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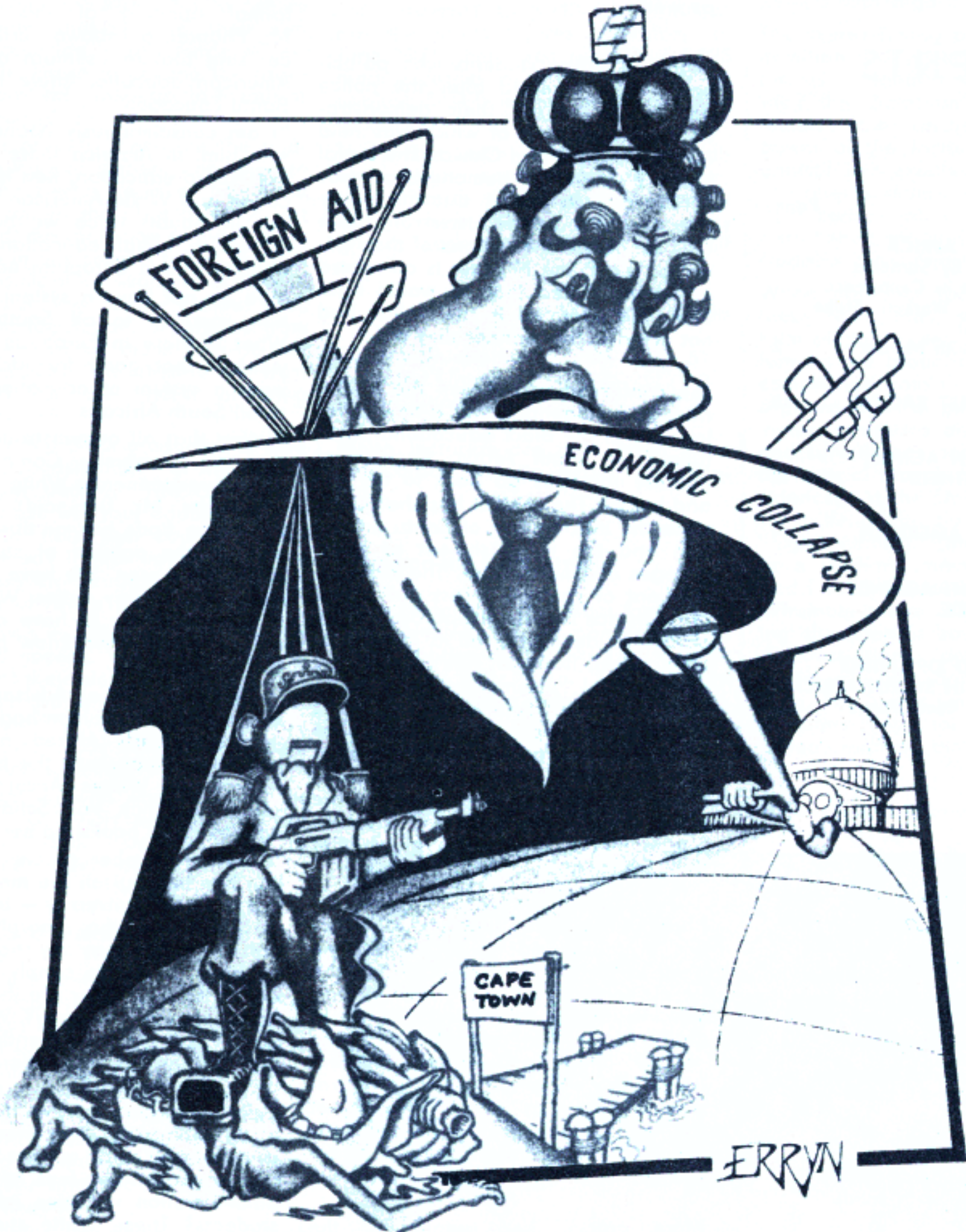
AUGUST

1972



# SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa





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## National Strike by Students

What was an honest, if critical, speech by Abraham Tiro, a Black student leader, resulted in widespread demonstrations and strikes at all Black universities and on some White campuses as well.

Scores of White students who participated were arrested after the police had baton-charged their demonstrations, at least one of which was held on the premises of a Church. The brutal attack on peaceful demonstrators was condemned by many, but the Prime Minister and his Minister of Police fully supported the actions of their gestapo. The Prime Minister is on record as having stated that he would have been disappointed if the police had not acted in the manner they did.

The confrontation between the authorities and students is not a new development in the Black educational institutions of South Africa. Resentment against injustices go back to the 50s and before. The conflict has sharpened since the introduction of Bantu education and the establishment of tribal colleges and universities. The main ingredient of student unrest and sense of grievance is their disapproval of the apartheid ideology in all its manifestations. What, however, has horrified the international community and some sections in the South African public is the brutality perpetrated by the police in dealing with a peaceful demonstration by white students. Historically speaking this has been and is the treatment that has been and is meted out to Blacks, irrespective of whether they are students or not.

Much publicity has been given to police brutality, and rightly so. But we need to look at the root causes of the unrest in order to get a correct perspective of the students' struggle in South Africa. The present unrest was sparked off by a speech of a student leader, Mr. Abraham Tiro, at a graduation ceremony in the University of the North. The speech fundamentally exposes the fraudulent concept of separate development and apartheid.

More crucial and significant, the speech shows the close identity of interests, aspirations and demands the Black students have with the mass of the oppressed people.

## Tiro's Speech

Beginning by quoting Prime Minister Vorster, who when speaking at a meeting of the Afrikaans Students Society (A.S.B.), in June last year said: "No Black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his", Tiro said: "Although I don't know how far this is true, I make this statement my launch pad.

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

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

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

Stating that all administrative committees on University Campuses were either predominantly White or completely White, Mr. Tiro said: "Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the opinion of students are White Black men. We have a students Dean without any duties. We feel that if it is necessary to have a Dean we must elect him. We know people who can represent us.

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

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

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

## SECHABA

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

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

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

Calling on the Black graduates to take greater responsibilities "in the liberation of our people," Tiro concluded: "Of what use will your education be if you cannot help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the struggle on the whole continent of Africa it is meaningless."

Mr. Tiro was expelled the day after he made his speech. When the students heard that their elected spokesman had been summarily rusticated, they staged a sit-in at the University. The entire student body – all 1146 of them – were then expelled.

Before dealing with what followed let us here deal briefly with the general background and facts which led to such united student action.

### Let the Facts Speak

In 1959, in keeping with its obnoxious policy of apartheid, the white racist government of the Republic of South Africa set up five separate universities to divide the student population ethnically and geographically – Fort Hare, Turfloop and Ngoye for the Xhosas, Sothos and Zulus respectively; another college for Coloureds at Belville near Cape Town, and yet another for Indians in Durban.

