrialists themselves,

who are interested in expanding production. The Government has worsened the situation by imposing deflationary measures aimed largely at correcting an adverse balance of payments. There is also another factor, South Africa's heavy military expenditure. South African armed forces have

been more than doubled in the year 1971-1972. According to the Institute of Strategic Studies, South Africa's armed forces increased from 44,250 in 1970-71 to 109,300 in 1972-73. Because of the policy of Apartheid and discrimination South Africa has failed to establish stable, equal and



mutually beneficial trade relations particularly with the countries of independent Africa.

"Shortage" of Labour

There is an acute shortage of white skilled labour and the policy of attempting to import white immigrants has failed to overcome this problem. The deepening crisis of the apartheid economy is a matter of life and death to the masses of the people. The limited nature of the internal market, caused by the planned impoverishment of the majority of the people, is another aggravating factor in this field. It is estimated that there are about one and a quarter million unemployed Africans in the country. This is a rate of unemployment of about 18% of the employment African population. In the absence of unemployment benefit and overall social security for the Africans, this level of unemployment signifies absolute destitution of a sharpness, permanence and scale which the bare figures cannot really convey. It is further said that African unemployment will reach four million by 1980.

This picture dismisses the theory that in the long run the black people will benefit from the policy of Apartheid.

The continuation of this shortage of

skilled and unskilled labour is not new and is going to remain like this so long as the policy of apartheid exists. In the past South Africa has imported various groups of people from different parts of the world to overcome the same problems which the South African economy is facing today. The industrialists have tried to work and expand their production and profits under the umbrella of apartheid. These methods can only succeed for a short time. The policy of discrimination must be abolished. Pass laws and all other restrictions related to the policy of apartheid must be removed to allow the people to be employed and to be educated on their merit and not on the basis of the colour of a man's skin.

There is a growing awareness by an increasing majority of the black workers to end white domination in all spheres of life. This awareness and mobilisation arises from the suffering of the people.

Wages

A persistently high rate of inflation continually reduces the purchasing power of the wages, particularly of the black workers as they face increases in the prices of essentials such as food, rents, fares and so on. This

occurs in a situation in which black labour is contributing more and more to South Africa's wealth. For example, Francis Wilson, in his book, "Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911-1969", establishes that in real terms black miners' cash earnings in 1969 were no higher, or possibly even lower, than they had been in 1911. White miners, on the other hand, have increased their real cash earnings by 70% over the same period mainly as a result of their bargaining strength. The white workers do not only use workers' power but also political power. It is by this means that they have succeeded in obtaining higher wages, which have continued to be above the wages earned by the Coloured and Indian workers, although these workers (who are also voteless) have trade unions that are recognised.

It has recently been announced that one of the major Johannesburg Consolidated Investment groups increased the wages of 50,000 of its Africans by 30%. This sounds like a lot of money. All it means is that the African mine workers' wage is still a miserable pittance.

His average wage will go up from just over £9 per month to just over £12 per month, compared with the white miners average wage of £200 per month.

In 1967 the rise which the white miner

South Africans in exile and British workers demonstrate outside South Africa House, London





John Gaetsewe, European representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions at South Africa House demo, with Trade Union leaders, (from the left) Messrs Callinan (Shop workers), Eddie Maisden (Engineering workers) and Alan Sapper (Cinema and TV technicians).

got was more than the total average earnings of the black worker.

The earnings of the black middle stratum have also deteriorated and the continuation of apartheid has further limited the possibilities of advancement in terms of both position and income. There has been a mass exodus into industry and elsewhere by many amongst the teaching and other professions. The intelligentsia as a whole finds itself barred from effectively contributing to the genuine cultural advancement of the people. Government-sponsored businessmen find themselves further overburdened with debts and becoming no more than employees of the State and White businessmen.

The civil servants in the Bantustans find their position worsened with the exception of a very thin upper layer. Many are becoming demoralised by the realisation that they are often forced to act as instruments for perpetuating the subjugation of their own people.

The weight of the total onslaught of the people's living standards through the continuation and extension of apartheid has resulted in a further reduction of the black people's share of the national income, with the wage gap widening rather than narrowing. 80% of the urban African population lives below the minimum poverty datum line, while Bantustan agriculture can only feed one-third of the Bantustan African population. At R432 a year the national average household

income for Africans constitutes only 9% of the annual White average income of R4,800.

Bantustan Programme

The apartheid system, even in its Bantustan guise, continues to maintain the reserves as labour reservoirs and dumping grounds for the unemployed. The thousands that are being uprooted, endorsed out of towns and removed from the White farms have meant a sharp aggravation in the conditions of the rural masses whose destitution the colonisation of our country has made endemic.

Despite over twenty years of 'Bantu homeland' development, the majority of the African people – over 8 million – live and work in the so-called 'white' areas. The heightened tempo of repatriation to the 'homelands' in the last few years is making little significant impact on the population distribution as between Blacks and Whites in the towns. This position is likely to remain materially unchanged in the future.

The purpose of the Bantustan 'solution' is clear. Together with the Pass Laws, it is intended to give every African the status of a migratory worker in order to deal in a new way with the undeniable and growing dependence of White mining, industry and farming on Black skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. According to a recent study, 6 million Africans are already in the grip of migratory labour.

("Migratory Labour: The Canker in South Africa" by John Kane-Berman).

In each 'homeland' a bureaucracy of politicians, office holders, administrators and officials of various sorts, is being created with the purpose of giving a small sector of the traditional rulers and groups from amongst the intelligentsia a special place in separation politics at the administrative level which would help the White State to govern more easily through Black officials.

The Government also encourages the growth of a business and middle class in the 'homelands' who, by the very nature of things, will be wholly dependent for their economic survival and expansion on the State or the White bourgeoisie.

Migratory Labour System

In the last few years the government has removed close to half a million Africans from 'white' areas and so-called 'black spots' and dumped them in the veld in areas marked out for 'resettlement'. The wretched conditions in these camps have been exposed in the press. But the forcible adherence to the migrant labour policy and the expulsion of 'surplus' African populations to the 'homelands' goes even further than this. The government has taken powers to improvise a new system of dealing with pass offenders. They are to be shuffled off to 'aid centres' run by the Department of Bantu Administration, (1) jobs can be found for them, (2) they should go to



Mine workers . . . "we earn R 18 a month while white workers get R 400"

jail as pass offenders, or (3) they should be repatriated to short-term prisoners, but instead of going to prison – or being given the option of paying a fine – Africans will be forcibly sent to the rural areas where there is no employment or as cheap labourers to areas where there is a shortage of labour, particularly on White-owned farms.

The migratory labour system should be recognised for what it is – an evil canker at the heart of the society built on the policy of apartheid and discrimination. It is wasteful, of labour and destructive of ambition, a wrecker of homes and families, a system of the fundamental failure to create a coherent and progressive economic society in South Africa. The migratory labour system has created a situation in which millions of African men and women are perpetually on the move – they are men of two worlds, lacking the feeling of belonging anywhere. Perhaps only the eye of the artist sees things in their wholeness.

Removal of Labour Tenants

"Resettlement Camps" the rural locations, have become the bane of the rural African masses and the African nation as a whole. Further subdivisions of plots in the Bantustans are increasing the hardship of the people. The policy of the removal of labour tenants from white farms is depriving the people of tenure and stock, while the policy of creating a purely agricultural working class, whether resident on the White farms or in the rural locations and the resettlement camps, objectively favours the taking over of more land by the more powerful sections of the White capitalist class. Transformed into a proletariat, with nothing to live by except the sale of their labour power, the African agricultural workers throughout the

country, the Indian sugar cane workers, the Coloured agricultural workers in the Western Cape, are all subject to especially severe super-exploitation. Whilst their productive labour feeds White South Africa and large numbers of other people throughout the world, the South African agricultural workers themselves live in increasing misery and starvation.

Force and Brutality

The people live in grinding poverty and under a lengthening shadow of police rule and brutality. They find their best sons and daughters, the most selfless patriots of our country, murdered at will by the security police. Everywhere force and greater force is the order of the day: against striking students and bus drivers, against students in Cape Town and Witwatersrand and the striking workers in Namibia, Durban and Kimberley, and against all expressions of mass opposition.

