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Fighting Talk

African Jobs and White Elections

In a cynical pre-election manoeuvre the Vorster regime has once again used African hopes and achievements as bait in their dirty struggle for power. Vying for popular white support, ever willing to sacrifice the happiness and wellbeing of our people for the miserable votes of the prejudiced white electorate Vorster rushed through Parliament a new job reservation law which prohibits the employment of Africans as clerks, shop assistants, typists or telephonists. These occupations are now restricted by law to whites only.

Only sheer scarcity of white labour has made employers draw in Africans into these less menial occupations where Africans have been able to rise to slightly higher salaries. Now, Vorster's Nationalist Party, fighting for its image as the supreme defender of white privilege, has thrown into jeopardy these crumbs that have fallen to our people in this bountiful land, South Africa.

But election propaganda is one thing and implementation another. The outcry from industry and commerce has been so loud that the Minister responsible for the measure was forced to hastily give the assurance that the legislation was in fact only an invitation to employers to make representations for exemptions. And the capitalist press has noted with some smugness that these will be given in the thousands, though only for short periods and as a favour not a right.

The Government has thus achieved two things; it has bought popularity with those white employees who feel threatened by Black competition, and it has made employers even more dependent on its favours. The first gives the ruling party the votes it is seeking, the second the donations that fill party and personal coffers. **Such is the degeneracy of master race politics.**

However the question of upgrading African labour is not disposed of so easily. In an article elsewhere in this issue Sechaba discusses the dilemma of the regime brought on by the rapid economic expansion in recent years (based on mineral wealth and imperialist capital investment) which has led to an acute shortage of skilled white labour and the consequent influx of African labour into occupations previously closed to them. Businessmen have been complaining that further expansion is being held up because of labour deficiencies and their difficulties can only be resolved by fundamental political decisions, affecting all future development.

We also report in this issue that the white mineworkers are once again demanding that their jobs be protected by law against African encroachment although at political meetings they are the first to assert that Africans are barbarians incapable of shouldering responsibility.

It is their interest that the Minister of Economic Affairs had in mind, as well as the desire to appease white fears generally, when he informed industrialists that the days of uncontrolled African influx into the towns were over. He said that the Government would try to stem this flood even at the cost of economic performance. The only comfort he could offer them was that there was an increase in enrolment of white students at universities and colleges and that greater efforts were being made to get skilled immigrants. So, sandwiched between the image requirements of Vorster's party and the tug of business demands are to be found the African workers, ever the victims of white minority rule. Even if exemptions do save some workers for the present, employers will hesitate to take on additional non-white staff for these jobs. The total effect is that Africans are thrown into insecurity, a shuttlecock of the racist's whims. Angry as we are at this juggling with our peoples' jobs, we console ourselves with the thought that it is this very insecurity which will drive our people into ever greater resentment against the Vorster regime. If even minor gains are always to be in jeopardy then Africans are facing a blank wall. We are sure that a good many clerks, telephonists and typists have committed themselves to the revolution in the past few weeks.

SEX AND RACE

Pathological Obsessions of the White Regime

**A penetrating and original analysis based on a study
of Immorality Act Cases.**

by Barry Higgs



It is the regime's avowed intent in South Africa to maintain the dominance of the "White race".

Less published abroad, but equally harshly implemented, is another obsession: the attempt to maintain a "white race" at all.

There are 3½ million classified "whites" in South Africa. There are 16 million classified "non-whites" – which includes 12 million Africans, 3 million Coloureds (people of mixed descent) ½ million South Africans of Indian descent, and some thousands of Chinese and others. (Japanese are "honourary whites" in South Africa in view of Japan's extensive trade with South African capitalist enterprises.)

The only relations permitted between "white" and "non-white" people, are those of the master/servant category. All other relations, be they political, cultural or social, are distinctly not encouraged, and in some fields even forbidden by law.

Sex A Punishable Crime

Among the forbidden relations is that of sex. Obsessed with the preservation of a white race, fearful of an increase in the Coloured population, and filled with dark notions that all non-whites are inherently inferior, the regime operates (through its courts and its police force) the incredible law known as the Immorality Act. In South African law, it is a crime for a black person to have intercourse with a white person, and vice versa. This is a crime punishable with up to 7 years' imprisonment.

It is also regarded by the privileged white community as a moral crime, and any white man or woman convicted under the Immorality Act faces social isolation imposed by his fellow white upholders of "Christian civilization" (a favourite term amongst the hierarchy).

The Unbalanced Society

Last year there were over 5,000 trials under this Act in South Africa – meaning that roughly one out of every 200 white men came up in court for sexual "offences". The great

majority of cases involve white men and African or Coloured girls, the girls generally much younger than the men. The social causes of this are many:

(a) White men living in an unbalanced society in which they are not only dominant sexually but also rule – with extreme viciousness – the majority of the population in a master/slave relationship, will not fail to put their full intimidatory weight behind them;

(b) because of the extreme poverty of the African urban population, and the deliberate government policies of separating African families and of creating a cheap, moveable labour force without any permanent rights in the cities, prostitution is not uncommon – and it is the white men who have the money;

(c) while African women are widely used by whites as cheap "nanny" labour in white homes, African men are not favoured for this type of living-in employment. Typically, African men work as slave-wage unskilled workers in factories etc. (there are laws preventing them from indulging in skilled labour). They are forced to travel miles out of the "white cities" to slum townships and "hostels" in the evenings and at week-ends. Social contact with whites is therefore minimal – even overlooking the obvious class barriers;

(d) White women are not presented with much opportunity to create relations with African men, not only because they have been instilled socially with an abhorrence of Africans, but also because white South African men are generally excessively protective over their womenfolk who, in relation to the men, are severely restricted in many respects.

Leniency For White Dalliers

The prostitution mentioned above is a social problem outside the scope of this article, nor is it widespread amongst the majority population.

It will simply be noted that leniency appears to be exercised by the courts with regard to white men involved with "non-white" prostitutes. The converse does not apply. It should be noted in this respect that a man and a woman jointly charged under the Act, may be separately tried and receive

dissimilar sentences. Cases are well-documented where white male defendants have received suspended sentences while their co-defendants have been sent to jail.

Sincere Relationships The Most Hated

But it is not those cases which so much occupy the minds of the regime and its representatives and followers. Such activities may be discreetly – but never publicly – allowed to pass.

More worrisome to the regime, more likely to send the white community into pathological outrage, are the much-reported love matches between black and white, cases where the prying police have uncovered genuine relationships by dint of persistent keyhole-watching and lamppost-climbing. Such cases, and the reactions to them, are a pointer to the real concern of the regime. It is inadmissible to their Nazi-derived theories that white can co-habit happily with black. All attempts to establish such relationships must therefore be smashed and socially condemned. Furthermore, such relationships can result in children, who, being not purely white, cannot be accepted into the white community, and thus add to the non-white population at the expense of the white percentage. This is anathema to the white regime.

The Biased Magistrate

Witness the following statement made by a magistrate who had sentenced a white man and an African woman to six months' imprisonment each for contravening the Immorality Act. Passing sentence, the magistrate said that it should be brought to the notice of the public that "offences" like these must not happen. He said he realised both the accused were first offenders, but added: "Because of the manner in which you were trapped, a life might-have been created." The use of the word "trapped" is also significant. Presented below are some recent cases which reached the courts and the Press. The cases have been selected to indicate the social results and abuses of the infamous law. They are by no means the most horrifying cases which have been reported over the years – they are merely current.

They should also reveal, often by the very nature in which they are reported, the inhuman and mindless basis upon which the regime has built and inculcated its racial theories and laws.

Laws To Keep Whites On Top

The Immorality Act and other related laws are not designed merely to keep the races apart. In these and in most other South African laws, the African majority are not even considered as a living, human entity. The Laws have been formulated by White men with White men in mind, with white racial purity in mind. (There is the notorious fact that White South Africans, when they use the term "South Africans", mean only the 16% of the population who are white. To most white South Africans, the vast majority of people in the Republic do not fall into the category of "South Africans" as they understand that term.)

Under the particular subject we are discussing, there is the recent case of Henry May (who is classified Chinese) and Susan Schoeman (who is classified white).

Having lived together for five years and having three children, the young couple were charged in 1969 under the Immorality Act. Found guilty, they received suspended

sentences and were warned to discontinue their co-habitation.

Such a love match was doomed to appear in the courts again – were it not for a certain Amendment to the Race Classification Act.

The Amendment helped Susan Schoeman – but its basic intent is to further protect the White community from encroachment by Coloured people.

The 'Sunday Times' of 19. 10. 69 reported: "A little-noticed amendment to the Race Classification Act in June has made it possible for the Secretary of the Interior to change a person's race, irrespective of his heritage, appearance or general acceptance."

"He must, however, have the person's approval to be re-classified, and a person can only be re-classified "down" from White. Nobody can be re-classified White if one of his parents was classified anything but White. "It is in terms of this amendment that Miss Susan Schoeman, 21, who is White, was re-classified Chinese this week so she could marry the Chinese father of her three children, Mr. Henry May."

Non-Whites Get Higher Sentences

There is a rider to the above story. It concerns the suspended sentences passed on the couple when they were originally charged under the Immorality Act . . . The white woman Susan Schoeman received a sentence of 6 months' imprisonment. But the Chinese man Henry May received a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment. Yet there was no difference in the charge.

There was also the notorious case in South West Africa two years ago, where the white man involved was found Not Guilty of a charge under the Act. But the African woman, tried in a separate court, was found Guilty on the same charge and sent to jail. The facts only came to light after investigations by an astute reporter.

Police Pry, Spy and Take Part

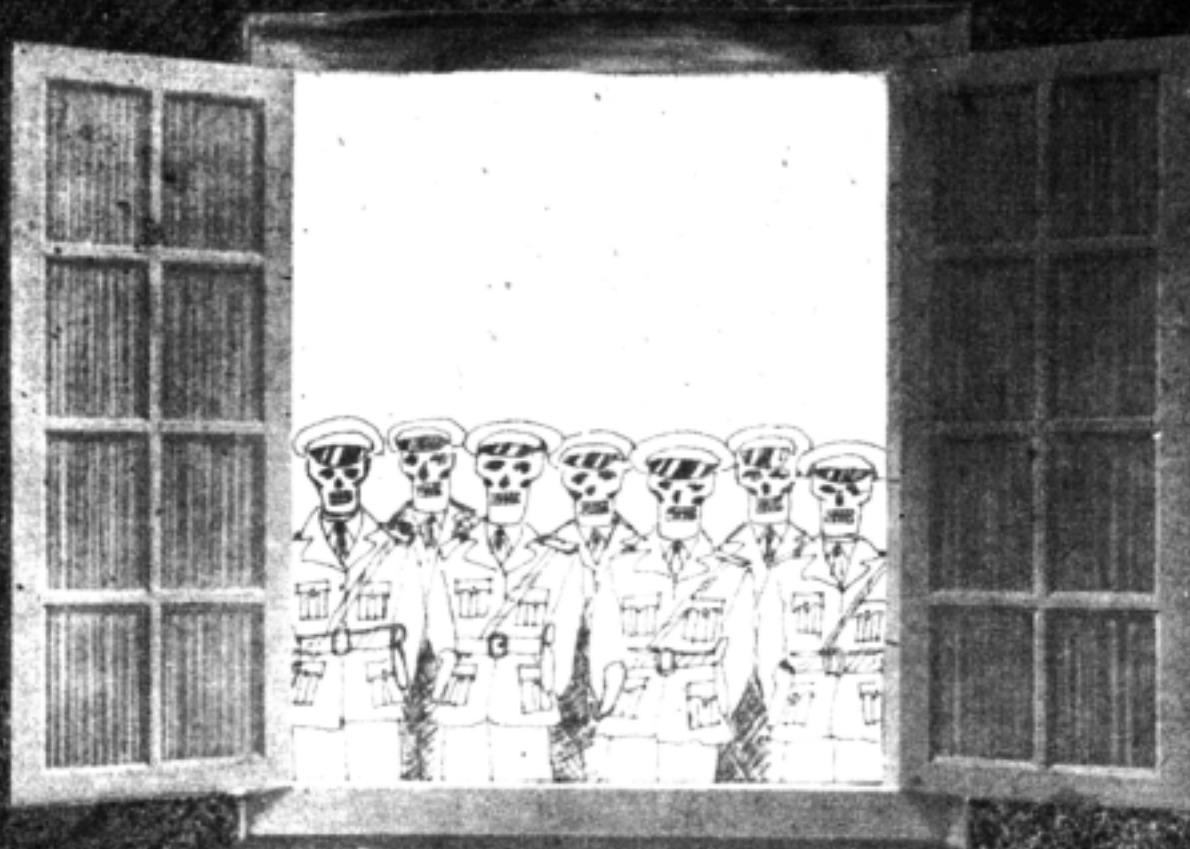
It should be noted that in terms of the Immorality Act, a sentence can only be passed if it can be established that the sexual act actually took place between two people of different races, or was about to take place. This results in the police obtaining their evidence by breaking in doors and other unsavoury acts, including the popular police method of attempting to "pick up" African and Coloured girls and then charging them. Cases have been reported where white police officers have in fact gone through the sexual act and then charged their bed-mate with Immorality. This is done in the name of the law.