The new tribal universities were linked by the Government with the principles of Bantu Education enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd that Africans should no longer be educated to become "Black

Englishmen". Bantu Education has designated to the Africans a different second-class type of education. The South African Government has been at pains to try and disprove that separate education is inherently inferior. They have failed as the facts show.

A breakdown in the South African population show that there are 17, 686, 841 Blacks and 3,751,328 whites and yet in 1969, 640 Black students graduated compared to 8,610 whites (these are the latest figures available). In June 1971, there was a total of 5,025 Black students at five universities as against 57,000 whites at eleven universities.

The predominantly white staff and all-white senate controlling Black universities ensures that Black students and staff have no effective say in university affairs. Last year's figures on staff were:

	Whites	Blacks
African Universities	235	57
Coloured University	72	2
Indian University	122	28

White lecturers are paid much more than Blacks despite similar qualifications.

### Terror on the Campuses

Black students in the tribal institutions are subjected to a permanent state of administrative terror which is complimented by state terror. The stringent regulations under which they are subjected are designed to curtail easy contact with the outside world. The re-

gulations speak of "Control of Students" and control is precisely what the authorities have in mind. The students are forbidden to speak to the press without permission, obliged to sign declarations that they will not take part in protests before being admitted, and are required to carry out all normal student activity under strict surveillance and supervision. The regulations give the authorities drastic powers with regard to discipline.

The overwhelming preponderance and dominance of whites in the Black institutions – senates, university councils etc.; the dictatorial methods of the rectors; the unchecked intimidatory power of the lecturers; arbitrary and unjustifiable expulsion and suspension of students without consulting the student body – all constitute the administrative terror under which the Black students are subjected.

When students fail to comply with these restrictions, state terror in the form of police, security police and informers are brought into play to force compliance from the dissidents at the slightest signs of protest. The students in the campuses are under unrestrained surveillance and harassment from the special branch at the students' residences. At the University of Durban-Westville, a man claiming to be sent by "high authority" (the Special Branch), to a students meeting was punched and forcibly ejected from the meeting. In remote areas in the Transvaal, during the present spate of strikes and demonstrations, police arrested 130 pupils at a secondary school in Pietersburg. The pupils who had gathered in a sports field for a meeting were driven back by the use of tear gas.

Police dog attacking student at Cape Town University demonstration







Such are the conditions under which African children are taught in schools

"The use of tear gas," commented Colonel B. Rousseau, head of the Pietersburg Police, "is in the normal course of duty . . ."

At another school in Lichtenburg, 10 pupils and two teachers were held in jail for seven weeks and then released without being charged. News of this only reached people in South Africa itself after the release of the pupils and teachers due, no doubt, to the remoteness of the schools.

When the Turfloop incident exploded, once again Police were used to break up the sit-in referred to earlier. The Johannesburg "Star" reporting the incident in its issue dated 6 May states:

" . . . the police sealed off the troubled University of the North and they, rather than the University Rector, Professor J. L. Boshoff, seemed to be in charge. Pressmen attempting to enter the University were intercepted by the police and ordered off the campus."

### Strikes, Demonstration

After the entire student body of the University of the North had been expelled after a sit-in in protest against the expulsion of their student leader, Mr. Tiro, there was swift reaction from other Black institutions. Representatives of all Black universities in a letter to Professor J. L. Boshoff among other things stated:

"The expulsion of Mr. Tiro following his address at the graduation ceremony constitutes a contradiction of the claim that freedom of expression does exist in the University of the North and other Black universities."

The South African Students Organisation (SASO), the vanguard of the Black student movement in South Africa called for strikes in all Black institutions in solidarity with their colleagues who had been victimised. All Black universities – Fort Hare University, University of Zululand (Ngoye) University of Natal (Black section), University of Durban-Westville (Indian) and the Coloured University of the Western Cape (Belville) responded to the call and demonstrated in one form or another.

Students at Teacher training colleges – Springfield College of Education, the Transvaal College of Education, the M. L. Sultan Technical Training College – also participated. The students throughout the country demanded:

- 1) that there be an institution of elected Black governing councils and senates on Black campuses;
- 2) that the disparity in numbers of white lecturers be immediately rectified;
- 3) that in positions of campus control like rectorships, wardens etc. qualified Black personnel must immediately replace the present white staff;
- 4) that all discipline within student ranks be administered by students, and only where necessary should it be by student and staff together.

### The People Respond

Shocked by the authoritarian methods of the university administration in expelling the students from Turfloop more than 2,000 residents of the Johannesburg township, Soweto, in a series of meetings organised jointly with SASO

came out in full support of the student struggle. One of the resolutions adopted in the meeting read: "that the body of parents whole-heartedly deplored the University Council's manifestation of power". They demanded the unconditional re-instatement of all the 1,146 expelled University of the North students. Bitter attacks, from students and parents, were made on all aspects of Black university administration and apartheid in general. Many speakers were critical of the lack of sincerity on the part of the government in implementing its own policies. A committee was set up to look after the interests of Black students in all Black universities in South Africa.

The government and university authorities have, true to their tradition, instituted punitive reprisals against those whom they term "ringleaders". Already many student leaders have been either expelled or refused admission to their universities, and others have packed up their bags and gone home rather than comply with the intolerable apartheid conditions:

"We would like people to know that the walk-out is not a prank by a group of naughty boys and girls. We have clear objectives, and a clear assessment of the Black man's position in this country readily brings out the validity of our actions", bitterly remarked one of them. The tremendous sacrifice made by the Black students cannot be over-emphasised. Pressures on them to conform are enormous. They stand to lose all in this struggle. If they lose their places in these institutions as some of them have, there is nowhere else for them to go. Their career prospects are blasted. Their parents have, in most cases, put their life's savings to get them through university; they face the brutal confrontation with the fascist state and its all-powerful gestapo; they face a lifetime of hard labour, if not unemployment or even deportation to distant areas from the cities.

### Despite This They Fight On!

In these circumstances it behoves the international community – in particular, student organisations and universities – to lend their widest possible support to these victims of apartheid. SASO has already launched a fund to ensure that every victimised student would further his or her education. **It is this fund that the international student movement and universities should commit themselves to support.** As pointed out above the ferment in the Black universities spread to white English universities who protested



against apartheid in education and in sympathy with their Black counter-parts who had launched a series of boycotts, walk-outs, sit-ins etc. in their universities. What started as a peaceful protest and vigil in Cape Town by the University of Cape Town students escalated into a violent confrontation with the police. This unprecedented action by the police on whites aroused anger and shock from many sections of the white population. This beating up of students was not confined to Cape Town only but in Johannesburg as well, students were attacked by the police. Incensed by this brazen brutality of the police big meetings were held in the campuses of the white universities where even the white staff pledged support for the students protests and condemned police action.

The demands for an inquiry into the police by a growing number of people were met with a blunt refusal by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Police. In fact there was immediate and blatant support of police action from the Prime Minister even though he hadn't had the facts relating to the incident.