The Solution

In the past 23 years the government has given assurances to the world that a policy of apartheid and discrimination was the only solution to the South African "problem", but the results show a different picture.

Under the policy of apartheid the sufferings and hardships of the Black workers have increased.

Many international organisations have shown their resentment to this policy. The only real and lasting solution lies in the abolition of apartheid and discrimination. This we are committed to do.

Apartheid has no future!

ANC Statement

(The growing strength of the strike movement has brought panic in the ranks of the ruling White minority and the capitalist and monopoly circles. Leaders of industry are publicly admitting that African wages are far below the poverty datum line and are calling on the apartheid regime to institute a commission of enquiry into African wages. They fear the escalation of the strike movement into other industrial centres in the country. This, however, is inevitable. The present crisis has been building up proportionately with the growing strength of the underground African National Congress and the whole national liberation movement inside South Africa . . .

Its significance lies in the growing militancy of the exploited Black workers and also in the fact that it is hitting the apartheid regime where it hurts most – its economic nerve centres.

"The African workers have defiantly crossed the barrier of repressive legislation which illegalises their right to strike. This is indeed a clarion call to all sections of the oppressed to intensify their struggle for breaking the chains of slavery. The African National Congress calls upon the present session of the O. A. U Council of Ministers to:

- condemn the arrest of African strikers in Durban and elsewhere and demand their immediate release;
- demand the recognition of African Trade Unions to enable African workers to bargain collectively for a living wage and decent living and working conditions;
- support the demand for the release of political prisoners and strikers in South Africa.)

Alfred Nzo,
Secretary General
African National Congress,
in a statement
to the recent meeting
of the OAU Council
of Ministers in
Addis Ababa.

Profile ANTON RUPERT

Vorster's Friend and Nationalist Financier

The city page of the Daily Express (London) last August described Dr. Anton Rupert, head of the giant South African tobacco concern Rembrandt-Reemstma-Rothmans, as "a friend of South African Prime Minister John Vorster and cash backer of the ruling Nationalists Party".

This apparently unsurprising item resulted in a frantic outburst of writ-waving from Sir Derek Pritchard, head of Carreras (Rupert's British Company) and a man not unknown to Express proprietor Sir Max Aitken. The Express printed a prominent apology to Dr. Rupert and paid the city reporter responsible, Michael Gillard, £10,000 redundancy money to leave the building.

Dr. Rupert is much concerned nowadays to keep a clean image of himself as a liberal outlooking Afrikaner. Rembrandt-Reemstma-Rothmans operate in many countries where their South African connections present enough problems as it is. But allegations will not have made Dr. Rupert's task any easier. Following a split in the South African Nationalist Party a number of Nationalist extremists stated in public that Dr. Rupert, so far from being a South African liberal, was a member of the secret Broederbond.

The Broederbond was founded in 1918 and went underground in 1924. It is a quasi-mystical nationalist group whose stated aim is to achieve the "Afrikaner Brotherhood's" dominance of South Africa. It works through the Civil Service, the schools and big business. According to Dr. Vorster every South African Prime Minister since Dr. Malan has been a member of it. In the economic sphere the Broederbond works through the Reddingsdaadbond, an organisation which

claims to assist the (white) poor but actually raises funds by extortion through its 370 branches from the poor and needy to finance its takeover of leading banks, factories, stores and hospitals. The Reddingsdaadbond was built up by Dr. Nico Diederichs, a leading member of the Broederbond, now Vorster's Finance Minister and an early Chairman of Rembrandts.

This is not the only connection between Dr. Rupert's combine and the Broederbond. No fewer than 5 of his present 8 boardroom colleagues have been directly linked with the Nationalist Party. Of these, Dirk Hertzog was once a director of Van Riebeck Finance which listed as board members the du Plessis brothers. It was said in a secret report compiled in the early 60's that Professor Ludewicus du Plessis was the current chairman of the Broederbond. Brother Wentel du Plessis was once sacked from the civil service as a reputed Broederbonder. (The first secretary of the Broederbond was called D.A.C. Du Plessis). Both the du Plessis' have served on the board of the Volkskas Bank, which is one of the organisations completely under Broederbond control. Volkskas have been Rembrandt's bankers since it was formed in 1948. Early overdrafts exceeded an accommodating £1,000,000. Another of Dr. Rupert's current colleagues in the Rembrandt's boardroom, Coenrad Kriel, was an early Volkskas director. Rupert himself was once a director of the Nationalist newspaper company which published Dagbreek, later controlled by Dr. Verwoerd. Here one of his fellow directors was the same Prof. du Plessis, later to be Chairman of Dagbreek and Volkskas.

Another former director of both Rembrandt's and Dagbreek is Piet Meyer, now chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and until recently the reputed successor of Prof. du Plessis as chairman of the Broederbond.

The most blatant connection between Rupert and the Broederbond is provided by Ivanhoe Makepeace Lombard, who resigned as Rembrandt's director in 1968. In the 1940's, I.M. Lombard was general secretary of the Broederbond, an active propagandist for its ideas and the officer in charge of its educational and cultural groups. Like Diederichs and the du Plessis duo, Lombard was also associated with Van Riebeck Finance.

When the Nationalist Party swept to power in 1948 (the same year as the formation of Rembrandt's) one of their first objectives was to strengthen the Afrikaner control of big business which was then mainly in the hands of English or Jewish South Africans. The tactics were to select certain Afrikaner businessmen and give them all the help they needed through organisations like Volkskas and the Reddingsdaadbond. It was generally

acknowledged that one of the first selections was Dr. Rupert. In 1959 the Observer* described Rembrandt Tobacco as "closely associated with Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid policies". In 1960 the Guardian* described Dr. Rupert as "one of the most important figures in the Nationalist sponsored drive, to capture a larger share of industry". In the same year the Evening Standard* mentioned Rupert's "support for apartheid" and in 1965 the Standard said Rupert "is known for his strong associations with Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid policies". In 1967 the Financial Times* termed Rupert "an avowed Nationalist who fully supports separate development".

Dr. Rupert did not object to these descriptions until well into the 60's when the new "outward-looking" Afrikaner policy which involved commercial "partnership" with other parts of the African continent was under way. In 1966 Rembrandt's opened up in Kenya and a local director said that Rupert opposed apartheid. Asked to confirm this Rupert replied that his attitude to apartheid was the same whether he was inside or outside the country.

Since then the philosophy of "partnership" has been much extended. Rembrandt's interests in countries where connections with apartheid mean commercial death have increased. And Dr. Rupert has been appointed economic adviser to the neighbouring state of Lesotho, which he is trying to develop into a "Bantustan" under total South African control.

Dr. Rupert has also become a trustee of the South African Foundation, the organisation set up in 1959 to show the world what a nice place the country really is and to encourage foreign investment. Another trustee is Piet Meyer. The British body most concerned with boosting trade in South Africa is the British National Export Council whose chairman (or deputy chairman) from 1965 to 1968 was, appropriately, Sir Derek Pritchard.

Under Pritchard, Carreras participated in September with continental banks in a £10m loan to the city of Johannesburg. They were advised in this by city bankers David Montagu (who once told the Observer* "I think Rupert's a genius") and Rothschilds, who are also the bankers to the Express group.

In reply to the allegations by the Nationalist party extremists that he was a Broederbonder, which were reported in Die Transvaaler and the Rand Daily Mail on September 16th and 17th, Dr. Rupert said such stories had been circulating for years but that he had never commented on them. To the London Observer he explained "I don't want to get involved in political issues".

FROM PRIVATE EYE, London

* British newspapers

APARTHEID AND BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA



This is the second extract in this series of well-documented Briefs published by THE CORPORATE INFORMATION CENTER OF THE NATION-

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2. GENERAL MOTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA

"GM South Africa has made a major contribution to the growth and development of the Republic" (of South Africa) . . .

- GM Press Release, June 30, 1970.

"The major feature of vehicle sales last month of 27,665 was the return of Port Elizabeth based General Motors to top the list of best-selling makes.