An interesting pointer to the official attitudes to this Law, is given by its categorization in police terms . . . It falls under the surveillance of a police division called the "Liquor, Gambling and Immorality Staff".

Here are two recent reports indicating police methods. From the "Rand Daily Mail" of 14. 10. 1969: "A coloured woman convicted a third time under the Immorality Act was told by a magistrate her behaviour "jeopardized the freedom of White men who might fall for her nonsense".

"Diane Jacobs, 31, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment yesterday, for soliciting a White policeman for immoral purposes . . .

"The court heard earlier that Jacobs "nodded and winked" at Detective-Sergeant J. L. Kleynhans of the Liquor, Gambling and Immorality Staff, while he was on patrol in Jeppe



Street on July 30. Later, she climbed into his car. She said: "Let's go to your place, but you must pay me four Rand", Sergeant Kleynhans told the court.

"He said he understood she wanted him to pay for intercourse. "I immediately revealed my identity and arrested her for soliciting", he said."

And from the "Rand Daily Mail" of 1. 11. 1969: "Police used

a duplicate key to gain admission to a hotel room where a White man and a Coloured woman were together. This evidence was led yesterday at the trial in the Johannesburg Regional Court of Gunter Bornsheim, 26, and Constance Clark, 30, no address given.

Both Pleaded not guilty to charges of contravening the Immorality Act.

"Constable Hendrik Lambrecht said that on September 5 he and a Constable Kruger went to a private hotel in Doornfontein. "We knocked on a door. It was locked and the lights were off."

Constable Kruger borrowed a duplicate key from the caretaker. He opened the door and put the lights on. "Bornsheim stood in front of us. He was partly clad and held a hanky in front of him," said Constable Lambrecht. "Clark was in the bed. She had nothing on." "Constable Lambrecht said Bornsheim pleaded with him not to arrest him."

The rest of the above report shows up two very significant social facts. Firstly, the white man Gunter Bornsheim was released on bail of £ 75 – but the Coloured woman, Constance Clark, was remanded in custody. Secondly, the report carried this footnote: "Mr. J. Behrman appeared for Bornsheim." No mention of any representation for Constance Clark.

Concern For Whites, None For Blacks

Looking through cuttings of reports on "Morals cases" as they are called by the Press, one cannot help but notice the concern of the national newspapers for the whites involved. But there is scant attention paid to the problems of Africans and Coloureds involved. That side of the partnership is lucky to get a mention. This automatic bias will become apparent in the extracts that follow.

The concern of the national press in such cases generally centres around the social ostracism of whites after they have been charged with Immorality.

Many Suicides As Result Of Charges

Reliable statistics are not available as to the number of suicides resulting from exposure through the Immorality Act. Suicide is a step often taken, however, as something preferable to the social stigma that will attach after such a trial.

A recent case was reported in the Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' of 15. 2. 1970 and the 'Rand Daily Mail' of 13. 2. 1970: "Mr. Zacharia Enslin Botha, 35, a father of four young children, this week became the latest in a series of South African men who have taken their own lives rather than face the stigma of a prosecution under the Immorality Act. He was found hanged in a Vanderbijlpark police cell on Tuesday.

His widow, Mrs. Hesta Botha, said after her husband's funeral on Friday: "We are convinced that Sakkie died to spare me and the children the humiliation of facing a charge under the Immorality Act" . . .

"His brother-in-law, Mr. Gert Swanepoel, of Alberton, went to the police station to see if he could do anything for Sakkie," said Mrs. Botha. "Mr. Swanepoel said they found my husband hanging by his shirt."

Social Stigma

From the 'Rand Daily Mail' of 3. 12. 1969 and the 'Sunday Times' of 7. 12. 1969:

"Mr. Gerhard Moll, 59, the Johannesburg school principal suspended from his post after his wife laid charges under Immorality Act against him during a fit of "pique and

jealousy", told me this week: "There is a terrible stigma attached to anything concerning the Immorality Act and it is dreadful to have your name dragged through the mud when you know you are innocent. People treat you as though you had leprosy." Mr. Moll is still waiting for a decision on his professional future despite the success of his appeal in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday.

" . . . Mr. Gerhard Moll, 59, former headmaster of a Johannesburg primary school, who was convicted of two charges under the Immorality Act in July this year, cried when he heard that his appeal against the charges had been successful."

"Mr. Moll was suspended from his job as headmaster of La Rochelle Primary School after being charged. He is now doing everything he can to get his job back. He had been with the school for 22 years."

Although rehabilitation into the community may be achieved by individual whites, the government makes its position clear by dismissing from service those who have broken this Law, as was done to Mr. Moll.

This was shown also in another report in the 'Sunday Times' of 7. 12. 1969, part of which stated: "In the most recent case, when the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the area, Willem Jacobus Scheepers, was jailed for four months, the Public Prosecutor, Mr. A. J. van Wyk told the Brits Regional Court that it was the 27th Immorality hearing in the Brits-Rustenburg area since January, and called for a heavy sentence. Earlier in the year another official of the Bantu Affairs Department was also found Guilty of attempting to commit Immorality and jailed for three months. Both men have been dismissed by the Department."

How Police Get Evidence

Police methods in the above-mentioned Scheepers case should not pass unmentioned.

Willem Jacobus Scheepers, a Bantu Affairs Commissioner, (and thus a white official of the government handling affairs for 'Bantu' i.e. Africans – since Africans are not permitted to handle their own affairs), took advantage of his position to force his attentions on an African Schoolmistress (understandably unnamed in the report). Several times while making arrangements regarding a school, he touched the schoolmistress under her dress and made suggestions. She (bravely) reported the incidents to the police. From then on the matter was out of her hands. Having decided to take action, the police hit on a method which would enable them to obtain a conviction against Scheepers.

Their method involved what must have been a crude and humiliating experience for the school-mistress. The 'Rand Daily Mail' of 8. 11. 1969 takes up the story, as reported in court:

At this stage she had already received instructions from the police, she said:

"Arriving home, she noticed Scheepers's car parked outside her gate. As she approached Scheepers got out and followed her inside.

In the lounge of her house Scheepers again put his hands under her dress and suggested they go to her bedroom. In the bedroom he told her to get undressed. She then partly undressed herself and Scheepers completed the undressing. He then took off his trousers and underpants and sat beside her on the bed.

At this stage, she gave the prearranged signal to the police, and Sergeant P. Ras came into the room.

After taking a picture of the partly undressed Scheepers and herself, Sergeant Ras arrested Scheepers.

In mitigation, Scheepers, a deacon of the Dutch Reformed Church at Britz, asked for mercy, saying: "I pray that God will guide us all in this matter". He told of his success in his job."

How The Law Destroys Families

From the Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' of 15. 2. 1970: "Mrs. Jacobus Lodewyk Smith, 48, who admitted in the Potgietersrust Regional Court that she contravened the Immorality Act with an African labourer on the farm Buffelsfontein, outside Naboomspruit, this week sent her two youngest children, Buksie, six, and Sussie, four, into hiding for fear they would be taken away from her by the authorities.

The Magistrate for Naboomspruit, Mr. A. R. Aspeling, told me that an inquiry was being held into the matter. "I will inform the Social Welfare Dept. in Pietersburg of the findings of the inquiry and they will decide what should be done with the children," he said.

Mrs. Smith said she would not give up her children "and we will move from here just as soon as we can sell the farm."

Mr. Willie Smith, a railway guard, refused to comment, but I understand from a friend that he intends to stand by his wife and family.

Mrs. Smith and her children lived happily on the farm until Buksie started school last month. Mr. T. F. J. van Aarde, principal of the Naboomspruit Afrikaans - medium primary school, told me: "I saw Mrs. Smith with her son on the first day of school . . . I noticed that the boy was different from

the other children. During that day and the next, I had complaints from a number of parents. On the third day, the boy did not come to school . . . I went to see Mrs. Smith to find out what was happening about her son. I told her that there had been complaints from some of the parents, and said I did not think her son would be happy at the school. I never once mentioned that it was because the boy looked different, but I think she realised that the objections were because of this . . ." . . . One of the parents laid a complaint with the Naboomspruit police.

In court last week, Mrs. Smith and an African labourer, Smach Manjuko, who had worked on the farm for eight years but left in 1968, both pleaded Guilty to contravening the Immorality Act on occasions between January 1962 and January, 1968.

Mrs. Smith told the court that before the birth of her son, she had been intimate with Manjuko. Intimacy had also occurred before the birth of her daughter. Her husband had accepted that the children were his and had brought them up as his children.

Mrs. Smith and Manjuko were both found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, suspended for three years.

In evidence, Mr. Willie Smith said he had worked on the railways for eight years since his cattle died from foot-and-mouth disease, and his wife was left alone for long periods.

The 'Sunday Express' of 15. 2. 1970: "After the court finding, Naboomspruit parents refused to allow the dark-complexioned Buksie to share a classroom with their children."

HOW MANY TIMES
DO I HAVE TO TELL
YOU BOTH, ADAM
AND EVE WERE
WHITE



More Families In Trouble

From the 'Rand Daily Mail' of 13. 1. 1970:

"A Coloured woman, Yvonne Barbara King, 23, and a White, Griffen Walter Smith, 35, went to bed in their small Durban suburban flat last night not knowing whether a rap on the door would start all their race law troubles again.

Earlier yesterday they had been acquitted in the Durban Magistrate's Court of contravening the Immorality Act through what amounted to a technicality. The magistrate said if the charge had been formulated another way "the result of this trial would have been different".

Cradling their four-week-old daughter, Sharon Barbara, in his arms, Mr. Smith told me: "We are worried that at any time a policeman could knock on the door and charges be laid all over again . . . But what's the use of worrying. We don't want to be split up now that we've got the baby. We are very happy to live together. The only thing that's in the way is the law."

From the Jo'burg 'Sunday Times' of 5. 10. 1969:

"Catherine Furlong, 21-year-old mother of two who was found guilty this week under the Immorality Act because she was intimate with her White husband, may have been classified Coloured because her divorced father had himself re-classified as a Coloured in order to marry a Coloured woman . . . Mrs. Furlong's father had been issued with a White identity card, but had later asked to be re-classified Coloured.

The magistrate said that the couple were guilty under the Immorality Act because Mrs. Furlong had been issued with a Coloured identity card . . . He postponed sentence for a year, saying that within that time they might be called to appear before a magistrate.

Later, tearful Mrs. Furlong packed her personal belongings and those of her two blonde children, Cleon, 2, and Matthew, 3 months, and moved to the home of her parents-in-law. Her husband is now living alone in their home in Mayfair, but sees his family frequently . . .

"It was three o'clock in the morning when we first heard a pounding on the door," Mrs. Furlong said. "I was breast-feeding Cleon when a torch was shone in my face. I was flabbergasted. Derek, my husband, switched on the lights and a voice said "You must get up"."

In the lounge two detectives demanded to see their passports, marriage certificate and identity cards. Then the detectives left . . .

On August 1. there was a pounding on the door again, at 4 a.m. The sleepy couple faced a sergeant who told them he was investigating a case of immorality. He felt their bed, pulled the bedding aside and questioned them. Then he went into the children's room and disturbed them.

"They took us to John Vorster Square," said Mrs. Furlong. "It was about 5 o'clock in the morning. They fingerprinted us, took particulars about our features, which they marked down on an identity chart, and they made me push back my hair so they could see my ears.