"... I associate myself completely with the police, and I stand by them. If the police had not acted in this way (beating up students with truncheons) then I personally would have been disappointed in them", Vorster told the South African Parliament.

It is Vorster as Minister of Justice who introduced the fascist 90 day and 180 day laws which gave the police unlimited powers of hounding and silencing its opponents. It is during Vorster's reign as both Minister of Justice and Prime Minister that 17 detainees were murdered in South African jails without any of his police being brought to book. The death of Ahmed Timol last year in police hands is still vivid in our memories.

As result of the student protests, public meetings and demonstrations were banned in South Africa by government proclamation. Vorster, characteristically used the nazi tactics of the big lie, and ascribed the student unrest to 'foreign agitators', 'communist agitators', while his agent the principal of the University of Durban-Westville has attributed the students' unrest there to "extraneous forces" - the Natal Indian Congress and SASO. This anti-communist hysteria has led the Johannesburg's Rand Daily Mail of 6. 6, 1972 to say:

"... we have policemen who... may well have to believe that every baton blow they strike is a blow against communism."

Vorster has threatened action against foreign students studying in South African universities and legislation to screen foreign students coming to study in South Africa will be introduced next year. A number of students who took part in the demonstrations recently say that they have been called by the security police and asked for details of their passports. This is a prelude to deportations.

### No Easy Walk to Freedom

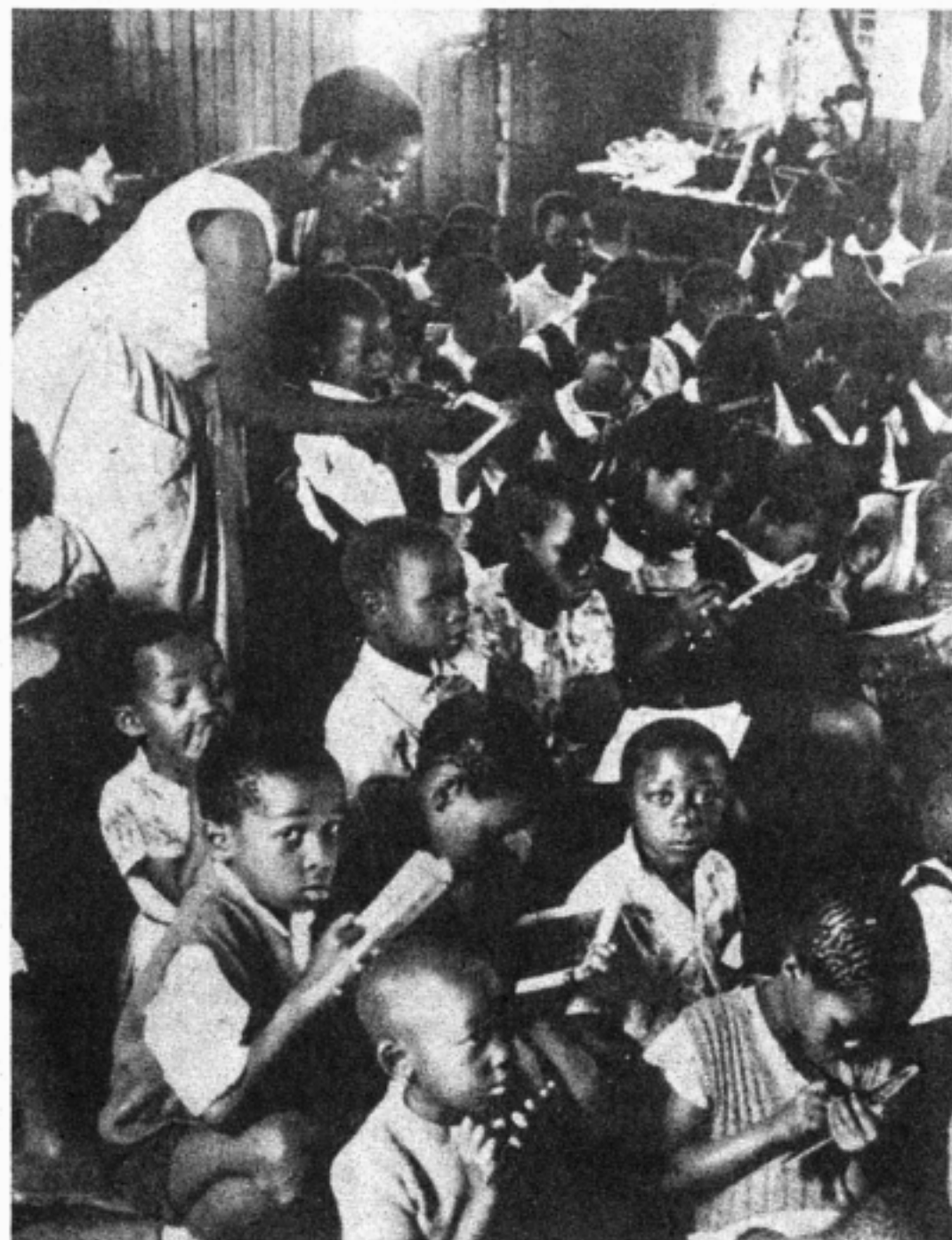
What lessons can we draw from, the student unrest?

Again the stifled voices of protest have emerged to once more re-affirm the oppressed people's opposition to apartheid. The protests have given the lie to the assertion that Blacks in South Africa are acquiescing to their oppression. Unified Black opposition continues to grow.

The South African government and its police have demonstrated to the whites that they will not tolerate dissent and are prepared to use force to

consolidate the status quo. The fascist laws that seemed to have been designated for Blacks could and have been equally applied with indiscriminate vehemence against whites also. The South African liberation movement has always exposed the violence in apartheid. It is only at this late hour that segments of the whites, now that physical violence has been inflicted on them are beginning to see what we have been saying all along. One University of Cape Town student leader remarked that "the confrontation (white students and police) has revealed the violence inherent in apartheid... (and) it has shown that there is no easy way to change the system".

We, of the African National Congress, have said that "there is no easy walk to freedom". The polarisation of forces that is sharpening emphasizes the indispensable revolutionary role and leadership that the oppressed people must give in the South African revolution. As was shown in the growth of opposition by white students; it is only a united Black opposition which will force the whites to come out of their laager.



Another view of Bantu Education



## Indian Congress in Conference

The great debate going on among a growing number of Black organisations and leaders on the question of Black Consciousness, was taken a stage further when this subject was raised sharply at the first conference of the Natal Indian Congress, held in Durban, recently. At a Convention called some six months earlier to discuss the revival of the Congress, the concept of Black Consciousness was rejected by an overwhelming majority of those who participated.

At the first conference, however, those for and against were divided equally and it took the chairman's casting vote to decide against embracing this philosophy. It was also decided that discussions be initiated on a broader basis, with all parties interested in such discussions so that greater clarity on this important subject may emerge.

