## 5GGHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



#### SECHABA

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#### SECHABA

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#### Fighting Talk • Fighting Talk

## THE THAW?

To depend on spontaneity is to be pelitically bankrupt, yet manifestations of spontaneous mass action are highly significant. They are a sure index of a rising tide among the masses opening the way for organised political struggle. Spontaneous action points to a change in mood where the surface had remained apparently calm for some time. This is how we interpret the explosions into violence which have burst upon South Africa in the past year.

It seems that the thaw is on the way. and unlike in nature where the transition from cold winter to better days is even in tempo simultaneously releasing large areas from oppressiveness; in politics the thaw is painful and uneven, as the mask of sullen passivity is thrust aside by the sheer force of accumulated anger. For a people to open the road to revolution it must first overcome its fear and this can only be done by flexing its muscles in action, which, even if it ends in temporary local defeat nevertheless reveals the immensity of popular power. It is in action, albeit spontaneous, that the masses harness their courage, focus their hatred on a single point and see the very real fear that they can strike into the enemy. The sight of the enemy's fear remains in the consiousness of the oppressed, a reminder that they have the power to assert their will over that of the oppressor. Political struggle is in the long run, also a matter of self-confidence.

South Africa has passed through a period of comparative stability. The waves of sabotage in the early sixties which were put down by mass arrests and systematic attacks on the liberation movement was accompanied by feverish state mobilization. The Special Branch was expanded enormously, the armed forces were enlarged, more police were recruited and civilians given training. Thousands of police agents were insinuated among the people to root out political acti-

vists and create an atmosphere of fear. The police state seemed to be everywhere, listening, watching, snatching people out of their beds not to be seen again for a long time.

To a certain extent the technique of terror worked, it always has. But it was also counterproductive - it produced its own antithesis, a hatred more intense than even our sorely tried people have known in the past. And while former methods of systematic political activity were made extremely difficult, the urge to resist continued to smoulder steadily. Latterly it has begun to flare. So much so, that at times the very sight of the police, armed as they always are has been enough to rouse the people to fury. The long pent-up anger over-flows breaking down the walls of fear and driving the people to rush at the very enclaves of white firepower.

These spontaneous acts of anger have the advantage in that they are unpredictable. They catch the police on the wrong foot, reveal their numerical disadvantage, and even though the police eventually get the upper hand, the mood of militant elation is not soon forgotten.

#### SPONTANEOUS VIOLENT OUTBURSTS

The latest instance of mass violence against the police is typical. As reported opposite, thousands of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth, already deeply incensed by a rise in bus fares, were suddenly roused to fury at a peaceful protest meeting by the appearance of armed police in riot vans. They burst out of the sports ground where they were assembled and marched on the nearest police station a mile and a half away where they proceeded to stone the police. It was all they had, stones and numbers, and it was clearly not enough, for the 150 police, with the aid of bullets, tear

#### Fighting Talk • Fighting Talk

gas and dogs, managed to force the crowd to retreat, leaving behind ten wounded. But the masses were far from cowed, as they showed in the township that night.

The violent outburst at Port Elizabeth is no isolated event. Sechaba has reported similar incidents in other centres in the past year. In February last year, a confrontation between African rail passengers and police at Benoni followed a now familiar pattern. A large crowd was incensed by the appearance of a police squad at a railway crossing and moved against the police who thereupon opened fire. Four days later, in Ceres, Cape Province, a large crowd demonstrated outside a police station and were fired at by the police wounding four men.

On the same day at Klerkskorp, Transvaal, police opened fire on a crowd of Africans when they refused to disperse. In March last year a large number of African bystanders at a rail crash staned the police when they appeared on the scene.

At Ikwezi station, near Johannesburg, 3000 angry Africans stoned the police last October after a train smash in which 12 Africans were killed and 242 injured.

These are some of the instances that have been reported. We suspect that there have been others which have been hushed up and the figures recently issued by the Minister of Police on police casualties support our supposition. He admitted in Parliament that 13 police were killed on duty last year (excluding those killed on border patrol by guerillas or in road accidents) and 3699 were injured. Casualties of this order can only be explained by the constant war of attrition that breaks out every now and then between police and the oppressed in the Black ghettos.

#### WHEN FEELING RUNS HIGH

The increasing incidence of mass protests accompanied by violence against the police proves that a feeling of desperation coupled with sheer dauntless courage is taking hold of the oppressed people in South Africa. And, judging by the events in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere, this applies not only to Africans, the most harrassed people in the country, but to the Coloured people too who constitute a large community in a number of cities, and who often live in dire poverty.

It is now clear that no matter how great the police surveillance or widespread the network of informers, when feeling runs high the masses will act even if they are unarmed and the odds are against them.

Spontaneous mass protests, even if it is violent in mood, will not bring about a revolution in South Africa. That much is obvious to any student of politics, but the willingness to resort to mass violence proves that the political consciousness of the Black people in South Africa is far advanced. Gone are the illusions which led people to send deputations to the Minister of this and that. Gone are the days when Black people hoped vainly for a peaceful transition to a democratic society.

Instead there is growing a profound contempt for authority which only needs to be reinforced by organisation to become a real revolutionary force. Herein lies a supreme challenge to our own movement to match our skill against the efficiency of the police.

Sechaba salutes the people of Port Elizabeth and elsewhere who have so valiantly attacked the police. We are particularly moved by the knowledge that they did so unarmed, and this knowledge acts as a spur to remedy this deficiency. While we believe that ultimately it will be the organised armed forces of the liberation army that will make our revolution, we know only too well that victory depends on the kind of people who fought the police at Port Elizabeth.



## ANGRY CROWS STONES POLICE

#### Violence erupts in Cape Coloured Township

That mass violence lies just beneath the surface in South Africa was seen in the swift build up to flashpoint in a recent bus fare dispute. A mass rally of 40,000 Coloured people in the segregated Coloured Township at Port Elizabeth was followed by a march on the nearest police station where thousands of demonstrators stoned the police. The police opened fire at the unarmed crowd hitting at least ten protestors. The crowd dispersed but the whole township was soon aroused and the police were harrassed wherever they went.

Continued on Page 4

The battle with the police was the sequel to a week long boycott of buses when the local bus company raised fares by a halfpence. Residents refused to pay and instead walked up to ten kilometers to town. They then organised a mass protest at the Gelvandale football ground which turned out to be one of the biggest ever in the Township. Local leaders and clergy addressed the meeting which was orderly until the police appeared on the scene in riot vans and armed with staves, revolvers and sten guns. Even then the crowd remained calm until a policeman moved to arrest a man on the edge of the crowd.

The provocation was too much, and immediately a crowd of some 10,000 stormed forward, burst out of the ground and headed for the Gelvandale police station a mile and a half away. The police called for reinforcements but the people surged on in an angry mood. When they arrived at the police station they hurled abuse at the police and began stoning them. A force of some 150 police made several baton charges, threw tear gas and used dogs to force the crowd back. Some policeman then panicked and opened fire at close range. Among those injured were a pregnant woman, a girl of fifteen and a man who was shot in the back. Altogether there were 24 casualties.

Elsewhere in the township, police fired

shots into the air when hundreds of infuriated residents surrounded three police vans and stoned them. Heavily armed police reinforcements fanned out attacking residents everywhere. They chased bystanders clubbing them indiscriminantly and as dusk drew on they opened fire at anything moving in the shadows. The people countered by further stone throwing and by building barricades of old furniture, sewerage pipes and refuse material to block off the streets. Fires started in several places as police with dogs began searching houses and making arrests.

Next day the buses were withdrawn and the boycott was even more solid then before.

#### POLICE LIKE A RED RAG TO A BULL

Mr. F. L. Erasmus, chairman of the Bus Fares Action Committee said that there had been "a week of peaceful protest" before the police intervention at the mass rally. "The only time they come, there's trouble. When people see the police it is like a red rag to a bull." Another local leader, Father Maxwell Salsone, a member of the Coloured Management Committee said, "The Government allows prices to climb unhampered but what is significant is that the wages of the poorer classes

are not increased so readily. A bus fare rise may not sound much, but when considered in proportion to the wage of a Coloured labourer it is quite phenomenal. The bus fare protest is the culmination of years of frustration over increased costs and white authority. It needed only a policeman — to us the symbol of White authority, to light the spark."

It is no coincidence that Gelvandale Township should be the scene of such widespread public bitterness. Wages in the area are on the breadline, the township itself is made up of rows and rows of overcrowded houses interspersed with slum housing. Recreational facilities are minimal. Education is only token and young people are left to hang about the streets since job opportunities are few. All this is aggravated by the feeling that the residents didn't want to live here anyway, and that it was only the Government's apartheid policies which were responsible for the Coloured people being moved so for out of town. Resentment at this injustice coupled with grinding poverty has made Gelvandale a festering sore. It is now inhabited by a bitter people ready to fight back when pressed too far. They have shown that they are no longer prepared to remain a silent majority but will vote with stones even against armed police. What will they not do when they have more than stones?

# NEW MILITANCY BY GARMENT WORKERS LEADS TO BIG GAINS

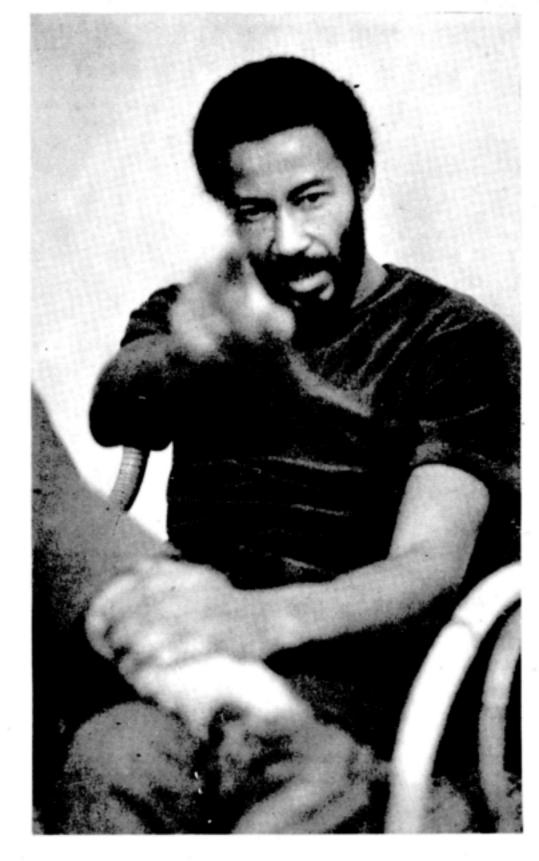
The Garment Workers Union in Natal gained a 15 per cent increase for all workers as a result of mass mobilization and tough manoeuvering against the bosses.

