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SECHABA

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MORE BLACK WORKERS STRIKE

250 African workers were arrested as strikes spread through 10 textile factories in Pinetown, New Germany and Hammarsdale, all near Durban. About 8000 workers were involved in the strike which paralysed the mills, five of them in the Phillip Frame Group (See Sechaba Vol. 7 No. 5 for this company's labour practices).

Although not a single worker was injured by the striking workers, Brig. A. Jooste, Acting Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, commenting on the arrests said: "We had to act - the workers were running from one factory to another brandishing sticks and stopping buses."

The trouble began when workers complained that their recent wage increases, following last year's strike were inadequate. Besides, most of the increases given were for the lower paid new workers and the amounts for long-service workers were a mere pittance.

Hungry and Angry

Any strike by Black workers in South Africa is always fraught with danger for the strikers. They could be killed as we saw in the recent Carltonville miners strike; they could be arrested en-masse as on this occasion; they could be beaten and have police dogs set on them. Faced with ever-spiraling living costs and starvation the workers risk all these dangers and come out on strike. They are hungry and angry. Angry, because the bosses decided on the increases at board room level and the workers were not consulted.

In the face of the strike, the Frame group announced that they would be prepared to close down their factories for three months if necessary. This, and the statement by Durban's Divisional Inspector of Labour, G.C.H. Jackson that, "these are illegal strikes and must be looked at very seriously," further aggravated the situation.

Salutary Pointer

This strike should be a salutary pointer to Durban's management. For its ori-

gins have a parallel to the one which resulted in the death of 11 miners at Carltonville.

Both ironically stemmed from wage increases.

Anglo American Corporation raised the wages of its miners; the textile factory owners and the Government raised the wages of the textile workers.

In neither case were the Africans consulted. The increases in both cases were inadequate. A further cause of irritation was that in the case of the miners the increases offered to the more skilled machine minders was far less than that offered to other less skilled workers. In the case of the textile workers the bosses failed to anticipate the anger which long serving employees would feel if newer employees received a higher increase than they did.

Employers in Fear

According to John Imrie, Labour Correspondent of the Rand Daily Mail, the employers in the factory-dotted hills around Durban and its environs, "have lost their confidence almost completely."

He adds: "they have no longer any faith in their ability to control the situation, fatalistically convinced that no matter what they do in the way of wages and conditions once strike fever begins, their workers will be out."

"It is so bad", states Imrie, "that one company which raised wages by 70 per cent last year and is planning another increase of nearly 30 per cent this year has also provided for a secret strike kitty - a further amount kept in reserve to buy off their workers just in case of a strike."

All this brings us back our oft repeated contention, that the strike wave that has hit the country is not only for economic reasons, it is also political. Although the catalyst is the growing increase in the cost of living, the frustrations of being treated as second class citizens in their own country by foreign White settlers has much to do with the strike fever as the question of living wage.

Victory

The workers at the Frame factories went back to work after they were



Textile workers meeting during strike

Striking workers hold up buses to inform second-shift workers that they are on strike

promised an immediate increase of 40 cents and 80 cents for their long-service workers and a further promise that their Board would meet soon to consider even bigger increases.

In the other five factories, the workers were given an across-the-board increase of R2 a week and bonus based on the length of service. Workers with three to five years service will receive a further R1 a week; five to ten years service - R2; 10 to 15 years - R3; and 15 years and over - R4. (R1 = approx 50 p).

On the Debit Side

The strikes were not without any casualties. 217 of the arrested workers were brought to court and were each fined R5. The fines totalling R1 085





Helton Cheadle (centre) with David Helson (bottom left)

were paid by the Black Garment Workers Union.

Three trade union leaders who were directly involved in the strike were all banned for five years. They are: David Davies the general secretary of the Textile Workers Union, Helton Cheadle the Union's National Organiser and David Henson, the Natal Organiser of the Union.

They have been banned for a period of five years and placed under house arrest. They are further barred from trade union activity and from entering trade union offices.

Will the government never learn? In the sixties they banned almost every single Black trade union leader, including Steven Dhlamini, the Secretary of the Textile Workers Union and President of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Yet, in less than a decade several textile workers strikes have been organised. As the banning of Dhlamini had little effect on the workers determination to fight for their demands, so also will the banning of Cheadle, Daniels and Henson not stop them continuing their just struggle. True, these bannings set back the struggle, but they never stop it!

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OTHER STRIKES

DURBAN'S African bus drivers struck for 11 hours following the recommended dismissal of a colleague. The men gathered to be addressed by Company officials, but were instead addressed by the police. The highly unsatisfied workers went back to work, but we are sure we have not heard the end of this action.

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26 OUT OF 34 African truck drivers employed by United Tanker Services in Germiston in the Transvaal, refused to work until a White administrative employee was removed and in support of a demand that the workers should be given the right to veto new employees. They went back to work after the White employee resigned.

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1000 AFRICAN workers in Volksrust in the Transvaal walked 6 km to work and back in a one-day protest against a 1 cent increase in bus fares.

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IN JOHANNESBURG two policemen were beaten up by nine African workers when they tried to arrest a fellow worker for a pass offence near their factory. One worker was shot.

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DROP IN IMMIGRATION

The activity of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, Anti-Apartheid groups in Western Europe, the United Nations Unit On Apartheid and other groups calling for the boycott of South Africa is having a dramatic effect in one area at least.

During the first ten months of last year, the number of immigrants from Europe to South Africa totalled 18 825, compared with 28 343 for a similar period in 1972. A drop of over 30 per cent!

This in its turn is having several side effects. Because skilled jobs are reserved for Whites only, the shortage of immigrants has forced the government to permit Africans to become motor mechanics. In an agreement published in South Africa, Black workers will be accepted to do all repair work. However, they will not be called mechanics. They will be referred to as "repair shop assistants", and will be paid half what a White worker will get. Black workers will get between R23-30, while their White colleagues will receive R60 a week.

After lengthy negotiations the White Mechanics Union agreed to the agreement which also provides a ratio clause which states that in any one establishment only one "assistant" could be employed for every two so-called journeymen.

Building Trade

Meanwhile in the Building Trade, the Minister of Labour has set up a tribunal to consider the employment of Black workers as bricklayers, plasterers and other skilled jobs in the building industry.

Gert Beetge, Secretary of the White Building Workers Union has refused to participate in the work of the Tribunal because he regarded the job-reservation review as a "sell-out of the White artisans."

Nursing Profession

The shortage of skilled labour has had its effect on the nursing profession as well. The Natal Provincial Council has announced that Black nurses can tend White patients in private hospitals and nursing homes.

In making the announcement, Councillor Derrick Watterson, who is in charge of hospitals, said the step had to be taken to alleviate the critical shortage of nurses.

"The new policy - which is contrary to Government policy but perfectly legal - will not be implemented in provincial hospitals, however." The Councillor explained that this was not necessary because provincial hospitals were not in the "parlous position" of many of the private institutions. "Obviously we will review the matter later if it becomes necessary," he added.

These, and other successes in breaking down the barrier that job reservation imposes on the people, will increase in the coming months. But, we

urge Anti-Apartheid groups and Trade Unionists throughout Western Europe to keep up the pressure and stop all immigration to South Africa.

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STINKING S.A. MONEY

The East Asiatic Company is a Danish company with subsidiaries in South Africa. In Durban they own Quality Products Ltd and Rubber Engineering and Products of Durban.

Recently, a Danish television team visited Durban and their film included an interview with two Black workers from the two companies.

They told the interviewer they were paid R11 a week, half of what is described as the official subsistence level.

They also complained about the lack of canteen facilities and about long daily travel that brought their workday to 15 hours.

They took little comfort in the company's alleged Christmas gratuity - a packet of biscuits.

The producer of the programme said East Asiatic had ignored an invitation to be represented on the programme, but the managing director has instructed the manager of the company's South African industries to come to Denmark.

This came after a Copenhagen newspaper's front-page headline saying: "We want nothing of East Asiatic's stinking South African money."

"Denmark cannot in decency give room to such an enterprise," the paper said.

"It may very well mean that the shareholders close down their business in South Africa, because they must now pay human beings a salary on which they can exist. But if so, it will just remove from Denmark's currency earnings a heap of dirty, stinking, South African money."

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BANNED

Seventy people have been added to the growing list of bannings during last year alone. More have been added this year.

Among the latest to be banned are:
DON MATTERA: organiser of the Union of Black Journalists and a former public relations officer of the (Coloured) Labour Party. He recently resigned from that party and joined the Black Peoples' Convention, saying that he was no longer prepared to be a member of a Coloureds-only organisation. He is a poet and reporter on the Johannesburg "Star". Both the South African Society of Journalists (White) and the Union of Black Journalists called on the Minister of Justice to revoke the banning order.

MORGAN NAIDOO: was one of South Africa's leading Black sports administrators. Morgan was well-known for his activity in connection with campaigns for non-racialism in sport. This arch enemy of apartheid in sport was, until his banning, President of the non-racial South African Amateur Swimming Federation and a part-time sports reporter on a Durban weekly.