They then took us back home and warned us that we must appear in court on the Monday - it was then Friday."

Bars Are For White Males Only

Reference was made at the outset of this article to White men using their status as males and as overlords to push their advantage.

It should be noted that the whole society is geared towards placing them in this position of arrogance and domination. Public bars in the cities are not only reserved for Whites only - they are also the exclusive haunts of white MEN only, since white women cannot enter such bars. Most white South Africans own fire-arms such as pistols, revolvers, rifles etc. Africans are prohibited from owning arms.

Amongst the white community, the number of deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver is three times as high as in Britain. This is as a result of the heavy drinking pattern of white South Africans.

The death rate for White South African men of all ages is one of the highest in the world. The two main causes of the high death rate are (a) a high accident rate and (b) coronary thrombosis. A third of the deaths of men aged 20 to 49 result from causes involving violence. Cars, alcohol and easy access to dangerous weapons are the main killers. The above statistics do not apply to Africans in South Africa.

Rape of non-white women by white men is statistically far more frequent than rape of white women by non-white men. Africans convicted of rape of white women are generally sentenced to death. But there has never been an execution yet of a white man for rape of a non-white woman.

All governmental, provincial, police, industrial and commercial posts of any standing are held by white South Africans. Africans are prohibited by law from carrying out any but the most menial tasks. There is no representation for Africans by Africans in Parliament.

(One in every five working whites in South Africa works for the government, provincial administration or local authority.)

Rhodesia Follows The Leader

Finally, it is interesting to note recent racial developments in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), which is following the pattern set by the racists to the south, with whom the Salisbury regime is hand-in-glove in subverting justice in Southern Africa.

A single case, which relates to the topic under review, will suffice to indicate the foreseeable moves in that country. The 'Rand Daily Mail' of 3. 11. 1969 reported: "A young Chinese mother, Mrs. Linn Ann Swartz - who is liable to prosecution under the Immorality Act if she returns to South Africa, the land of her birth - has not yet left Salisbury. She and her 25-year-old white South African husband Errol, have been given until Tuesday to quit Rhodesia . . .

The dilemma of the Swartz family has angered many Rhodesians - and has scared other "mixed marriages". Mr. Swartz reported that a Rhodesian immigration official told him that he could not remain in Rhodesia because his wife was Chinese. The couple arrived here from South Africa in July and were married in Salisbury only nine days before the birth of their daughter . . .

In Rhodesia there are no laws preventing mixed marriages . . . However, it is equally true that Government policy frowns on mixed marriages . . ."

Sources used in this article, where they are not quoted in the text, include the following:

- Various South African newspapers;
- S.A. Government Gazette;
- S.A. Bureau of Statistics;
- S.A. Journal of Science;
- S.A. Law Journal.



FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT

FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL IS NEAR — SAYS S. A. ARMY CHIEF

It was not a far-fetched idea that white South Africans could once again be forced within the foreseeable future to fight gun in hand for their survival in their fatherland, the Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, General R. C. Hiemstra, said in Ficksburg recently. Was the General raising the alarm in the way of all army chiefs who want to build their empires? Or was he expressing genuine fears in a moment of candour among people who were anxiously waiting for an assessment of their future from the man who ought to know.

The General was speaking at the opening of the Ficksburg Agricultural Show in the Northern Transvaal to white farmers who are near enough to the borders to be jittery. Apart from fears of guerrilla intrusions, they are plagued by the knowledge that whites are moving out of the countryside to the safety of the towns leaving a high preponderance of African farm labourers who have no reason to be thankful to the Baas.

The General told this flock of tight-lipped frontiersmen, "We are experiencing one of the great periods of revolution in the history of mankind. **We cannot afford to have illusions about the extent and the bitterness of feeling let loose against us in the world.**

"This requires of us, firstly, an absolutely fundamental approach of our relations with Non-White nations and the acceptance of certain logical adaptations in our traditional approach, which might be strange to us but which would not endanger the maintenance of our White heritage in any way. Secondly, the pursuance of the greatest possible degree of unity in our ranks. Apart from the normal and healthy political differences which form

the essence of a dynamic democracy, all of us, regardless of political conviction, language or religion, must be inspired with one, predominant feeling for our beloved fatherland. In the third place, the will of the people to maintain their White heritage and sovereignty should come to fruition in a powerful defence force."

A STRONG DEFENCE FORCE

A similar note of anxiety was struck by that rogue elephant of South African politics Blaar Coetzee, now Minister of so-called Community Development and of Public Works.

In a speech at Welkon, a white mining town in the Free State, Blaar said that South Africa was in constant danger and the Nationalist Party was asking the electorate for a mandate to preserve order at all costs. "We must not imagine that nothing can happen to us" he said.

He went on to refer to Sharpeville, the Rivonia Trial and Braam Fisher, as well as to the fact that the U. S. has decided to close its consulate in Rhodesia. The Party was also asking for a mandate to build a defence force stronger than ever before, to form a true unity between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, to build up the economy of the country and to form a White nation in Southern Africa not only for the foreseeable future, but for future generations. All in all, the foreseeable future is what is worrying the racists very much right now. With pressures mounting in the North, and outbursts of African anger at home, it needed only the Verkrampetes to throw Blaar the prophet into utter confusion.

SLAVE LABOUR

The exclusion of African rural areas from the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act and determinations

under the Wage Act has roused people to fury. It is now possible for employers of Africans in the reserves to pay what they please and to provide the worst possible conditions. The new measure is meant as an incentive to industry to invest in the reserves paying slave wages, obtaining labour by administrative pressure, evading the higher costs in other areas due to job reservation and enabling strict policing of employees' movement.

Conditions of African workers in the urban areas will seem luxurious when compared to "homeland" industries. This is the promised Bantustan freedom — landlessness, rightlessness, brutal economic exploitation and police terror where the prying eyes of the press and visitors cannot see.

THE MURDER OF IMAM HARON

The death of Imam Abdullah Haron while under interrogation by the Special Branch in September last year was the subject of an inquest recently. The Imam had been in detention for four months during which time no one other than police and officials saw him. At the inquest the magistrate found that death was the sequel to an injury caused, in part, by the Imam falling down some stairs. The advocate appearing for the family gave the true explanation.

Imam Abdullah Haron was beaten for the purpose of obtaining a statement while in the exclusive custody of the Security Police, Mr. W. E. Cooper, S. C., alleged in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court.

Mr. Cooper (for Mrs. Haron and her family) made this submission in his summing up address before Mr. J. S. P. Kuhn and an assessor, Professor L. S. Smith, Senior State Pathologist at the public inquest on the Imam. The Moslem leader died in the Maitland police cells on September 27 last year while being held under the 180-day section.

Mr. Cooper said that according to the post-mortem there were 26 separate bruises on the Imam's body, a haematoma (blood swelling) on his back and fracture of his seventh right rib.

Mr. Cooper alleged that from September 17 to 19, when Imam Haron was away from his cell for three days and two nights, in the exclusive custody of the Security Police, he sustained his injuries as a result of assault on him. "What explanation have the Security Police given to account for his injuries?"

He said Major Dirk Genus, who was in charge of the investigation into the Imam's activities, had told the court that the only explanation he could

give for the bruises was an incident on the night of September 19 when Imam Haron allegedly fell down some stairs at Security Police offices. "The first time that mention was made of this alleged fall was on the afternoon of September 28 after Major Genis had seen the body and noticed the bruises", he said.

Sergeant J. F. P. van Wyk, investigating the case with Major Genis, had said that except for the incident when Imam Haron fell down the stairs, he was not aware of any injuries or bruises sustained by the Imam during his detention.

"It is a strange coincidence that when a detainee named Brooks had alleged that Sergeant van Wyk fractured his (Brooke's) ankle during interrogation that Sergeant van Wyk's explanation was that Brooks had sustained the injury while falling down stairs while allegedly trying to escape."

INTEGRATION — ONE MAN'S DEFINITION

"Because a Black Man works in a White industry, this does not mean economic integration. You only have economic integration if the Black Man owns the factory. There is no economic integration in South Africa."

This is the opinion of Dr. Mulder, and he ought to know, he is the Minister of Information.

NON-INTEGRATION

Job Reservation is crumbling at the Springs abattoirs, where a chronic shortage of White, unskilled labour to handle certain slaughtering work, is threatening meat supplies to the area. The shortage has reached such alarming proportions, that the town council has decided to employ Africans to supplement the Whites. The White labour shortage at other abattoirs on the Reef has according to the Meat Control Board, also deteriorated to such an extent that meat supply in the Pretoria Witwatersrand complex is being threatened. The desperate situation has prompted the Abattoir Commission to write to Reef councils and ask them to allow non-White labour. The apartheid laws have, however, created problems at abattoirs where there are no cloakrooms and canteen facilities for Non-Whites. The Meat Control Board has instructed Reef councils to make immediate provision for these facilities to "avert the threatening possibility of an inadequate supply of an essential commodity."

PUPILS PICKET THEIR WAY IN

Bantu Education has ruined schooling for Africans by lowering standards and corrupting curricula. But it has gone further than that, despite the double shift system which was supposed to relieve pressure on class rooms by having morning and afternoon sessions, large numbers of children are left without schooling. This, despite increased taxes meant to supply a special government fund for African education. More than 100 Soweto children who picketed a school for two months after being turned away, have been admitted — but there are no desks for them.

Their daily pleas finally wore down Mr. T. W. Kambule, headmaster of Orlando High School. And although the school was overcrowded — that was the reason for turning the 118 youngsters away — he finally let them in.

Mr. Kambule, Headmaster, said "I could not bear to see those children picketing the school." He arranged for them to use a church hall. And the only time any of them get into a class room is when primary school pupils leave theirs for oral lessons in the open air.

Then, at least, they can write on desk tops. But that's only half of them. The other half do not get to desks at all.

WHITE WORKERS STILL AT IT

Echoes of the violent past struggles by white mineworkers to preserve their jobs against African competition were raised once again by their Union recently. The powerful Mineworkers Union, one of the most reactionary in the country, with a long history of anti-African prejudice is once again worried about "non-white infiltration into traditionally white jobs". It is appealing to its members to put their complaints before an Industrial Tribunal. The Tribunal, set up last year, has now begun its investigation of complaints that Africans were infiltrating the posts of sampler surveyor and ventilation officer. It will hold inspections in loco during working hours on different mines, and sit after office hours to hear evidence.

The union — an all-white organisation with 16,000 members — says in its official newspaper "The Mineworker": "It is of the utmost importance that all miners and interested parties who are worried about the non-White infiltration, should give evidence before the tribunal. All evidence will be given in camera: workers can therefore state their views frankly. We all complained about the non-White infiltration into

our jobs. Now is the time to state your case. "What will you do", it asks, "when a non-White surveyor must determine your earnings?"

It was largely on the exhortations of the union that the Minister of Labour, Mr. Viljoen, appointed the tribunal in July last year. The union's general secretary, Mr. P. J. Paulus, said at the time: "We all realise that the mines will save a lot of wages if non-Whites can be employed as junior officials, but our trade union will always insist that the mining industry will stay White. "Most members are supporters of the Government and can therefore rightly ask it to protect the interests of Whites in the mining industry, especially since our viewpoint is in line with Government policy."

There are at present 548,000 African mineworkers as against 62,000 Whites. Their wages are £104 per year compared to £1,875 of the White workers, a ratio of 18 to one between skilled and semi-skilled that is probably unique in the world.

AFRICANS BANNED FROM PARK

THE TOWN COUNCIL OF PHALABORWA IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL, HAS DECIDED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST AFRICANS WHO USE THE PUBLIC PARK IN THE TOWN CENTRE FOR RECREATION.

It has been decided to ask the police to clear the park of all Africans who gather there during the evenings or at weekends.

Although the park does not have a "Whites only" notice the council felt that the Africans were "creating a public nuisance" and that it was "unhealthy" for Africans to sit on the grass near the children's playground.

In terms of the municipal by-law the police are empowered to arrest or evict Africans from any public area where it is felt that they are creating a public nuisance.

The Town Clerk of Phalaborwa, Mr. N. J. van der Westhuizen, said that several residents of the town had complained to the Council about the presence of the Africans in the park. He said the Council felt "Very strongly" about the matter and decided to take prompt action to rid the area of this "undesirable element".