At the biggest meeting for a long time, 25,000 workers, mainly Coloured and Indian, took a militant line on wages and working conditions. Alarmed employers later locked out 6,000 workers. At one factory the shop steward was sacked. Workers walked out in protest and the union found jobs for the 50 people involved. The factory was left without a single machinist or general hand and it is certain that it will take them some months to recover since

there is a general shortage of labour. As a result of their militant stand, the garment workers have won a handsome victory which is all the more creditable in this police-ridden country. Employers agreed to pay a 15 per cent increase for all workers from May this year, and another 5 per cent in May next year. New overtime rates for Saturday work include the payment of one and a half time for the first four and a half hours and double time thereafter. Training time will be reduced by six months.

The union is due to enter negotiations in the Transvaal soon.

## POLAROID MUST DISENGAGE P.R.W.



KEN WILLIAMS - Polgroid workers' Leader

"We demand that we no longer be used as tools to enslave our brothers and insure corporate profits", declares a statement by the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement in which they declare that the struggle to force the Polaroid Corporation to end all trade with South Africa will continue.

"We see the South African apartheid system as the symbol of the many 'inhumanities' in the United States. We cannot begin to deal with racism in Polaroid or the US until Polaroid and the US cease to uphold and support apartheid. Black people in South Africa are enslaved and dehumanised in order to ensure the security of apartheid and the capitalists' margin of profit."

Recently two leading Polaroid workers, Caroline Hunter and Ken Williams, testified before the U.N. Committee on Apartheid that the company's program to benefit black workers in its South African business was a sham that actually supported apartheid. They repeated the PRWM's demands:

"1. that Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa. We believe that all American companies doing business there reinforce that racist system.

"2. that Polaroid announce its position on apartheid publically in the U.S. and South Africa, simultaneously.

"3. that Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to the recognised African liberation movements."

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement strongly denounced the full-page advertisement by Polaroid that appeared in major newspapers throughout the country on January 12th announcing that Polaroid would stay in South Africa to implement their "experiment" of undermining apartheid from within.

"First we will take a number of steps with our distributor, as well as his suppliers, to improve dramatically the salaries and other benefits of their nonwhite employees", said the statement by Polaroid.

"...Our business associated in South Africa will also be obliged... to initiate a well-defined program to train non-white employees for important jobs within their companies... We will commit a portion of our profits earned there to encourage black education. One avenue will be to provide funds for the permanent staff and office of the black-run Association for Education and Cultural Advancement. A second method will be to make a gift to a foundation to underwrite educational expenses for about 500 black students at various levels of study from elementary school through university ... make grants to assist teachers... (and provide for) two exchange fellowships for blacks under the U.S.-South African Leader Exchange Program."



CAROLINE HUNTER - Sacked for exposing apartheid

#### ONLY A TOKEN PAY RISE

The advertisement gave prominence to the recommendations of the 14-man committee appointed by Polaroid's president, Edwin Land, to investigate what the company should do. The committee decided it needed on-the-spot reports and so Land authorised a 4-man mission which visited South Africa in December last year. One of the two black members of the mission claimed that a number of people he had met, black and white, wanted the company to stay in South Africa. He said he had recommended a 100 % salary increase for black employees in the South African subsidiary and education grants for employees children. However, reports from South Africa indicate that Frank and Hirsch, the South African distributors of Polaroid, propose to raise African wages from the present minimum of R60 a month by a minimum of about R8 - their response to Polaroid's instruction that they increase African wages "drastically". These increases would not bring the wages of unskilled African workers in the company even up to the R95 which the Institute of Race Relations regards as the effective minimum monthly income needed to pay, not only for subsistence needs like food, clothing and shelter, but also for the bare minimum of furniture, personal care and so on.

Polaroid has said that Frank and Hirsch will be obliged to initiate a well-defined programme to train non-whites

for important jobs. Presently the company employs several African supervisors and one African mailing clerk. These are considered to be the most important African jobs in an organisation which employs 210 white and 155 African employees. One or two new African supervisors have been appointed recently and received wage increases of R10 to R20 a month. Most of them now receive between R150 and R200 a month - similar to the range of salaries Frank and Hirsch, like other Johannesburg firms, pays its junior white typists.

Mr. H. M. Hirsch, managing director, has said that the firm intends to open up managerial posts to black employees, but, since they would not be put in positions of authority over white workers, they could only be in charge of all-black departments. For the same reason it would

seem that blacks are blocked from the board.

On the education question, the donation to be given to the Association for Education and Cultural Advance (said to be about R10,000) will not make much impression on the critical shortage of school buildings and trained teachers for African children - let alone influence the type of education which is strictly dictated by the Government. Furthermore, if by "underwrite" Polaroid means it will "pay for" the expenses of about 500 black pupils and students, the cost to the company would be R58,000 a year if this number were divided equally between elementary schools (half boarders), high schools (also half boarders), universities and teacher training colleges.

#### POLAROID'S NASTY RETALIATION

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement has accused Polaroid of "brain washing" the black members of the committee. Indeed, during the mission's stay in South Africa all the members stayed at a five-star hotel in Johannesburg and Mr. Chuck Jones told Post: "I'll tell my buddies back home what a ball we had in this country. Imagine how excited they'll be when I tell them about our visit to a Soweto speak-easy."

Following the company's announcement that it will stay in South Africa the PRWM has stepped up its campaign for an international boycott of Polaroid products "until Polaroid gets out of South Africa or until South Africa is liberated in the name of her peoples". Circulars have been distributed calling for leafleteering and picktetting outside shops selling or displaying Polaroid products, and the marking with a large white cross (the mark of quarantine) of all shops which refuse to comply.

Company reaction has been sharp. The immediate suspension, pending dismissal of two leading P. R. W. members, Caroline Hunter and Clyde Walton, was announced and a warning issued to all other employees that any public support of the boycott would be deemed "misconduct detrimental to the best interests of the Company", and subject to severe disciplinary action including discharge.

But company retaliation extends beyond their own employees. Mr. Christopher Ntetha, a South African who has been advising the PRWM has been told by Boston State College that his contract will not be renewed at the end of the present academic year. He is one of five faculty members being victimised for their activity in political causes connected with greater student participation and "black" or third world studies.

But there is evidence that the campaign against Polaroid is winning support from other quarters. Last October Polaroid made a donation of \$20,000 to the United Black Appeal, a fund to finance local black development projects. The donation was part of the \$100,000 given by the company every year to community groups and the first evidence of their decision to shift contributions away from traditional recipients such as private colleges and charities, into minority group needs.

But the United Black Appeal has declined to use this donation for local needs and would split it between black African liberation groups and the Black United Front in Cairo, Illinois.

"The (Polaroid) gift to the United Black Appeal... compromised the Appeal in the public mind, since it could be interpreted as an attempt to prevent comment from the black community about the controversy."

"The community's willingness to give up funds sorely needed in our own community is evidence of the commitment of blacks to fight in every way the slow destruction of the black population in South Africa", the U.B.A. said. "It is an expression of strong resentment all blacks have of the continued business-as-usual attitude of the United States government and the United business corporations. These attitudes serve to support the blatantly repressive and obviously genocidal regime of the Republic of South Africa and will make this nation to a great degree responsible for the decimation of the blacks of South Africa, which is bound to occur if apartheid continues unchecked.

#### CLYDE WALTON - Polaroid victim



#### G. M. UNDER FIRE IN U. S.

#### (Report in Rand Daily Mail 17/2/71)

WASHINGTON. — Anti-apartheid lobbyists and Automobile Union officials are convinced that General Motors has sent a senior executive to South Africa to work out a "Polaroidtype" deal to answer demands that the company should withdraw from the Republic.

But a General Motors spokesman said in Washington yesterday he would have to get instructions from company headquarters in Detroit before he could explain why Frank Angle, G.M.s directors of overseas labour relations, has flown to Port Elizabeth.

Angle's visit comes soon after the announcement by the Episcopal (Anglican) Church that it wants G.M. to wind up its operations in South Africa because they underwrite apartheid. The Church owns 12 574 shares of G.M. stock, a fraction of the 285 500 000 shares. It wants G.M. to put its get-out-of-South Africa demand to the annual stockholders meeting in May as a formal resolution.

The speculation in Washington is that Angle is trying to arrange a compromise whereby G.M. would pledge to upgrade Black workers, and give them better educational prospects, instead of withdrawing from South Africa. This is what the Polaroid Corporation has done to meet the demands from some of its Negro workers that it should close down its South African business. "It is obvious that Angle has gone to South Africa to arrange a Polaroid-type deal", an auto union offical said. "The heat is on with the Episcopal Church agitation and the company must find a way out."

The anti-apartheid movement and the Episcopal Church are likely to reject any "Polaroid" compromise if G.M. arranges it.

Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, had her first direct confrontation with South Africa's twin violences of law and order in 1958, when she was arrested and detained in Johannesburg, while pregnant, for participating in women's anti-pass demonstrations. From then on there seemed to be no end to the chronicle of police harrassment, intimidation and humiliation of this brave woman, 35 years old, a mother of three children, whose husband today serves a life sentence on Robben Island.