"After a long absence from the top position, it rose to first place in the list of car manufacturers with 2724 sales and to first place on the basis of combined car and truck sales with 4,186 sales." - Rand Daily Mail, January 12, 1970

Facts and History

General Motors South African (PTY.) Ltd. (GM South African) has been in South Africa since 1926 and by 1970 its investment had grown to approximately \$125 million with

an engine and assembly plant near Port Elizabeth. GM South African's sales have risen from 2,601 vehicles in 1926 to 29,863 in 1948 and 35,700 in 1971. The company's work force grew from 350 in its founding year to 3,109 in 1948, topping 5,000 in 1971.

The company also manufactures parts and accessories in South Africa, including batteries, sheet metal components, leaf and coil springs, radiators and spark plugs, as well as earthmoving equipment and Frigidaire products. Twenty-seven per cent of GM South African's total business involves these related fields which utilize the services of 600 supplier firms and 773 sales and service outlets employing tens of thousands of people.

GM South African is a very large company by South African standards and represents a substantial investment. In the Republic the firm would rank 11th in terms of total assets, (worth about \$105 million), and 41st in terms of employees,

among the top 100 companies listed in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

As of October 15, 1971, GM South African employees numbered more than 5,000: 50 per cent white, 40 per cent Coloured and 10 per cent African. In 1926, the company had a 100 per cent white labour force, but at present the hourly rate workers include 69 per cent "non-white" (a term GM South African continues to use in South Africa) and 31 per cent white. However, of the 1,380 skilled salaried employees, only six are "non-white".

The shortage of labour has necessitated the increased employment of Africans in every industry, including GM South African. This is a by-product of economic pressures, rather than an intentional effort by GM South African to hire more Africans, Asians and Coloureds.

GM South African Wage Policies

GM South African argues that the average income of its African employees is "almost double the average income of African employees in cities and about three times the national average." An October 1971 report showed that GM South African wages range from \$0.56 to £1.26 an hour for unskilled workers: \$0.98 to \$1.82 per hour for semi-skilled. The company stated that "in those jobs on which both non-whites and whites are employed, all employees receive the rate for the job irrespective of race, subject only to length of service and efficiency." This is a recent GM South African policy, and to fulfil it the company raised the wages of 245 Coloured and African workers on an average of 33 per cent. In 1970, a year earlier, GM South African was paying unskilled starting workers \$0.52/hour, and semi-skilled workers between \$0.70 and \$1.00/hour, while machine setters and changers, mostly whites, earned from \$1.40 and \$2.00/hour, and the white skilled artisans got more than \$2.10 and hour.

GM South African does say that skilled artisans "consist almost exclusively of white employees," yet states that its average wages for Coloured of \$183/month and for Africans of \$154/month "are considerably higher than those in any other sector of the South African economy."

However, GM South African's explanation that its wage rates are higher than other sectors of the South African economy may be a case of damnation by faint praise, given the racial pattern of employment and the distribution of wealth. The *Financial Mail* stated that "every African family of five should have a monthly income of at least \$147 before their white employees are entitled to go to bed with a clear conscience." Therefore, if GM South African's average wage for Africans is \$154/month, it means that many of the company's African workers do not reach the minimum cited by the *Financial Mail*. GM South African fails to indicate whether or not its white wages are higher than those received by whites in other industries. The real test is not merely how a company's wages compare on racial lines to those received by others, but how in the most industrialized economy in Africa, African and Coloured wages compare with white wages.

Development Programme

In response to an American investigating commission of churchmen which visited South Africa in October-November, 1971, GM South African prepared a report which outlined its new "Manpower Development Program." The program

has three stages which include 1) induction and aptitude testing; 2) promotion after education in or out of the plant; 3) promotion after efficient job performance. GM South African explained that the program is part of a plan to "up-grade non-white employees", and that 119 "non-white" utility men have been appointed and are attending pre-supervisory courses. Also, eleven group leaders have been appointed with possible future promotions to "foremen in training". GM South African states that it will pay tuition fees, and other expenses (books, equipment) for its workers and their children attending after-hour classes for primary and secondary school degrees. Loans for correspondence course fees will also be granted, while some high school scholarships are also being provided on the basis of merit for employees' children.

It seems clear that GM South African's new openness about its South African policies, and its upgrading of some wages and the institution of new programs is the direct result of mounting pressures from the U.S.

Labor Relations

In 1971 GM South African allowed a "Works Committee for African Employees", to be elected to its plants. This committee is a South African Government sanctioned form of "allowing" African representation, since Africans are not allowed to have registered labor unions, nor to participate in the Industrial Council structures which decide basic union-employer policies. The Industrial Council, which includes GM South African, was registered in November, 1969, and includes not only GM South African, but also Ford and Volkswagen, together with the two major trade unions (white and Coloured) from the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage area. GM South African operated for 42 years without unions in its plants, but now the two unions have been formed, and represent more than 50 per cent of the white and Coloured workers. The Industrial Council agreement does not apply to Africans.

GM South African argues that its personnel practices are





non-discriminatory unless required by South African law to be racist, so that benefit plans, hours, vacations, overtime pay, meals, medical care, service awards, the purchase of products and induction talks, are provided equally to all

racers employed by the company. The company does say that under the Factories Act, separate facilities for different races must be provided for clocking stations, washing facilities, change and rest rooms, dining areas, drinking fountains, wage payments, and medical treatment.

South African Legislation

There are two important laws, the Job Reservation Procedure of 1964, and the Physical Planning Act of 1967, which affect GM South African in South Africa.

According to the Job Reservation laws, the motor assembly industry was required to maintain a minimum percentage of white employees, amounting to 45 per cent on the Port Elizabeth area. In addition, certain jobs were reserved for whites and replacement by a "non-white" was prohibited. However, in 1968, this legislation was superseded when GM South African, as a member of the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers, concluded an agreement with the white trade union reserving a smaller number of specific jobs for whites and allowing alterations to be negotiated with the union. According to GM South African, this has allowed 800 jobs to pass from white to "non-white" hands. However, while the white union may be slightly more lenient in allowing an African or Coloured to fill a vacated job position formerly held by a white, or allowing an extra quota of Africans to work in the plant, the trade body is dedicated ultimately to safeguarding the white employees' position against encroachment by blacks, and controlling the labor situation on a week by week basis according to current pressures and market factors.

Under the Physical Planning Act, employers in the Port Elizabeth area were prohibited from increasing the number of African workers above the level of 322, reached in January 1968, unless granted government permission. Port Elizabeth was classified a "Coloured Preference Area", meaning that unlimited numbers of Coloured could be employed, but that there is a ceiling on the African workers. But because of the shortage of workers, GM South African and others have received government exemptions, and GM South African has employed 135 per cent more Africans than allowed under the original limits.

GM's Attitude toward its Employees

Typical to all whites in South Africa, GM South African's upper management had no African, Asian or Coloured

HUGE MINE DEAL BY G. M.

A huge platinum contract – believed to be South Africa's biggest single export deal – was signed at the end of last year by the giant General Motor Corporation and the Union Corporation's Impala Platinum.

The contract to supply GMC with platinum and palladium for its exhaust catalysts is worth R400-million over 10 years and will undoubtedly provide a tremendous boost to the South African platinum industry.

The Impala Mine at Rustenburg, in the Transvaal, will double its production capacity of 350,000 ounces of platinum a year to meet a sales commitment of 300,000 ounces of platinum and 120,000 ounces of palladium a year to GM from the beginning of 1974.

This contract follows Impala's commitment to supply Ford with up to 500,000 ounces of platinum for its 1975 and 1976 models.

Already work has begun in building extra accommodation for workers who will be needed to produce the platinum. White workers, according to a report by the management of Impala, will be housed in houses that are being built in the new Protea Park Township, while the Black workers will be housed in two additional compounds now being built in the middle of Impala's property.

Impala's profit of R13-million last year is expected to increase by over 300 per cent by the end of 1975 when the Ford contract is being fulfilled.

friends or acquaintances when interviewed in 1970. Management's attitude was paternalistic at best, and reflective of the white superiority syndrome at worst. Thus, GM South African's American Managing Director, William Slocum, said:

"I feel that companies such as ours are really performing a very useful service . . . our non-white people here in South Africa can work their way into the economy to come out of their rural and tribal existence out in the country where they can actually participate in a civilized industrial life." In an even more direct statement, the Plant Manager of GM South African's Aloes plant said about Africans, "I wouldn't say that these people don't have any reasoning power, but what they do have is very limited." Other statements recognized the importance of the "non-white" work force. "We are dependent on the skilled white to keep us in business, and the coloured man to keep us running." GM South African management in the United States is equally as remote from black opinion and feelings as its representatives in South Africa. Thus, former Chairman of the Board, James Roche, consistently referred in letters to Africans by the despised term "native".