"There is no need for any Bantu to be in the residential area of town at week-ends or in the evenings", Mr. van der Westhuizen said. "They have their own township three miles from town where they have their own facilities. The township is even equipped with a bank."

He said the problem of Africans in the town centre was not only confined to

the park, but to all areas in the business centre of the mining town.

The White population of Phalaborwa is 7,000, while the African population amounts to about 12,500. About 2,300 domestic servants are living in the White residential area.

Since only whites are affluent enough to have servants this gives a ratio of 1 in 3; an average of more than one servant per white family. But Phalaborwa is no ordinary country town, it is the rich copper mining centre funded by a U. S. company and staffed by a large colony of Americans. How green is your park Yankee?

VISITS BY PERMIT

"Before the proclamation the police were in an impossible position as Coloureds and Indians could visit each other for at least 90 days a year." This remarkable utterance was made by the Minister of Community Development, Blaar Coetzee, in order to explain a new Government proclamation to prevent non-white domestic servants working in white areas from receiving visitors.

The Minister said that the position of African servants was already under control in terms of the Bantu Urban Areas Act. The new proclamation was to be made in terms of the Group Areas Act and prohibits Coloured and Indian servants from receiving visitors after 10 p. m. unless they had official permission.

What was worrying the Minister most, it seems, was the possibility of servants inviting friends to stay with them, technically even for 90 days a year. This permissiveness had to be stopped, even if it had to be done by the man responsible for "community development".

URBAN SLUMS ON THE INCREASE

Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, M. P. C. chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee has warned that the vast African urban areas surrounding South Africa's major cities were in danger of deteriorating into slums "worse than those of 20 years ago" when the Government's massive urban renewal project was begun.

"The Government's mad ideology is to blame for its present situation", said Mr. Oberholzer. "Official reasoning seems to be that there is no need to provide for any further influx of large numbers of Africans to the cities because it is the declared policy that this influx will be halted. Funds to extend and maintain the African townships

are drying up as a result, and the housing shortage is reaching a critical stage."

Mr. Oberholzer said that when the urban building programme reached its height 10 years ago Johannesburg was providing 3,000 homes a year for Africans. But in the last five years the Government had made available funds for the construction of a total of only 3,500 homes. "There is already a waiting list for 10,000 houses in Johannesburg, while Pretoria is faced with a waiting list of 7,000."

The development of slum conditions in Soweto can only undo the tremendous advances made to the health of this community since the removal of the urban slums."

SQUATTERS MOVE IN.

Mr. Oberholzer said another symptom of growing slum conditions was the increasing squatter movement. This was highlighted last year when a squatter "town" mushroomed near Soweto overnight. **Thousands of Africans with nowhere else to go flocked to the area and lived in conditions not seen in Johannesburg since the squatter villages of the 1950's.** "In the light of this it is tragic that badly needed funds are being channelled to platterland towns bordering on the home-

lands. It is in the larger centres that the problems of race relations will have to be faced, and where a solution will have to be found - not in the homelands."

"WHITE BY NIGHT"

Mr. Oberholzer said the position was further aggravated by the Government's new "White by night" policies which it was trying to foist on the cities.

"This nonsensical move will create an even greater demand for housing from people who are at the moment adequately housed in the backyards of their employers."

"And to top it all, there is a new threat that the Section 10 citizenship rights of the urban Africans will be removed. But I want to warn the Government that this could cause considerable unrest among Africans."

"At the moment these rights are psychologically very valuable. As the few rights of the urban Africans were whittled away over the years, the remaining rights became progressively more precious, and today the Section 10 qualifications is far more treasured and sought after than any vote."

None of them, including those who were born and bred in the towns would have tangible security of tenure once Section 10 rights were removed.

LETTER TO LEABUA JONATHAN

Complaint regarding the death of my son

On 10th October 1969 my son was sadly buried at our cemetery at Mafeteng. His name was Tsietsi Sam Kahn Motloheloa, and he was 18 years of age and was then a student at the Lerotholi Technical School, Maseru.

He had been stabbed to death at a concert at St. Gerard's Mission Hall on 8th October by another young man called Khotso Mokhethi, also of Mafeteng Reserve. Khotso Mokhethi was later arrested on a charge of murder and sent to Mafeteng Local Prison.

I was expecting the case to go the High Court of Lesotho. I was surprised however to find the boy out on bail of R 70. On making inquiries I was told that he had been let out because the higher authorities at Maseru had ordered that the boy be charged with the lesser crime of culpable homicide.

This was really shocking to me. I had ex-

pected at least a murder trial at the High Court in respect of the death of my son.

I lodge this complaint with you because it appears to me that the killing of my son is condoned. It appears to me that my child's precious life is worth little or nothing. This shocking treatment reminds me of what happened to me in 1964 at Maseru when I was fired upon and wounded and the culprits were never traced or found out.

I do not know whether my case was neglected because I am a communist. Is the life of a communist not valuable in Lesotho? Perhaps my boy's life is being wantonly expended because his father is a communist. Is it because we are regarded as mere dogs here that our lives should be treated so cheaply.

Honourable Prime Minister I am addressing you with respect and asking you to look into this and see whether or not justice is being done in this matter.

John Motloheloa (Signed)

The Manpower Crisis

This article shows how African labour advancement is restricted to protect white workers on whose support is based the white power structure.

Observers of the South African situation have pointed out (and successive South African governments have not denied) the extensive and intensive manner in which non-whites are excluded from not only sharing in the processes and institutions of government, but also in the skills and benefits of modern economic techniques.⁽¹⁾ How must we then interpret the spate of recent statements by industrialists, calling for greater use of nonwhites in the economy? Since they are crucial to the argument, I quote some of these:

"There is plenty of evidence suggesting that a labour crisis exists in South Africa. It is a crisis of ideology, with powerful and inevitable political overtones. It is also a crisis of national growth. In the end result, unless sanity and reason prevail, it may well develop into a crisis that will affect the individual prosperity of all South Africans. Yet for all its wide ramification the issue hinges on a single question: to what extent will the government, the trade unions and the employers use (or permit the use of) skilled and semi-skilled non-white labour?"⁽²⁾

"Labour shortage in the engineering industry has reached such an acute stage that the industry cannot even find recruits for the simpler types of operative work, says Mr W. P. Scales, chairman of one of South Africa's largest heavy engineering groups, Dorman Long . . . He points out that some of the workshop operations are not only simple but they are monotonous and repetitive. "To reserve this type of work for any particular type of labour under present conditions seems to be an anachronism. "Like many other industrialists he repeats that (it) will not result in Europeans (sic) being thrown out of employment but will enable them to use their abilities to the full in more skilled, interesting and remunerative work."⁽³⁾

"In a surprise speech last night, Mr C. J. Fuchs, a top South African industrialist, came out strongly in defence of African labour at a meeting which shortly before had heard the Minister of Labour, Mr Viljoen, asking industrialists to support white workers . . . Mr Fuchs said white artisans had become lazy. He suggested that the African labour force should be helped by industry . . . "I do not want to exploit the Africans, but unless we educate and train them how can we reach higher levels? There is so much to gain in the country."⁽⁴⁾

"Leaders of the motor industry yesterday joined the growing clamour against the industrial colour bar, and warned that the motor trade alone would be short of as many as 58,000 artisans only twenty years from now. The president of the S. A. Motor Industry Employers' Association, Mr E. J. Keevil, said employers were being prevented by fear, frustration and ignorance from employing non-whites in higher skilled jobs. "Fear of what the government might do if we train our Black, Indian and Coloured workers to do semi-skilled jobs which hitherto white workers had done but for which insufficient white labour is now available." There was frustration, too, in the drive to develop export markets because the artificial labour shortage was forcing basic wages increasingly higher, thus increasing the cost of manufactured products and pricing them out of the export market."⁽⁵⁾

Finally, this gem of **double-entendre!**

"Johannesburg was "exploding" faster than any other part of the country and there were too few whites in South Africa to provide essential technical services, Mr J. F. Oberholzer, MPC, told the Craighall Park and District Residents' Association last night . . . The only solution was to make use of nonwhite hands . . . He referred to the shortage of refuse removal lorry drivers and said an announcement of steps to alleviate the situation would be made soon."⁽⁶⁾

"Whenever economists (and some politicians) discuss the nature of the South African economy, they tend to see it as a choice "between two socio-political policies, each of which their opponents characterised as singularly undesirable; one path led to further integration of the economy both racially and geographically, and the other to 'separate development' and decentralisation of industry."⁽¹⁾

Government and Industry Agree

Such a view is not only conventional, but also fictitious. It suggests that state policy – job reservation, pass laws, the policy of border areas, etc. – are in conflict with the demands of the industrialists. On the contrary, it is my belief that from what, on the face of it, seem to be contradictory and mutually exclusive views, those of the government (the socio-political) and those of the industrialists (the economic) go hand in hand, and between them operate to maintain not only white political supremacy but also white economic superiority.

The development of South Africa's economy has never been based on the needs of its entire population, nor indeed since the nineteen twenties has it been a completely free enterprise economy. Labour relations are rigidly determined by statutes and delegated legislative powers.⁽⁸⁾ As well as controlling the motor transport and communications sectors, the state, via the public corporations, and more recently through the Industrial Development Corporation and the Physical Planning Act, exerts a considerable influence on the structure of the economy, so that it has become a curious amalgam of free enterprise competing with state enterprise within a clearly formulated and rigorously applied set of political decisions. A close scrutiny of the statements by the industrialists will bear this out. Their desires are precise; they do not ask for the abolition of apartheid, nor even for the abrogation of the industrial colour bar, but merely for the relaxation of some restrictions which would enable them to fit non-whites into jobs where Whites are no longer available. In other words, their demands are for the further enmeshment of non-whites into the coils of cheap, unskilled labour. They do not agitate that non-whites should have equality of opportunity either in the trades or professions, or in the acquisition of skills, but specifically that they should be allowed to exploit more comprehensively those elements of the society over whom they feel they do not exercise sufficient control.

In this manner they will be able to achieve a number of economic objectives:

- greater productivity than what is possible with white workers;
- overcome the problem of not having a regular supply of cheap labour;
- produce at lower unit costs because of paying lower wages to non-whites for doing the same jobs, thus increasing their profits;
- be able to compete in the export market, especially in the rest of Africa, and so hope to increase their political stranglehold on areas in that continent;
- at the same time maintain the artificially high standards of living of the white community;

and White Supremacy

— masquerade to the rest of the world that their intentions are honourable.

Many of these points were put in a nutshell some years ago by the Editor of the Johannesburg Financial Mail, when he stated that "the obvious way to close the skilled labour gap is to make the best possible use of the labour force already available in the country. That means removing the existing barriers of law and custom which prevent the full productive potential of South Africa's non-white labour force from being mobilized. It is absurd to maintain restrictions... when, apart from anything else, it is clearly in the interests of white living standards that the economy's bright prospects should not be jeopardised by labour shortages or restrictions on productivity." (My italics) (9)

Uncertainty in the Economy

It is significant that this article appeared shortly after one of South Africa's periodic crises closely linked to political pressure, particularly from inside the country. Then it was Sharpeville and

the beginnings of the armed struggle launched by the ANC and its allies. Now again the same phenomenon has recurred, except in a much more significant form. This is not only admitted, but one can measure the magnitude, when one learns that the economy "hinged on a sharp decline in confidence when, as growing unrest in the country and the changing colours on the political map of Africa seemed to presage a large-scale internal conflict of wills, the flow of foreign as well as domestic investment became more hesitant. These uncertainties were clearly reflected in a net outflow of private capital of about R194 million during 1960. Of the R 176 million which the Reserve Bank could 'identify' some R 148 million was a repatriation of foreign indirect investment via sales of listed securities, and R 28 million was previously South African resident capital being placed abroad. A further net R 45 million of foreign capital left the country during the first half of 1961." (10)

The effects were not only greater, but also much longer, than is usually admitted. "To the outside world — and, to a degree, within South Africa — the shock of Sharpeville in 1960 was a major setback to investment confidence. In terms of markets today, the long-term effect of Sharpeville was to retard the

5. African Mineworkers.



JUNE 26TH GREETINGS

from Alfred Nzo.
Secretary-General A. N. C.