It was perhaps inevitable that Mrs. Mandela, because of her relationship with the leader of the African National Congress, should become a prime target of the police force. On 28 January 1963, she was served with a notice banning her from attending meetings or gatherings, and from communicating with other banned persons. The notice also confined her to the Johannesburg area. Under this order, she was not allowed to visit her husband, who was in jail in Pretoria at the time, or even communicate with him, as he was a banned person. She could only do this with special permission. Late that same year, Mrs. Mandela was arrested for contravening the banning order. And for this she was to be punished even more viciously. On 12 February 1965, she was served with a five-year banning order causing her to lose her employment, which she had held for four years with the Child Welfare Society. With typically callous disregard for herself and for the people she served, the latest order restricted Mrs. Mandela to the township of Orlando and made it impossible for her to visit welfare cases in other African townships.

#### BANNED

The Observer, London reported on 28 February 1965, "The new ban which is for five years, also forbids her to attend any social or political gathering or to enter any school, university or publishing house. Nor is she allowed to go into any court, unless she is herself the accused or is subpoenaed as a witness. She must then apply to the magistrate for permission to do so. "Mrs. Mandela was granted a London University study scholarship last year. The latest ban precludes her from

attending a compulsory weekly seminar at a college which supervises these study courses. It also prevents her from attending the staff meetings of the Child Welfare Clinic."

In July 1966, Mrs. Mandela got a job as a sales woman at a Johannesburg furniture shop. But in May 1966 she had been served with an additional banning order, further tightening the screws on a situation which had long since caused this hapless woman, now being systematically persecuted for ideals and beliefs to live in a continuous state of anxiety. This additional order prohibited her from preparing, compiling, publishing, printing or transmitting any documents books, pamphlet, records, poster, photograph or drawing.

In July 1966 the State granted her permission to visit her husband on Robben Island. And once again her tormentors were given another opportunity to show just how much the same system they sought to defend, had brutalized them. The distance to the Island from Cape Town is some six miles and the trip is made in a small ferry boat. On the return journey, Mrs. Mandela later said in court, she

## WINNIE MANDELA - JAILED FOR A YEAR

A TRIBUTE TO A HEROIC WOMAN



was compelled to sit outside on the deck in freezing cold and stinging drizzle.

Nine months after the visit to ther husband, Mrs. Mandela was arrested and charged with having violated the conditions of her banning order at the time of her visit. She was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, all but four suspended. On 13th July, 1968, her appeal was dismissed by the Cape Town Supreme Court. When she reported on 11 August to the Orlando Police Station to serve her sentence, several women supporters bearing ANC slogans demonstrated in front of the station.

#### ARRESTED AND ACQUITTED

Meanwhile, on 26 June, 1967, Mrs. Mandela was found not guilty of a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act of resisting arrest. Once again, methodical harassment by the police during the period she was on remand caused her to lose her job. And so, as time went on, the relentless pressure on this woman was kept up. The police seemed determined to pin

a jail sentence on her. Early in 1969, she was arrested and detained with several other persons on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. Mrs. Mandela, together with the others, was only brought to trial in 1970, when with the exeption of one man they were acquitted. However, before Mrs. Mandela and her 18 compatriots could leave the precincts of the court, they were immediately rearrested under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act.

On 14 September 1970, they were once again set free. The judge upheld their plea that the charges were substantially the same as the previous ones on which they had already been acquitted. They had been in jail continuously for 491 days.

Mrs. Mandela has once again been served with a five year banning order. She cannot attend social gatherings or meetings of any kind for the duration of the ban. She has also been placed under house arrest from 6 p. m. to 6 a.m. on weekdays and from 2.p.m. to 6 a.m. on weekends and public holidays.

Commenting on this punitive action her attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson said:





"Having failed to convict them of any crime, the Government has resorted to arbitrary administrative action, which amounts to a punishment of five years. This is in addition to the punishment they have already suffered by being imprisoned for nearly 17 months. Surely, in a country where the future rides on the bullet and the knife, there can be no finer example of steadfastness than that of Mrs. Winnie Mandela.

Now, the hazards of her detention just behind her she has been sentenced for breaking her ban by receiving visitors at her home. The prosecutor asked the court not to impose a suspended sentence because Mandela knew what the contents of her banning order meant.

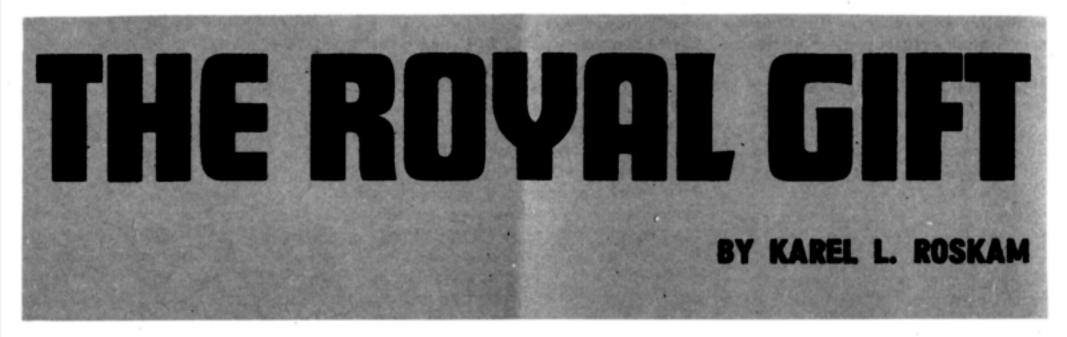
She did indeed, and with her valiant spirit defied it, proof, if it was needed, that her revolutionary heroism remains undaunted. Winnie Mandela has always been loved by the masses. Now she stands as tall as the urge to freedom is great.

Mandela in tribal regalia - above

Mandela with 2 of her 3 children (extreme left)

At the trial of her husband in Pretoria (left)

A substantial donation by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands to the W.C.C. for anti-racism has raised a storm in South Africa. Here, Dr Karel Roskam, a Dutch academic and leading expert on Southern Africa gives the background. He concludes that the Royal Gift will greatly strengthen the hand of those who reject dialogue with South Africa and make the policies of the Liberation Movements more widely acceptable.



Dutch queen Juliana's gift to the anti-racism campaign of the World Council of Churches (WCC) has irritated the average Afrikaner. This donation (the amount of which remained undisclosed, but which is rumoured to be substantial) has hurt the dominant Afrikaner element. According to the South African press, the Afrikaners were deeply shocked, because the descendants of mainly Dutch immigrants customarily have a feeling of piety and respect for Dutch royalty. This attitude dates back to the days of the Boer-war when Juliana's mother, the young Wilhelmina, sent the Dutch warship, "Gelderland" to bring Transvaal's president Paul Kruger to Europe. At that time, the Afrikaners fighting against the perfidious British imperialism, were celebrated popular heroes in the Netherlands.

However, as the Afrikaners realise only too well, since then a breach has occurred between South Africa and the Dutch, which after 1948 (with the National Party government coming to power) has gradually increased. As usual, the Afrikaners put the blame on what they call the power of socialism in Dutch national life and on allegedly distorted reports in the press, radio and television (Hoofstad 15 February). To them the anti-racism campaign of the churches cannot be restricted to humanitarian, medical and educational services, as anyone with the most elementary knowledge of the activities of the terrorists realised that the highway men would accept and use it as murder money' (Transvaaler 16 February). To the Afrikaners this royal donation is the symbolic expression of Dutch support for the liberation movements. Such a gift by a Head of State, it would seem to them, proves that the Dutch condone the use of violence by oppressed majorities in the pursuit of the right of self-determination. In other words, according to the logic of apartheid, the Dutch queen should in fact be regarded as a leading communist. But even Afrikaners realise how blatantly silly that would make them in the eyes of the world. Moreover, such a label would never stick, as reactionaries generally will not easily give up their piety for royalty. Monarchists may be baffled when royalty unexpectedly behaves out of character, but criticism of a monarch is improper to a royalist. At the most an excuse can be found in magic formulas like: the queen did not know what she was doing; she was misinformed; she is the unfortunate victim of extremist apartheid hunters, who have penetrated even the venerable calvinist churches. For many years some of the sharpest criticism against our country is encountered precisely in the Netherlands and in recent times, left wing elements have displayed an ever more strongly militant attitude, wrote die Volksblad on 15 February. The queen had joined the ranks of well-intentioned people who had been taken in by others with evil intentions, as she had been ill-advised and clearly had not realised the impact of her gift, opined die Burger the next day.

And likewise, here in the Netherlands, not all Dutch people appreciated the gesture. The monarchists were, for once, more critical than the progressives (who are usually lukewarm or indifferent, if not outright hostile to monarchy) who welcomed the gift. The conservative proapartheid lobby in the Netherlands would not dream of criticizing their queen directly, but since they cannot imagine her as personally apposed to apartheid, she must have been ill-advised. The same line is taken by the conservative Dutch press: the queen has unknowingly taken a regrettable decision which shows a frightening lack of understanding of African affairs — such is the recurrent theme in conservative corners.

#### **DELIBERATE SUPPORT FOR WCC**

However, it is more likely that Juliana knew perfectly well what she was doing. For, since the WCC last summer announced its decision to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa, a public discussion has been going on, which cannot have escaped anybody's notice, let alone the attention of the Dutch queen, who is being kept abreast of national and international developments by a staff which it is unreasonable to assume to be stupid or ignorant. Thus according to plain common sense, she knew what she was doing and therefore the royal

gift can be nothing else but a deliberate gesture of support for the ecumenical anti-racism campaign.

And this naturally embarrassed the Dutch government a predominantly conservative-christian coalition. After all, vice-premier Bakker had only just returned (at the end of last year) from an official visit to South Africa, where he had expressed his regret that there was so much Dutch opposition to South Africa in the present day, whereas seventy years ago the Dutch felt so much sympathy. A government in which such attitudes prevail would naturally be embarrassed by Juliana's donation, for (apart from verbal denounciation of apartheid) this cabinet follows in all practical respects a policy of cordial relations with Vorster's regime. Dutch ambassadors to Pretoria are noted for their pro-apartheid views. And only recently the extension of landing rights for the KLM showed how cordial these inter-governmental relations have grown over the past years. Likewise investment and trade have increased. Embarrassed by the gift the government felt the need to declare itself, in order not to alienate too much the Afrikaner element which had shown itself so shocked. In an official communique the government noted the critical reactions 'with surprise'. The donation would, under no circumstances, be used to sponsor violence in South Africa. The queen had acted as an ordinary member of the protestant church which had organised the Dutch part of the anti-racism campaign: the so-called "Aktie Betaald Antwoord" (Prepaid Reply). Even the Dutch Cathloic bishops voted for that same purpose f 10.000.- (approx. £1175).

#### POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS UNDENIABLE

It is rather naive for the Dutch government to "note with surprise" the critical reactions both in South Africa and at home, for the impact of this controversial gift could be expected to be much greater than its actual monetary value. It is rather naive to suppose that queen Juliana could act surreptitiously in a private capacity as a good christian woman by the name of a Mrs. J. van Oranje. The political implications of this gift are undeniable as this gesture will certainly strengthen Dutch opposition to apartheid.

The Dutch people are far from united in their view on the South African policy. In government-, business- and trade circles the general feeling seems to be one of expectant cordiality for a seemingly profitable partnership with the white South African counterparts. As long as apartheid does not interfere too noticeably with trade interests, it is a matter of indifference to Business what happens to the other 82% of the South African people. And as Dutch foreign policy is geared to further Dutch trade interests abroad, government is likewise inclined to keep relations with Pretoria as cordial as possible. Yet the Dutch reprensentative at the United Nations time and again expresses his Abhorrence of this Evil policy of apartheid, which is denounced as contrary to Christianity, Democracy, Human Dignity, and all the other commonplaces of international diplomacy. This ambiguity can in part be explained by the activities of a strong anti-apartheid lobby, ranging from prominent calvinist clergy, journalists of press, radio and television to university professors and active politicians in most of the numerous Dutch political parties. Another explanation can befound in the fact that the Royal Kingdom of the Netherlands still extends into South America, with Surinam and the Dutch Antilles constitutionally and economically still dependent on the Hague. Nationalist feelings in these remnants of a colonial empire demand at least a verbal condemnation of apartheid on their behalf. Each Dutch government is committed to such action—it simply could not behave otherwise. But a penetrating analysis of Dutch voting habits in the UN would show beyond doubt that the Dutch government is not prepared to go beyond verbal condemnation—the long list of abstentions on resolutions demanding effective measures against the South African regime (and the Portuguese for that matter) is a glaring illustration of this. (It is true that a government grant was made available last year to educational projects of FRELIMO's Mozambique Institute, but this can be regarded as the proverbial exception-to-the-rule.)

Generally speaking, Dutch foreign policy is based on the development of friendly relations with Portugal and South Africa which became apparent in a recent courtcase against the Dutch state. The ministry of foreign affairs had paid a subsidy to a national manifestation on decolonisation on March 20th to commemorate the ten years old resolution on decolonisation. The grant was later withdrawn, allegedly because of the subjective nature of the documentation and information to be distributed. It is rumoured that pressure had been applied by the embassies of Portugal and South Africa. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joseph Luns, is an admirer of Portugal and indifferent to African self-determination. In the subsequent court-case the state-attorney declared that no government subsidy could be used for purposes which might impair friendly relations with other states and this was to be determined within the framework of Dutch foreign policy. The judge decided likewise.

It is against this background of pampering to Portuguese and South African interests, that the queen's gift was announced (on February 12) by the WCC. This gesture has in the first place dealt a severe blow to Western European church opposition to the WCC anti-racism campaign. In this respect the gift might very well serve as a catalyst, an accelerator for this campaign. Moreover, it has added new momentum to the heated argument whether a Dialogue with apartheid serves any purpose at all. Government is pro-dialogue and not all antiapartheid groups in the country are as yet convinced that external dialogue is senseless when Vorster (as likewise his predecessors before him) refuse and have refused the same internally. The queen's gift comes at a time, when public opinion is slowly, but gradually swaying to the acceptance of the inevitability (and indeed the righteousness) of the use of violence by liberation movements against the age-old structural violence of the white minority regimes. As such the royal gift comes at an appropriate time.

There has traditionally been great interest for South Africa in Holland. This stems from 1652 with the landing of van Riebeeck at the Cape, but the interest increased tremendously during the Boer war. Historical links and common linguistic roots have kept that interest alive ever since (if often somewhat dormant). No wonder then, that in a calvinist country such as ours (where even Catholics and Socialists betray Calvinist tendencies) apartheid is debated more heatedly and in greater detail than perhaps anywhere else. As such the queen's gift could very well sway the balance in favour of the growing antiapartheid opposition. The time for action seems more favourable than ever. The reinforcements of an alert anti-apartheid front which must now grow stronger and more militant must considerably disturb the Afrikaner establishment in South Africa.

## Bleaching the Leopard's Spots

By Len Bloom



Harry Oppenheimer at work

A certain coarseness of moral fibre and a lack of scrupulousness in his dealings . . . harshness and, perhaps, even trickery... His aims were never sordid though his methods might sometimes be ... Big, simple, barbaric vision".

Smuts? Welensky? Verwoerd?

"One of the most unscrupulous characters who have ever lived . . . No matter how base, no matter how contemptible, be it lying, bribery or treachery, all and every means were welcome to

him, if they led to the attainment of his objects".

Vorster? Tshombe? Or one of those minor imperial visionaries: the fathers of the Mafia or the organisers of protection rackets?

Both descriptions are, of course, of Cecil Rhodes, who burst into Africa to recover from TB a century ago, and bluffed and blustered until 1902 when he died worth over £4 million.

The second description was by Kruger an experienced judge of guile and political craft. The first is that of Oppenheimer, who at the outset of his attempt to reestablish Rhodes as a respectable financial magnate and as a statesman, admits that Rhodes's reputation is now "lower than at any time since his death", and twists vice with such dexterity, that were he not a millionaire because of his business acumen, he could have made a fortune as public relations adviser to a shady political party. But why try to cleanse the leopard of its spots nearly 70 years after its death? This apparent whimsy is better understood if Oppenheimer's own position about the role of colonialism in Africa is briefly examined. In 1962, Oppenheimer delivered at the University of Cape Town a lecture entitled "The conditions for progress in Africa", which began: "I am conscious that I owe you some explanation, perhaps some apology for the title I have chosen." He does indeed owe\_an apology: the central theme was the dependence of Africa upon the white man for progress. Oppenheimer asserted: "the most remarkable thing about Africa as a whole has been its backwardness. Africa was until recently primitive and stagnant... Africa owes all she knows of peace, freedom and plenty for the individual to the initiative of Europeans". He describe the major question that must be solved in Africa: "whether the African nationalists are going to prove capable of completing the work of the colonialists ... or is Africa... to sink back into the tyranny and chaos from which the Europeans rescued it?"

#### IMPERIALIST DREAM

It is doubtful how stupid Oppenheimer might be, and it is rash to assume that he cannot be aware of the complex, difficult and often highly creative and sophisticated histories of varied and differing parts of this huge continent. Moreover, even Oppenhei-

mer admits that "what is astonishing about Africa is the unexampled speed of advance of which Africans proved themselves capable as soon as the necessary conditions had been established". It is, therefore, no simple racialist belief that makes Oppenheimer write nonsense about Africa: he is stating a dubious case for a dubious client. The case is that the best hope for progress is in "building up and rapidly expanding a class of Educated Westernized Africans and co-operating with them". And the cooperation that underlies this is of the "economic dependence of the new African states on close ties with highly developed countries . . . and the first direction to look is towards the European Common Market". The case is: the economic subjection of Africa to western capitalist systems. The client is: the balancesheet financier class of Anglo-American, de Beers, Charter Consolidated Groups... whose domination of the economics – and hence the political and social independence - of Africa was founded by Cecil Rhodes and his contempories.

Oppenheimer's view of Cecil Rhodes is that the was not "a conscious liar and hypocrite", but that the contradictions in his life's work are more apparent than real, because they are "different aspects of a consistently held view which still has relevance to the problems of Africa today". This "one great idea" has a breathtaking simplicity, as arrogant as it is impudent: Rhodes wanted to build in southern Africa a modern industrial state, a part of the British Empire, embracing what is now the Republik of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Szwaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, and linked by road, rail and telegraph through what is now Tanzania as to the Sudan and Egypt. At one time too he plotted to take the greather part of Mozambique from the Portuguese colonialists and incorporate that territory also.

Oppenheimer deftly conceals the imperialistic vision of Rhodes behind some unlikely comments of Rhodes to shareholders at the AGM of de Beers in 1900, when Rhodes eloquently divided shareholders into two classes: the imaginative (who sought to extend the area dominated by 'the great European civilization' to the North) and the unimaginative (who 'pass their whole lives in filling money bags'). Rhodes surely showed great skill in filling money bags; but he showed even greater skill in harnessing this rapacity to his

## Oppenheimer on Cecil Rhodes

deep and unquestioned belief in white supremacy. His preposterous will, made when he was still in his 20s, was treasured by him throughout his life with its proposal for the establishment of a "Secret Society" with the aims of extending British rule throughout the world, "especially... the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates... the whole of South America... the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the USA as an integral part of the British Empire..."

This cannot be laughed aside as the paranoiac mouthings of a wild young boy, because he never swerved in Africa from the grandiose design of making Africa his preserve — on behalf of his companies, of course. And had it not been for his ability to outwit indifferent politicians in Britain, and to blarney, bully or bribe those in Southern Africa, into accepting the entrancing prospect of profits for ever without too much trouble about having to account to any authority concerned with such trifles as justice, then prob-

ably in 1971 there would not be millions of Africans still living under colonial domination.

#### MIGRANT SLAVERY

For Rhodes's methods were neither idealistic nor based upon the slighest recognition of responsibility towards the Africans whose Africa it was. His companies and the governments that they controlled robbed, cheated and bullied peoples of their lands, their social systems and their very identity

The men who do the real work



as human beings. "Patriotism plus five per cent" involved the mass forcedlabour system. Oppenheimer mildly defends Rhodes on the grounds that he wanted to apply a 'gentle stimulant' to make the unemployed seek work elsewhere. But even Rhodes admitted in a debate when he was Secretary for Native Affairs that "I am told this is slavery", and even Oppenheimer does not deny that the modern developments of Rhodes's racialism are the intricate labour and residential laws of apartheid: designed to maintain white supremacy - economic no less than political.