GENERAL MOTORS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

General Links

GM South African, like other U.S. firms in the auto sector, has been a participant in South Africa's governmental policies to solve its economic crisis in the 1960s and to maintain a white-dominated healthy economy. Thus, GM South African has worked hard in the local content program (see above) and in creating a local South African model of a car called the "Ranger", which has 55 per cent local content. In 1968, the managing Director, Slocum, announced that the Ranger was "the first car to be specifically designed for South African conditions, and will not be available any place in the world except as an export from South Africa. Beyond this, GM South African aids the South African balance of payments problem by promoting exports from its plants to other areas of Africa and Europe. Finally, GM South African has encouraged the emigration of white skilled workers from Europe to fill positions in South Africa.

Contracts with the Government

The Episcopal Church filed a resolution with GM South African in 1972 asking for the company to fully disclose information about its operations in South Africa, including its contracts with the South African government. Although substantial data is not available, in November, 1971, an observer saw scores of GM South African trucks parked on Army grounds outside Pretoria, another index of the company's military support in South Africa. GM South African has not repudiated sales to the government, and in October 1970 the Government Railways ordered 50 Diesel locomotives from GM South African, worth \$16.5 million.



Thirty-four of the locomotives have already arrived in South Africa.

GM Expansion Plans

At the close of a recent report in February, 1972, to institutional investors, GM South African Vice President Elliott M. Estes explained that "rumours unfortunately circulated recently in the South African press that General Motors would withdraw from that country. The stories, he said, had resulted in lower sales and subsequent layoffs, and in order to quell them, GM South African had told the media that it not only planned to remain in South Africa, but also that it intended to invest \$6 million over the next two years. Although of course, GM South African's lower sales in South Africa stemmed from inflation-caused government policies, GM South African expansion plans were evident in 1971. It was reported late that year that the company was to invest a further \$8.4 million over the next 18 months, mainly on equipment for improving the efficiency of its assembly line. The company's new Managing Director, Bob Price, commented, "I have full confidence in the future of the South African motor market, and the company is determined once again to become the greatest seller of motor vehicles in South Africa."

GM's Charitable Grants

GM South African, like many other firms, contributes to South African equivalents of the Community Chest and similar organizations. The company explained that in 1948, only 2 per cent of its contributions went to "non-white" organizations but that in 1971, it had increased to 9 per cent and that in 1972 it would jump to 29 per cent. General Motors also boasts that it supports the U.S. South African Leadership Exchange Program. This program, financed by foundations and businesses, sends educated



African car worker . . . "I earn less than R 60 a month while whites get over five times that much."

and Coloureds, even though there was a shortage of white technicians such as welders, and Africans had previously done that work. The maintenance of white power thus dictates government policy, not the professed desire for better conditions for "non-whites" indicated by GM South African. GM South African also argues that abiding by South African law "in no way constitutes any endorsement or approval of that country's philosophies, policies, or regulations. Yet, GM South African and others feel bound to follow South African law and custom, and only through cooperation with the government (i.e. local content program, white immigration policy), will the company grow and profit. A GM South African Manager in South Africa, has, in fact, said "I don't consider it appropriate to publicly work for changes in law."

And logically that government formulates policies on the basis of preserving and strengthening its own interests,

white interests which are dependent upon such factors as the health of the auto industry, while GM South African may condemn the apartheid system, it functions well to strengthen its proponents. It was that understanding which led Neil Wates, Managing Director of one of Britain's largest building firms, to refuse to invest in South Africa, saying: . . . The idea of doing business in South Africa is totally unacceptable; we could not be true to the basic principles on which we run our business and we should lose integrity in the process . . . We should have to operate within a social climate where the colour of a man's skin is his most important attribute and where there is virtually no communication between the races . . . We should have to operate within an economic system which is designed deliberately to demoralize and to maintain an industrial helotry; we should in turn, profit from such exploitation and ultimately end up with a vested interest in its maintenance."

STOP EMIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

The arguments used herein are applicable to all countries in the Western World.

White supremacy in South Africa relies heavily upon skilled workers, particularly from Britain, for its continuation. The demands of Apartheid require that skilled jobs should be reserved for whites whilst the black population is restricted to starvation wages. As recently as September 25th last year the new South African Immigration Minister, Dr. Piet Koornhof said that white immigration was "the only way South Africa can preserve its position of leadership on the African continent". For many years the white supremacist regime in South Africa has been worried by the slow growth rate of the white population. Immigration is an obvious way to boost it and in the last few years has accounted for 37 per cent of the annual increase in the white population. The influx of young mature adults is also leading to a rise in the birth rate among the white population.

But more than that, immigration is needed as a cheap way of obtaining skilled workers for the apartheid economy, and of helping to widen the gap between white and black wages. Every white immigrant to South Africa is taking away the potential job of an African.

During the 1960's when emigration from Europe to South Africa was annually reaching new heights the wage gap between white and African workers continued to increase. In the mines where the ratio of white to Black wages was 11.7 to 1 in 1911, it had reached 17.6 to 1 by 1966 and by early 1971 was 20.3 to 1. In manufacturing the gap has widened too. In the five years from spring 1966 to spring 1971 the ratio of white to African earnings rose from 5.1 to 1 up to 5.85 to 1.

In absolute terms the figures are grimmer still. In August 1971 the Anglo American Corporation, the largest employer on the mines, raised the wages of its African labourers by 19 per

cent - to £7.64 a month. So-called 'novices', a quarter of the workforce, got increases of 5 per cent - to £6.40 a month. Average white earnings went up to £210 a month.

British Subsidiary

In January 1972 the Leyland Motor Corporation of South Africa, a subsidiary of British Leyland, was paying its African and Coloured unskilled and semi-skilled workers an average of **£30.29 a month**.

In January 1971 the 544 yard-labourers employed by Guest Keen and Nettlefolds South Africa were starting work at **£5.50 a week**.

In the vast bulk of South African industry, British immigrants find themselves working with firms which pay Africans below the subsistence level. At the end of 1970 the employers' organisation, the Association of Chambers and Commerce, worked out a poverty line on the basis of a budget for an African family of five. They calculated that the minimum budget needed for subsistence was £37.76 a month. Today, with the ever spiraling cost of living the poverty datum line is nearer to £50 per month. In March 1971 the average earnings for Africans in manufacturing were £29 a month, a little over half of the poverty datum line.

Apart from the appallingly low wages, Africans have to contend with long and crowded journeys of several miles from the 'locations' to the white urban areas every day. They may be imprisoned at any time for failing to carry a pass, and maybe shipped out to a "homeland" which they have never seen if they lose their job. The South African Government's stated policy is to make all African labour as far as possible "migrant" labour, with no rights of residence anywhere in South Africa except in the unproductive reserves.

Africans are denied the rights of collective bargaining which trade unions in most countries have fought for over decades. The impressive African trade

union movement which grew up in South Africa in the 1920's and later in the 40's and the 50's has only recently re-emerged after excessive repression by the authorities against its leaders. Disputes between African workers and their employers cannot be settled between them but must be resolved by Government officials. Striking workers can be, and have been, sacked on the spot and deported to the reserves. Many have landed in jail or have been fined.

White immigration is a way of keeping this situation in force by strengthening the power of the white population, and resisting the need to accept Africans as workers with normal industrial and political rights.

Prime Target

Immigration costs the South African government very little in comparative terms. The Minister of Immigration has said that it needs only £77 to recruit each new immigrant. But the value is enormous. In October 1969 Mr. Piet Wiedemann, the Deputy Secretary of Immigration, disclosed that South Africa gained £90 million worth of professional and technical skills annually from this source - the cost of training the annual intake of 3000 professional people and 7000 tradesmen.