Leading the discussion on behalf of the pro-term Committee set up to call the first conference, Dr. Jerry Coovadia said that while Black Consciousness has its advantages, there are 'genuine dangers' that it would lead to a form of Black Power.

"Ever since the inception of the 'new' Congress, the spectre of Black Consciousness has been haunting us — sometimes dark and quiet and at others flushed with innovation — but, always there was a tenacious presence. We cannot ignore it. It precipitates recognition", he said.

The concept of Black Consciousness is essentially a recognition and an affirmation by the Black Man of his true worth — that he is a man, neither superior nor inferior to any other on earth — with special reference to the White man.

The obvious counter to this "is that by defining ourselves as Black we have fallen into the trap set by the White man. It is he who has defined himself by his colour — must we follow his perverse logic.

"We reject colour as a criterion for recognising a man's worth and yet define ourselves as Black.

"One of the laudible aims of Black Consciousness is to create Black solidarity. But the methods employed to do so are bound to fail for solidarity comes not so much from religion, customs, tastes and racial affinity as from a similarity in a desire for progress and freedom.

"The nexus between man and man is ignored or at best played down and

his natural and environmental similarities accentuated.

"The proponents of Black Consciousness say it is a tactical manoeuvre until a normal situation is reached. That millennium will never come as we have pointed out — the chances are that the manoeuvre will become Ultimate Belief."

Asherville official Mr. D. K. Singh, who once ranked as Black Consciousness's most ardent opponent, surprised delegates at the conference when he urged the N.I.C. to rethink on the question of Black Consciousness.

"I am fully aware that I was one of the first speakers at convention to oppose the concept as it was enunciated in Durban Central Branch memorandum. But since then, Black Consciousness has engaged much of our attention, also of the Whites, and it is now imperative that we debate and settle this issue once and for all.

"We must go out of our way to learn what it really means and what its aims are. If it is a philosophy of Black exclusiveness or a campaign of hate against the White man, then I reject it. However, if it is going to be of practical assistance, like a rallying call to unite the Blacks in South Africa, then I am all for it.

"One of the prime arguments of the opponents of Black Consciousness was that the Blacks could not ignore the many sympathetic White liberals. And if White liberalism means White paternalism — and we've seen a lot of that in the past few months — then I also reject them," he said.

Durban Central member, Mr. Saths Cooper, defended Black Consciousness; saying it was not racist. "Racism implies power. And the oppressed people here have no power."

Asherville's Dr. M. G. H. Mayat felt that if Black Consciousness helped to replace the feeling of inferiority among Black people in this country, then it required, "serious consideration."

He said that it was no use "rejecting Black Consciousness outright, but use it on a long term basis. However, on an immediate basis, I think we can only channel our problems if we continue to work among Indians only."

Mr. Paul David, of Stanger, said that it was important to "understand how the enemy seeks to maintain its oppression.

"The Government's policy is to divide and rule, and if the aim of Black Consciousness is to defeat this, then the N.I.C. must set about re-thinking about the whole concept. Mr. David felt that Congress should organise a convention to discuss Black Consciousness, either in private or public.

Mr. A. Trikamjee, of Durban Central

said that both the opponents and believers of Black Consciousness had a common end in mind — a non-racial society. "Opponents must, however, realise that Black Consciousness is only a means towards that end," he said.

### Dummy Indian Council Rejected

The other issue that dominated the discussions at the Congress conference was whether or not to participate in the election of five members on to the dummy government-sponsored South African Indian Council. The government has indicated that it is soon to introduce legislation to make five of the 25-member Council elective.

Mr. Sonny Leon, the leader of the Coloured Labour Party who performed the official opening of the Indian Congress Conference, made a strong plea for Congress to participate in the election.

Addressing the 700 people who attended the opening session, he said that the new dispensation to allow "you to elect five persons on your pseudo Council, so that they would be at the mercy of nominated councillors, stinks."

However he made the following points urging the Congress to contest even these meagre number of seats:

- Five of the right men would make a lot of difference . . . They could make a lot of noise and put the government on the spot.
- Those who are elected could pressure the others into being more effective.
- Elected members would enjoy a certain amount of immunity and they would not be subjected to intimidation by the Special Branch.
- If Congress members were elected it would give them a platform from which they can shout about injustices . . . At the moment the Congress members are just going along without any immunity.

### Opposition

Leading the opposition Mr. Saths Cooper, a member of the powerful, South African Students Organisation, said that Mahatma Gandhi, had stated that no one should collaborate with the enemy.

"I want tell those who say, join the Council and use it to embarrass the Government, that they can't embarrass a tiger. They will probably get eaten for their efforts," he said.

Those who think that this dummy institution will give them a legal platform



should remember that if they want to serve the community they must not think of immunity.

Stating that Congress must decide now whether it "wants to become part of a castrated, impotent, bulldog or not" he said "the people will support Congress in a stand which would not lend an aura of respectability to the Council".

"I say we should reject this effete body. It is of no use indulging in intellectual masturbation as to whether we should accept or not because it is only diverting us from our purpose of total involvement," he concluded.

Other points made in rejecting the motion calling for the participation of Congress in the elections were:

- The Coloured Representative Council of which Mr. Sonny Leon is a member, it was alleged was "a harmless debating chamber". That it could do nothing to protect the Coloured people from the onslaught of apartheid.
- There is no political "pep pill" that can put life into the thought processes of the nominated men on the dummy Council. Even if they were "pressurised" no one would be foolish enough to believe that the government of Vorster would be pressurised by the Council into taking a benevolent line towards the disenfranchised Indian citizens.
- That it is ludicrous to believe that members of the Indian Council will remain immune to police pressures especially if they took up the cause of the people strongly.
- That in any case, the Council is the brainchild of apartheid "and it is apartheid and apartheid alone that they are born to serve".

The resolution calling on Congress to contest the five seats on the Council when this comes about, was rejected and the result of the voting was greeted with "wild cheering" according to one independent commentator.

### Successful Conference

The conference itself was a tremendous success. We are informed that delegates with diametrically opposing points of view discussed the whole future of Congress and of the Indian people with a seriousness and dignity seldom seen nowadays at political meetings.

A political commentator in the 'Leader' a weekly Indian newspaper said: Some people expected the Conference to be a fiasco. After all, wasn't Congress split on important fundamentals? The stage was set, so some people thought, for a real bustup and the dis-

integration of the revived Congress. But that did not happen and the Conference proved that the Indian community in Natal is not, after all, politically immature . . .

"It was surprising to find so many non-delegates present throughout the two days of the conference . . .

"The delegates came from all walks of life - doctors, lawyers, workers, trade unionists, small shop-keepers and students. They belonged to all age groups and had widely differing political persuasions."