Oppenheimer's praise for the benefits bestowed on Africa by western economic enterprise, is perilously close to Rhodes' views expressed in a speech in 1892, when he announced that "the idea that the taking up of the uncivilized portions of the world is to the advantage of the classes is erroneous; the proceeding is entirely to the advantages of the masses . . . The classes could spend their money under any flag, but the poor masses had no money to spend on these speculations these gold and silver mines". So, the chameleon, as Lobengula once said, creeps towards the fly and snaps him up. Doubtless the fly should be grateful that the chameleon's stomach provides a safe refuge from the sting of the hungry spider.

Oppenheimer claims that Rhodes "visualized the establishment of African reserves... as a protective and educative measure for the benefit of backward people, which "in the very long run" would "wither away as the need for them ceased to exist". Meanwhile the very long run lingered, and they were (and still are) highly convenient reserves of cheap and easily exploitable labour.

#### THROW A FEW SHILLINGS

Rhdes's legacy of a crude racism that supposes that civilization and the Nordic race are synonymous, and that being Black entails being inherently inferior, has not yet been dissipated. Even his expression does not differ markedly from more modern formulations: "...the difficult native question . . . the ruling race, the white, should raise the Black race, as far as possible, towards its own higher level of civilization". What this signified in Rhodes's behaviour – his best behaviour described by a contemporary apologist - suggests that Rhodes's thinking was not even as far advanced as that of the small group of Cape liberals at the beginning of the century.

"Mr. Rhodes was always looking after their interests... and his favorite recreation every Sunday afternoon was to go into the De Beer's native compound... and throw in shillings for the natives to dive for.

"Mr. Rhodes is absolutely free from

contempt for the black man. He looks upon him and treats him as a fellow man, differing simply in his lower level of development... He regards them as children, with something of pity in his affection for them, and he treats them like children affectionately but firmly... He always got on wonderfully well with the natives..."

Similar eulogies could be concocted about the benevolence of slave-owners! The true picture of Rhodes was of a man of violent passions who ruthlessly destroyed and robbed and beat down any opposition from those "children" who were unfortunate enough to try to defend their rights to their own lands. "I prefer land to niggers", he observed after he had grabbed the lands of the Mashona and the Matabele. And after a conflict with

Soaring profits



the colonial Office in 1895, he burst out: "It is humiliating to be utterly beaten by these niggers". Oppenheimer appears happily to accept - whether naively or after careful throught that Rhodes thought that equality of all races in Africa "would be centuries away if it ever came. But at the same time he was fully aware that while this might be true of the mass it was not true of all individuals". This view still lingers on in the Oppenheimer-supported plans in South Africa for carefully qualified franchise, the rationale underlying which is the belief that if a smallish number of suitably vetted and controlled Africans be given some nominal share in government, then the danger is lessened of the creation of a well-led mass political movement demanding equality.

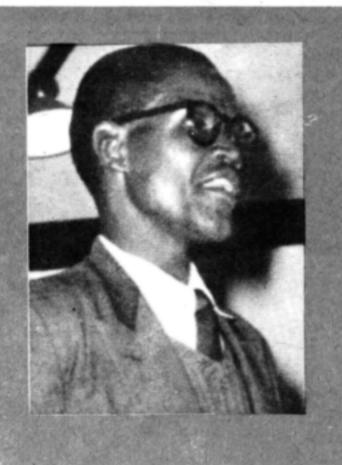
#### OPPENHEIMER IS NO THUG, ONLY DANGEROUS

Unlike Rhodes, Oppenheimer is no thug. There are, however, many thugs in Southern Africa who are zealously carrying out the thuggery necessary to preserve the Oppenheimer economic empires. Oppenheimer has shown little effective concern about his reliance upon them, apart from some tepid and conventional criticisms of those aspects of apartheid policy that interfere with the operation of his enterprises. Like Rhodes, Oppenheimer has not the least desire to admit a genuine equality between Blacks and Whites.

Unlike Rhodes, Oppenheimes has seen the political importance of the tawdry devices of Tokenism. The Oppenheimer who speaks in Zambia sounds almost genuinely liberal: The Oppenheimer who speaks in the Republic of South Africa speaks more mildly than the Vorsters, but is committed to a racist regime - while that regime appears to afford good dividends. Rhodes was never subtle enough to invent the phoney sharing of neo-colonialism. Oppenheimer has shrewdly understood that Rhodes's oldstyle racialism can only be maintained at great political military and economic loss, and that neo-colonialism - the modern guise for Indirect Rule – is cheaper, and may last longer than naked repression.

Oppenheimer ends his reassessment of Rhodes by reacalling that the vision of this 'big man" is still with us. Alas, this is true. But the Freedom Fighters in Southern Africa will soon have blown away this vision. Oppenheimer is a small man, but his vision — as far as he can be shown to have one — is the less obviously dramatic one of maintaining white supremacy through the agency of western capitalism. Less raucous than Rhodes's bellowings, it is more dangerous. We would do well to fear serpents more than we fear leopards.

## SACTU'S PROUD RECORD



March 5th, was the 16th Anniversary of the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. On the occasion the following statement was issued by the London Representative of SACTU, Mr. John Gaetsewe:

The voluntary liquidation in October 1954 at Durban of the Trades and Labour Council the forerunner of the South African Congress of Trade Unions marked the closing of a chapter in South African labour history. It also marked the beginning of a new one. Progressive trade unionists fought, and rightly so, to preserve the Trades and Labour Council. This they did for many reasons but above all for the sake of the noble principle which its founders had inscribed in the Council's Constitution: that it should be open to unions of workers of South Africa without regard to colour, nationality, or sex. The T. L. C. was dissolved in order to enable most of its former leaders to join with those who had always upheld apartheid in the newly-established S. A. Trade Union Council (SATUC) which barred African membership from the start.

The minority who opposed dissolution united with the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to establish SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions) at the founding Conference on 5 March 1955.

The founders of SACTU who had fought so heroically for unity the previous October at Durban, carried the trade union movement into a new dimension. In the preamble to its Constitution SACTU announced:

The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers. Only the working class, in alliance with other progressive minded sections of the community can build a happy life for all South Africans free from unemployment, insecurity, poverty, racial hatred and oppression, a life of vast opportunities for all. But the working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it itself is united and strongly conscious of its inspiring responsibility. The workers of South Africa needed a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working people can play their part unhindered by prejudice or racial discrimination. Only such a truly united working class can serve effectively the interests of the workers - their immediate interests, higher wages and better conditions of life and labour as well as the ultimate objective of complete emancipation'.

This intention was emphasised at SACTU's first Annual

National Conference in 1956 when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

'SACTU is conscious of the fact that the organising for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour is inextricably bound up with a determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive laws and practices. It follows that a mere struggle for economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers'.

#### SACTU'S RECORD OF STRUGGLE

True to its principles SACTU identified itself with other liberatory movements and became a signatory to the well known Freedom Charter. SACTU became a consultative member of the Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress.

Together with these organisations SACTU members took part in the mass strikes, the mass boycotts, the mass demonstrations and protests of the fifties. Increasingly the government met every action with armed might and violence, horrifying and electrifying the world at the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

In 1961 before the great stay at home, South Africa became an armed camp with tanks and armoured cars parading the streets of cities. The African townships were ringed by police, road blocks were set up.

#### A HIGH PRICE

For propagating the unity of all workers in South Africa SACTU paid a very high price.

In 1956 no less than 23 of its officials were arrested and charged with high treason.

In 1958 many were convicted of incitement. In 1960 a large number were detained during the state of emergency, and since 1963 more than 60 leading officials were either arrested under the General Laws Amendment Act or the Terrorism Act or banned and house arrested.

Today we also remember some of our dear Comrades like Vuyisile Mini and others who were executed for their part

in the liberation struggle or murdered during detention like Mayekiso and others.

Today some of our people are in exile or living under house arrest. We are forced to work under most difficult conditions.

TUCSA and other white trade union federations surrendered the basic principle of working class unity. The leadership of these federations stood by while scores and hundreds of fellow trade unionists were being victimised, jailed, tortured and hanged for standing up for trade union principles.

Today TUCSA and other federations are only tolerated by the fascist regime and permitted to operate so long as they can be of service to it. It has been left to SACTU alone to carry forward the banner of trade union principles in the Nazified South Africa of today.

The brave working men and women who braved dungeons and gallows and kept aloft the banner of true trade unionism, the banner of SACTU, will never be forgotten. SACTU will survive every blow and its members will play a leading part in rebuilding the free South Africa that will arise following the inevitable overthrow and collapse of the hateful structure of white supremacy.

## Don't be a Party to Non-White Oppression

South African recruiting missions are signing up British workers to go to South Africa: miners, electricians and bus drivers for a start. A recruiting drive is due to begin in earnest in this country at the end of February.

If YOU were to go, what kind of country would you find? You'd be offered generous terms off course: handsome wages and bonuses, and there's always the glorious sunshine.

But man does not live by bread – and sunshine – alone. And British workers, who have a proud tradition of struggle for the right to organise must know that if they go to South Africa they will become accomplices in the most tyrannical system of race rule in the world, The right to strike is a basic workers' right and in Britain workers are up in arms against the threat to deny this right. In South Africa three out of every four workers, the Africans, have never had this right.

The official policy of the South African Government is to 'bleed the African unions to death.' Strikes are illegal, and strikers are hauled before courts to be prosecuted criminally if they dare to back a wage claim with strike action.

So, it would be like going back to the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs when British workers were sent in chains to penal colonies for daring to organise in unions.

What about the good life out there?

It's a good life for White workers only because it's lived on the backs of the African workers. On the mines, for every £1 the African miner earns, the White miner earns £16.

In industry white workers earn five and six times as much as the African. It's not that Africans cannot do skilled work; they are doing it, but they are paid less because they are Black. In this white workers have become the partners of the bosses. New industrial agreements, like in the iron and steel and engineering industry, reserve the top jobs for Whites only, and splinter and down-grade the

skilled and semi-skilled jobs so that Africans do the work, but do not get the rate for the job.