Britain is a prime target for the South African campaign to bolster apartheid through immigration. More recruiting

PHOTOGRAPHS illustrating this article are from an anti-emigration exhibition held in the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam during the last three months of last year. The exhibition, which was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Committee of the Netherlands was attended by several thousands of people from many parts of the world.

agents operate in Britain than in any other part of the world. The operation is directed by the South African Department of Immigration whose head office is in the same building in London as the headquarters of Barclays International. This bank also produces a glossy booklet, called "Emigrating to South Africa" which the Immigration Department gives away free. Much of the Department's work is done through the private organisation Samorgan (S.A. Immigration Organisation (Pty) Ltd.) which has offices in Glasgow, London, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield.

The Department's basic method of recruitment is through advertisements in the national but more particularly the local press. The technique is usually the so-called "fishing expedition". The advertisement, besides giving the standard one-sided picture of life in "glorious" South Africa, will announce that a colour film of South Africa will be shown at such and such a local hall - admission free. In areas where there has been a spate of redundancies these forays by South Africa's apartheid recruiters are particularly common. At the time of the Rolls Royce closure in 1971, local papers had a rush of advertisements for jobs in South Africa for welders, fitters, electricians, platers, diesel mechanics and

vehicle fitters. Interviews were offered in a local hotel.

The coal mine areas have been repeatedly visited by South African agents, welcoming the run-down of the industry as a chance to lure people to South Africa.

Private companies have also been busy in looking for potential immigrants. Sometimes their activity has been in direct conflict with British Government policy without Whitehall bothering to discourage it. When the Labour Government in January 1968 after much hesitation finally decided to reaffirm the embargo on arms sales to South Africa, the Hawker-Siddeley factory in Portsmouth which would have supplied the Buccaneers wanted by the Vorster regime announced that it would have to lay off 1200 skilled workers. The Atlas Aircraft Corporation in South Africa promptly sent over a recruiting team to entice people out to Johannesburg to build the Impala jet for the South African Air Force instead.

On other occasions special high-powered teams have been sent to Britain in order to find immigrants for vacancies in particular fields. Since 1968 alone teams have touted for the South African Navy, the Iron and Steel Corporation, the Natal Provincial Administration and the South African Post Office.

Pure Whites Only

The South African Government and South African employers favour immigrants from Britain for obvious reasons. There is no problem of language, and no difficulties in adjusting to the white society's political and cultural institutions. British immigrants are mainly Protestant. Irrelevant though an immigrant's religions might seem to be, in the suspicious society of apartheid it matters. In recent years many South Africans have complained at the large number of Catholic immigrants from Portugal who have started to come in. They find some of them a little bit dark-skinned. In 1967 the South African Government started to switch its emphasis on to the countries of Northern Europe and cut down the number of Italians, Greeks and Portuguese. But even before the switch Britain already provided more immigrants to South Africa than any other country. Between July 1968 and June 1970 36 000 people from Britain emigrated to apartheid South Africa - 44 % of the total number of immigrants from all parts of the world.

Immigration into South Africa is restricted to whites only. According to the Deputy Minister for Immigration, Dr. Piet Koornhof, in a Parliamentary speech on June 9th 1969, four steps are

Barend Schuitema, Secretary of the Netherlands Anti Apartheid Committees gives the effigy of Vorster a cautious glance at their exhibition



taken in order to ensure the racial purity of the prospective immigrant:

- he must declare on his application form that he "and all the persons concerned" are of pure white descent;
- each application must be accompanied by "a very clear photograph" of the applicant and his next-of-kin, by which his colour can be judged;
- every applicant must appear in person before South Africa's immigration officers abroad, for personal inspection;
- on arrival in South Africa, all immigrant families are examined by "well-trained immigrant control officers" on the lookout for anyone who may have slipped through the net previously.

Dr. Koornhof said that the precautions had been so effective that the Immigration Department could not discover a single case where an immigrant subsequently had to be re-classified as "non-white".

Once the immigrant arrives in South Africa, all the pressures of the apartheid society are brought to bear on him in an effort to ensure that he conforms with the "national way of life". Samorgan's recruiting pamphlet, in a list of "Do's and Don'ts", advises: "Don't express firm opinions about the country and people until you really know what you are talking about." By the time the new arrival feels confident

enough to pronounce upon his adopted society, he has almost invariably been won over by the position of privilege, the high wages, the low taxes and cheap servants which South Africa provides for its white inhabitants. Any remaining vestiges of dissent are stifled by the apparatus of the police state. The tiny handful who stand up against the ruthless suppression of the black majority are likely to find themselves imprisoned.

Boycott South Africa

In order to help stop the flow of support for apartheid which immigration represents, support from the British trade union movement is essential. Some trade unions have already attempted to educate their members about the implication of going to South Africa. T&GWU in 1971 told its members to beware of recruiters who came looking for white bus drivers to work for the Johannesburg City Council. AUEW-TASS has regularly carried articles in its union journal, exposing apartheid and warning its members that they will be betraying black workers if they emigrate to South Africa. In October 1971, the TUC passed a resolution calling for more effective anti-recruitment publicity.

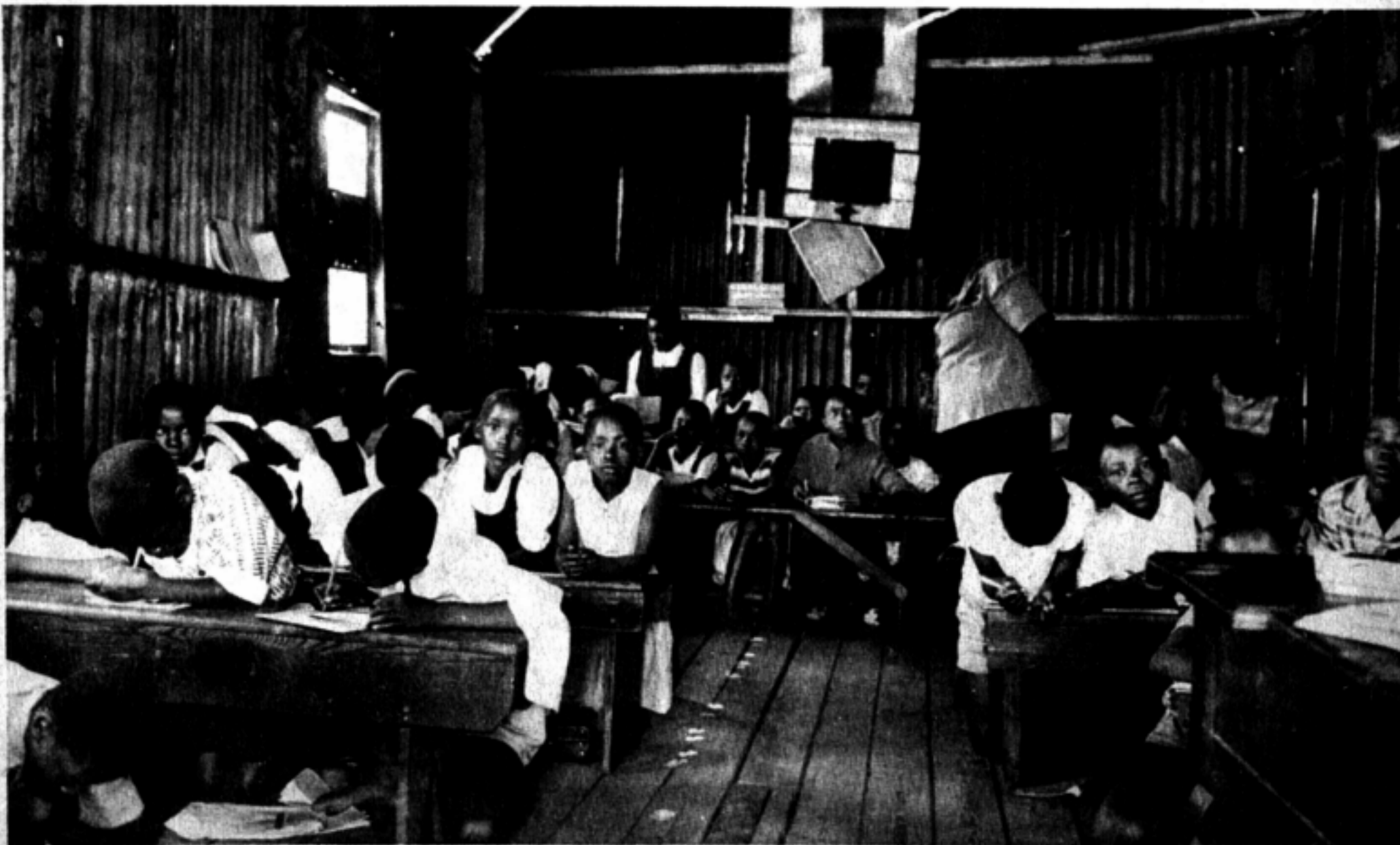
Addressing the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) in July 1972, Ambassador Farah, Chair-