### Aftermath

Already Special Branch pressures are being applied on leaders of the Congress. Less than a fortnight after the conference, two of the most outspoken critics of the government were picked up by the police. Dr. Dilly Naidoo, newly elected vice-President of the Congress was bundled into a car one morning and quizzed for over two hours at Security headquarters in Durban. Strini Moodley, an executive member of Congress and also the Public Relations Officer of the powerful Black Students Organisation - SASO - was questioned by Special Branch men at Alice, in the Eastern Cape. In a press interview he said:

"I was busy rehearsing the play, 'Blackman' at Fort Hare University when the rector approached me and demanded reasons for my being on the campus.

"I told him that I was invited by the students of Fort Hare to rehearse the play 'Blackman.'

Moodley said that he was then approached by the Special Branch who ordered him out or be arrested.

"I asked them for their identification but they refused. After some argument the students came to my assistance and said that they would all have to be arrested."

He was then allowed to continue with his rehearsals.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Black Transport Workers Strike

One day early last month, White South Africa felt the power of the Black workers. Madam did not get her tea in bed that morning; factories, most of which use production-line methods, came to a standstill; the hustle, bustle and noise which is the norm in the city

of Johannesburg was not there. The city was strangely quieter.

The reason: Black workers, employed by the giant Putco Transport Company, were out on strike!

### Reason For Strike

Putco's 1200 drivers carry a staggering 135-million passengers a year. In the Transvaal alone they cover 1500 square miles along 212 routes.

The government admits that their accident rate is one of the lowest in the country and the conduct of their passengers contrasts markedly with the chaos and mayhem on the White controlled train services to and from the giant African township outside Johannesburg - Soweto.

They receive R18 to drive and a further R12 for conducting on the bus, a total of less than £15 per week. The White drivers, employed by Putco on White routes, get three times as much just to drive. Conductors get two and half times as much as the Black driver cum conductor.

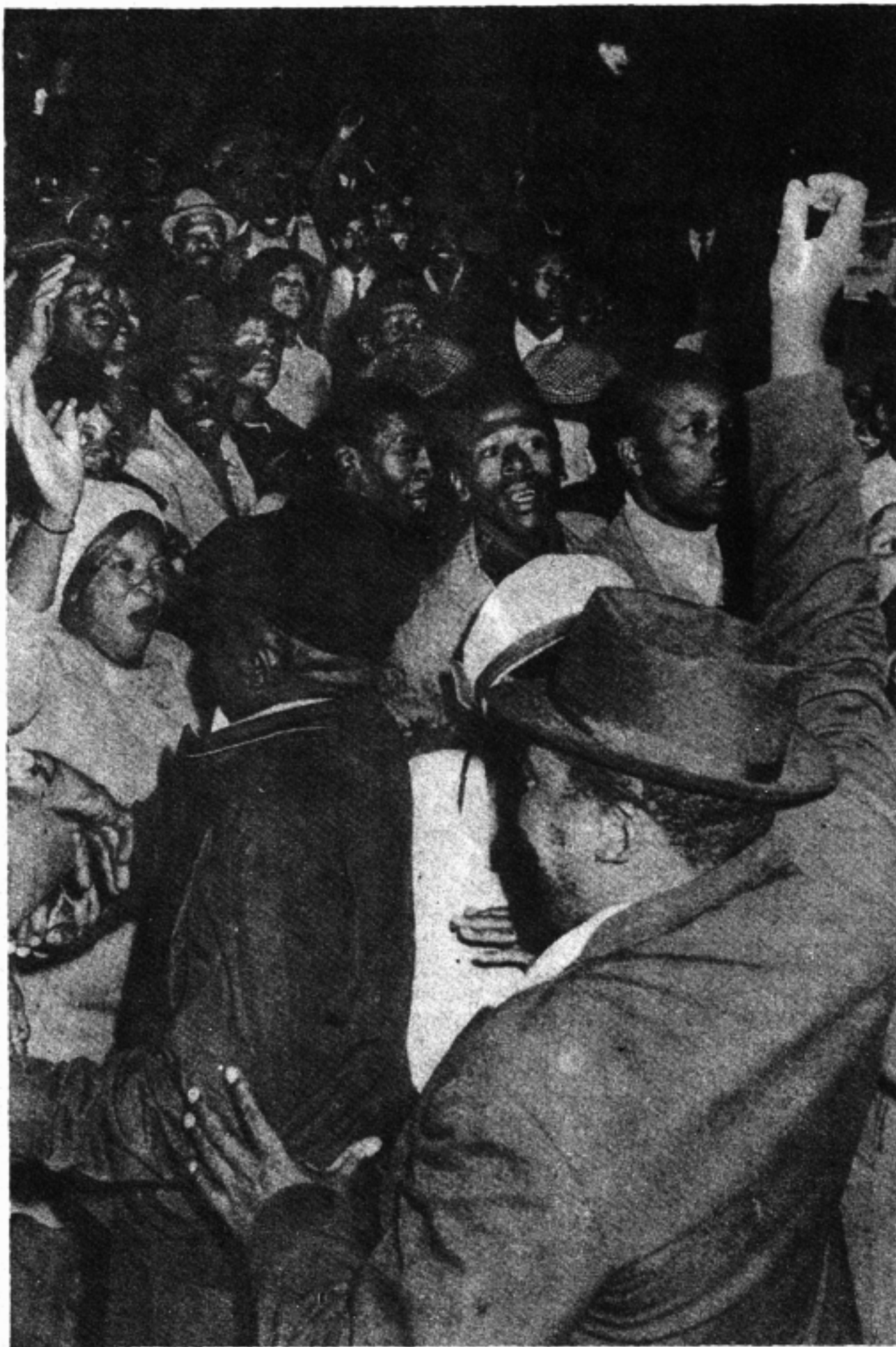
If an inspector finds a passenger without a ticket, Putco takes away R5 a week from the drivers salary for a period of 26 weeks!

Although they are supposed to work a 48-hour week they work between 58 and 60 hours each week. They have to clock in at least an hour before commencing work in order to check their vehicles to see if they are in working order. At the end of the day they have to cash in after filling in a host of forms during their own time. The White workers do not have to do this. Mechanics do the checking of their vehicles and time is allowed for White conductors to fill in their forms and cash in.

### The Workers Strike

The workers put forward a demand for higher wages and improved working conditions to their manager, a Mr. T. H. Firth who rejected their demands and called in the police. The police immediately arrested about 100 drivers. Others who were on the scene, enraged by this action, demanded they be arrested as well. Another 200 were then arrested. The following day hearing of the arrest of their comrades, hundreds of other drivers turned up at the Police Station at which their comrades were in detention and demanded to be arrested as well. Three days later after intense negotiation, conducted by Mr. Firth, who saw his company losing between 40 and 45 thousand Rands a day, the Police released the men on bail of R5, each. Those





Released PUTCO drivers are greeted by the crowd outside John Vorster Square, Johannesburg

arrested now face a charge under the Riotous Assemblies Act! Black workers, as is well known are not allowed by law to strike in South Africa.

The strike collapsed, but we have no doubt the workers learned many useful lessons from it.