He was refused a passport at the end of August to attend the world swimming conference in Belgrade, although the Government considered it neces-





Morgan Naidoo, banned President: SA Swimming Federation (non-racial)

sary that Jock Scott, secretary of the all-White South African Amateur Swimming Union, be present at the Congress. Despite this, however, the racists were expelled from international swimming.

In 1972, Naidoo was sacked from his public relations job with a liquor firm because his Federation refused to co-operate with the government-recognised racist swimming union.

WELILE NHLAPO: is the 15th member of the Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) to be banned. Until his banning, he was a field worker for the Black Workers Project, one of SASO's many projects.

MISS LINDELWA MABANDLA: is a school teacher and a member of the Black Peoples' Convention.

SARAVAN CHETTY: Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress.

AUBREY MOKOAPE: a medical student member of SASO.

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A Black African weightlifter wins third consecutive gold medal for England . . .

PRECIOUS MCKENZIE



Precious McKenzie won another gold medal for England at the 1974 Christchurch Commonwealth Games; and in winning he set a British and Commonwealth record with a total lift of 215 kilograms. At the present moment he is ranked the sixth best lifter in the World Flyweight Division. What a pity that he could not have represented his native South Africa. This "mighty atom", born in the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg, Natal 37 years ago was reluctantly compelled to leave South Africa in 1964. Although, at that time, he was the best Bantamweight lifter in South Africa, and the highest ranked South African in the world he was not allowed to represent South Africa because he wasn't white.

If he had chosen to remain in South Africa he would have passed into oblivion and the world would never have heard of Precious McKenzie. The white racists would again have declared that there is no Black weightlifter good enough to represent South Africa.

This is another glaring example of how the suppressive apartheid policy is wasting vast resources of Black talent. There are very many South Africans, less fortunate than McKenzie, who are just waiting for the doors of apartheid to be opened so that they could also show the world how good they are.

The medal won in Christchurch, New Zealand, was his third consecutive gold in the Commonwealth Games. He won gold medals at the Jamaica (1966) and the Edinburgh (1970) Games.

Precious, only 4 feet 11 inches tall, told us how he got his nickname. "When I was a baby, I suffered from a severe chest complaint and I was a frail weakling. For two agonising and tormenting years my mother thought I was going to die, but when I was cured by a kindly neighbour with the use of herbs my mother nicknamed me PRECIOUS."

He still talks about his two 'father' figures who helped mould him into a champion. Chris de Broglia (now General Secretary of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) and Johnny Gedult "helped me tremendously when I was still in South Africa. If it were not for these two I don't think I could have made it to the top so quickly", he said.

- S. R.

British Students Campaign for the . . .

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

"Release Our Honorary Vice-President" said the placards at the student picket outside the South African Embassy on February 2nd. This event, organised by the National Union of Students (UK) is the latest in their campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, an NUS Honorary Vice-President, and all South African political prisoners.

Representatives from student unions from different parts of the United Kingdom came to show their support for the campaign and to deliver letters to the South African Ambassador echoing NUS's demands. Letters were handed in from colleges and universities as far apart as Belfast, Leeds and Kent. Some other NUS Honorary Vice-Presidents also sent letters, including Lord Avebury, the well known Liberal Peer.

The National Union of Students is taking further action by asking all its member colleges and universities to adopt a political prisoner themselves and to campaign on that prisoner's behalf. At a meeting following the picket, organised jointly by NUS and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the student representatives had the opportunity to listen to John and Kay Hosey, the parents of Sean Hosey one of the Pretoria Six. John outlined how his son's appeal had been dismissed and that he was now serving a five year sentence. He went on to stress how valuable the campaign for the release of the Pretoria Six had been, emphasising that it had made a major impact in South Africa. The Hoseys, who had also attended the picket, explained that they were continuing their work with the Coventry Defence Committee which was set up to secure the release of Sean and the other Pretoria Six members.

Spur To Campaign

The student campaign was reviewed at this meeting and is planned to dovetail with that planned by the broad based committee which organised the December 8th Conference on political prisoners, entitled:- "South Africa the Imprisoned Society". Many students participated in that confer-



Mr. & Mrs. John Hosey demonstrate for their son's release from Pretoria Central Prison

On of the many groups of students handing in a petition to S.A. House demanding the release of political prisoners



ence and NUS was involved in its planning. Listening to the conference speakers, Ruth First, John Gaetsewe (SACTU), Albert Dhlomo and Bishop Trevor Huddleston clearly acted as a spur to the several hundred participants and not only in the student sector has it motivated people into action. Hearing of the plight of those on Robben Island from Albert Dhlomo was something no one at the conference will forget, but the conference also covered those who are banned, had their passports removed, etc. It was stated by the speakers that the apartheid system makes all blacks in South Africa members of The Imprisoned Society.

Since that Conference took place the planning committee has met and produced a series of proposals for action. These are to be discussed at a recall meeting where the major emphasis for the campaign will be on widespread activity from March to June with a national event at the time of South Africa Freedom Day, June 26th. Other organisations involved in the campaign, in addition to NUS, are the AUEW (TASS) Kitson Committee, London Trades Council, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and it is hoped to enlarge this base as the campaign develops.

It is in this context of wider activity that the student campaign will have a real effect. The adoption by Hull University students last year of the Namibian leader, Herman Toivo ja Toivo made an important local impact.

Mandela has been an Honorary Vice-President of NUS for some years. British students have a commendable record in recent years of activity on Southern Africa and this current campaign is a further illustration of growing student activity in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa.

Student demonstration outside S.A. House



SUPPORT FOR MANDELA PARTICLE

More supporting evidence for the heaviest elementary particle ever proposed has now been received by three Leeds University scientists from Soviet and other sources (See *Sechaba* Vol 7 No 8)

Drs Walter Kellermann, Gordon Brooks and John Baruch, all of the University of Leeds – Department of Physics, suggested a particle, the 'Mandela' with a mass of around 40 GeV in May this year, defined by the place of a discontinuity observed in the hadron energy spectrum observed at sea level. Since then none of the data published by other researchers runs contrary to the Leeds explanation and much of it supports it, in particular the CERN work on neutral currents, and exchanges with scientists from the Lebedev Institute of the Academy of Science of the USSR and from Moscow State University indicate support for the Leeds idea.

A great deal of work on the hadronic component of cosmic rays has been done by groups in the USSR working in high altitude laboratories at Tien-Shan and employing very large ionisation calorimeters of area up to 40 sq metres and depth of the order of 10 interaction lengths. A long interaction length ($> 300 \text{ g/cm}^2$) confirming the short range field of the particle would be expected from a comparison of the Leeds and USSR results. This property of the particle is verifiable from a measurement of the angular incidence of the particles in the energy range in question.

Mandelas should arrive through the Earth's atmosphere from a wide angle and not just from vertically overhead. The modified version of the Leeds detector includes a flash tube array which can measure angular incidence as well as detecting the charge/neutral ratio of the proposed particle.

Britain's Institute of Physics has listed the Leeds University 'Mandela' amongst the significant developments in physics during 1973 (*Physics Bulletin*, December 1973).

Since then researchers at the giant CERN accelerator in Geneva and Soviet cosmic ray workers have put forward new information which generally supports the Leeds evidence. Physicists from the Lebedev Institute of the USSR Academy of Science and from Moscow State University have published new data and are equally convinced that there is a very interesting cosmic radiation effect that needs explanation.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Imprisoned Society

The following is an abridged version of a paper submitted by the International Defence and Aid Fund to a one-day conference held in London and sponsored jointly by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, AUEW(TASS) Kitson Committee, Defence and Aid Fund, Liberation, London Trades Council, National Union of Students and the Ruskin College Kitson Committee.



This paper deals with the detention and imprisonment of men and women in South Africa. To restrict the subject in this way is, in an important sense, misleading. To the men behind barbed wire in 'bachelor hostels' in Langa or Alexandra Locations, in mine compounds on the Witwatersrand or at Welkom, and to their families in barren 'homelands' and Reserves, the distinction between their lives and the lives of those on Robben Island must often appear academic. If the term 'political prisoner' is to have any meaning, there are 20 million political prisoners in Southern Africa. In the words of a released white political prisoner, 'I had to go inside prison to find out what it was like to be a black outside.'

A primary distinction must be made between (a) detainees held without trial; and (b) convicted prisoners, sentenced in the courts.

At the same time, there are the restrictees - political opponents of the government who, without trial or recourse to the courts, are banned, restricted or banished, and who, in effect, are made to be their own jailers. In South Africa, the no-trial detention laws have mainly been used as a weapon for breaking suspects and producing state witnesses for court cases.

Sharpeville and After

Until the cloak of secrecy created by the Terrorism Act of 1967, official facts and figures regarding political prisoners were given, though in a way de-

signed to obscure the truth; and they have often proved inaccurate. Much of the following information is therefore based on them.