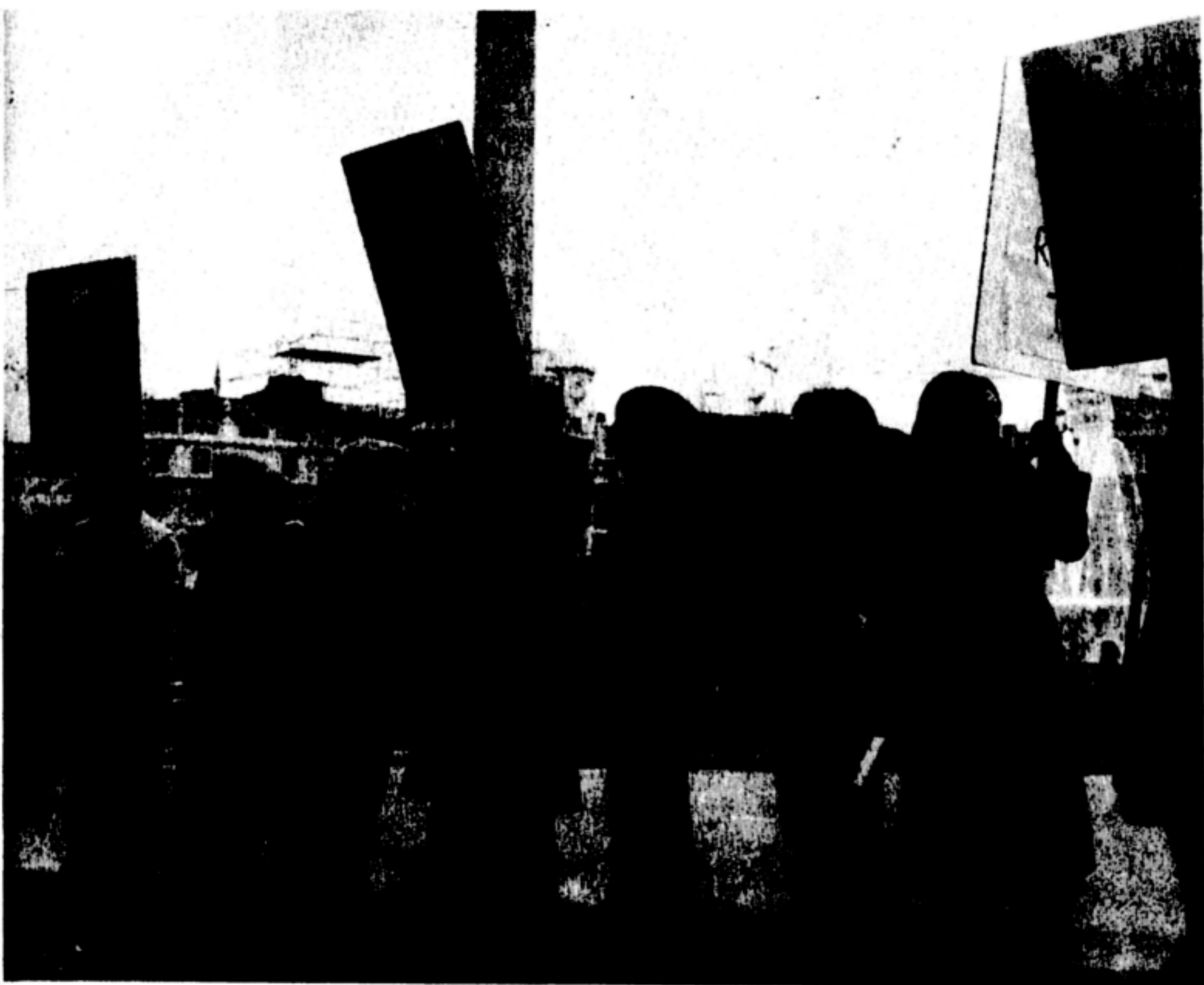
man of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, pointed out that, in 1971 European emigration to South Africa fell for the first time in ten years. He said that this was probably due to the decision of many unions to discourage their members from emigrating. But he stressed that teeth must be put into anti-emigration resolutions if they were to be really successful. He suggested that unions might suspend or expel members who emigrated to South Africa, and that the printing unions could ask their members to refuse to handle advertisements for South Africa.

During the coming months, the Anti-Apartheid Movement will be launching an all-out drive to cut down emigration to South Africa, which will include pickets of recruiting offices around the country. Details and publicity relating to the campaign are available from the AAM, 89 Charlotte Street, London W.1 (01-580 5311)! Support is urgently needed. As Mark Shope, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, said:-

"There can be no middle way. Will our brothers in Britain and elsewhere reinforce the armies of our oppressors? Have you forgotten your own struggles for trade union and political rights? Brothers! Stay true to the fraternity of labour, and show your solidarity with our people in their great struggle for freedom and democracy!"

Apartheid perpetuates Black schools such as these





Demonstrations outside South Africa House in London protest at the continuing harrassment of Mrs. Winnie Mandela after hearing that Zinzie Mandela, daughter of Nelson, had written to the United Nations saying that she fears . . .

SOMETHING TERRIBLE IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO MUMMY.

Zinzie Mandela, 12-year old daughter of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, has appealed for help to the United Nations because she fears "something terrible is going to happen to mummy" - Nelson's wife Winnie Mandela.

Zinzie has asked the UN Committee on Apartheid to press the South African Government to provide personal protection for her mother.

Mrs. Mandela, who is banned and under house arrest in Johannesburg, recently became the victim of a spate of attacks and robberies. On one occasion an attempt was made on her life.

Zinzie said in her letter to the UN Commtee: "I am writing this letter to you because, if my mother wrote, you might not have had it, as most of her letters to her friends don't reach them".

Explaining her appeal, Zinzie said: "The family and mummy's friends fear that an atmosphere is being built for something terrible to happen to

mummy. As you know, my mother has been a victim of several attacks, and we believe these attacks are politically motivated".

Hardly a month goes by without the newspapers reporting some incident concerning mummy, and her friends and family feel that the public is being conditioned to expect something terrible to happen to her."

In addition to the vicious attacks by unknown hooligans, Mrs. Mandela has been subjected to continuous harassment by the South African Security Police. She was sentenced to one years imprisonment on a charge of allegedly breaking the banning order imposed on her under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Giving evidence, Mrs. Mandela said the police had threatened that this time they were going to get her, and threatened she would be jailed for a long time.

A. present she is on bail pending an appeal.

LESSONS OF VIETNAM



Young Vietnamese girls, members of an anti-aircraft team composed entirely of building workers, at their gun outside Haiphong harbour.
Photo: Alex La Guma

"If the world allows the shameful system of racialism to continue in South Africa, then we would have made no progress."

With these words Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, greeted the people of South Africa struggling for national liberation and against white racist tyranny.

The Prime Minister met members of the World Peace Council for an informal chat in Hanoi when their delegation composed of a representative from each of the five continents visited the hero cities of Hanoi and Haiphong early in January to award to each of these cities the WPC Lambrakis Medal for courage and sacrifice in the cause of national independence.

"Become master of your own affairs and you will be respected by the whole world. That has been our experience," Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said.

Africa was represented on the delegation by South African author, Alex La Guma, of the ANC's External Mission and member of the WPC's Cultural Commission.

While soon after its signing there were indications that the puppet regime of Thieu does not intend co-operating with the implementation of the peace treaty for Vietnam, the progressive forces of the world should not relax their vigi-

lance over the US imperialists and their allies in South east Asia. Spokesman of the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government had been drawing attention to violations by the Saigon regime of the clauses of the agreement on the restoration of democratic liberties in South Vietnam, and the breach of other aspects of the peace treaty. These acts of gross treachery by the Saigon reactionaries had been anticipated before the treaty was signed, and representatives of the PRG in Hanoi, as well as of the DRVN, called upon the international progressive movement to continue its vigilance and not to slacken its campaigns to ensure a genuine peace in Vietnam.