### Tailpiece

The Johannesburg City Council runs a

mainly all-White bus service at a loss of R4.5 million a year, all except about a quarter of a million coming from all-White services. This is met from public funds by both the government and the Council. Putco on the other hand makes a handsome profit each year after receiving R2.5 million from the Government's Transport Levy Fund contributed by employers of African labour.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Butelezi Hits Out

Kwazulu, the name given to the emerging Bantustan for the Zulus consists at present of twenty nine separate pieces of land. Chief Gatsha Butelezi head of Kwazulu and his councillors have been consistently agitating for more land for the people. They have demanded the land adjoining their Bantustan to the east and access to the sea, including the port at Richards Bay, which is in the heart of old Zululand.

Now, the Vorster regime has come up with a plan to consolidate the twenty-nine areas into five separate units, each isolated from each other by so-called White corridors. The plan, except for offering a small strip of shore south of the new White harbour at Richards Bay, denies Kwazulu access to the sea between the 200-mile coastline from Durban in the south to Sordwana Bay in the northern corner of this so-called homeland.

Naturally, the White 'baas' government did not even consult the so-called independent Bantustan parliament of Kwazulu. They know what's good for the Black man and they intend keeping it that way regardless of all their talk of independent homelands.

Chief Gatsha Butelezi rejecting the proposals said that the draft map was "prepared unilaterally by Whites in the interest of Whites".

"If there is any need for proof", he said, "that only those who have the power of the ballot and the bullet matter at all in South Africa, it is in the manner in which this whole question of consolidation has been conducted.

"We feel that White South Africa should be honest and rule us as it has always done without consultation, instead of giving the world some illusory impression that we are a 'Black government' in the making.

"We detest the whole idea of attempting to use us as a facade for our own domination by Whites", he said.

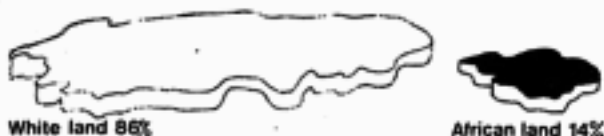
### It Cannot Work

The land question is the most burning issue confronting the people. They have been squeezed into only thirteen per cent of the land for far too long. Even reactionary Chiefs such as Matanzima have been forced to urge the government to make more land available for their people. Recently, Matanzima threatened that unless the Trans-



**Land.**

By the Land Act of 1913, as amended, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



**Education.**

In the fiscal year 1968-9, per capita expenditure in government schools was:



kei is given more land he will close his borders and refuse to "admit any more of his nation to leave to work in the cities".

Chief Butelezi goes even further. If Vorster will not back his promises of independence with real action he will be forced to abandon the whole Bantustan project.

Vorster is in the horns of a dilemma. He knows that he cannot afford to make his so-called separate development plan work. The reason is simple. If the Bantustans become economically viable, it would mean the loss of Black labour which is the backbone of South Africa's mines, industries and farms. More important, it is the super exploitation of the Blacks that has made it possible for the Whites to enjoy such prosperity as they do.

\* \* \* \* \*

# Getting Away with Murder

The inquest into the death, in detention, of Ahmed Timol is bringing many of the dark goings-on when a person is arrested and kept in solitary confinement by South Africa's gestapo. We have no doubt that much more will be revealed before the end of the inquest.

While the inquest continues, another detainee and colleague of Timol, Ahmed Essop comes up for trial. We can expect further evidence of torture and brutality from this trial as well. Essop as we reported in previous issues of **Sechaba** was also tortured and hospitalised while in detention.

The purpose of this commentary is not to deal with either the Timol inquest or the Essop case. Both these will be reported in full once the inquest and the case ends. What we wish to deal with is the case of the Imam. Imam Abdul-

lah Haron, a Black religious leader died in September, 1969, while in Security Police custody. It was officially reported at the time that he died of injuries sustained as a result of a fall down a flight of stairs.

Consider these facts:

- An inquest magistrate found that the Imam died as a result of injuries partly caused "by an accidental fall down a flight of stairs". Other injuries to the body could not be explained. The Imam's injuries included 26 bruises and a broken rib.
- The Imam's widow sued the government. But she withdrew after getting an ex-gratia payment of R5,000. The government paid her while denying responsibility for the Imam's death.
- In September, 1970, Mrs. C. Taylor an opposition M.P. in the South Africa Parliament named Sergeant Andries van Wyk as having assaulted the Imam; this assault, she said, caused the decline in the Imam's health which finally led to his death. Meanwhile, however, a prolonged police investigation had been under way and less than a fortnight after Mrs. Taylor's accusation the attorney-General of the Cape said that no one would be prosecuted.
- Sergeant van Wyk, who is at present in a mental hospital was never called upon to give evidence at the

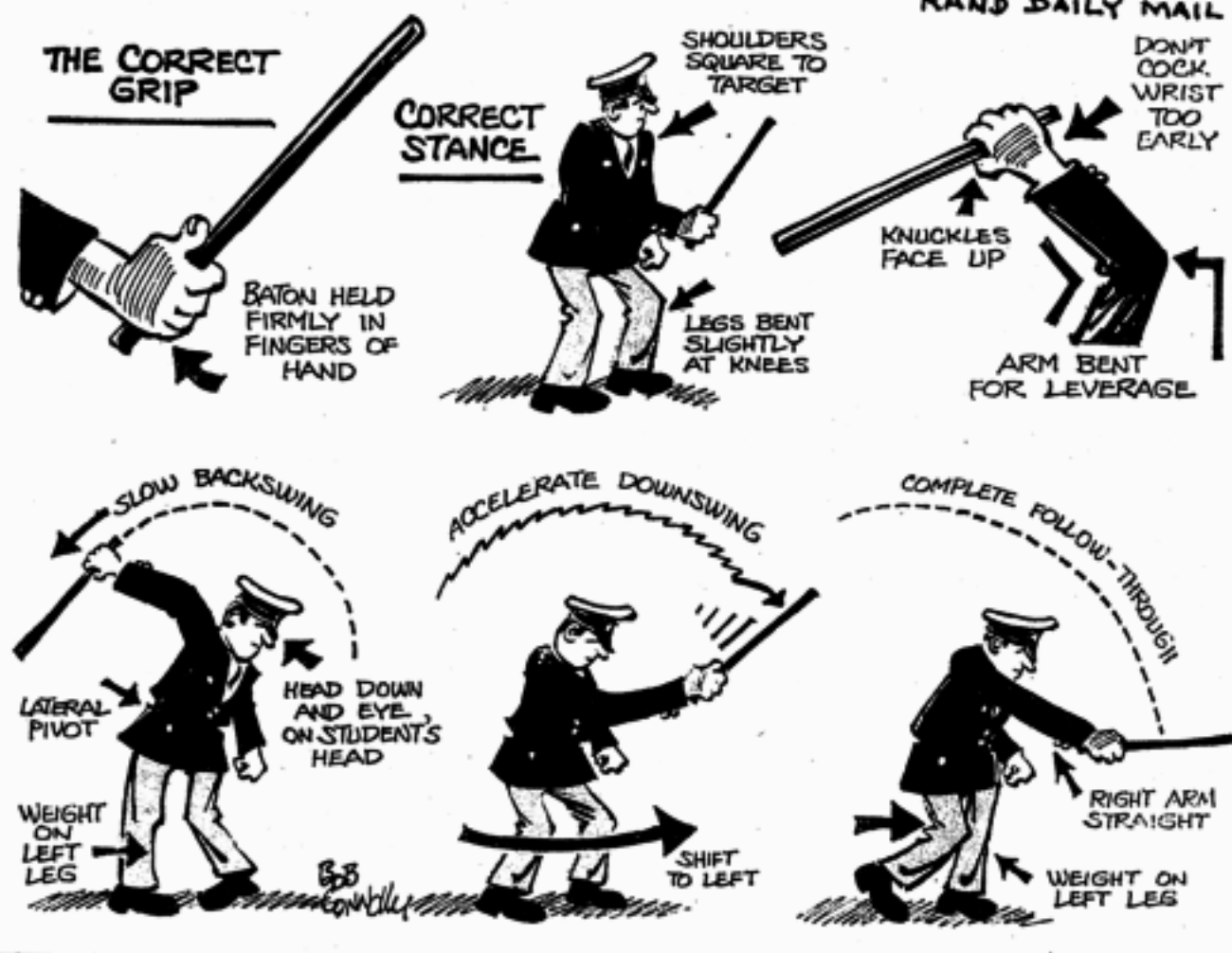
inquest into the Imam's death, although he was still active in the Police force at the time.