The first great wave of political prisoners after the shootings at Sharpeville in 1960 entered South African prisons during the State of Emergency declared after the shootings. By the end of the Emergency in August 1960, 11,503 persons had been detained without trial for periods of up to 5 months; 774 persons were convicted in 1960 and sent to prison, mainly for periods of less than 3 years. Since then a series of laws of increasing severity, defining political offences more and more widely, has considerably enlarged the power of the State and that of the Security Police. From 1960 to 1967, 140,000 people were convicted of, or detained without trial for, political offences.

Detainees

Proclamation 195 (1927, re-enacted in 1967), R400 (1960) and R17 (1972) apply to Africans or in African areas only; the latter two allow for indefinite detention. The 180-day (1965) and 14-day laws and Section 6 of the Terrorism Act (1967) apply universally, the last providing for indefinite detention incommunicado in solitary confinement. A seventh law, the 90-law, was suspended at the end of 1964.

It is impossible to find out how many people have been detained since 1967 and the passing of the Terrorism Act,

which forbade publication of such figures.

What is known is that, from 1963 to 1967, at least 2,400 persons were detained without trial, some for periods of 200 days or more.

The following figures cover detentions under laws other than the Terrorism Act:

	1965-67	1968-70
180-day law	400	66
Proclamation 400	271	95

Figures for detentions under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act are not published and the fact that a larger number of detentions take place under this Act accounts for the apparent decrease in the above numbers. It is clear that detention periods under Section 6 have been much longer. For example, two detainees who were eventually brought to trial - Peter Magubane and Benjamin Ramotse - had been held for 586 days and 28 months respectively. A third, Desmond Francis, who was called as a witness, had been held in solitary confinement for 421 days.

Conditions for Detainees

Detainees are held at the absolute discretion of the Security Police. They are allowed no visits or letters or any access at all to the outside world. 180-day detainees are required to be visited by a magistrate once a week; Section 6 detainees once a fortnight 'if circumstances permit.' The visiting magistrates have been criticised in the



Dorothy Nyembe . . . 15 years



Alexandre Moumbaris . . . 12 years



Justice Mpanza . . . 15 years

SA House of Assembly for being 'un-observant'.

Allegations of torture while in detention have become a regular feature of trials in South Africa. These allegations – by accused and by witnesses – are detailed and consistent, and describe treatment ranging from electric torture to the driving of nails through men's penises. The allegations are denied by the Security Police, who have publicly claimed that they treat detainees very well, even becoming great friends with them.

It has been officially admitted that 22 persons have died in detention, causes being given as 'suicide' (11), 'natural causes' (3), 'thrombosis' (1), 'broncho-pneumonia following minor head injury' (1), 'slipped on soap' (1), 'accidental fall down stairs' (1), 'unknown' (4). In addition to these, the Minister of Justice stated that in 1972, 40 persons, excluding those detained under Section 6, had died while in detention.

Convicted Prisoners

There are four main 'security' laws: the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Unlawful Organisations Act (1960), the Sabotage Act (1962) and the Terrorism Act (1967). By the end of 1966, official figures gave the numbers of prisoners convicted under the main security laws as rising to a peak of 1,825. By the end of 1967, after the passing of the Terrorism Act, this was down to 1,335; in 1968 to 1,019; in 1970 to 809; in 1972 to 464.

Conditions of Prisoners

Prisoners are held in three main prisons: **Robben Island**, black men; **Pretoria Local**, white men; **Barberton**, black women. There are no longer any white women in prison. It should be noted that Namibian prisoners are also held on Robben Island.

Conditions of political prisoners are tied to those of common law prisoners, but there are a number of areas where politicals are discriminated against and given special treatment. The **Prisons Act of 1959** prohibited the publication of any false information concerning prisons or prisoners. It had the effect of a ban on the publication of any information whatsoever. The government has refused to hold any public enquiry into prison conditions.

The Strachan Revelations

In 1965 the **Rand Daily Mail** published a series of interviews with Harold

Strachan, a released political prisoner. Strachan told a shocking story of sadistic warders, filth, obscenity and brutality, African prisoners 'herded like animals'; of government by caprice and the flouting of regulations by prison authorities.

The State subsequently laid charges against Strachan, the journalists and the newspaper, but the disclosures had, in the words of a recently-released political prisoner, 'broken open the whole system'. Several improvements in the physical conditions of the prisoners (not only politicals) followed and outside concern at the revelations led, for instance, to the building of a new section in Pretoria for white politicals, with better living quarters and a workshop. But conditions in black prisons are clearly worse than for whites. In 1969, the Minister of Prisons said no workshop would be established on Robben Island; black prisoners could stick to their work of breaking rocks and collecting sand and seaweed.

The Robben Island Petition

In 1973, black politicals presented a petition to the Commanding Officer of Robben Island. Complaints included: harassment and assaults by certain warders; denial of library, recreational and study facilities; insufficient and unpalatable food; dangerously casual and unhygienic medical attention; and that they were given contradictory instructions and governed by caprice, and not informed of their rights.

At least one of the prisoners connected with the petition was punished with 6 months' solitary confinement. In a court action arising out of this punishment, Mr. Justice Diemont declared in Cape Town that the punishment was illegal, and he ordered that prisoners be given copies of the Prison Regulations on request, but ruled that access to library and recreation facilities, and permission to pursue courses of study, were not prisoners' by right – they could be granted at the discretion of the prison authorities. Barberton Prison has been largely ignored in the publicity and pressure that has brought about reforms for the men. It is a harsh punitive prison in the hot lowveld. The women are held in a tiny section, their longest walk being 10 yards to the matron's office. There are no recreational facilities whatever and the women are not even allowed to look out of their cell windows. They do washing and cleaning.

Worse than Convicts

Officials deny that there are 'political prisoners' in South Africa and say that

no prisoners are discriminated against. But the treatment of the political prisoners clearly differs from that of common law prisoners in a number of important aspects.

● **No remission, amnesty or parole.**

This means, for example, that a man with a life sentence faces the prospect of never leaving prison.

● **No news, radio or newspapers.**

This is an arbitrary order from the Security Police which the Prisons Department must enforce and which creates severe additional tensions on all aspects of prison life, particularly letters and visits which are closely censored and monitored.

● **No remuneration for work.**

● **The system of grading, whereby prisoners are placed in categories A to D, with accordant privileges, is used as a weapon against the politicals, who invariably begin in Grade D and find 'promotion' slow and difficult. (Grade D prisoners were initially allowed one 1/2-hour visit and one 500-word letter every 6 months. This has improved to the extent that Ds are now allowed a letter a month. The pinnacle of privilege is A group, with 3 letters and two 1/2-hour visits a month.**

● **The arbitrary withdrawal of other privileges, such as library and study facilities, is also used against politicals as an attempt to ensure 'good behaviour', and as a means of psychological torture.**

● **Regulations are observed ultra-strictly for politicals. One Commanding Officer told politicals in Pretoria: 'I can use the regulations to break you'. For instance, though the regulations stress the maintenance of contact with relatives and friends as an important aspect of treatment, in the case of politicals other regulations are used to prevent this: Bram Fischer was refused permission to attend his son's funeral; reasons are found to withhold letters; normal contact and provisions allowed for „A" group prisoners is denied to politicals.**

The Banned

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 empowered the Minister of Justice to ban publications, organisations, meetings or individuals, if, in his opinion, they in any way furthered the aims of 'communism'. The interpretation of this term is remarkably wide and has been used against most authentic opponents of apartheid.

The bans on individuals initially prohibited persons from attending 'any gatherings with a common purpose'. Amendments to the Act in 1962 sub-

stantially increased the scope and severity of the banning orders: a banned person, as was said in the House of Assembly, was made to suffer 'civil death.'

The Minister of "justice is not obliged to give any reasons for imposing the restrictions. A ban effectively makes a person his own jailer: the onus is on the banned person to observe the terms of his ban.

Banned persons can be prohibited from attending any gatherings, whether with a common purpose or not. Definition of a gathering has been accepted by the courts as a meeting of two or more persons, including the banned person. Banned persons have been convicted of breaking their bans, for example, by playing bridge, for chaperoning a daughter to a New Year's Eve party, and sitting in a kitchen while a party proceeded in the living room.

The minimum sentence for breaking a ban is one year's imprisonment. Magistrates have tended to mitigate this by suspending much of sentences in trivial cases, but the threat remains (see Winnie Mandela, below). The maximum sentence for breaking a ban is three years – or, in the case of failure to report to the police, 10 years. Banned persons can be required to report to the police either daily or weekly or, in special cases, more frequently; one man whose work took him outside his own magisterial district had to report four times to the police on workdays.

Failure to report has led automatically to conviction; in one case at least, even when a banned person had obtained prior permission from a police officer to report at a different time.

House Arrest

Movement can be severely restricted. Banned persons can be confined either to a specified magisterial district (not necessarily their own home district) or, in the case of house arrest, to their own flat or house. The restrictions apply outside of working hours and at weekends and all public holidays – and can also be imposed for 24 hours of every day.