The African National Congress greets all South African freedom fighters and opponents of apartheid the world over on June 26th South African Freedom Day.

Special greetings to the armed fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ZAPU guerrillas who have scored many successes in the battlefields in Zimbabwe and on South Africa's borders.

In the past year there have been numerous manifestations in South Africa to demonstrate the hatred of our people for

the oppressive system of white supremacy. People have stoned police in a number of spontaneous outbursts of popular anger, strikes have taken place at various sensitive points, and apartheid stooges have been exposed by coloured public opinion in the significant Coloured People's elections.

The ANC underground apparatus has made a number of open appeals for the preparation for armed struggle and for further actions against apartheid in widespread leaflet distributions, broadcasts and by other means.

Abroad there has been an outstanding reaction by world opinion to apartheid, particularly in the field of sport. Tens of thousands of demonstrators all over Britain have raised public feeling against South Africa to an all-time peak. Never before have representatives of White South African society been so humiliated in the press.

African Governments and sporting bodies have taken a highly principled stand against South African sportsmen and are forcing the pace of South Africa's isolation in world sport. Numerous other Governments and public bodies have refused to have dealings with White South African teams. South Africa has more public detractors now than ever before.

We call upon all our fighters, our friends and supporters to bring extra effort to their actions to defeat the detested Vorster regime — symbol of racialism and race oppression throughout the world.

Manpower Crisis (contd. from Page 13)

growth of share prices while the economy continued to surge ahead. Thus from 1961 to 1967, a period of marked growth of secondary industry, share prices moved ahead slowly."⁽¹¹⁾

It would be a fascinating exercise to trace the techniques adopted by the state and the monetary authorities over the past ten years in order to achieve this "boom", and of how this artificial window-dressing was effected at the expense of the non-white masses.

Government Depends on White Workers

But . . . while the owners of capital are complaining of a shortage of manpower, while they are arguing that the penalty for maintaining the economic colour bar will be economic stagnation, the answer of the state is clear. Despite the fact that state-owned sectors like the Railways have continued to employ larger and larger numbers of Africans as unskilled workers, the policy remains. A former Deputy Minister of Labour stated categorically that "the present manpower shortage does not provide any reason for the removal of job reservation. On the contrary, such control machinery is more necessary than in normal times." To the outside observer such a view seems paradoxical. After all, the government, in other respects, continues to be a staunch support of the profit system and anxious to attract foreign investors by way of the carrot of high returns on capital and the stick of political 'stability.'

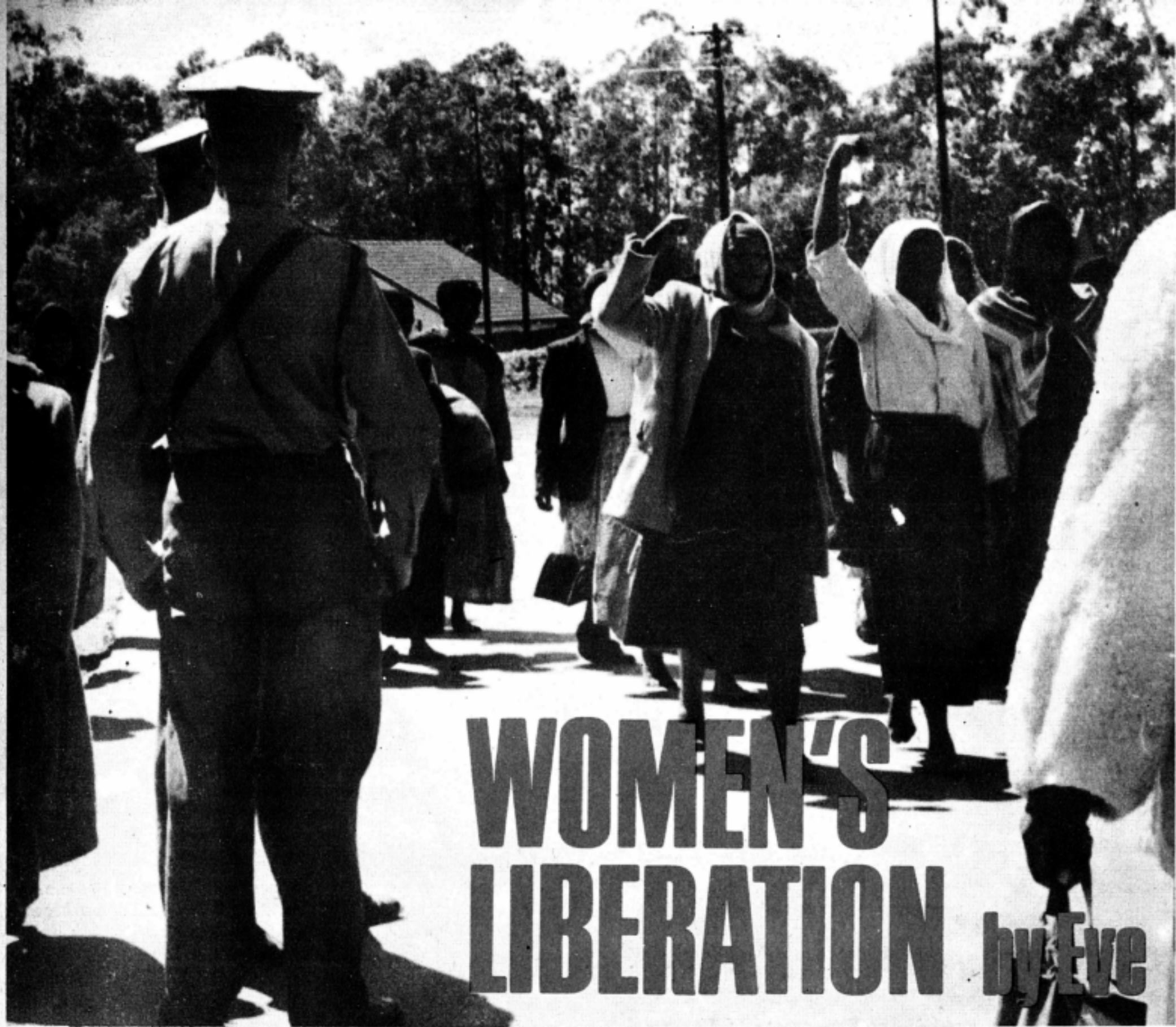
But the paradox is only apparent. The answer lies in the tremendous importance of the white workers for the survival of any South African government. Vorster admitted this when he said in 1956: "We know one person only to whom we owe an explanation, and that is the white worker in South Africa who has brought the Nationalist Party to the position it occupies today and will keep it in that position in the future." In other words, the future of white supremacy and the high standard of living

of the white worker are umbilically tied together. The maintenance of apartheid and the retention of the special privilege of the white worker are two sides of the same coin.

Attempts, therefore, to explain the demands for greater flexibility of employment, as either a conflict between industrialists and the state on the one hand, or of a desire for greater liberalisation on the part of the former, on the other, can only be achieved at the expense of misreading the real nature of the South African situation — of a fully fledged modern monopoly capitalist state, with its own client states, and with infinite resilience as well as the will to exploit its masses to the hilt. That one finds both the techniques of an advanced industrial society and those of colonial system in operation at the same time does not contradict, but underscores, the magnitude of this exploitation.

NOTES

1. See Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, especially chapters 13 and 14: "The Exploiters in Southern Africa" and "The Facts in Black and White", both in *Sechaba* Vol 3, No 2, February 1969, and the "Special issue on Working Conditions" in *Sechaba* Vol 2, No. 10, Oct. 1968.
2. Editorial, *The Star*, Johannesburg, 1. 11. 1969
3. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 3. 11. 1969
4. *Ibid.* 5. 11. 1969
5. *Ibid.* 8. 11. 1969
6. *Ibid.* 11. 11. 1969
7. Merton Dagut, *The South African Economy through the Sixties*, Optima, Johannesburg, Vol. 19, No. 3, Sept. 1969.
8. See *Trade Unions in Travail, Evidence of Persecution of Workers and their Trade Unions*, *Sechaba*, Vol 2 No. 5, May 1968.
9. "South Africa's Continuing 'Boom' Demands Revised Labour Policies", *Optima*, Vol 13, No. 4, December, 1963.
10. Dagut, *Op. cit.*
11. Ken Romain, "Shares Hit Extremes", in *South Africa Supplement to The Times*, October 27, 1969.



WOMEN'S LIBERATION by Eve

"THE TRUE PROLETARIAT OF AFRICA ARE THE WOMEN"

The cause of women's liberation still brings a snigger from most men and an embarrassed laugh from many women. Fifty years after the suffragettes were called "the shrieking sisterhood" (one of the more printable names) by the British press, a columnist in a "sensitive Liberal newspaper like the Observer, which always carefully takes the side of the angels on racial issues can call activists in women's liberation "those freaks".

In the last three or four years, women's liberation movements have mushroomed all over the world, spawned offshoots to the right and left, and given birth to nearlunatic groups like SCUM: the Society for Cutting Up Men. It's fairly easy to explain the sudden militancy and vocal demands. **Two generations after women wrested the right to vote from male-ruled societies, a hard fact is becoming more and more apparent; that as votes for all men did nothing to shift the power from the capitalist class to the workers, so votes for women haven't brought the hoped for freedom, equality and better life.**

Along with blacks in America, students all over the world, Tanzanians and Cubans and Vietnamese, women realise that the fight is not for equal rights. The fight is for change in the society itself. "Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realised in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole."

A hundred years ago a U. S. newspaper magnate, James Gordon Bennett, said: "How did women first become subject to man, as she now is all over the world? By her nature, her sex, just as the Negro is and always will be to the end of time inferior to the white race and, therefore, doomed to subjection; but she is happier than she would be in any other condition, just because it is the law of nature . . ."

In many parts of the world women now have the vote, can hold property, most jobs, run businesses and make contracts. Through the courts they can often win custody of their children. They can be elected to parliament and if they are sufficiently working class, can even become prime minister. But, says the Women's Liberation Front, this cannot be seen as an advance towards the emancipation of women.

In the Jewish religion men pray: "I thank you God that you have not created me a woman." Until recently, the Hindu wife burned herself on her dead husband's funeral pyre. Women still live in purdah, wear veils or the buri buri as a sign of inferiority. Christian women cover their heads in church - a relic of the veil and a symbol of subjection, says the Women's Liberation Front.

Even now laws, religions, customs and language all keep a woman in her place. Books, television, advertisements, magazines, radio, all are geared to cater only for the woman who is in her "rightful" place in the home (in spirit if not in fact) and consuming avidly the infinite number of goods that keep the capitalist economies ticking over nicely.

TRIPLE OPPRESSION

It boils down to this, say the Women's Liberation Movement: "Women's fight against oppression was then and is now linked with that of the working class as a whole . . . The two movements (anti-slavery and women's rights) have always been considered dangerous and upsetting to the social structure for much the same reasons . . . black people can be paid less; women can be paid less. As long as both are not organised on an equal basis and work under conditions without discrimination, they form the most vulnerable sections of the working class . . . of course the exploitation of black people is much more intense and brutal. All classes of black people thus suffer, and the great majority of black women are triply oppressed, as blacks, women and workers." I went to a two-day conference at Oxford held by the Women's Liberation Workshop in February, feeling little more than curiosity. As a South African I felt the issue of Women's liberation to be secondary to the South African struggle. I came away remembering my experience of five years in independent Africa and the words of Rene Dumont, the agronomist, when he visited Tanzania some years ago. He said: **"The true proletariat of Africa are the women."** Women's liberation, it seems to me now, is a vital and central part of the South African struggle.

CHEAP LABOUR

Women are told their rightful place is in the home, and at the same time they are needed to supply cheap labour. The propaganda is necessary to keep this cheap labour. Employers can then argue that women leave their jobs when they get married or have a baby, that they cannot be relied on because their main interest is somewhere else. Their labour is therefore less valuable, say the employers, and they should be paid less.

So women remain in the lowest paid jobs and room is only grudgingly made for them in the professions or skilled labour. In countries that have a large number of unemployed, women have almost no hope of employment, except as domestic servants. **In South Africa, black women can work as domestic servants, farm labourers or factory workers, where they form the cheapest of a very cheap labour market.** The majority of working women, whether in England or South Africa, work in unskilled factory jobs or as domestic servants.