That makes two basic trade union principles which South Africa turns her back on: the right to organise and the rate for the job.

These recruiting missions and the advertisements in the national dailies will tell you that you'll be living off the fat of the land. That's one way of putting it; in fact you'll be living directly off the misery of your fellow workers.

It's not a case of immigrants doing jobs that can't be filled by South Africans. Those jobs should be done by Africans for that is the way their standard of living can be raised. Their poverty in a rich and industrialised country is the direct result of discrimination which is official policy in South Africa and which you are being asked to support.

'I'll be all right, Jack,' you might say. 'What's wrong with high wages for White workers even if Blacks starve?'

That's all very well, but you'll be living in a country where Whites — workers as well as bosses — must reap the consequences of this racialism. Those who back apartheid or live on its ill-gotten gains will be part of this rotten system and the explosion that must inevitably come. Cash earned today could be loss of life tomorrow.

So if you make up your mind to do a job out there, you'll be making a decision to get on the wrong side of this conflict. You'll be scabbing on your fellow workers, and on the human race. And you'll be putting your own future at risk. So, it's not a job in the sun that's at stake; it's your future. Don't sacrifice that, and the future of Africans struggling for the right to organise and to live a decent life.

White South Africa's best friends are Britain's employers. Seven out of every ten of Britain's largest companies have invested their profits in South Africa. These include firms that have been laying off workers in Britain because there are fatter profits to be made in South Africa on semi-slave African labour. There's the case of Cyril Lord, of Plessey, of GEC-AEI, and others too.

So, don't go to South Africa. Tell your mates the reasons why they should not go either.

But there is something you can do.

Take a leaf out of the book of the Polaroid Workers of Boston, U. S. A. Polaroid set up a committee of its workers, — they included Black and White — to study the terms under which Polaroid did business with the South African Government (Polaroid equipment is used for the hated race identity cards) and to examine the wages and working conditions of Polaroid workers inside South Africa where, like all foreign companies, it pays discriminatory wages to African workers. When the investigation showed conclusively how Polaroid was helping to entrench apartheid while drawing profits from it, the Polaroid committee forced the Company to announce that: —

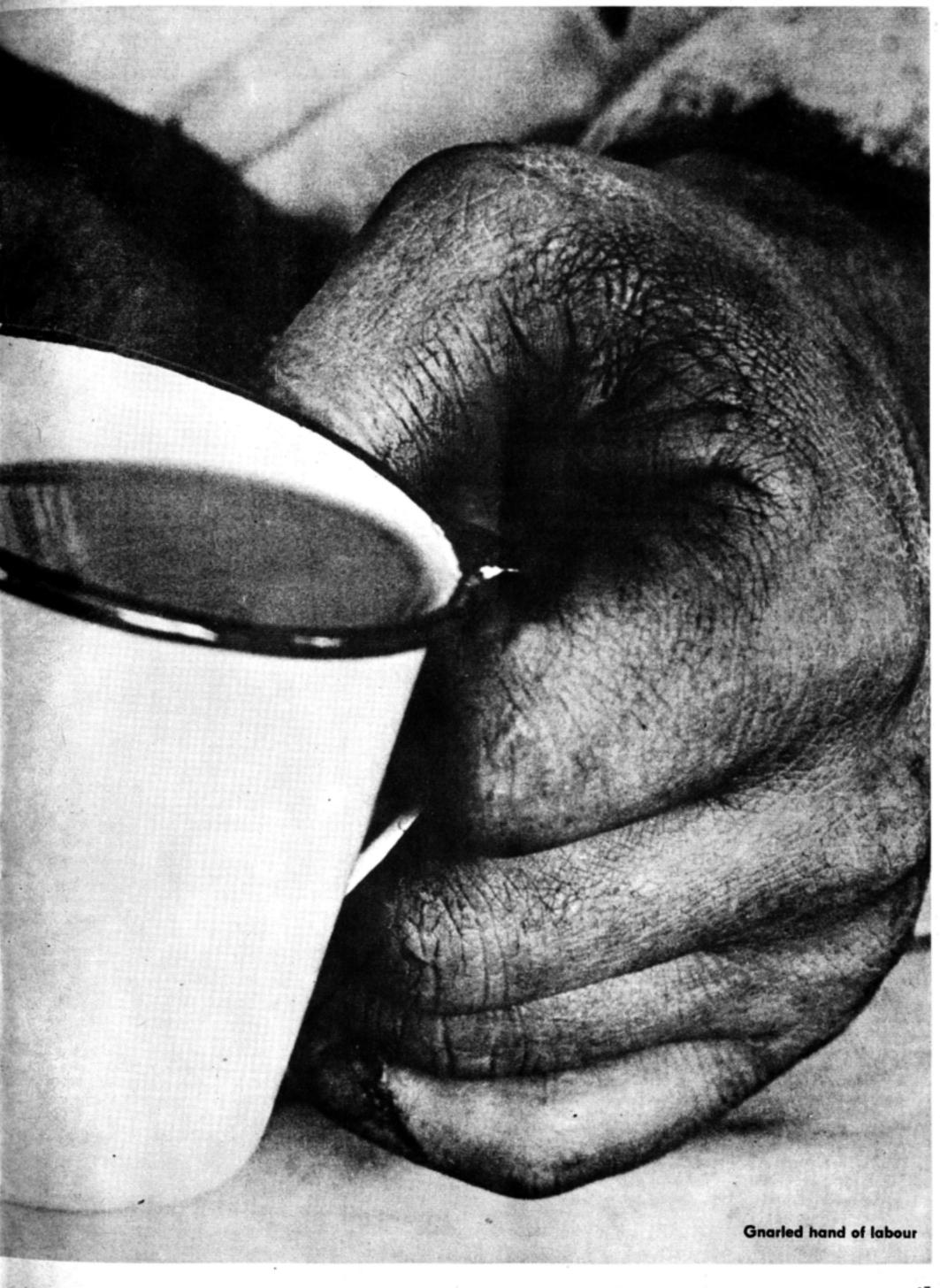
- It would no longer do business with the South African Government.
- The Company's subsidiaries and distributors in South Africa would have to improve dramatically the salaries and other benefits of their African employees.

British investments in South African industry far outstrip those of any other country. British workers could thus put pressure on British employers to change apartheid, not strengthen it. What about your firm, your industry? Check if it has blood money in apartheid.

Don't Join Apartheid! Act Against Apartheid!

Support the South African Congress of Trade Unions in the struggle for trade union rights and freedom.

Issued by the South African Congress of Trade Unions. 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A-4NL





It will be recalled that the United Nations has proclaimed 1971 as the International year of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

More than any other Continent, Africa is a victim of racial discrimination in the form of a barbaric and brutal type called Apartheid. Over 30 million Africans are subjected to varying degrees of racial discrimination and Apartheid. The International Community declared Apartheid as a crime against humanity as well as a threat to international peace and security.

The Organisation of African Unity expresses its earnest hope that the observance of this year will promote effective worldwide activities against apartheid as well as colonialism which is inseparable from racism in Africa. Africa, which through centuries has suffered the most brutal manifestations of racism, including the massacre and enslavement of millions of its people, and which continues today to suffer the inhu-

manity of apartheid and the brutality of colonial wars, looks for worldwide action to eliminate once and for all the scourge of racism.

The Organisation of African Unity has as one of its main purposes the eradication of racism. At the Summit Conference in Addis Ababa in 1963 the African Heads of State and Government condemned racial discrimination in all its forms in Africa and all over the world, including measures of racial discrimination taken against communities of African origin living outside the continent. It must be emphasised that 1971 has been proclaimed as a year for action.

The most effective way to observe this year is to redouble national and international action for the complete emancipation of the African continent, for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, for the freedom of the people of Namibia for whom the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility, and for the ending of the colonial wars in territories under Portuguese domination, and in Zimbabwe. The Organisation of African Unity has noted with satisfaction the growing worldwide support for these objectives as shown by the massive boycotts of racist South African sports teams, the widespread opposition to the supply of arms and other assistance to South Africa and Portugal, and the growing support from outside Africa for the liberation movements, most recently from the Nordic States and the World Council of Churches. It expresses its appreciation to all genuine opponents of racism who have shown solidarity with the African peoples in their legitimate struggles.

#### **Profits from Oppression**

At the same time, the Organisation of African Unity is most disturbed at the continued support given to racist and colonialist regimes in Africa by certain Governments and by various economic, financial and other interests. Powerful economic and financial interests from outside Africa have been deriving increasing profits from the oppression of the African people in Southern Africa.

For example, it has been established by the UN that in 1968, the profits taken out by foreign investors in South Africa alone totalled 420 million U. S. dollars. These investors have contributed to the strengthening of the military machines of the colonialist and racist regimes, by taxes and special loans, which are more than the wages they pay to the African workers, and provide political support to the regimes of oppression.

Racism will soon be a thing of the past if only foreign vested interests can be deprived of profits from racist oppression.

The moves by the present Conservative Government in the United Kingdom to supply military equipment to the racist South African regime deserve to be condemned and prevented by international opinion. The spurious argument that such supplies are required by the so-called Simonstown Agreement has no basis

whatsoever. The O.A.U. has already categorically declared that the supply of arms to South Africa is a hostile act against the whole of Africa.

In the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, the African States have affirmed a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs. The revival of the so-called Simonstown Agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the South African racists constitues a serious challenge to the Organisation of African Unity.

Apart from Portugal's wars of genocide in its colonies, including the use of chemical warfare, the recent criminal aggression against independent Africa, is fresh evidence of the grave dangers posed by the persistence of Portuguese colonialism on African soil. Urgent steps are called for to end the colonial wars waged by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and to eradicate the menace of the mercenaries.