Banned persons can be prohibited from entering certain areas and premises such as areas set aside for other race groups, factories, educational premises and premises where any publications, including newspapers, are prepared. This provision has led to many opponents of apartheid being forced out of their employment – and it imposed an effective ban on the activities, for instance, of many trade unionists.



Andrew Mlangeni . . . life



Wilton Mkwal . . . life



Babla Saloojee . . . murdered in detention



Sandy Sijaka . . . 15 years



Raymond Mhlaba . . . life



Theophilus Cholo . . . 15 years

It is an offence to publish or disseminate anything that a banned person has ever said or written. The ban does not apply only to political statements but to all statements and writings. In this way, South Africa's Nobel Peace Prize winner, Albert Lutuli, was not publicly heard of after his banning in 1962. Only his death in 1967 was reported. Banning orders were usually issued for five-years periods, but they may be issued for three or two-year periods, all of which are renewable.

Banned persons are forbidden to communicate with other banned persons. In some cases the Minister has granted exemptions to banned husbands and wives. Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, is at this moment awaiting the result of an appeal against a 12-month sentence imposed on her for 'communicating' with another banned person, Peter Magubane. A Johannesburg magistrate found that the arrangement whereby Mr. Magubane brought her children to see her during her lunch hour was a type of communication, although the arrangements were made through the children.

In June 1968, there were 741 banned persons in South Africa. By July 1973, there were 200. Many people, forced out of their employment by their bans, have gone into exile. Most political prisoners, at the end of their prison terms, are now severely restricted. In the case of Africans, they are often sent to the resettlement camps where the opportunities of any employment are remote.

The Banished

The Bantu Administration Act of 1927 empowered the Government to order

the removal from one place to another of any tribe, portion of a tribe, or individual African. Before 1948, this power was rarely used, but after the Nationalist Government came to power, it was frequently used to banish political 'agitators' to remote areas. By 1961, 126 men and women had been so banished.

If no employment was available, they received a total of £2 a month in allowances; if any employment was available they could earn anything between £4 and £6 a month.

As of July 1973, only two persons remained 'banished'. But the same effect is now accomplished by the normal and ubiquitous policy of resettlement, which affects whole communities.

In addition, Proclamations R400 (1960) and R17 (1972) empower tribal chiefs in the Transkei and Ovambo-land (Namibia) to banish their 'subjects'. By June 1968, 17 Africans had been banished under Proclamation R400.

'Social Prisoners'

South Africa is an imprisoned society in the literal sense, that a large proportion of its citizens, in particular the Africans, have been or will be in prison at some stage in their lives.

The Commissioner of Prisons reported that, during the year ended 30 June 1971, the daily prison population in South Africa was 91,108. In all, 747,909 South Africans spent time in prison during the year. This represented an increase, over ten years, of 76 %, while the total population had grown by only 24 %.

Some comparative figures of annual prison population:

	No. of prisoners per 100,000 of population
Netherlands	25
United Kingdom	72
South Africa	417

Of those in prison in South Africa during 1971, more than 85 % were serving sentences of four months or less. The overwhelming majority of these were African pass-law (influx control) offenders. During the period 1960-67, 4½ million Africans were convicted under the pass and influx control laws.

On average, there is a pass law prosecution every minute of every day and night in South Africa.

The Minister of Justice stated on 25 May 1971 that 'no less than 42 % of people in prison were held in terms of the pass laws. This, he said, was Government policy, for which 'we make no excuse.'

Hangings

Since 1945, South Africa's hanging rate has increased six-fold to an average of 100 a year. In the year ended 30 June 1971, 80 people were hanged. South Africa accounts for 47 % of the world's judicial executions.

The number of crimes carrying the death penalty was originally three - murder, rape and treason - but has increased, since the late 1950s, to nine with the addition of sabotage, terrorism, armed robbery, some forms of housebreaking, kidnapping, child-stealing, and some provisions under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Demand the Release of All Political Prisoners and an end to white rule in South Africa!

THEY ARE IN JAIL

List of Political Prisoners from South Africa and Namibia serving in South African gaols prepared by the Defence and Aid Fund, London

These lists give as many names and details as possible of prisoners and detainees held in South Africa under the security laws.

Only prisoners serving sentences of five years and more have been included. Those due for release in South Africa during 1973 are listed separately.

It must be stressed that these lists cannot, in the nature of circumstances in South Africa, claim to be comprehensive, nor even absolutely accurate. These

are the only details we have been able to verify with any certainty, as at November 1973.

The lists include, for instance, "two juveniles" - the only mention made in the records of a case, in 1965, involving two men sent to jail for life. And a number of the actual dates of the trials are given as "unknown"; the fact that these men were in prison, often for long periods, emerged only subsequently. Most of these cases are probably from the unannounced trials which took place in the Eastern Cape from 1963 onwards.

Names marked with a point (●) are of Namibian prisoners held on Robben Island, off Cape Town, by the South African authorities.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICAN GAOLS

Name	Sentence in years	Year of conviction	Name	Sentence in years	Year of conviction
ALEXANDER, Neville	10	1964	GOLDBERG, Dennis	Life	1964
● AMUNGULU, Naftalie	20	1968	GQABI, Joe	10	1965
ANTHONY, Frank	6	1972	GQIRANA, Mibbs	12	1965
APRIL, James Edward	15	1971	GUDLE, Tiba	10	1965
BABENIA, Nathoo	16	1964	GUMBI, Mshiyani	12	1965
BAHILA, Ephraim	12	1963	● HAITA, Justus Festus	Life	1969
BAM, Fikile	10	1964	● HAITA, Solomon Festus	Life	1969
BAOLATI, Thomas	10	1965	● HALUTENI, Abel	Life	1968
BAPHELA, Patrick	10	1965	● HAMULEMO, Simeon	Life	1968
BEJA, Rhodes	12	unknown	HANDULA, Government	10	1965
BELL, Alfred	12	1966	● HAUFIKU, Nchidipo Jasaja	20	1968
BHENGU, Siegfried	10	1965	HENGE, Butani	10	1966
BLAAU, Jackson	10	1965	HERMANUS, Jim Jonathon	7	1969
BONANI, Milton	12	1963	HLATSHWAYO, Peter	12	1965
BRANDER, Simon	15	1963	HLAYA, Mnyamane	12	1965
CHIBA, Laloo	18	1964	● HOMATENIE, Nathaniel Lot	5	unknown
CHIBANE, Samuel	Life	1963	HOSEY, John William	5	1973
CHILOANE, Abel	15	1963	● IPANGELUA, Joseph	Life	1969
CHIRWA, James	12	1963	ISAACS, Sedrick	12	1964
CHOLO, Theophilus	15	1973	ISMAIL, Ibrahim	15	1964
CULAYA, Joseph	10	1965	● ITIKA, Kakeus Phillipus	Life	1968
DANIELS, Eddie	15	1964	JAXA, Jack	17	1966
DAVIS, Rev. Don	10	1964	JOYI, Twalimfene	5	1969
DAWETE, Thompson	14	1964	"Juveniles, 2 African male"	Life	1965
DESAI, Amina	5	1972	● KADIKWA, Rudolf	Life	1968
DHLAMINI, Themba	18	1969	KALAKE, Everitt Tsolo	7	1967
DINGAKE, Michael	15	1966	● KAMATI, Petrus	Life	1968
DOORSAMY, K.	14	1964	● KANYELE, Matias	Life	1968
DUMA, Alfred	10	1964	KATHRADA, Ahmed	Life	1964
DU PREEZ, Richmond	12	1963	KAULELA, Simon	9	unknown
● EKANDJO, Eino	20	1968	KHALIPHA, Winifred	8	unknown
ESSOP, Mohammed Salim	5	1972	KHONZA, A.	12	1963
FAZILE, Jackson	12	1965	KHOZA, Joseph	12	1964
FAZZIE, Henry	12	1963	KITSON, Ian David	20	1964
FIHLA, Benson	14	unknown	KOMANISI, Ndzendz	6	unknown
FISCHER, Bram	Life	1966	KONDATI, Malcolm	18	1964
FRANCIS, J.	15	1963	KONDILE, Bolente	15	1963
GCANGA, William	10	1965			
GCEBENI, Jackson	10	1965			