- The Minister of Police recently stated that van Wyk "never had anything to do with the Imam". General Bester, Chief Deputy Commissioner of the C.I.D. confirmed the statement made by the Minister in May this year.
- Yet both the Minister and the Chief Deputy Commissioner's statements are refuted by no less a person than one of their own police officers. The record of the inquest into the Imam's death (Volume 1 Page 3) reads as follows:  
Cross-examination by M. Cooper: Mr. Genis (Major Dirk Kotze Genis - Ed.), when the deceased was taken into custody did it appear to you that he was a healthy man? - Yes.  
Who arrested the deceased? - You and who else? - The deceased was taken into custody by Detective Sergeant van Wyk . . .  
And during that time (of his detention - Editor) was he interrogated by you? - The deceased was questioned by me and several others.  
"Can you tell us who these other members were who interrogated the deceased? - Detective Sergeant van Wyk and Lt. Colonel Pienaar."

It was most certainly not a perfect murder!

## MR. VORSTER'S BATON TIPS

By Bob Connolly  
RAND DAILY MAIL





The World Peace Council's Commission on Racism and Racial Discrimination held its first meeting in Brussels on May 29 and 30 this year. Eminent specialists, observers and representatives of national and international organisations engaged in different countries in the common struggle against racism and racial discrimination participated. The Commission received a message from U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and was addressed by representatives of the U.N.

Special Committee on Apartheid and of the O.A.U., apart from the members of the Commission. In the course of the work, the different, well-documented and varied papers and reports which were presented proved clearly that racism and racial discrimination, through their political, social and cultural manifestations constitute a serious danger to the dignity and freedom of man and to international peace and security, and led to a decision for the

## World Peace Council

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# TO ACT AGAINST RACISM

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**Racism is one of the most efficient tools used by imperialism and monopoly capital to intensify economic exploitation and to maintain its rule. Racism is used to subjugate peoples and to divide the forces of national liberation, social progress and peace. Racism constitutes a grave threat to the peace of the world.**

The Commission condemned the Hitlerite apartheid regime for its brutal suppression of the African and other non-whites in South Africa and rejected the Bantustan schemes as a measure to divide the oppressed, isolate the liberation movement and to hoodwink world public opinion; the arrogant defiance of South Africa of the United Nations resolutions and decisions calling for a withdrawal of its occupation of Namibia and the extension of its apartheid policy; the imposition of racist minority rule in Zimbabwe with the connivance of Britain and the flagrant violation by American and other imperialist powers of the U.N. economic sanctions; the colonial wars waged by Portugal against the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique with the assistance of NATO and other imperialist forces. The Commission rejects the Cabora Bassa and the Kunene River projects which are designed to buttress the colonial subjugation of the peoples in that area; the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Zionist Israeli rulers who with the assistance and support of imperialism continue the unlawful occupation of the Arab territories and commit atrocities against the population there, who blockade any attempt at implementing the Security Council resolution of November 1967 and who practise shameful national discrimination against the Arab population in Israel;

The vicious forms of racial repression of Black peoples and other minorities in the U.S.A. and the victimisation of Angela Davis and other leading opponents of this policy; The genocidal racist war waged by the US against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia;

Racism in Latin America which manifests itself under various forms of social, economic and cultural discrimination against the Indian population and in particular genocide committed against Indians of the Amazon region in Brazil; in Guyana where racial discrimination has been used to divide the people and to prop up a puppet minority regime; racial discrimination practised in Australia and New Zealand for many generations against the aboriginal peoples, and discriminatory immigration laws; the most discriminatory immigration laws of the successive U.K. governments which nakedly violate the European Human Rights Convention with the aim to cut down the number of Blacks coming into Britain, capitulating before the extreme right-wing and neo-fascist pressure.

## **ELIMINATE RACISM**

The WPC Commission on Racism fully supports the various initiatives and important resolutions taken by the Organisation of the United Nations to ensure the respect of human rights and to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and racist oppression. It demands their full implementation by all governments.

**The Commission appeals to all democratic, peace-loving and progressive forces to organise coordinated action to eliminate racism and racial discrimination, once and for all, and thus further the cause of peace and security of all the peoples on earth.**

Among those at the Commission against Racism were Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC (South Africa) and Claude Lightfoot, Afro-American leader from the United States; Mrs. Janet Jagan of Guyana, Mr. Krishna Menon

from India, Edward Ndlovu of ZAPU (Zimbabwe), as well as representatives from Latin America, Western Europe, Africa, Israel and the socialist countries.

## **INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN**

The World Peace Council will ask all its units and supporters to help in the international campaign to isolate South Africa from the world community.

Conscious of the urgent need to intensify the international struggle against racism and racial discrimination, the Commission recommended:

- the holding of an international conference against racism and racial discrimination in the course of 1973,
- active support and encouragement for the campaign for the mobilisation of world public opinion with the view to undertake appropriate actions to isolate the apartheid regime of South Africa in the political, economic, cultural and all other fields,
- to make use annually of the occasion of the 26th of June - International Day of Solidarity with the People of South Africa in this connection,
- the launching of a campaign against racist international enterprises which participate in the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam and the Kunene Dam in Angola.
- the convening, on the occasion of the WPC forthcoming Presidential Committee meeting in Chile, of a meeting of representatives of the Americas, on the subject of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in that region. Such a meeting could create the conditions to hold a similar meeting in North America at a later date,
- the organisation of a seminar on the subject of "Modern Zionism - Instrument of Imperialism",
- the organisation, on the occasion of December 10, anniversary of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, of a international meeting, if possible in London, on the manifestations of racism and racial discrimination.