The working class woman is doubly exploited; by her husband and by the capitalist system. The working class man, himself a victim of the system, still fits within it and becomes part of the exploitation pecking order in his attitude towards his wife, whether their personal relationship is a good one or not.

It is a system centuries old. In "The Origins of the Family" Engels explains that in the earliest society there was no social or sexual dominance or subjection. There was a natural division of Labour, with each supreme in his or her own sphere. Housekeeping was communal and whatever was used in common was owned in common by the tribe.

But as herds of cattle became increasingly individual rather than communal property and prisoners of war were enslaved for labour, society split into classes: masters and slaves. At the same time, the family changed. As the herds which belonged to the man became the new means of existence, along with the slaves and commodities taken in exchange for cattle, women's economic importance dwindled and her household tasks played no part in the ownership of the surplus.

With the rise of private ownership woman herself became an object of exploitation of one by another, whether the exploited are slaves, serfs or wage-earners. "The great majority of women became vassals of vassals."

EVEN A POOR MAN "OWNS" A WIFE

This is still particularly obvious in countries or communities where there is a very small middle and professional class. If the lot of men in Africa or Latin America is an unenviable one, the lot of "their" women is worse. Because men, no matter how poor they

are can "own" a wife. And no matter how fluently, no matter what racially pure argument men use to convince themselves and the world that traditions like the bride price and female circumcision have been misunderstood by the white conquerors, the roots of these customs are in that initial exploitation, in the valuation of women as property. It is no accident that in reactionary countries these conservative attitudes are supported by the neo-colonialists. In much of Africa, for example, the women have traditionally been the farmers. This has been their one source of economic power. Yet the foreign "aid programmes" initiated and financed by wealthy countries to increase food production have totally disregarded this fact. Agricultural colleges in Malawi for example, or Kenya, have only men students. If Rene Dumont is right and women are the proletariat of Africa then the neo-colonialists are once again playing their familiar game of undermining the real force for growth and change.

In many societies that are still feudal in character women remain under the power of father or husband and do nothing without his consent. Pockets of feudal societies exist in the rural areas of all under-developed countries, including South Africa; and it is useful to note that the attitude of the Afrikaner is not only feudal towards Africans but towards Afrikaans women, many of whom are themselves exploited as cheap labour for factories and the retail trade.

CONDITIONS FOR EMANCIPATION

Engels points out that "emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible and must remain so as long as women are excluded from socially productive work and restricted to housework, which is private. The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large scale, and when domestic duties require their attention only to a minor degree."

This is impossible in any but a socialist society. A capitalist society needs the cheap and supposedly "casual" labour of women. It also needs the consuming power of women. And woman can only be an effective consumer, in capitalist terms, if she is restricted emotionally if not physically, to her home. Woman is constantly exploited as a consumer and the most fruitful area for this is her competition with other housewives. Her floors must not only be clean but "spotlessly clean", her family's clothes "brilliantly white".

Middle class professional women are also exploited in this way. They are so eager to prove themselves in male dominated jobs that they often work harder and for less pay than their male colleagues because they want the job badly and the competition is fierce. They have been told that aggression and strength of character are unfeminine and unattractive; **and many cannot rid themselves of the old idea: "a woman is nothing, a wife is everything"**. To be unattractive to a man, any man, is to be nothing. Aggression in economic or professional fields means a loss of femininity and power to attract.

Psychologically, women have to cope with the Freudian philosophy of female inferiority. Militant workers for women's liberation are attacked for unconsciously seeking to deprive the male of his sexual power, to castrate him. They have to cope with nonsensical claims that they have symbolically slain their fathers by verbally consigning all men to perdition as monsters."

The greater a woman's spending power, the greater, obviously, her potential for consumer exploitation. "Can you compete with your daughter's "little Girl" look? asks the advertisement. "A Diamond is forever" . . . "Next time your husband talks to a fascinating woman, make sure its you" . . . "Discover your perfume personality" . . .

United we stand . . . the term "brotherhood" evokes elated feelings of liberty, equality, and high ideals. And "sisterhood"?

A NEW SOLIDARITY

Perhaps that was one of the first things that struck me at the Oxford conference; a feeling of solidarity that withstood sometimes rather bitter ideological differences. Because women's lib-



7. A demonstration outside a courthouse.

eration movements are no different from other liberation movements everywhere – there are people who feel the mood is too left, some think it too right. Some want Woman Power, some just want equal pay. Some want to form a Woman's Party, others want to urge the Labour Party to put up more women candidates.

While 40 husbands looked after the children in a specially organised creche, hundreds of women from all over Britain heard papers on the economic role of women, their role in the revolutionary struggle (there was a Zapu representative at the conference) the role of the nuclear family and other related subjects. It was not so much **what** was said as the fact that it was being said loud and clear that stimulated. The barring of men from the first and last sessions I found rather stupid and unnecessary. The assertion that women did not want to become equal economic units and were not fighting for equal pay for equal drudgery I found far more to the point.

The conference rejected motions that karate classes should be organised or that a woman's party should be formed. It passed proposals to set up research into the role played by women in the making of history; to form a group to study alternatives to the nuclear family; to establish a pressure group to demand free contraception and advice, and abortion on demand.

NEW INITIATIVES

Other motions passed included the demand for a sex relations discrimination act to set up a sex relations discrimination board similar to the British race relations board; the setting up in

London of an international communication centre for women's liberation movements, the compiling of all papers read at the conference to be reproduced for sale, and the setting up of a clearing house for information.

There were messages of solidarity with the women of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, the Oxford students who were then occupying the Clarendon Building, and the striking women clothing workers of Leeds.

A conference like many others – decisions for increased research and information, and little action planned; minorities complaining that the conference had been too radical, or not radical enough. The most concrete achievement yet, perhaps, has been the contact of groups and women throughout Britain and a bringing together of names and lists of relevant organisations and movements.

In Vietnam women are fighting alongside men for national freedom and a socialist revolution. In the USA women, angry at the attitude of civil rights workers (girls either make the tea or get a "chicks in front" treatment) are moving into direct action by occupying the premises of influential magazines like Newsweek and Vogue. But throughout the women's liberation movement it seems that one thread holds the majority together.

"For a society that eagerly welcomes women's entrance into new fields and lays the economic and legal foundations for a full participation, we must turn to socialism", says the Women's Liberation Front. It calls to working women not only to fight for equal rights and opportunities now, but "at the same time let us fight shoulder to shoulder with working men to end the system of exploitation of men and women by man."

BANTU EDUCATION FOR MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL SLAVERY

The Philosophical Roots of Poisoned Bantu Education

Second in a series by P. V. Mbatha

Primo Levi wrote a graphic and gruelling account of his experiences and other Jews in Nazi concentration camps. It shows many parallels with the experiences of Africans under Neo-Nazi apartheid in South Africa. I quote from the preface:

"If This Is a Man

You who live safe
In your warm houses,
You who find, returning in the evening,
Hot food and friendly faces:
Consider if this is a man
Who works in the mud
Who does not know peace
Who fights for a scrap of bread
Who dies because of a yes or a no . . ."

— — — "If this is a man" — by Primo Levi, translated from Italian by Stuart Woolf.

Slavery or Massacre

To understand "this cruel deformity" called Bantu Education we have to go to South African history and politics. I have no doubt in my mind that the Trek-Boers would have preferred subjugating the indigenous African population to abject slavery and if that failed then they would, without

qualms, have exterminated them as they largely succeeded to do with regard to our unfortunate African brethren, the so-called "Bushmen". But unluckily for the Trek-boers the majority of the Africans were far too numerous and, more importantly, they were far too strong and well-organised politically, socially and militarily to be wiped out or made slaves in the 19th Century style. Another impediment was the influence and vigilance of humanitarian missionaries, particularly the London Missionary Society and, especially, Dr. John Philip. If this abominable attitude and policy had succeeded then there would have been no "Native Problem" for them at that point in time.

Hostility to Liberal Missionaries and the Induction of the Pass Law:

From the earliest times Boer-Afrikaner and British officials and colonialists were hostile, and at best indifferent to the education of the Black man. Just in case some misinformed readers may be inclined to think I am distorting history or exaggerating, I quote the authoritative historian, Eric A. Walker in "A History of Southern Africa". With regard to the first missionary in 1737, the Moravian, George Schmidt, ". . . classes of the community resented his intrusion. The farmers were hostile, the Dutch Reformed Clergy jealous . . . The jealousy . . . was in keeping with the political and religious principles of the day . . ." (Ibid P. P. 92/93).

"Yonge had suspected the first missionaries of being Jacobins in sheep's clothing . . . Janssens had bidden missionaries keep well beyond the borders, now Collins recommended the break-up of Bethelsdorp, since it was 'designed for the benefit of the Hottentots rather than that of the colony . . . Hence, whether justified or not, the 'almost universal' charge laid at the door of the mission stations by officials and colonists alike was that they were draining off labour at a time when a shortage was threatened by the stopping of the Slave Trade . . ." (Ibid. P. 149).

These charges and complaints led directly to the institution and imposition of the hated pass laws by Caledon in 1809 and they have ever since been the cursed millstone round our necks.

". . . it would seem that Trekker's hostility was really directed against the L. M. S. men because of the evil they believed Dr. John Philip and his friends had wrought against them". (Ibid. P. 278). Thus the vicious campaign against so-called "political predikants", Bishops Reeves and Huddleston encouraged by other "uitlanders" like Canon Collins, continues furiously to this day and age.

Education for Pacified Belly-Crawlers:

Despite hostility, opposition and persecution, the missionaries persisted. But of course they had their own weaknesses such as an attempt to impose an alien culture and condemning indigenous customs. They found that in order to evangelize effectively they had to teach their African converts how to read and write to gain some knowledge, if not understanding, of the Bible. In addition to these utilitarian and pragmatic aspects, there were also moral and humanitarian grounds for providing education to the African for the development of his personality. However, the usurping white colonists, as already discussed, were unhappy about the whole idea of evangelizing and educating the African "heathen". The argument was that the prospective convert was, in any case, uneducable. There were also religious rationalizations which alleged that the African was a descendant of Ham and was therefore, by divine ordination, biologically, spiritually and intellectually inferior to the white "Elect of God".

If the Herculean task was to be attempted at all, then it must ensure that the "Kaffir savages" are brainwashed, tamed, and made to realize their inherent inferiority to

white men and to accept gratefully their permanently low station in life in this world and possibly in heaven as well. Anyone who doubts this should re-study his South African history. Here is a sample "... as late as 1852, the Marico burghers were on good terms with even L. M. S. men ... and had no objection to the Gospel being preached to natives, though some of them would have felt happier if only the missionaries would have consented to teach that the Boers were a superior race." (E. A. Walker, "A History of S. A.," P. 278) "and the more the missionaries spoke, the more the Boers feared that they would teach their flock doctrines subversive of the Boer patriarchal system. They might - who knows? - even give the native guns." (Ibid. P. 279). Please also refer to my article in the last issue of "Sechaba".

Sir George Gray's Bantu Education-type Dose:

Stung by the torrent of criticism of Bantu Education from all over the world, the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) with headquarters at Stellenbosch summoned its top brains to stem the tide. Thus in 1955 SABRA produced a booklet called "Bantu Education - Oppression or Opportunity". The co-authors included G. H. Franz, T. S. van Rooyen, E. F. Potgieter, B. S. van As and W. E. Parker - real intellectual heavy weights of Afrikanerdom. Even then I, like little David of old, will try to tackle the five Goliaths of SABRA and I believe the sling of truth can do the trick. In the photograph appearing in this issue I want to show the world how even these eminent men clutched at straws in an endeavour to save the sinking volks-laager ship of apartheid education.

In their desperation, the SABRA egg-heads dragged Sir George Gray to their defence and I quote, "The first man to consider the possibility of bringing education into the field as an instrument towards the attainment of the aims of Government policy, was Sir George Gray ... he felt that an end could be made to the border-wars in the Eastern Cape by changing the pattern of society among the Xhosa people. **Education aimed at border pacification and undermining the influence of the chiefs became the Slogan for the missionaries**". (Ibid. P. 8, emphasis theirs, not mine.)