Name	Sentence in years	Year of conviction	Name	Sentence in years	Year of conviction
LEBENYA, Sechaba Noel	5	1971	MOENG, Mogami Josiah	8	1972
LENGE, Wilson	5	unknown	MOGORO, G.	12	1965
LENGISI, Amos	20	1969	MOLEFE, Levy M.	12	1964
LETSOKO, Napoleon	17	1963	MOONSAMMY, K.	14	1964
LOLIWE,	14	1965	● MOSES, Michael	Life	1968
LUTHULI, Dilixolo	10	1969	MOSINOA, Molefane	9	1965
LUZIPO, Mqcini	13	1965	MOTJI, Alfeus	10	1965
MABIKA, Bangumuzi	10	1965	MOTSOALEDI, Elias	Life	1964
MABUTO, Montford Mzoli	5	1971	MOUMBARIS, Alexandra	12	1973
MAGAMO, Peter	15	1964	MPANZA, Justice	15	1973
MAGUMA, Wellington	5	unknown	MQAZI, W.	12	1963
MAGXAKI, M.	10	1965	MQOZWANA	16	1965
MAHANJAMA,			MSHIYENI	12	1965
Dom Gideon	7	1972	MTALANA, Douglas	9	1965
MAHARAJ, Sathyandranath	12	1964	MTHIMINYE, Isaac	Life	1963
MAIMANE, Michael	20	1964	MTWALO, William	20	1963
MAKHALIMA, Matthews	12	1963	MZIMELA, Fana Cletus	15	1972
MAKINANA, Diliza	13	1965	NAICKER, George	14	1964
MAKOFANA, J.	12	1963	● NAILENGE, Shinema	Life	1968
MALEEME,			NAIR, Billy	20	1964
Mahlomano Joshua	10	1971	● NAMBINGA, Rehabeam	Life	1968
MALEPE, Dimake	Life	1963	● NANKUDHU, Johannes	Life	1968
MALGAS, Ernest	12	1963	● NASHIVELA, Jonas	5	unknown
MALI, Mabel	7½	1968	NCAPAYI, Sisa	12	1967
MALSVI, J.	6	unknown	NDHLOVU, Curnick	20	1964
MANDELA, Nelson	Life	1964	NDUNA, Stanley	12	1965
MANGQANGWANA,			NDUNGWANA, Richard	10	1965
Mpolise	18	1966	NDUZA, Jack	12	1963
MANTANYA, Temba	15	1963	● NEHALE, Festus	20	1968
MANTANYANA, Patrick	18	1969	NGCOBO, Bifana	18	1969
MAPONYA, Russell	10	1965	NGOYI, Edward	12½	1965
MAPUMULO, Shadrick	10	1964	NGUBENI, Michael	12	1964
MAQEBULA, Nicholas	6	unknown	NGWENYA, Joseph	10	1965
MAQOTSI, Silas	18	1969	● NILENGE, Simon	20	1968
MASALA, Donald	11	1965	NKABINDE, Victor	20	1966
MASEMOLA, Jeff	Life	1963	NKIMENE, Nelson	12	1963
MASHABA, Andrew	15	1964	NKOSI, Azariah	12	1964
MASHIGO, Eliphaz	10	1965	NKOSI, John	Life	1963
MASOMELA, Andrew	12	1963	NKOSI, Micheal	10	1965
MATHANGELA,			NKOSI, Simon	12	1963
Donald Sifiso	7	1969	NOMPONDO, Willie	10	1965
MATHEBE, Harry	15	1965	NOYI	10	1966
MATHEWS, Philip	12	1965	● NQHIDIPO, Hanfika	20	1968
MATHEWS, John Edward	15	1964	NTENGU, Silas	12	1964
MATU, Xavier	6	1966	NTSHANYENA, Hector	25	1963
MATUTSI, Isak	12	1963	NTUTU, Shumi	15	1964
MAYEKISO, Maxwell	12	1963	NTWASA, Clarison	20	1963
MBANGA, Andries	10	1965	● NUNJANGO, Betuel	Life	1968
MBATA, Lombard	20	1963	NXADI, Faans	12	1963
MBATA, William	10	1965	NYEMBE, Dorothy	15	1969
MBEKI, Govan	Life	1964	NYOBO	20	unknown
MBELE, Mfolwane	8	1972	PHETLA, Solomon	12	1963
MBOPA, Wellington	11	1964	PHOKANOKA, Lawrence	18	1969
MDHLALOSI, Zakela	10	1964	PIETERSE, David	10	1965
METSHANE, Peter	10	1965	POKELA, John Nyati	13	1967
MHLABA, Raymond	Life	1964	RAFUSA, George	15	1963
MJO, Brian	20	1964	RAMOKGADI, Martn	10	1964
MKEKEZE, Mnyamana	10	1965	RAMOSHABA,		
MKETSHANE, Wilson	11	1965	Matsao John	5	1971
MKHALIPI, Kwede	20	1966	RAMOTSE, Benjamin	15	1970
MKWANAZI, Riot	10	1964	SABEKWA, Isaac	10	1965
MKWAYI, Wilton	Life	1964	SCHOON, Marius	12	1964
MLAMBO, Johnson	20	1963	SEJAKA,		
MLANDA, Fezile	20	1964	Gardner Kitchener	15	1973
MLANGENI, Andrew	Life	1964	SELEKA, Gaboikangwe	18	1969
MNYAMANA, Mkekeza	13	1965			

Name	Sentence in years	Year of conviction
SHABALALA, Alfred	10	1964
SHABALALA, Mandhla	10	1964
SHABALALA, Moses	12	1964
● SHIFIDI, Immanuel	Life	1968
● SHIHONGELENI, Simeon	Life	1968
● SHIKOMBA, Gaus	Life	1968
● SHILONGO, Julius	Life	1968
● SHIMUEFELENI, David	20	1968
● SHIMUEFELENI, Jonas	18	1969
● SHIPONENI, Johannes	Life	1968
● SHITILIFA, Philemon	20	1968
● SHITUYVETE, Joseph	20	1968
SHWENI, Notase A.	20	1963
SIGWELA, Ezra	10	1969
SIKUNDLA, Jacob	20	1966
SINGH, Girja	10	1964
SINKAKANKA, George	12	1964
SISULU, Walter	Life	1964
SITHOLE, John	12	1965
SIYATHULA, Mannert Malungisa	18	1967
SOLOMONS, Marcus	10	1964
TABANE, Teke L.	7	1964
TABATA, Max Bantwini	5	1972
TABATHA, Joseph	14	1963
TANGELA, S.	12	1965
TARSHISH, Jack	12	1963
TEFU, Philemon	Life	1963
TEMBU, Petrus Aaron	15	1973
THOMS, Raymond	12	1964
● TJIPAHORA, Kaleb	Life	1968
TLALE	12	unknown
● TOIVO, Toivo Herman Ja	20	1968
TOKANI, Louis	15	1963
TOLE, Vuyisile	14	1964
TSHANGANA, Albert Kwezi	5	1972
● TSHANINGUA, Ndjaula	20	1968
● TUHADELENI, Eliaser	Life	1968
● USHONA, Malakia	Life	1968
VAN DER HEYDEN, Elizabeth	10	1964
● VICTORY, Meshack	Life	1969
VIMBA, Ncikwa Nagi	7	1972
VUSANI, Joseph Bransby	8	1972
WILCOX, Robert Cedric	6	1972
XANDEKANO, Tecuba	13	1964
● ZACHARIAH, Lazarus	20	1968
ZAKUMBA, Douglas	10	1966
ZAMILE, Boysie	10	1964
ZAMISA, Julius	7½	1966
ZIMAMBANE, Pindiso	8	1972
ZULU, Percival	12	1963

APPENDIX: South African prisoners released in 1973.

CHARLIMAN, Tommy	8	1965
HIRSON, Baruch	9	1964
MAFATSI, Isaac	10	1963
MBALI, Gladwell	8	1965
MDHLETSHE, Gideon	5	1968
NAIDOO, Indres	10	1963
NANABHAI, Shirish	10	1963

BRITISH - SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE

"Because South Africa is a priority market there is a substantial programme of British Overseas Trade Board assisted activities designed to help and support British exporters in South Africa and a list of these planned for 1974 accompanies this article." (Trade and Industry 3. 1. 74)

(Trade and Industry is the weekly journal from the Department of Trade and Industry, and the British Overseas Trade Board is Government supported.)

Trade Missions

Engineering Industries Association	Jan 27-Feb 10
Merseyside Chamber of Commerce	Feb 2-Feb 16
Leather Institute	Feb 17-Mar 1
North Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce	Mar 3-Mar 23
Luton and Dunstable Chamber of Commerce	Mar 17-Apr 7
Glasgow Chamber of Commerce	Mar 31-Apr 20
Bristol and West Exporters Association	Apr 21-May 11
Kent and Sussex Export Club	May 5-May 25
Development Corporation for Wales	May 26-June 7
Leeds Chamber of Commerce	June 9-June 25
Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Sept 15-Sept 27
Northern Ireland Chamber of Commerce	Oct 6-Oct 18
Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Oct 20-Nov 1
Lighting Industries Federation	Nov 3-Nov 23
Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders	Nov 10-Dec 7
Engineering Industries Association	Nov 24-Dec 6

Joint Ventures in Trade Exhibitions (all in Johannesburg)

Hotel and Catering (London Chamber of Commerce)	Feb 25-Mar 2
Electra 74 (BEAMA)	July 1-July 5
Mines 74 (London Chamber of Commerce)	July 1-July 5
International SA Building including Airex and Construction Machinery (Building Materials Export Group and HEVAC)	Aug.1-Aug 8
International Material Handling (Birmingham Engineering and Building Centre)	Oct 22-Oct 26

Store Promotions

John Orr Group	September
From: FACT SERVICE Vol 35 No 2 published by Labour Research Department, London	

In South Africa, the Black people are uprooted from one area and forced to live in another, like so many pawns on a chess board. A direct relationship exists between mass population removals, the break-up of family life, the creation of hostels in the urban areas for workers without their families and for resettlement villages (like Dimbaza) in the Bantustans, the intensification of migrant labour, and the industrial problems of inefficiently-trained and impermanent black workers. These interlinked problems have not, as yet,

been systematically discussed. For this reason the Africa Publications Trust decided in 1971 to establish a Working Party of specialists to prepare a series of studies for publication.