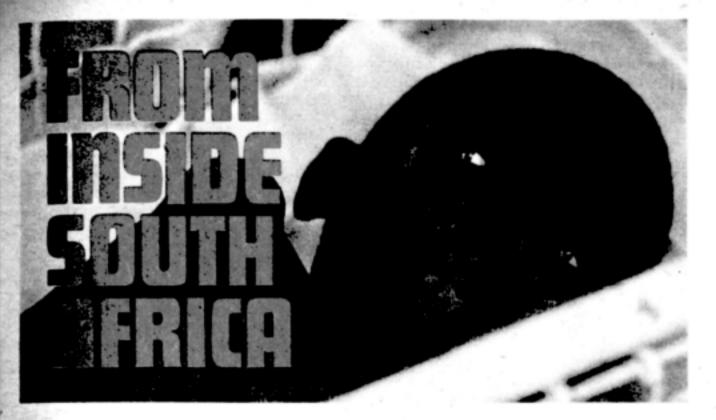
#### Support Liberation Struggle

It is time that all the governments and people of the world recognised fully, in words and in deeds, that the struggle in Africa is a legitimate struggle of the oppressed African peoples against the racists and colonialists who violate all principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. It is the duty of all genuine opponents of racism to do all in their power to combat and isolate the enemies of freedom, and to assist in all possible ways the people engaged in the legitimate struggle for freedom and independence.

The Organisation of African Unity notes with satisfaction that the United Nations General Assembly has, by overwhelming majorities, called for assistance, in cooperation with the O.A.U., to the movements struggling against apartheid and colonialism in Africa. The Organisation of African Unity welcomes such support from all over the world as a concrete expression of human solidarity in this noble cause.

Because of the barbarous actions of the racist and colonial Powers, the Liberation movements are in urgent need of assistance for refugees. They also need and deserve most generous support in the reconstruction of the areas liberated at great sacrifice and heroism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

On this occasion, we pay our homage to all those who have laid down their lives in the struggle against slavery and colonialism and for the dignity and honour of Africa. We also send our greetings to all those who are valiantly fighting for their freedom in the enslaved parts of Africa, especially to those in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, toward the militants held in prisons by the Pretoria and Salisbury regime and toward the people of African origin struggling for their rights in many communities outside the continent. We also appeal to all those States which have not yet done so to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination.



#### BISHOP OF ZULULAND ON 'PASS BOOK' CHARGE

South Africa's most senior black churchman, the Anglican Bishop of Zululand, who is joint president of the World Council of Churches, was arrested and charged under the country's "pass" laws. The Rt. Rev. Alpheus. Zulu, aged 65, was seized by police at a Christian centre in Roodepoort, near Johannesburg, where he had been taking part in a religious seminar on "black theology". After being kept in a police station for several hours, Bishop Zulu, who is known for his outspoken comments on apartheid, was charged with failing to produce his reference book - a very minor offence.

The document, better known as a "pass book", is one which every African must carry at all times. It is used to apply strict control to his movement, place of residence, and work. About 1,700 Africans are prosecuted every day under the country's voluminous and complex laws.

The bishop was offered the chance of paying a 5 Rand (£2. 90) "admission of guilt" fine on the spot, but he said: "I would rather appear in court than pay the 5 Rand." He was then released on his own recognizances and ordered to appear in a local court on March 19. The charge was later dropped.

#### CHAPLAINS SEARCHED AT ROBBEN ISLAND

In Cape Town it was disclosed that the authorities on Robben Island, the principal prison for black political offenders in South Africa, have forbidden the Roman Catholic and Anglican

chaplains to bring Communion wine with them for Masses.

A prison rule prohibiting the introduction of alcohol into the island has recently been invoked, after being ignored in the case of Communion wine for at least the past 11 years. Chaplains have been searched on landing and their flasks of altar wine seized.

For Anglican prisoners this means that they are unable to receive Communion in the form prescribed by their church. Wine is a vital part of a Roman Catholic Mass although it is not served to communicants; but the application of the rule may force Catholic priests to bring previously consecrated Hosts with them in future for communicants because their Masses at present are "dry".

Cardinal Owen McCann, the Archbishop of Cape Town, has appealed to the **prison authorities** for an exemption.

#### POLICE RAIDS TO UNCOVER AID FOR PRISONERS' FAMILIES

The National Union of South African Students, which won a court action against the police over the seizure of documents during a security branch raid, was raided again the next day. The union sued the police in the Supreme Court in Cape Town for the return of documents taken away on February 5. The Cape Town security police, after handing back the large quantity of seized docuents, returned to the office and took them all away again - under a new warrant. The documents relate to the union's financial assistance to the families of African political prisoners. The police are seeking evidence of distribution of money from the London-based Defence and Aid Fund, which is regarded in South Africa as an illegal organisation.

#### WAGES DROPPED OVER 60 YEARS

Professor Sheila van der Horst, president of the S. A. Institute of Race Relations has stated that the cash earnings of Africans in the mines in 1966 – when deflated by the retail price index – were R71 a year, which was R1 less than in 1911.

#### SEETHING DISSATISFACTION

People who wish to avoid the embarrassment which Apartheid laws create in South African society dutifully repeat parrot-fashion the Nationalists assertion that Africans earn more in the Republic than do the Black people in the emerging countries to the north. This red-herring helps to hide many ugly facts which affect the living conditions of the black worker in a socalled, highly industrialised Western country.

Let us examine the lot of the 800,000 Africans which the latest census estimates live in Johannesburg. Estimates given at the beginning of February by the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality and the South African Institute of Race Relations indicate that thousands of African families who have managed to live above the poverty datum line will now be forced below it by rises in the prices of basic foods, transport and rentals.

Figures compiled in 1970 showed that 68 % of the Soweto families already earned less than the minimum requirements to keep above starvation level. This the experts regard as a conservative figure. This year it will soar well above this figure.

But the misery does not end there. Not only will well over 70% of the Soweto population be living at starvation level but in fact they will be suffering this hunger in inadequate, overcrowded conditions according to Mr Fred van Wyk who is director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. There was already a shortage of 3,400 houses at the end of 1970 which meant that at least 68,000 Africans were living in overcrowded conditions with other families, 2000 houses are required each year simply to keep up with the natural increase in population but only an average of 1200 have been built over the last seven years.

No wonder Mr Van Wyk says that 'it is incredible that the Authorities could still delude themselves into believing that Africans were 'temporary sojourners' in the so-called Urban areas' – like Johannesburg. It was this unrea-

listic attitude which influenced them and was used as an excuse for the shortage of building operations. "There is seething dissatisfaction in the townships and the Government must be made aware of the inherent threat of unrest if living and other social conditions are not quickly improved", Mr Van Wyk added.

A similar warning about conditions in Durban was given in an article for the bulletin of the Natal Employers Association by Professor H. L. Watts of the University of Natal. He estimates that three-fifths of the African population lived in poverty in the townships round Durban. But this situation existed also amongst the large Indian community. 'Poverty in South Africa is essentially a non-white problem particularly among Africans and Indians' was the conclusion the Professor had come to after his recent researches.

Mrs Helen Suzman revealed that although Africans constituted more than 67 per cent of the country's labour force, they received only 18 per cent of the country's personal income. Inflation had overtaken any wage increases and the Africans were poorer today than a year ago. She charged that urban Africans were living in a 'ferment of anxiety and frustration, in dire poverty and among crime and disease.

The conditions of the Africans in Johannesburg has even moved the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to review the wages paid to their African employees and 'give increases where necessary.'

All this refers to the relatively 'well paid' Africans employed in commerce.

#### Mine workers' exploitation

Let us have a peep at the men who go down into the bowels of the earth to dig for gold which is South Africa's greatest single source of wealth.

According to the N. E. A. D. and Race Relationship figures, the poverty datum line can be pegged at approximately R74 for a family of five, the 360.000 African miners earn only R18.30 per month. (1 Rand = 57 new pence).

But the Chamber of Mines claims that when all the 'fringe benefits' are added to the basic wage, the African Mine Workers earn about R48 a month! Less than £30 per month in old sterling. (Remember his actual cash wages are approximately £11 per month in old sterling.)

It is interesting to examine what are termed 'fringe benefits' on the mines:

'Free accommodation': Nice sounding term until one realises that this means a concrete bunk with about 40 to 50 other men in a breeze-block structure where cycles, pieces of fur-

niture, clothing and everything the men possess are simply dumped in this constricted space. The centre piece is a built-in open hearth type of oven for which they have to buy their own coal and firewood.

- 2. 'Free Food': Mainly consists of 'mealie pap' a sort of pulped maize with some gravy and a mug of tea. It certainly does not provide sufficient substance to be regarded as an adequate diet and in fact all these men supplement this meagre diet at the Store which swallows up practically all their earnings.
- 3. 'Daily Beer Allocation': This is a type of home-made brew and serves the same purpose as the wine served to the peasant workers in the farms in the Cape. It has a temporary exhilirating effect designed to keep the worker 'happy' and duped.
- 4. 'Subsidised Clothing and Free Boots': The boots are essential for purposes of hard wear and tear in the slush and mud and rocky paths underground. One would have to see the 'subsidised clothing' to believe the effrontery of the mine-owners putting this forward as a 'benefit'.
- 5. 'Medical Care': It is true that initially medical examinations are undergone by all the migrant labourers. It is equally true that thereafter a large proportion contract all sorts of miners' diseases phthisis, silicosis and a host of other incurable diseases. The man is given a pension most of which ends up in the tills of the local stores which have given him credit and which the 'boss-boy' collects from him before he goes on his last journey back to the homelands to die.
- 6. 'Free Transportation to and from the homeland': What the Chamber of Mines fail to say is that most of the labour is negotiatory labour under contract to them for periods of 6 months to a year; that this labour force is recruited in the homelands as well as in Botswana, Malawi, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa. That they are herded like animals into third class carriages and kept herded for the period of their employment in fenced-in locations on the mine territory. Their return journey is usually as uncomfortable and as crowded. And the 'soft-sell' of the Chamber of Mines about their wonderful 'fringe benefits' is nothing but a lot of 'codswollop' when the veneer is removed from it. This is a little peep at the type of life that some Africans endure in Apartheid South Africa under the benevolent care of Mr Vorster. This is the life led by people under a government which Mr Heath has now decided to support with arms and with whom the British Government trade increasingly every

#### UPROOTED

One need not go far to discover the utter disregard which the authorities have for its African citizens in the Republic of South Africa. It is based on the same cynical lines of Hitlers' 'herrenvolk' philosophy of regarding all non-Germans as inferior and his obsession about changing the map of Europe.