"The question is whether the US and its puppets will carry out the agreement, or whether the puppets will carry on in civil war," the WPC delegation was told. "The task of the international progressive community remains to compel the observance of the agreement and the consolidation of peace, and to prevent the resumption of war. From our side, we are ready to co-operate provided that there is a willingness to build independence, democracy and peace."

"We must be vigilant, even as the war ends," Vietnamese leaders in all walks of life stressed. "If the war ends we can advance in peace. We don't entertain a policy of war, but we will not permit the enemy to carry out war."

While in North Vietnam the WPC delegation was able to see all the evidence of Nixon's attempts to drive the Vietnamese people to surrender by means of barbarous bombing of entire populated districts, hospitals, public institutions, inflicting the most cruel casualties among men, women and children. The delegation was also able to see the cause for Nixon's ignominious defeat by a simple, hardworking and valiant people whose courage and determination brought to a standstill the predatory ambitions of the world's biggest imperialist power.

Everything showed that the US aggressors were never particularly interested in military targets, and that the savage bombing of Vietnam was a matter of military and political blackmail by the United States, Alex La Guma said in his report for SECHABA.

The US showed its desperate ferocity particularly during December of last year as it realised that it was being forced to come to terms with the Vietnamese people. During the ten days 18 to 29 December it unleashed all the fury of its armaments against the DRVN, including its so-called B-52 super-bombers.

In the Dong Ba district of Hanoi for example, where 30,000 people had lived, the bombers had reduced whole areas to rubble. This had been the oldest and most populated part of Hanoi and it had been methodically pounded. In Kham Tien Street alone eighteen blocks of buildings were reduced to debris, in addition to the market place, welfare centres, cinemas, restaurants, kindergartens. In Ahn Duong along the Red River, the US bombers turned into ruins the workers quarters, the primary and secondary schools accomodating 1500 children, as well as the maternity centre and infirmary. 125 people died here in one night and more than a hundred were seriously wounded. The university was bombed, killing scores of people, so were the international railway station, factories and workshops.

The ruins of the Bach Mai hospital is a tortured reminder that Nixon's mercenaries stopped at nothing in their ferocity. A medical research centre since 1932 it had been continually extended. It had had 940 bed and facilities for 800 medical students. On June 27 1972 US bombs blasted it, on December 19 several sections were destroyed. At 3.45 a. m. on December 22 blast bombs destroyed all its principal departments, eight operating theatres, all stores and

repair shops, the catering and laundry sections and wrecked the electricity and water systems.

"We can replace equipment," said Dr. Doan Dai, the director of the Bach Mai hospital. "But who can replace the lives of 28 personell killed, including two medical doctors, six nurses, six students?" One of the doctors died that night, the eve of her wedding. Hanoi lost 1318 of her citizens that night, killed instantly. Many died among the 1261 wounded. What had been the suburbs of Haiphong was an extended landscape of wreckage, flattened left-overs, of buildings, girders haphazardly pointing at the sky, a vista of devastation, like a picture of Hiroshima. The story of Hanoi was retold in Haiphong, the heaps of rubble in the populated areas, in the battered harbour.

But the terror bombing by the US Airforce and the shelling by the US Navy foundered against an unbreakable wall, a wall of people who did not flinch under the storm of explosive which rained down on them, nightly, daily, indiscriminately.

"Most important for victory was the political unity of the people," said our hosts. "Throughout the terrible bombing the people stood firm. Even the leaders and government were astonished by the calmness of the people. While thousands of people had to disperse into the countryside, there was no disorder, no panic. Everywhere there were many moving examples of heroism. In spite of tragedy and loss of whole families, the people stood firm."

Mrs Phan Ti Ming lived in Quang Tung Street in Haiphong. Wearing the almost inevitable white headband of mourning, she told us in a voice heavy with emotion that she and her husband were members of the people's defence unit for their street. On December 27 at about 11 a. m. she was busy preparing lunch when the sounds of the planes were heard. Immediately she and her husband set about their duty of seeing the people off the street into the shelters. When everybody was out of sight underground, they themselves went into seperate shelters. "I saw the bomb hit the shelter in which my husband was and I knew at once that he was dead," she said. "In my heart is great suffering because children have lost a father and a wife her husband. But we are doing our best to turn our suffering and sadness into strength to fight the US aggressors until they leave our country."

Fourteen-year-old Viu Van Tuan had been rescued from the rubble where his father and three brothers had died. He stood among the ruins and told us with all the bravery a small schoolboy can muster: "I ask you uncles to denounce the crimes of Nixon who killed my father and brothers." Mrs Nguyen Ti Mien, 47 years old, had lost her husband

and three of her children. "The Americans are very cruel to have killed my family. They have killed other families. We will not forget this cruelty. Vietnam is a country of working people, a peace loving country."

There were many more like these, the heroes and heroines of Hanoi and Haiphong, of the destroyed villages and the cratered farmlands. They clambered over the ruins to salvage and start building anew. Their red banners and defiant slogans hung over the dusty, shattered shells of their homes, and shouted triumphantly over the wreckage of downed American aircraft.

For those engaged in the national liberation struggle in their own countries, Vietnam had many lessons to offer: That in order to win, the whole people must be drawn into the struggle; that in spite of difficulties and hardship, the people's organisation survived; people were organised from street to street, from district to district up to the city level; that here was complete co-operation between the people and their elected leaders and the army; that there was co-operation between the urban population and the people of the countryside.

The victory of the Vietnamese people creates new opportunities for the strengthening and development of the forces of progress. It came about because a viable socialist system turned the north into a firm revolutionary base for the entire country. It demonstrated that the people's organisations could mobilise the country's courage, determination and resources and rapidly turn the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into an impregnable fortress.

But the struggle could never have become so all-embracing and never have been brought to a successful conclusion without the spirit of patriotism and a programme capable of giving the masses a clear understanding of what they were fighting for. In the South the National Liberation Front welded the people together in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for a peaceful, independent and democratic South Vietnam.

"Imperialism cannot afford a direct confrontation with the Socialist powers, therefore they chose the front of national liberation," said a representative of the Vietnamese people. "If it had been able to push back the forces of liberation in Vietnam, it would be able to destroy the liberation movements in other parts of the world. It is necessary for world imperialism to ponder over the advancement the people have made at this stage of world history."

Vietnam has proved that a people fighting for freedom and independence, relying on the support of the revolutionary and progressive forces all over the world, cannot be overwhelmed. Such a people is invincible.

Photo: Alex La Guma



Part of the ruins of Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi. The hospital had received widescale support from Sweden and was almost totally destroyed by US bombers during December 1972.

In the last issue of SECHABA we reported on the so-called South African Mini-Olympics. In it we mentioned that the English Football Association had agreed to participate in the games and that FIFA had decided to temporarily lift its suspension against South Africa. As a result of intense international activity by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, the non-racial South African Soccer Federation and the

firm stand taken by the All-Africa Supreme Council for African Sports, FIFA has reversed its decision and the English and Brazilian teams which had accepted South Africa's invitation have withdrawn their teams. Meanwhile, the non-racial South African Soccer Federation has once again applied for membership to FIFA, and has called on the international body to . . .

EXPULSION OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA



Brief Memorandum in Support of the (Non-Racial) South African Soccer Federation's Application for Membership to the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA)

We are aware that the all-white Football Association of South Africa (FASA) is presently in membership with FIFA, but has been suspended by FIFA because it has violated the Statutes and Regulations of FIFA.

The FASA has always been all-white, ever since its acceptance as a member at the Helsinki Congress in 1951 and has accordingly flouted and violated the object of FIFA Statutes, namely "to prevent racial, religious or political discrimination or distinction among players, whether their status be amateur, non-amateur or professional." (Art. 2)

In recent years, FASA has amended its Statutes to give it the semblance of a non-racial body; but this was merely to hood-wink and bluff FIFA members.

In practice, FASA remains 100% a whites-only body. In April, 1972, for example, a black, (light-complexioned Arthur Williams, also known as Smiley Moosa) played for the Berea Park Football Club (under the jurisdiction of FASA) but immediately afterwards the Berea Park Football Club was ordered to stop playing him again!