The following is an abridged version of an introduction to the subject and a case study of Dimbaza, a resettlement village in the Ciskei compiled by Alan Baldwin and Anthony Hall. Other such studies are to follow . . .

TEARING A COUNTRY APART

South Africa has produced the only government in modern history which is attempting deliberately to split up a unified country – a unique policy which springs from the over-riding wishes of the ruling Afrikaner minority to safeguard the permanence of a status quo based on white supremacy.

Whether the apartheid regime will ever succeed in its objective of creating nine separate states in place of the present unified, multi-racial Republic remains moot; what is of immediate importance is the effect on human lives of this revolutionary experiment in racial balkanisation. Surprisingly, after a quarter of a century of apartheid rule, no complete study has been made of the mass population removals and the consequent break-up of family life, which have resulted from the practical application of the ideology of Separate Development. As a result it is not known for certain how many people of all races, but mainly Africans, have been uprooted; but a careful estimate puts the figure of those already forcibly removed, or scheduled for removal, at not less than three million out of a total population of 21.45 millions.

Mass Removals

The mass removal of population occurs under the various laws of the

Republic designed to separate the four main racial communities into separate jurisdictional compartments. According to official figures, the Group Areas Act – designed to segregate the races in each city, town and village throughout the so-called 'white areas' – has been used to order the removal of the following number of families up to the end of 1972: 27,694 Indians; 44,885 Coloureds; 7,500 Whites; 3,500 Chinese. Official estimates of the number of families still to be removed under the Act are: 10,640 Indians; 27,538 Coloureds; 1,162 Chinese; 135 Whites.

On the basis of an average family of five, the total number of people involved under this Act alone are: 191,700 Indians; 362,000 Coloureds; 38,175 Whites; 1,450 Chinese.

This makes a total of 593,325.

Since Africans have traditionally been segregated residentially they are not much affected by the Group Areas Act.

Africans removed under the various laws designed to clear up so-called 'Black Spots' – areas occupied by blacks within the designated 'white areas' – total 175,788, with a further 69,000 already scheduled for removal. These figures do not take account of three further categories of removals. First, under the law which makes it illegal for Africans to live on white farms as squatters or as labour te-

nants, the number of those removed are reliably estimated at 996,000.

Second, under influx control operated through the various Bantu Laws and Urban Areas Acts (as amended) – which provide, inter alia, for the removal of Africans declared redundant to the needs of the 'white economy' – 400,000 have been 'endorsed out' to so-called resettlement villages or other areas within the eight designated 'Homelands' or 'Bantustans'.

3 Million Moved

Third, under the proposals to consolidate the land holdings of the eight Homelands, large numbers of Africans and a small number of whites, will be required to move. The official estimate of the number of Zulus to be moved in Natal is 133,000; while the numbers involved in the five Transvaal Homelands is 351,000 of whom 120,000 are affected in Bophutatswana alone. Thus, so far, just under half a million people are affected inside the Homelands. No official figures have been given of the number of whites who will be required to move, but they are expected to run into hundreds rather than thousands.

The grand total of peoples so far caught up in the population removals under the officially announced, or already implemented, plans stands at NOT LESS THAN 2,884,000 people. It

Bantustans



The physical uprooting of people from their homes and the migrating of black workers are essential ingredients of a policy designed to achieve two major purposes: to ensure social segregation in the urban areas of the four major racial communities, and to divide the country up territorially between the whites and the blacks – with the 3.75 million whites retaining 87.1% of the land and 12.9% being reserved for the use of the 15.06 million blacks. No separate Homelands have been established for Coloureds or Indians, who are allocated limited residential areas in each of the urban centres.

The theory of apartheid, therefore, is a kind of partition with eventual complete independence for each state as the goal. In practice it is nothing of the kind. The eight proposed Bantustans together represent about one-eighth of South Africa's surface. They contain none of the country's mineral resources, none of its major cities or industrial areas, and none of its ports. Except for the Transkei, none has a coastline; and none except the Transkei consists of an unbroken geographical area. The existing reserves, which are to become the Bantustans, consist of some 260 scattered areas.

No Statehood

Thus the proposed Bantustans will have none of the basic attributes of statehood: they can 'never develop viable economies; the majority of their 'citizens' will have to earn their living outside their borders; their Parliaments can have no control over the source of livelihood of their citizens, nor over the areas which separate the different parts of their 'state'. Thus their citizens' voting rights will be restricted to Homelands' Parliaments which have no power to affect the basic needs of their lives. Three principles are applied to control influx into the cities: Africans have no automatic right to live or work in the 'white areas'; they are to be regarded for all times as 'temporary sojourners' there; and their right to work in these 'white areas' is dependent upon the specific labour needs of the 'white economy'. Work-seekers from the Bantustans must have permission to enter a 'white area' and to stay and work there. In terms of the Bantu Law Amendment Act of 1964, any African can be summarily 'endorsed out' of his place of work and his home – however long he and his forebears have lived there – if, among other things, the Minister has decided that

is impossible to say how many more will be caught up in this process by the time the full programme of population transfers has taken place under the various apartheid laws.

Annie Malatsi (right) . . . hospitalised for undernourishment





A Dimbaza grave . . . one of thousands and (right) Bongani, a chronic gastro-enteritis case with no place in hospital

the number of Africans in the area exceeds its reasonable labour requirements; or the African concerned comes from an area from which the Minister has decided that no more labour is to be recruited for the 'white area' concerned; or if an African is deemed to be 'idle' or 'undesirable'; or if it is deemed not to be 'in the public interest' that the contract of service shall continue.

Wives and other dependents of Africans working in the 'white areas' may not live with their husbands and fathers unless they have 'ordinarily and legally resided' with him in the same area previously. Migrant workers

have no right to bring their families with them from the Bantustans, regardless of the length of time they are to be away. Since it is government policy that all Africans working in white South Africa will eventually do so as migrant workers, and since there is no foreseeable prospect of the Bantustans supporting a majority of the African population, the separation of families is to be an endemic feature of African life.

The destruction of African family life – with all this implies for the moral basis of marriage and the psychological health of children is therefore an integral part of government policy.

were put into rapidly established, or expanded, rural townships in different parts of the country. These 'dumping grounds' were for predominantly workers' families who – in the characteristically frank language of the lawmakers – were declared to be 'surplus appendages'.

The plight of these people first became widely known through the first-hand investigations of Father Cosmas Desmond (now restricted under a banning order). His findings were subsequently published in *The Discarded People* (Penguin, London, 1971).

Dimbaza (at first called Mnxesha) was one of these dumping grounds. Since Cosmas Desmond first wrote about it, Dimbaza has gained considerable notoriety in South Africa, largely through the work of its resident Anglican priest, David Russell. When Cosmas Desmond first came across this place in May 1969, he wrote:

'One look at Mnxesha was sufficient to convince me that the reports I had heard had not been exaggerated and that here was grinding poverty, squalor and hardship equal to the worst places I had seen. There were the families, tiny one roomed houses, many with a number of ragged, hungry looking children or a bent old woman sitting outside. It was not quite true

A PLACE CALLED DIMBAZA

The Place and its Origins

In the 1960s when the South African Government decided to intensify its policy of removing all Africans declared to be redundant to the needs of the white economy in the urban areas, or who got in the way of implementing other aspects of its apartheid po-

licy, it found that large numbers of these summarily displaced people had neither families nor homes to which they could go in the eight Bantustans, or Black 'homelands'. At first some were simply dumped on the bare veld, provided with tents or other temporary accommodation, and with an absolute minimum of services; others

that I could no longer be shocked or disturbed. I was, in particular by the sight of one tiny baby, a virtual skeleton, unable to move or even to cry and covered with flies. I have been through the children's wards in African hospitals throughout the country and, over the past ten years have seen thousands of starving, dying children. But I doubt whether I have seen anything worse than this.'

Many of the people in Dimbaza had been removed from Middleburg, a prosperous agricultural centre in the north-eastern Cape Province. According to Desmond: 'Many people at Mnxesha were quite adamant that they had been employed, reasonably housed and very much wanted to stay at Middleburg . . . They said they were told by an official of the Bantu Affairs Department that at Mnxesha they would have proper houses with a bath and a stove; there would be shops and other facilities and special bachelor quarters with their own kitchens and cookers. Others claimed that they were told that if they did not move dogs would be set on them. Some were told to settle their families in Mnxesha and return to work in Middleburg . . . People from other towns also claimed that they had not wanted to move and that they had been in employment but were now unemployed.'