Toothless Bulldogs:

There you have it from the horse's mouth. Nothing at all has changed except that the architects of evil Bantu Education have no more need of "undermining the influence of

- 1) H. J. Green-Thompson, now a Medical doctor.
- 2) The author, P. V. T. Mbatha.
- 3) G. I. M. Mzamane, then lecturer at Forst Hare.



the chiefs" because they are now miserably-paid petty puppets of White Governments. So they are almost literally "toothless bull-dogs" and for the master race, this is an excellent instrument of "border pacification". Thus the belated attempt to resuscitate and bolster up the archaic and decayed power of the chiefs through measures such as the Bantu Authorities Act.

I can name almost everybody in the photograph above as I studied with most of them for three years and graduated with them on April 29, 1949 and as a matter of fact I do have my own private and personal copy of the photo. So I have named only two at random and myself to show the absurdity of the false propaganda. A large number of the 1948 Fort-Hare graduates shown in the smiling picture would emphatically and indignantly deny that "Their training was made possible by the white man's money, from both public and private funds". It is also obvious that not all the people in the photo are "Bantu graduates".

Diabolical Crime

But the real crime is that without our permission our private photograph has been circulated throughout the world in an insidious pamphlet propagating policies to which most of us are irrevocably opposed and regard them not just as anathema but deadly poison for our children on the same scale as Pharaoh's slaying of Israelite babies and Herod's slaughter of the innocents.

Even more diabolical, is the overt implication that "these Bantu graduates are in a celebrating mood" because Bantu Education has blessed us with "the highest educational honours ...". It is perhaps ironical that the hilarious laughter was caused not so much by the excitement of graduating but by a joke or rather a jibe I made at the expense of D. F. Malan, then Prime Minister of White South Africa, and with their keen sense of humour, my compatriots added their embellishments to the metaphor, and it was real fun. The photographer himself an expert mimic made his shot at the right moment. I can assure SABRA co-authors that those "Bantu graduates" have richly graced African nationalism and Pan Africanism, and I am immensely proud of them. The laughter and smiles are to the White supremacists ignominy and not to their glory.

As everybody knows, there was no Verwoerd-style Bantu Education in April 1949 - the malevolent era received legislative sanction in 1953 and the plague began in earnest in April 1955, when, to use Alexander Hepple's title, "The Great Induna" despite my pleas on behalf of teachers' associations and those of others, Verwoerd callously dismissed 7,000 school children and sacked the recalcitrant teachers by the simple device of declaring them "surplus". The heavy hammer was applied to kill the African fly on the Rand to impress upon their dull heads that "an important function of Native education should be to teach Natives the value of the services provided by the Native Affairs Department, some of which they did not appreciate." (H. F. Verwoerd's speech on the Second Readings of the Bantu Education Bill, 17 September, 1953).

Discovered in a Remote Swedish School

The circulation of this SABRA whitewash was apparently world-wide and friends in the United States of America inform me that copies can be found everywhere and my own experience confirms it. In 1967 I had the privilege to lead a delegation from the University College, Nairobi, to a Seminar on Adult Education in Sweden. During a tour of Bolk High Schools, to my surprise, I discovered one in a remote rural school almost by accident. It had been given to an active anti-apartheid student by the harassed South African Embassy in Stockholm. Naturally, there was some wry amusement, the propaganda had misfired. Poor apartheid defenders, Canute like, trying to sweep the engulfing waves. It is as an "Anti-Apartheid Movement" leaflet puts it, "The S. A. Government can afford to buy itself a good

WEST GERMAN MINISTER RAPPED OVER CABORA BASSA IN TANZANIA

When an experienced politician falls back on injured innocence it as a sure sign that the enormity of his crime can no longer be covered up by rational explanation. This was the case with the West German Minister for Economic Cooperation, Dr. Erhard Eppler when he was subjected to sharp criticism by the Tanzanian press recently. Dr. Eppler was taken to task over the participation of the huge German company Siemens, in the pro-

posed Mozambique Cabora Bassa hydroelectric scheme and he had no excuse to offer.

The Minister claimed to be very surprised at the criticisms and said, "We didn't expect your reaction as far as Cabora Bassa was concerned". But the press didn't let the matter end there. They pressed him to admit that there was increasing trade with South Africa from West Germany but he lamely asked that this should not be regarded as approval of apartheid or the Vorster regime. Asked if anyone in Africa could take West Germany's condemnation of apartheid seriously, considering its huge trade with South Africa, the Minister said "Please understand that for us trade is one thing and political relations is another".

This kind of diplomatic talk may help the Minister slip over an embarrassing hurdle at a press conference but it will not do where hard political realism is a necessity. West Germany is trying to straddle the continent of Africa with trade offers here, investment there, and outright military commitment elsewhere - particularly in South Africa, and it will have to find a better rationale than Dr. Eppler's. We now know the full extent of West Germany's collaboration in Southern Africa and it goes pretty far. When the same imperialist power is building engineering plants, supplying poison gases, making rockets and also training the army, then trade and politics are certainly the same thing - it amounts to collaboration with the ruling powers for the suppression of the people's resistance and with assisting it to prepare for war.

FRELIMO WRITES TO BRANDT

This is how Frelimo looks at the matter too. In an open letter to Herr Willy Brandt, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) has asked the West German Chancellor to make an examination of the whole West German policy regarding Colonial Portugal, and made a slashing attack on the West German Counsellor to Tanzania, Dr. Klaus Timmerman.

Dr. Timmerman was reported as saying that recent attacks on West German relations with the white minority regimes in Southern Africa were a deliberate provocation aimed at disrupting friendly relations between Tanzania and West Germany.

The Frelimo letter to the West German Chancellor said: "We who fight for the triumph of justice have a basic confidence in the good faith of men; we believe that if they act wrongly it may be because they do not know the truth, the reality. And so we feel it our duty to explain to them, to make them see the wrongness of their behaviour". The letter accuses West Germany of being in the forefront of the countries supporting Portuguese colonialism, with weapons, soldiers, technical assistance and investments.

Commenting editorially on Dr. Eppler's press statement the Standard Dar es Salaam said that they were surprised that a man of his standing could say that the criticism on the Cabora Bassa issue was unexpected.

West Germany has more than enough to answer for already, they had better leave Cabora Bassa alone.

(contd. from Page 19)

image. But it hasn't got one. Not for lack of trying of course - the annual propaganda budget is near £2.5 million."

Bantu Education, The Foundation of Apartheid Structure

It is not now possible to practise slavery in the 18th Century style. The world has become far too small for that and the thunder of the outcry would be shattering even for "granite" apartheid. No, that can't be done. But there are many ways of killing a cat - some more barbaric and others more sophisticated but the end result is the same. Vorwoerd's contribution to apartheid lies in providing a more sophisticated philosophical gloss to apartheid and thus made the monster slightly less frightening to the gullible. In assessing Vorwoerd's achievements the Arch-Apostles of Apartheid have always put Bantu Education at the top of the list as being the vital foundation of the whole super-structure. This is not really surprising since he who controls the mind and the spirit controls everything.

Vorwoerd's successor as Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (the Dept. of BAD;) M. C. de Wet Nel, when taking over this vast Black Empire paid glowing tribute to his predecessor. He said, "During these eight years,

the basis of the apartheid pattern of S.A. has been developed . . . a basic pattern which will never be wiped out as long as an Africaner nation exists in South Africa. He has left monuments to his work - Bantu education . . . one of the finest systems in the world today."

(House of Assembly Debates, 17 September, 1958).

On the occasion of Vorwoerd's 60th birthday, "Die Transvaler", the mouthpiece of the innermost Broederbond Afrikaner soul, declared: "It is he who systematically carried into execution the National Party's policy of separate development. He brought a completely new dispensation . . . he reshaped Bantu education, tackled the problem of natives in the towns, canalized native labour . . ." ("The Transvaler", 8th September, 1961).

Stated quite simply, Bantu Education is to ensure that the basic tenet of the 19th Century Boer Republik constitutions, Die Grondwet, is braced and entrenched: "THERE SHALL BE NO EQUALITY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE IN CHURCH AND STATE." Enough of revelations for now. In the next article we shall continue to examine samples of the Philosophical Roots of Poisoned Apartheid as prescribed by apartheid alchemists, ancient and modern, from the Voortrekkers to the present joint-high priests, Willee Maree and M. C. de Wet Nel, and also take a look at the panacea itself, the Bantu Education Act.

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1ST MAY - INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

A Statement from S.A. Congress of Trade Unions

On May Day, 1970, Workers and Progressive peoples throughout the world will be celebrating the victories they have scored through long years of struggle. The workers and peoples of South Africa will also celebrate this historic day. May 1st is a day of rededication to continue the struggle for a world society in which all men and women can live together in harmony, freedom, dignity, equal opportunity and free from oppression, racialism, poverty, disease and war.

In South Africa police terror and brutality backed up by a whole system of discriminatory legislation have over the years destroyed many workers' organisations; arrested, banned and banished thousands of activists; and, tortured to death and hanged several leaders of the workers and their organisations.

In South Africa we have a situation wherein the white workers are seduced from their genuine class interests by appeals to "Africaner Volk", "White Unity" and "White Domination". The white workers believe and behave as if their interests are exactly the same as those of the capitalists and Vorster's Government.

South Africa's Policy of Apartheid has been condemned by the United Nations Organisation and its Agencies and all progressive mankind; there is still, however, a tendency among many people to consider apartheid as something remote which occurs at the other end of the globe and does not affect their own lives directly. On the contrary, apartheid concerns everyone directly, since it involves the whole future pattern of human relations. Apartheid, which is in fundamental contradiction with the universally accepted principle of equality of rights of all human beings, represents a challenge

to the conscience of mankind today. It is on this basis that we appeal to all trade union and progressive organisations to:

- (i) Express on this May Day their solidarity with the Workers and peoples of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid;
- (ii) Demand the release of all political opponents of apartheid;
- (iii) Stop the emigration to South Africa of skilled and professional workers from your country.

We further make an urgent appeal to all trade unions and progressive organisations to demand the immediate release of the 22 trade unions and political militants, who after they had been found NOT GUILTY of the 21 charges preferred against them under the Suppression of Communism Act, were immediately re-arrested and re-detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. Among the 22 victims, and together with the two women who have served prison sentences for refusing to testify against their colleagues, five are trade unionists. They are:

Brother Samuel Pholoto, President of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and Secretary of the African Metal Workers' Union;

Brother Elliott Shabangu, Member of SACTU Local Committee and Secretary of the Milling Workers' Union;

Brother Lawrence Ndzanga, Member of the SACTU Local Committee and Secretary of the African Railway Workers' Union;

Anita Ndzanga, (wife of Lawrence Ndzanga) Member of the SACTU Local Committee and Secretary of the Toy Workers' Union; and,

Shanti Naidoo, SACTU Head Office typist. Fifteen relatives of the accused made an urgent application to the Pretoria Supreme



9. and 10. Textile workers on strike.



Court on Monday 23rd February seeking protection from torture by the South African Security Police for their 22 relatives in detention. In their affidavit the relatives alleged that the detainees were subjected to mental cruelty through solitary confinement, were forced to stand on two bricks for hours on end holding a brick above their heads, were picked up by the hair and dropped onto a gas pipe, were hanged by the neck and were beaten.

On this May Day SAVE THEIR LIVES! DEMAND THE RELEASE OF THE 22! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY.

MORE ON THE SIMONS' HISTORY

A Reader's View

CLASS versus COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA

There is a growing historical consciousness in the liberation movement of South Africa. This is a result – and also a form – of the ideological class struggle in the country itself. It is our duty to expose and destroy the colonial, apologetic and manipulated history (both by the government and "our" right-wingers, the PAC).

The dominant ideas – it is said – are always the ideas of the ruling class. The ideology of the ruling class does not only intergrate historiography but also determine its interpretation. In fact the ruling class declares its ideology a medium of historical thinking and understanding. It is when one takes the above stated into consideration that one properly appreciates the attempt of the Simonses at writing this "political sociology on a time scale". What I want to stress is that the interpretation of history in our country can only be a weapon in the struggle of the oppressed masses for political power and against racism.

A certain comrade – he did not mention his name – writes in *Sechaba* (No. 3/1970 P. 20) that there are "two cleavages (that) run through South African society and history like gashes of a wound". This formulation seems to overlook the reciprocal interconnection between "the two cleavages".