The FASA has recently asked the South African Government whether it approves of mixed play and has received the reply from the Minister of Sport, Mr. Frank Waring: "NO"! Again this is a subterfuge on the part of FASA to obtain cover for their whites-only character, and to throw the onus

on to the Government to conceal and hide their lack of sincerity. FASA has never made any serious attempts to introduce mixed play since it obtained membership in 1951.

In the past, FASA has done everything possible to undermine the unity and solidarity of the black footballers by pursuing a policy of divide-and-rule and by requesting the Government and Municipalities to bar the use of public fields by non-racial bodies. FIFA members will recall that FASA, in the past, financially encouraged the splinter South African Bantu Football Association and a few Indian clubs with the purpose of keeping them away from the powerful South African Soccer Federation.

Recently, FASA has renewed these tactics. It has formed a superficial link with the so-called S.A. Indian Football Association and the S.A. Bantu Football Association. The purpose is to hoodwink FIFA that FASA is linked with blacks, but we must point out that this link is superficial. There will be no mixed play! FASA's intention and object is that all the various racial groups in South Africa should play separately, each in their own "racial compartments". In fact, Africans are barred from attending FASA matches on most grounds in South Africa, even as spectators.

NOTE:

* The South African Indian Football Association represents a mere handful of clubs and is racial. Its membership is con-

fined to Indians only. For obvious reasons, it is even financed and encouraged by the Government.

* The South African Bantu Football Association represents a minority of the Africans and like the Indians, is racial.

* **FIFA Congress and Members must be aware of the officials of these splinter bodies who may be used by FASA to do FASA's propaganda.**

These officials are mere stooges and play the part of Beth Morolo, former President of the S.A. Bantu Football Association who on previous occasions was taken by White FASA officials to FIFA congresses.

FIFA MEMBERS! Please give to these stooges the same cold and harsh treatment as was given to Beth Morolo! They do not represent the millions of Blacks in S.A.! They are the agents of apartheid!

For all these past years and even now black footballers in South Africa have suffered under the shackles and burdens of apartheid - racial discrimination. All efforts by our SASF to get FASA to join it and introduce mixed play have been frustrated by FASA. FASA will only link with bodies which agree not to ask for mixed play.

FASA is not worried about its suspension by FIFA. It runs a prosperous all-white professional league (National Football League); it draws players from other countries, especially the United Kingdom, **against the spirit of the FIFA Statutes**; it enjoys government backing and support; it thwarts and impedes the progress of non-racial bodies by preventing the use of playing fields (which are in most cases owned by the all-white Government and Municipalities); it **encourages dissension among the blacks by encouraging and financially supporting splinter bodies.**

The tens of thousands of black players (who comprise the overwhelming majority of all players in South Africa) thus continue to suffer. Their progress is thwarted.

NOTE:

● The non-racial SASF is by far the most powerful and largest national football body, governing football in South Africa.

● **The SASF caters for more than twice the number of players than FASA.**

● The SASF comprises units from all parts of South Africa.

● **The SASF is fundamentally non-racial.** Any person, irrespective of race, colour, caste or creed, is free to play in the SASF.

● The SASF caters for both amateur and professional football.

For this reason SASF appeals to FIFA and all its members for help and support. The SASF has been knocking at the door of FIFA since 1952.

NOTE:

The SASF is the same S.A. Soccer Federation which has repeatedly applied for membership to FIFA and has, at great cost, sent its representatives to FIFA Congresses throughout the world!

We feel it is high time FIFA came to a firm decision! If it means that FASA has to be expelled before our application can be considered then FIFA must consider and sympathise with the majority of players in South Africa and must expel FASA. FIFA, in the interests of justice and fair play, cannot continue to tolerate the oppression of our players.

This Addendum takes the place of a brief Memorandum, supporting our Application. A copy of this Application and Addendum is being circularised to all members of FIFA as we expect all FIFA members will be anxious to know what is happening in South Africa.

POLICE INTIMIDATE SWIM CHIEF

President of the powerful, non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation, Mr. Morgan Naidoo, revealed how he had been thrice subjected to intimidation by the security police during his term of office.

In his presidential address to the Federation's Biennial General Meeting in Durban, Mr. Naidoo told of how he had been questioned at length by the police and threatened with a banning order two years ago - "For no other reason than being associated with swimming".

About six months ago, he was called to the offices of the police and asked to submit a copy of his organisation's constitution and the names and addresses of his fellow officials. When the police were asked by Mr. Naidoo why they required these, the reply was: "We have been told that yours is a political organisation and we would just like to satisfy ourselves that this is not so".

"And more recently, about six weeks ago, two unnamed persons, claiming to be from the police, called at my home. They questioned my wife about my association with swimming; asked her where I was now working, and apart from saying that they were from the police, refused to give any other details. It was subsequently established that they were travelling in a car registered in the name of the South African police".

Mr. Naidoo also told delegates how he was 'personally victimised' when he was dismissed from his job as a sales representative with Dr. Anton Rupert's "Distillers' Corporation".

He said that although his employers claimed that this was due to "reorganisation" in this firm, he found it significant that he was given verbal notice on a **Monday morning - three days after a press report that the non-racial Federation was breaking up further negotiations with the White South African Amateur Swimming Union.**

I do not know yet whether it was in fact reorganisation which cost me my job, but I do know that four years ago, the appointment of another Black in the same organisation was cancelled after Distillers Corporation has specially called for a police report and had established that this Black was connected with politics in some way".

Mr. Naidoo said he knew of at least one other member on his executive who was intimidated by the security police. But despite the harassment, he thought it was to his organisation's credit that they continue to fight for the principles they always believed in.

"Federation will never be intimidated for we have nothing to fear. We are interested in promoting swimming and that we shall do to the best of our ability", he said.

A New Underground Newspaper makes its appearance in South Africa

We hail the appearance inside South Africa of the first issue of our underground newspaper, SECHABA – ISIZWE, as a historical step underlining the determination of the African National Congress and the entire national liberation movement in our country to intensify the mobilisation of the oppressed Black people for the seizure of political power by force from the hands of the racist White minority, and for the establishment of Black democratic majority rule. At the same time SECHABA – ISIZWE will help our people overcome the harmful effects of the reactionary propaganda of the ruling White minority racist clique which seeks to perpetuate the present political, economic and social system under the camouflage of eventual "independence" in the Bantustans and other similar deceptive schemes. Introducing itself to the masses of our people, SECHABA – ISIZWE states in part:

VICTORY TO THE POPULAR REVOLUTION

SECHABA – ISIZWE is a vehicle for the propagation and defence of the genuinely popular line of the revolution; against reformist, partial and, all other directions towards the solution of all problems facing our country.

It fights for the seizure of political power by force, from the hands of the racist White minority, and for the establishment of Black, democratic majority rule.

It fights for the recapture of our land from those who took it from us by mercilessly shedding the blood of our forefathers; that those who till the land should own it; that he should again walk the length and breadth of the land where our forefathers are buried, proud and free.

We have become instruments for the enrichment and accumulation of wealth by others who own the sources of wealth in our country. Our oppressor treats us as not deserving of even mere existence if we do not deliver to him the factory goods, the gold and the diamonds he has expropriated from us. SECHABA – ISIZWE stands for the return of the wealth of our country to the people as the only condition for wiping out the permanent misery and destitution which centuries of colonisation have imposed on our people.

Defend This Vehicle of Truth

We are the propagandists of the people's cause. We occupy a sacred position among that handful of papers in our country that are truly independent – independent of the ideas and the blood-stained money of our exploiters and oppressors.

As the thunder of December 16 1961, caused by the militants of the people's army – Umkhonto we Sizwe – was a harbinger of the inevitable armed victory of the people, this issue of SECHABA – ISIZWE is a harbinger of the future press of our country: Free, Truthful, a product of our own suffering, sacrifice and experience of life.

People who have suffered so long, defend this paper! Let it reach all corners of our benighted land to inspire all our people to great feats of heroism in the struggle for freedom! You are the nation – SECHABA – ISIZWE is your own paper, your weapon, your own child. Guard it as you have guarded our will to be free!