One group who, according to Russell, don't complain too much are the people moved off white farms whose conditions were so bad that by comparison, even Dimbaza was to be preferred to their lives as farm labourers. The first people to resettle arrived in November 1967 and early 1968, with a rapid increase in numbers between December 1968 and February 1969. By March 1969, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) put the population at 2,897, of whom 2,041 were children. Their numbers had increased to 3,400 by May, although Desmond estimated a much higher figure. By 1971 it was around 7,000 and by 1972 it had reached almost 10,000.

Redundant People

An official description of the kind of people sent to Dimbaza and of the arrangements made for them was given by an official of the chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in King Williams Town.

'Redundant people are being moved

to Dimbaza. We house redundant people . . . The people would be of no particular age group and could not render productive service in an urban area . . . Men who had lost their jobs and could not find new employment; old and infirm people; unmarried mothers. The government would provide the children with one substantial meal a day and rations would be given to the old and infirm people. Able bodied men would be able to enter into contracts for work in the mines, industries, and other avenues of employment. The provision of employment in the new village is receiving the attention of the authorities.'

The vast majority of Dimbaza inhabitants are children, old people and mothers - economically 'non-productive units.' Well over half the householders are women.

Nor can the people of Dimbaza survive by selling their labour since the only employment of any kind available for men in the township is as a labourer building more houses to resettle more superfluous people. About 400 men are employed at wages averaging between £8 and £10 per month. (The top wage is £12.50). Women can sometimes get jobs for £3 per month planting or cutting grass or washing walls.

No fuel. No soap. No sugar. No . . . Government's rations are absolutely inadequate.



A Dimbazo home





The Mother Who Prefers Prison

Mrs. Joyce Mapolisa, released from prison in 1969 after serving a six years' term of imprisonment under the 'Suppression of Communism Act', was sent to Dimbaza with her three children. She is unemployed. Now 49-years old, this former Port Elizabeth domestic servant says:

'Life here is worse than in prison. I am an asthmatic and have since contracted TB, and the dampness of my home is making it worse. The food scarcity is depressing. I might have been happier if my children did not have to suffer these hardships with me.'

The rations supplied by the Government are mainly starch 'with the result that diseases such as TB and malnutrition are hard to ward off.

'Last year I went to see some of my children in Port Elizabeth and was arrested for not being in possession of valid documents . . . I asked the magistrate rather to send me to prison than send me back to Dimbaza.'

The housing provided is inadequate, overcrowded and the rents charged are astronomical relative to income. The first arrivals at Dimbaza were put in tin-roofed wooden huts measuring 16'x16', and ten feet high; they had no floors or ceilings and no foundations. Stifling in summer they are freezing in winter. In the rainy season the floors become very damp. Many of these houses are still in use though most were replaced by two-roomed ash-brick houses with asbestos roofs - but still without floors or ceilings. With rents fixed at £1.71 per month for a two-roomed house, 85% cannot afford to pay any rent at all, according to an official admission.

These inadequate housing conditions, a rudimentary sanitation system, and desperate poverty, have not surprisingly made health a major problem.

Graves Dug in Advance

The signs of malnutrition are inescapable. The death rate, especially among children, is very high - graves are dug in advance. By May 1969, although the bulk of the population had arrived only in the preceding six months, there were already over ninety graves; over seventy were those of children. It is difficult, if not impossible to keep warm in the bitter winter cold and wet. Apart from the lack of food, there is a chronic shortage of fuel.

The problems are different in summer. January 1972, high summer in the Ciskei, was a bad time for gastroenteritis. In under two months, 52 children had died; by the beginning of May 1972, though the death rate had slowed considerably, there were over 400 children's graves.

Confirming these figures, a government spokesman regarded them as being nothing unusual.

Health facilities were at first virtually non-existent. In May 1969 a qualified nurse was appointed to run a free clinic with a doctor visiting once a week. Free medical treatment is available in King William's Town, but the bus fare makes visits prohibitively costly. A free ambulance service operates for emergency cases, but the nearest telephone was four miles away and did not operate in the evenings or at weekends. The nearest African hospital is at Mt. Coke mission station, 22 miles away.

Russell recognised some improvement by 1972. There was then a clinic run by two nurses, with a doctor visiting once a week. But the clinic sometimes ran out of drugs. Further improvements came at the end of 1972 with the doctor visiting five days a week, and a telephone was installed at the clinic.

The basic structures for education have been provided. The first primary school opened in March 1969, and by 1972 there were four primary schools and one secondary.

Mothers have difficulty trying to raise the money for school books, uniforms and fees, without which children may be prevented from attending. There are no school recreational facilities.

A Clean Prison

The superficial appearance of Dimbaza has improved somewhat since Desmond saw it first in 1969. The Cape Argus said in May 1972: 'Outwardly Dimbaza looks little different from dozens of other African townships. Rows of gaily painted little concrete houses are spread over the crest of a hill . . . it is the graveyard which belies the innocent facade . . .'

Russell describes the appearances as 'quite pleasant.' But, he goes on to ask: What is the use of having the most beautifully coloured walls if the floor is wet? What is the use of having schools if the people can't afford to buy books for their children? You could live in a palace but it would be a farce if you had no money.'

Dimbaza is described by its inhabitants as 'a clean prison'.

A Department of Information spokesman replying to critics of conditions in Dimbaza, claimed he could fill two Dimbazas 'tomorrow'. To this David Russell replied: 'There might be some truth in what he says. If you take away an African's right to live in an urban area and then offer him free rations, a free house, schools for the children and work, then of course he will agree to be resettled'. They receive a glowing picture of what to expect - 'instead, they arrive here and find that there is no work.'

'I've never seen such concentrated and depressed poverty as I've seen in Dimbaza,' says David Russell. 'The fundamental question is work. At another level the question is: why were they removed there at all'

Johannesburg's Black Ghetto...

SOWETO



There is no individuality in Soweto houses . . . just rows and rows of little brick boxes

It's crazy. The country is milling with Blacks yet if the white South African minority wants to know what Africans are like they have to pay someone to find out.

Businessmen will pay — it there is a market involved. Politicians won't — Blacks do not have the vote and, therefore, how they live, work or play is unimportant. But willynilly, thanks to business self-interest, political planners and the White population in South Africa have received publicly and from a non-political, non-partisan source, some of the African viewpoints they have affected to ignore. Such viewpoints have emerged from the first report of a new survey, "Quotso", conducted in Soweto by Quadrant International S.A., subsidiary of an international advertising group, on behalf of 29 major manufacturing companies in the country.

The idea behind this organised, scientific attempt "to find out" what makes Sowetons tick was born out of a feeling that in white advertising, manufacturing and commerce "knowledge of Africans was haphazard and too fragmentary."

The result is more than an interesting exercise in sociology, politics and psychology.

Soweto, the Black ghetto on the borders of Johannesburg, has 590,000 "legal" residents (Government statistics) but the number of people who live there is probably nearer 800,000. Most of Soweto's citizens live in houses like boxes, little boxes, row upon identical row. (The few elite have smart homes and there are also slums.)

Who are the people living in these small concrete and brick homes that are often distinguishable by little more than the number on the house?

Many Whites know them only as long queues of Blacks at bus stops, office messengers, servants and labourers. Whites brush shoulders with them in the streets — but they know little or nothing about them.

The report says "observation of the African life style is hampered by physical segregation. Most Europeans have never been inside a Bantu home."

In fact "communication between Africans and Europeans is legally restricted in many areas of life."

But here, in this report, the barriers

come down — and it is vitally important to have this insight. Apart from all other considerations, by the year 2000 the total population of South Africa, it is estimated, will reach 51-million, of whom 44-million will be Black and seven-million White.

Recent Strikes

Before giving details of the survey, let us give the background against which the research among urban Africans was undertaken:

Living conditions in Soweto





The report states:
 "Sociologists, economists and politicians are unanimous in their forecast of strong pressure from the Bantu towards higher wages and thus higher living standards.
 "Recent strikes and a growing consciousness of their significance and importance in the South African economy point in this direction.
 "We can assume that the seventies will be a time of movement within the African society with determined striving towards more spending power and a bigger slice of the cake."
 The average house in Soweto has three to four rooms and is inhabited by six to seven people, often spanning three generations.
 In this, the biggest and best paid Black community in South Africa, only 14 per cent of homes have electricity, seven per cent have a shower or bath, and three per cent have running hot water inside the home.
 Forty two per cent have sewing machines and 66 per cent have radios. Seventy seven per cent of Blacks buy on hire-purchase.
 For the working Black, the report shows, the day is long. "Often the worker gets up at 5 am or 6 am, walks to the station in the township, takes the train to Johannesburg and catches a bus or walks again to his place of work". This may take two hours in the morning and again in the evening. The Black man's working life is ruled by job reservation. He resents the low wages he receives and the lack of work opportunities, the survey shows.
 In their leisure hours most Blacks like to visit friends or have them to their homes.
 "Partly this is because there is little else to do and partly it reflects the African's gregarious nature."
 Soweto, with its nearly 800,000 population, has fairly limited sporting faci-

lities and very few other recreational or cultural avenues.
 Quite high on the list of free time activities among the 800 questioned for the survey was "listening to records". Reading, among the better educated, was also fairly often mentioned.