National or racial oppression in any country is nothing but a form of bourgeois exploitation. It cannot be parallel to or above classes. The national question in a multi-national (or multi-racial) country like ours will ultimately be solved by the fraternal solidarity of emancipated (from capital) workers and peasants. This was proved by the October Revolution to be the most radical and the surest way of the solution of the national question. In short the national question is subordinate to the social – which is a class question. Secondly he dismisses the 1922 miners strike as "reactionary". To substantiate this bold statement he only gives us "Quotations from the Simonses". This unhistorical approach to a historical (and also historic) event is confusing. If the strike was reactionary, therefore, logically Smuts was right (perhaps to him revolutionary) in crushing it! The casus belli of the strike is not easy to explain.

Intensified Exploitation

The Chamber of Mines supported by Smuts, instead of raising the wages and standard of living of the Africans, decided to employ Africans in "jobs reserved for Whites" – at lower wages – and discharged 2,000 "redundant" white workers out of a total of 20,000 (i.e. 1/5). The aim in this is quite obvious: the intensification of the exploitation of both black and white labour and the stirring up of racial chauvinism among white workers. The prospects of a united front of black and white workers would hence be destroyed. **Objectively**, the strike was in defence of the hard earned achievements of the **white workers at that time**. That is why the communists supported it; it was against capital. (Of course, today no one would speak of hard earned achievements of the white labour aristocrats). On the other hand (mark!) **later on** the strike took a racialistic, anti-African turn. The white workers did not appeal to the Africans, their objective allies, for assistance but instead they saw them as competitors hence they attacked them. This was reactionary.

The Revolt on the Rand in 1922 has still to be assessed by South African revolutionaries. (Perhaps bigger collectives are needed for the job). This was a lesson and is a warning to us. We cannot afford to leave the assessment to reactionary historians, only because we think, wrongly too, that the strike was "reactionary".

Because space does not allow me, I will confine myself to a few points which – I hope – will stimulate and provoke a discussion:

- a) The strike showed that an economic struggle divorced from political demands is bound to fail.
- b) This revolt also teaches us that the future of the whites in South Africa is not only closely bound but also subordinate to the demands of the Africans.
- c) Reassessing the strike it is obvious that the early socialists and communists underestimated the revolutionary potential of the African liberation movement. This was due to some paternalistic attitude towards the Africans.
- d) It demonstrated how deep the cancer of racialism has eaten into the body of the white labour movement.

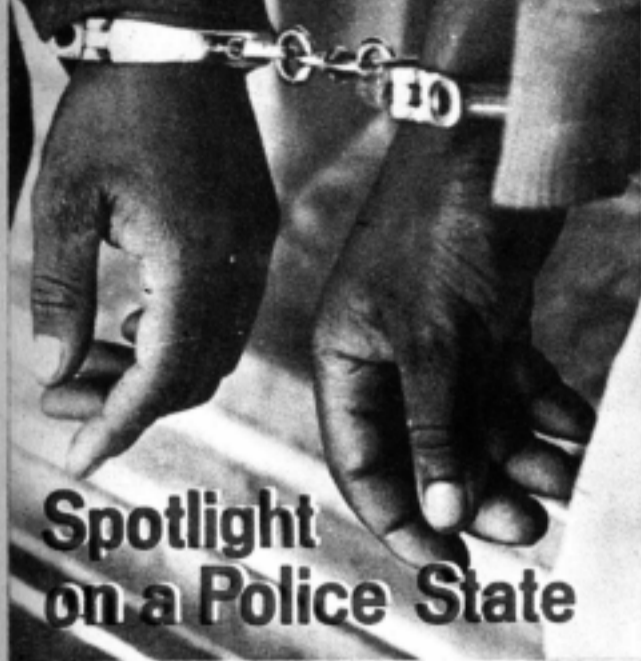
This period (the early twenties) of our history is important because:

- 1) it shows the complicated process which faced all socialists in the world, namely that of combining socialism – to be precise Marxism – with the working class.
- 2) it is a period of transition from early beginnings of dependence on the white workers for revolutionary action to dependence on the African majority, the most exploited section of our society. This process was completed in the 50's.
- 3) it also teaches us that in a "semi-colonial" country like ours it is important to organise systematically the two forces i.e., proletarian and the national democratic movements. The stress should be on consolidation of these movements with the ultimate aim as fusion under proletarian hegemony.

The South African revolutionaries must take the initiative and do research **on all problems** posed by the South African revolution. By so doing we would be helping our people and the movement. This I find to be more important than "Quotations from the Simonses".

F. Meli.
Leipzig

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Spotlight on a Police State

Compiled by Paul Joseph

INDIANS – KEEP OUT!

Verulam is the only non-white town council in Natal. It's town clerk is an Indian. Verulam is a member of the Natal Municipal Association but it decided not to attend an Association meeting in February "because of the hostile attitude of some Northern Natal Municipalities towards us." This hostility was summed up by the Mayor of Vryheid: "If we let this sort of thing go (referring to the fact that Verulam's Indian delegates would have sat with white delegates from other municipalities) it would go too far."

S. A. AMBASSADOR CHAMPIONS INTEGRATION

In New Zealand last month the South African Consul-General, Peter Phillip, made it quite clear that all-Maori groups will not be allowed among parties of supporters accompanying the All-Blacks in South Africa. Said Phillips: "I would be astonished if the formation of all-Maori parties was contemplated. New Zealand's official policy in these matters is integration, not segregation, and this is understood very clearly. I would be astonished if any party wanted to go

to South Africa as a segregated party. I am expecting integrated parties made up of whites and Maoris and I would doubt if any other arrangement would be contemplated."

BRIGHTER WHITE

It does not matter how rich they are – the children of white parents get free education. Africans lucky enough to get into an over-crowded, badly-equipped, under-staffed school have to pay for their fees and book, as well as uniforms, transport and examination fees. Apologists in Europe for South Africa should remember this when they held forth on how much better off Africans in South Africa are than their brothers in the free states.

U. P. EFFUSIONS

A United Party candidate at a meeting in Stellenbosch last month said he would not care if Africans were unhappy with limited parliamentary representation: "It is not my task to see if they are satisfied or not. It is my task to look after the interests of the White Man." The candidate, Philip Myburgh was also eloquent on his party's policy of eating at the same table as Coloureds – it was not his Party's policy to encourage social integration. Asked about dining with Africans he said: "I don't like eating with non-Whites but at least I am honest enough to say it – not like some others who do it and say afterwards that it was not very nice." Another profound contribution to this debate came from David Graaf, son of the United Party leader: "It must be left to the conscience of the individual to decide with whom he will eat and with whom he will not, provided it does not conflict with the laws of the country."

NO RIGHT WHATSOEVER

Dr. P. Koornhof rejected hypocrisy and came clean about the status of the 1,700,000 Africans men who are working in the towns and cities of South

Africa. Koornhof, Deputy Minister of "Bantu Administration and Development" said that he was not afraid to say that they had no right whatsoever in South Africa.

DOGS BUT NO BLACKS

A new regulation reserves the Hertzog Monument Square in Bloemfontein for Whites only. A Councillor, however, gave an assurance that it was not intended to prosecute Non-whites who walked through the square but to prevent them lounging on the grass. A Bloemfontein lawyer commented: "This is a skocker. Where can the poor devils go for a little relaxation during their work breaks? Dogs, if not Blacks are still permitted by the council to go anywhere, even to our equally sacred soccer ground where non-whites by council direction are banned."

BEACH NOT BLACK ANYMORE

The Sunday Tribune of March 15, 1970, a South African newspaper draws attention to the loss of a segregated beach for Africans with these two headlines: DURBAN'S BLACK BEACH MAY HAVE TO MOVE, WHERE WILL ALL THE AFRICAN SWIMMERS GO?

It would appear according to the paper's political reporter (not sports reporter) that there is no other suitable beach available for the Africans in Durban. As a result over 1 1/4 million Africans are likely to lose their only bathing beach.

The present "black beach" is in a disgraceful state – the only facilities are shacks with bucket toilets, and these have to cater for the thousands of Africans using the beach. One of the reasons for the proposed white-takeover of the "black beach" is that there have been complaints by whites that Africans were using the nearby "White bathing area." Says the Tribune reporter: "It is now virtually impossible to find a suitable site for Africans on the North Coast and the nearest beach to Durban will be north of Umhlanga Rocks, more than 12 miles away."

APPEAL

THE ANC NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR FIGHTING FUND. WE CALL ON YOU TO SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH OUR ARMED STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW APARTHEID.

OUR 1970 INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR WILL TAKE PLACE AT:
Holborn Assembly Hall, Johns Mews, London W C 1
Saturday 10 th October 1970 from 11 a. m. to 6 p. m.
PLEASE SEND US SALEABLE GIFTS SUCH AS

- KNITWEAR
- GARMENTS
- EMBROIDERY
- ART WORK
- BOOKS
- RECORDS
- JEWELLERY
- POSTERS
- TOYS

ANYTHING SALEABLE IS WELCOME!

Send your contributions as soon as possible to the
African National Congress, 49 Rathbone Street,
London W 1 A-4 NL Phone 580-5303.

OBITUARY

Dr. William Alpheus Hunton, scholar and liberation fighter, died on January 13th in Lusaka. At his funeral, Dr. Kaunda, paid tribute to Alpheus Hunton on behalf of the Zambian Government, and Africa's freedom fighters. Also present were Vice-President Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, cabinet ministers, representatives from independent African States, Socialist countries, Southern African liberation movements and many other friends. Dr. Hunton's grandfather, Stanton Hunton, was a slave of one of Virginia's aristocrats who permitted him to buy his freedom after he had made several attempts to escape. He then made his way to Ontario in Canada where Alpheus's father was born.

Alpheus Hunton was born on September 18th 1903 in Atlanta, Georgia. The area was troubled by race riots and the family moved north. Here Alpheus attended a New York public school and Howard University in Washington where he obtained his B.A. and M.A. degrees. At New York University he gained a Ph D in 1938 with a dissertation on 'Tennyson and the Victorian Milieu'.

For seventeen years he taught at Howard University. In 1943 he resigned his post as assistant professor in English to devote his time to the "cause of the liberation of the black man". He became the educational director and secretary of the Council on African Affairs, where he worked closely with Dr. W.E.B. Dubois and Paul Robeson. He thus made a great contribution to American understanding of the African struggle for freedom. He particularly acquainted himself with South Africa's race oppressive laws, exposed the system of race oppression, supported the African Miner's Strike and the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946. The Council's journal became the mouth-piece for South Africa's freedom fighters. During the McCarthy period, he and his co-workers were persecuted and arrested. But he carried on the work under great difficulty until 1955 when the Council on African Affairs was dissolved. In 1951 Dr. Hunton and three other trustees of the Civil Rights Bail Fund were sentenced to a year's imprisonment for refusing to

DR. WILLIAM ALPHEUS HUNTON

hand over their files of contributors to the Un-American Activities Committee.

Barred from employment in his profession by the McCarthy regime, he published his book Decision on Africa in 1957. In a foreword to a revised edition in 1960 Dr. Dubois hailed the book as a "notable contribution to African freedom."

In 1958 Dr. Hunton attended the All African People's Conference in Accra where he met many African leaders. In 1960 he accepted President Sekou Toure's invitation to teach at the Guinea Lycee in English and History.

At Dr. Nkrumah's invitation, Dr. Hunton joined Dr. Dubois on the major work, Encyclopedia Africana. During the five years that he was engaged on this task he set up coordinating committees throughout Africa, organised conferences and gathered much material. After the coup in Ghana in 1966, he was forced to leave the country within 8 days, and then returned to the U.S.

In May 1967, at the personal invitation of President Kaunda, Dr. Hunton and his wife were invited to Zambia to continue with his work. At the same time he conducted research into the history of Zambia.

Dr. Hunton was a regular contributor to the A.N.C. journal Mayibuye where he wrote a column 'Monthly Calendar of the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa' under the name Optimist. He had a profound knowledge of our country's history and it was a privilege to discuss it with him.

We extend our sincere condolences to his devoted wife and comrade Dorothy. His loss is deeply felt by all freedom fighters in Southern Africa, by all free Africa and by progressives in the U.S.A.

Many of his hopes were not fulfilled in his lifetime but one wish - that he be buried in Africa - has been met. It is fitting that Zambia should have the honour of providing a resting place for this great man.

R. E. S.