#### Exaggerated?

Well let us examine two of the most recent events which have affected the African population in two different parts of the Republic.

A. In an area near Barkly West, the Government have ordered three hundred African families to move to Vaalboshoek so that they can 'straighten the border' between African and White areas.

'Straightening the border is the only reason' said a spokesman of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He said that the Majeng reserve'forms a point into the white area and this point must be cut off.'

Three hundred families will thus be forcibly uprooted so as to straighten the border and 'consolidate the African areas.'

There is no doubt that 'forcible' is the applicable word for the families belonging to this Batlhaping tribe which have refused to move as they claim that the allocated land is not arable and there is insufficient water. They also claim that the Government

has been vague in its statement about compensation.

One day the lorries, bulldozers and armed police will move in and as in the case of many other areas, the people will be carried off at the point of a gun while their houses are bulldozed to the ground to make way for the white overlords who desire this land.

B. In Zululand a little drama is being played out that would be hilariously comical if it were not for the tragic consequences . . .

Two African store-keepers recently bought their businesses from Whites with the approval of the Bantu Development Corporation.

These stores are dependent largely on the use of telephones because they are in isolated areas and the nearest public phone is over ten miles away.

But as soon as Mr. Nfuleni and Mr. Zungu acquired the businesses, their phones were disconnected. This is because non-Whites cannot share a 'White' party line unless they have the written permission of all the subscribers.

In the one case, one white subscriber refused permission so bang went Mr. Zungu's chances. This in spite of the fact that eleven other subscribers did

not object: In Mr. Nfuleni's case, the eight subscribers unanimously refused to give written permission although they did not object verbally to his sharing the line. Without this valuable means of communication from such isolated areas, it will be impossible to make these businesses viable propositions. And this in one of the proposed 'homelands' where white farmers have obviosly overstayed their leave. Can there be anything more cynical than such business transactions when it must have been obvious to the authorities that the telephones were absolutely essential for the continuity of the business and not a word of warning to the buyers until the deal was signed and sealed in favour of the whites. Then the only means of communications cut because Whites and Blacks cannot share one line!

#### CHIEF MOSEKI DETAINED

As expected the Government are acting true to form over the dispute in the

Majeng Bantu Reserve resettlement dispute. The latest news to reach us is that Chief Moseki of the Bathlaping tribe and six other leaders were detained after a dawn swoop by the Security police: The great majority of families refused to move and they have been told that those who do not go will be prosecuted and "evicted in accordance with the normal processes of the law." This means being forcibly dumped in the open veld fifty miles away from their present reserve. The dispute continues and is likely to flare up into a bitter struggle before these families suffer the fate of hundreds of thousands of other "resettled" Africans.

#### Vital Statistics

It was revealed that 13 police were killed on duty last year (excluding those killed on border patrol or in road accidents) and 3,699 were injured.

It has also been reported that the South African police killed 54 people and injured another 149 by gunfire in 1970.

The number of people shot dead by police last year in "the execution of duty" included 37 Africans, 15 Coloureds, and two Whites. Five juveniles were killed and 11 injured by police bullets. Among the wounded were 93 Africans, 51 Coloureds and five Whites.

The Minister of Police disclosed that 455 policemen had been allowed to stay on in the force after conviction for violent offences in the past 2 years. Of these, 75 already had previous convictions, 24 of them for assault.





Albertina Sisulu – fighting leader



#### Women must be enabled to play their full role in the freedom struggle

It was Shirley Chisholm, the black American Congresswoman who said recently that she had faced discrimination all her life – but that she had suffered worse discrimination as a woman, than as a Black.

Under the regime of Apartheid, it would not be possible for any black South African woman to say the same; in this society, colour oppression is overwhelmingly predominant. Nevertheless, it would be possible to say that discrimination bears even more heavily on African women than on African men.

Because of apartheid's assault on family life, it tends to be the woman who bears the major family responsibility, the major burden of daily anxiety.

Despite this, women have played a magnificent role in the political struggle in our country. In resistence, in protest, in political commitment, they have been uncrushable. Rightly, at the massive women's demonstration against the Pass Laws, held in Pretoria, did the women sing: Strike a woman – and you strike a rock.

Women have a vital role to play in every area of the struggle. Our movement can never be one of those in which 'revolutionary' men see woman's political role as that of a'hewer of wood and drawer of water' — or, to put it more precisely, a 'typer of letters and maker of coffee. Our movement cannot be one where the mention of Women's Liberation is greeted by jokes about the burning of brassieres. (This inane laughter is a sure sign of that classic petit-bourgeois attitude: male chauvinism.)

Let us constantly check up, and ensure that our women are playing a full and equal part.

 Let us ensure that women are represented on the leading decision-making and executive bodies of our Movement.



- 2. Our Movement, from time to time, sends people overseas from South Africa, to represent it in various countries, and to organize solidarity work. Let us ensure that a good proportion of these representatives are women.
- 3. Women have played a full military role in liberation struggles in, for instance, Cuba and Vietnam. Let us ensure that there are many women amongst our freedom fighters, and amongst those who are receiving military training.
- 4. In many areas of solidarity work, women can be more effective than men. For instance, women's groups, church groups and most humanitarian organizations are likely to be more impressed by a concrete account of life under apartheid given by a woman who has had to bring up a family in this situation, than by a lecture from, say, a young male student. When our Movement is asked to send speakers to meetings, let us ensure that these are often women.
- 5. Youth and Discussion groups within our Movement often hold seminars and prepare political papers. We must encourage women to participate in these activities. I say 'encourage', because as a result of their conditioning and, in many cases, their inferior education, women are tentative about volunteering their opinions.
- When our Movement holds public or internal meetings, let us ensure that women frequently speak, and are present on the platform.

It would be unrealistic, in view of woman's history of subjugation and of man's history of dominance, to expect women, immediately, to play an equal part, in terms of numbers and of contributions. But this is the position towards which we should be thinking and working, in order that we can ensure, both in our fight today and in our freedom tomorrow, that all people are giving all of which they are capable.



### BOOK REVIEWS

#### **GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA**

by Johannes Meintjies

Published by Cassel. Price £3.15p.

A well-written and interesting biography of an outstanding Boer general. Botha emerges as a bigotted, God-fearing, patriotic, semi-literate man who, though he could barely read a map, yet outwitted the British in the arena of guerilla warfare: Botha's commandos harassed, ambushed and bogged-down tens of thousands of British soldiers.

It was only at the negotiations which followed the Boer War that the British, represented by Lord Kitchiner,

outsmarted Botha. The founding of Union in 1910 saw Botha taking the reins of Government but Britain getting the lion's share of the loot. Soon afterwards Botha visited the 'mother country' to be feted with all the pomp and glory that the British could muster for the cause of the Empire, including the offer of a peerage. Botha returned a transformed man. It is here that Meintjies makes generous use of the whitewash. In fact, Botha's new obsession was for unity of Afrikaner and English only. The Blacks remained, in his eyes, beyond the pale. Reading this life of General Botha one cannot but be amazed by British diplomacy in their dealings with the Boers - so effective was it that to this day they are still reaping the profits. No doubt the prototype of neo-colonialism was created in 1910.

#### A Welcome to 'South African Studies'

A journalist correspondent writes: It would be hard to exaggerate the enthusiasm that members of my profession (as well as academics, students, revolutionaries and, indeed, all those who are interested in the politics of South African Liberation) will feel for the ANC's latest publishing venture – South African Studies.

The difficulties of documenting revolutionary struggles are notorious. Inside an oppressed country, people are not anxious to hang on to compromising material at times, it can be literally true that the possession of an illegal document can be, grounds for execution (in South Africa, possession of such documents has frequently been grounds for imprisonment). Police raids decimate material, records are confiscated and never returned. Outside the country, there is the difficulty of obtaining the material produced inside it, and the difficulty of sparing personnel to

keep track of and file documents. And in both cases, there is the extraordinary ability of pamphlets and leaflets to disappear into thin air! South African Studies aims to circumvent these difficulties by binding the relevant documents and literature on various aspects of the liberation struggle. The first paperbacked collection - South African Studies 1 deals with "Guerilla Warfare." It contains the relevant official statements (e.g. the ANC-ZAPU Alliance document), discussion documents (e.g. Joe Matthews 'Forward to a Peoples' Democratic Republic of South Africa), vivid reports by participants in actual actions in the field, as well as analysis, a broadcast, and poems. This is an essential handbook. Congratulations! Ed: South African Studies will appear quarterly (Price 121/2 new pence). No. 1, 'Guerilla Warfare", is available now from Sechaba Publications, 49 Rathbone Street, London, W1A - 4NL.)

#### FRIENDS OF AFRICA

President Frank O'Sullivan Hon. Secretary Mrs. Hazel Jones

64 Yunga Burra St. VILLAWOOD. N. S. W. 2163.

The Secretary,
African National Congress
of South Africa,
P. O. BOX 2239,
Dar-es-Salaam,

Tanzania.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find our organisation's cheque 224 806 for \$50-00 Australian as a constribution towards the printing costs of 'SECHABA'.

In this country there is a great unawareness of conditions in Africa generally and specifically of what APARTHEID means in South Africa. Interestingly enough, there is a small number of South African migrants here, who vehemently support the Vorster government and the racial system that prevails in South Africa. They have the ear of a number of Liberal Party politicians and make quite a vocal lobby for Rhodesia and South Africa.

We have found 'SECHABA' a valuable source of information with which to reply to this lobby and we offer our sincere and warmest wishes that it may long continue to play this important part in the liberation of the human race.

Yours sincerely, HAZEL JONES, Hon. Secretary.

Pentrich Tricontinental Committee,
Derbyshire, England,
has sent 'SECHABA' £1 donation and
ordered 50 copies.
Fine work, brothers!