Attitude To Bantustans

Social drinking is a leisure time activity and here shebeens (illegal drinking bars) are mentioned.
 "Although shebeens are illegal they flourish and provide a platform for informal meetings."
 In fact shebeens are a very vital part of the life of the urban Black. They range from the posh and pricey to the basic drinking place for the lower-paid labourer. They are the counterpart of the White man's pub. They bring a certain warmth and colour into a life of often grey uniformity and overall hardship. They are far preferred to the legal beerhalls.
 Few of the Blacks questioned in the survey attended cinema shows regularly. This is attributed to the fact that there are few cinemas in Soweto.
 The survey deals with an important aspect of Government policy, namely, that city Blacks do not belong permanently in White areas.
 The official policy is that urban Africans are only temporary residents and that their real home is in the homelands. As a consequence, Sowetons are not allowed to own property or buy houses.
 "This attitude is maintained despite the fact that many Africans are born in Soweto and have never been to 'their' homelands or have any relatives there."
 How do Sowetons feel about the concept of Bantustans?

"The expressed attitudes are certainly not in line with official thinking. Three quarters of Sowetons consider Soweto their home until they die, and two thirds most definitely refuse to look at a homeland as a home."
 In these attitudes to policy, bitterness and frustration were evident. These reactions also showed when the Soweto Blacks were questioned about their basic day-to-day worries and problems.
 "These, broadly, could be grouped in two categories - economic and political".
 The biggest problems of Black South Africans, the survey shows, are:
 ● Economic: low wages and poverty, the struggle to provide for themselves and their families, and for many of them, the struggle to stay above the breadline.
 ● Political: apartheid in its many facets, pass laws, police raids, influx control and racial discrimination.

The people of Soweto include the teachers, tsotsis, the overalled labourers, the mini-skirted young women with Afro hairstyle and the older women in doeks and long washer-women skirts.
 They include the smartly dressed clerks, the shabby workers, and the children in whose future the adult Black places so much hope.
 This attitude emerges strongly in the survey: the hope for a better future for their children. This, of course, is

Travelling to work . . .



closely bound with the future of all other South African children of all races.

Hatred

When taking the future into account, the future of the Black man and the White, the following finding of the survey is of major importance:

"The major complaint (among those questioned who were frustrated and unhappy with the present situation) is that Blacks are not given their fair share, either politically or economically.

"Whites treat Blacks as inferior human beings, hamper their progress and keep them on as low a level as possible." The survey found that, depending on the mentality of the individual, this leads to apathy, frustration, resentment or even open hatred.

All these reactions were encountered in the groups questioned. The groups consisted of numbers of Blacks from different spheres. Their attitudes, in addition to those of the 800 Blacks questioned, were tested in the survey. "What was particularly criticised was the generally accepted master-servant role. In all groups, incidents were reported which illustrated the inherent feeling of superiority of the Whites and the resulting humiliation of the Blacks.

"The older generation was said to have become resigned to the 'master-servant' situation (and were treated

with contempt by their children), but the younger ones were not so easily silenced."

Those questioned felt that Soweto was not their home. There is no security of tenure and it is too small and confining like a concentration camp.

Even though they did not consider Soweto a home, the report states, "they shared the overall stiff resistance to the homelands"

They said things like:

"Ethnic grouping is poisonous."

"Homelands are a deathbed of Africans created by Whites, they are barren. If they were fertile they would not be allotted to the Africans."

"In the homelands I visualise starvation, disease, unemployment, drought and all that."

With the emphasis on ethnic origin seen as another White ploy to prevent Blacks uniting, three quarters of Sowetons felt it was becoming less and less important to which tribe one belonged.

Fallacy

Dealing with the oft-repeated argument that Whites sometimes put forward: that the Blacks in South Africa are better off than Blacks in other African countries the report states: "Whites sometimes argue that the Blacks in South Africa are better off than Blacks in any other African

country, implying they have no reason to complain. This train of thought is fallacious.

"Every psychologist or sociologist will confirm that it is not the absolute but the relative situation of an individual which determines his degree of satisfaction.

"The frame of reference is always the immediate environment, not some distant country to which one has no relation. "For the Africans, the frame of reference must be the Europeans, and compared with the Europeans they feel they are badly off. It is the Europeans who set the standard and level for all material aspirations."

Those who experienced the war in Europe would agree that it was so much easier to live in hardship and need if everybody else shared the same lot.

"It is only when oneself compares poorly with the rest of the community that dissatisfaction becomes virulent.

"It is in this light that we have to evaluate the Africans' attitude. They are surrounded by luxury of which they have no part.

"As soon as they no longer accept this state as God-given, discontent sets in . . ."

The Quadrant report does not try to sum up the complexities of this survey. But they do note, in conclusion, that in Soweto education and security go with a progressive outlook and a spirit of racial co-operation - as the people push hard, for a better future.

Returning from work . . .



This is Soweto



ABRAHAM TIRO

Abraham Tiro the young, militant student's leader formerly from the tribal University of the North is dead. Murdered . . .

He died in Gaborone, capital of Botswana where he took refuge after escaping from South Africa recently.

He was the victim of a book-bomb posted from Geneva. When his body was found at his home, both his hands were lost and his abdomen torn apart.

It will be recalled that it was Tiro's speech at a graduation ceremony at his university that sparked off one of the greatest strikes by students in South Africa. Every single Black campus was closed for some period or another.

To this day many of the campuses are still partially or wholly closed. In an effort to fill the campuses again the government is taking its usual draconian steps. Black students on a visit home on holiday from studies at universities and high schools outside South Africa are having their passports impounded. Black students who apply for passports to further their studies outside South Africa are being denied passports.

In his honest, brave and forthright speech at the graduation ceremony Tiro began by quoting Prime Minister Vorster who, when speaking at a meeting of the Afrikaans Students Society (A.S.B) said, "No Black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his". Tiro said, "Although I don't know how far this is true, I make this statement my launch pad.

"Addressing us on the occasion of the formal opening of this university, Mr. Phatudi, a Lebowa Territorial officer said that in as much as there is American education there had to be Bantu Education.

"I am consciously bound to differ with him. In America there is nothing like Negro education, Red Indian education and White American Education. But in South Africa we have Bantu Education, Indian Education, Coloured Education and European Education.

"We do not have a system of education common to all South Africans. What is there in European Education which is not good for Africans? We want a system of Education common to all South Africans . . ."

Elect Officials

In attacking the administrative committees on University Campuses which were either predominantly white or completely white, Mr. Tiro said, "Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the

opinion of students are 'white' Black men. We have a students' Dean without any duties. We feel that if it is necessary to have a Dean we must elect him. We know people who can represent us.

"I wonder if the Advisory Council knows that a Black man had been most unceremoniously kicked out of the bookshop. Apparently the bookshop is reserved for whites. According to government policy, Van Schaals has no right to run a bookshop here.

"A white member of the administration has been given the meat contract to supply the university - a Black university. Those who amorously support the policy may say that there are no Black people to supply it. My answer to them is: 'Why are they not able to supply the university? What is the cause? Is it not conveniently done that they are not in a position to supply these commodities?'

"White students are given vacation jobs at this university when there are Black students who could not get their results due to outstanding fees. Why does the administration not give jobs to these students? These white students have eleven universities where they can get vacation jobs. Does the administration expect me to get a vacation job at the (white - Ed.) University of Pretoria?"

Dear Parents

Complaining that many parents were locked outside the hall because of lack of accommodation, Tiro stated, "Front seats are given to white people who cannot even cheer us. My father is seated there at the back. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land - the land of our fathers?"

"This system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommend it strongly as the only solution to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of their own policy. According to this policy we expected Dr. Eissen to decline the chancellorship of this university in favour of a Black man.

"My dear parents, these are the injustices no normal student can tolerate - no matter who he is or where he comes from. In the light of what has been said, the challenge to every Black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa, restrictions without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from schools rest on all those who do not actively disassociate themselves from and work for the system breeding such evils . . ."

He then called on the Black graduates to take greater responsibilities "in the liberation of our people."

He concluded thus, "Of what use will your education be if you cannot help your people in their hour of need? If your education is not linked with the struggle on the whole continent of Africa it is meaningless."

He was expelled the next day.

Long after the world has forgotten the Vorsters, the van den Berghs and the Swanepoels, the people of our country will remember Abraham Tiro, student leader and a militant against apartheid tyranny.

The African National Congress of South Africa salutes the memory of this brave and courageous son of Africa and pledges to avenge his death. This and other murders of our people's heroes will not go unpunished and their memory shall ever be with us.

Hamba Kahle!
Amandla Matlala!