## **BROAD MASS CAMPAIGN**

In view of the imperative need to develop a broad mass information campaign in order to mobilise world public opinion for action, the Commission recommended to the WPC Secretariat to publish a collection of the papers presented at this meeting.

**Moreover, the Commission drew the attention of the national peace committees on the need and the urgency to create a platform of mass action against racism and racial discrimination (together with trade-union, youth, student and women's and other organisations).**

The Commission recommended that the WPC Cultural Commission and the Commission on Development undertake studies and actions on the problem of the struggle against racial discrimination in their respective fields.

It charged the World Peace Council to submit to the Conference of Non-governmental Organisations (NGO) the proposal to set up, within the framework of the "Decade of Vigorous and Continued Action against Racism and Racial Discrimination" proclaimed by the United Nations, a Special NGO Committee on Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The Commission expressed its satisfaction about the development of the cooperation between the WPC and the Special U.N. Committee on Apartheid and the Committee on Decolonisation on the one hand, and the Organisation of African Unity on the other.

It proposed to study ways and means to bring about a more ample mutual information of the U.N. Committees, the OAU and the WPC, on actions undertaken against apartheid and racial discrimination.



# UN REPORT ON ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

One of the speakers at the Commission was Mr. Nadji Jassar, representative of the U.N. Special Commission on Apartheid, who reported on the world organisations' efforts to stimulate action to end racism in South Africa. We reprint extracts from Mr. Jassar's statement.

It is a sad reality that while the United Nations passed resolutions of censure and condemnation, colonialism and racism continue to draw sustenance from the material and moral support of certain western states. Statistics and documents adopted by the United Nations have pointed out in unequivocal terms that some western states, on top the U.S.A., England, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel, are primarily constituting to the building in South Africa of a veritable fortress of racial intolerance and repression. Thus, while the liberation movements carry on their legitimate struggle with the meagre resources at their disposal, they find themselves pitted against enormous economic and military capabilities provided by these notorious imperialist states.

Nevertheless, within the limited boundaries to which it is confined, the United Nations have reached a number of positive achievements. The existence of an active and action-oriented committee to deal constantly with the problem has put South Africa in a defensive position. Last year, the Special Committee held 40-odd meetings which were devoted to dealing with a variety of problems and several aspects of the policies of apartheid of South Africa. While reviewing constantly those policies, the Special Committee took concrete action in several cases in order to counter the measures being taken by South Africa, and to promote the international campaign against it.

For instance, when a wave of detentions and trials of opponents of apartheid swept South Africa, the Special Committee voiced its strong condemnation and made sure that this condemnation was publicized and known throughout the world.

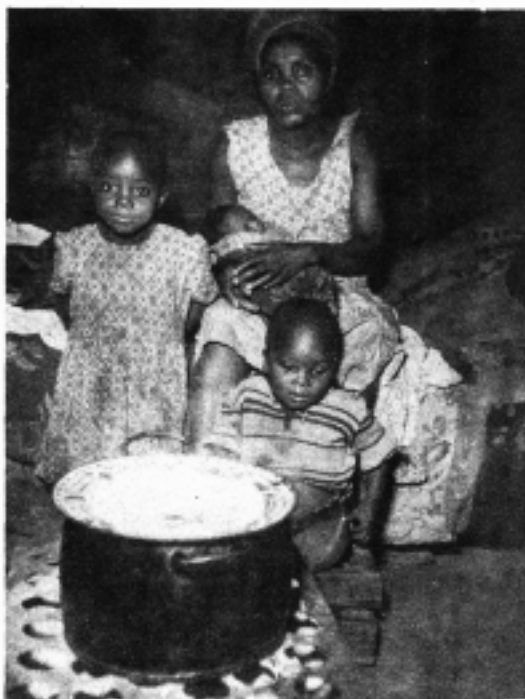
## SPECIAL SESSION

In March, 1972, the Committee held a special session which included a great number of representatives from non-governmental organisations, anti-apartheid movements, South African liberation movements, experts on apartheid, etc. The session ended with the adoption of concrete recommendations which are being translated into effective action. In addition, consultations were held with representatives of over twenty church and religious organisations, mainly from the United States, in view of discussing their role in the campaign. The consultations have proved that there is a very wide scope for positive action by the organisations against collaboration with South Africa by governments and corporations.

The action taken by the General Assembly at its last session is of great significance. As many as ten resolutions were adopted with overwhelming majorities, dealing with various aspects of the problem. Only South Africa and a few of its friends voted against or abstained on the resolutions. With regard to the question of arms, the General Assembly was unequivocal in its strong endorsement of an arms



These pictures are typical of life under the apartheid regime



embargo against South Africa, making no distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression. The Security Council was invited to consider the situation again with a view to securing full implementation of the arms embargo.

The Assembly issued new directives concerning the question of collaboration by certain states on foreign economic interests with South Africa. In resolution 2775 F (XXV) the General Assembly again condemned the increasing cooperation of certain states and commended the activities of states, organisations and individuals engaged in dissuading economic interests from collaboration with South Africa and profiting from the exploitation of the African and other non-white workers. It requested more effective action by the Security Council to deal with it, including action under Chapter 7. It also requested the Special Committee on Apartheid to arrange for the preparation of special studies and the publication of a periodic bulletin on the collaboration of governments and private enterprises with apartheid. We feel that those directives ought to be taken with the utmost seriousness, if sanctions against South Africa are going to be effective.

## SPORT

In the field of sports, the General Assembly has requested national and international sports organisations to deny recognition to sporting events organised on the basis of racial discrimination. Individual sportsmen have been called upon to refuse to participate in such sports activities. We salute the energetic efforts undertaken by many sports organisations and anti-apartheid movements to prevent exchanges with South Africa. We strongly hope that this isolation of South Africa in the field of sport will spread to other fields, including culture, the arts and entertainment.

In yet another provision, the General Assembly has requested the Committee on Apartheid to promote the establishment of national committees on apartheid in co-operation with non-governmental organisations concerned.

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A new dimension will be added with the enlisting of support from the International Trade Union Movement. Action against apartheid in the sphere of organised labour will be discussed with workers' representatives at the I.L.O. in June this year. It is gratifying to note that the General Assembly has specifically endorsed the idea of an international trade union conference. It is hoped that the conference will be held next year under U.N. auspices. The Assembly has also appealed to the trade unions to discourage immigration of skilled workers to South Africa to take appropriate action in connection with the infringements of trade union rights and the persecution of trade unionists in South Africa and to exert maximum pressure on the employers concerned, to prevent them from continuing their cooperation with South Africa. In conclusion, an appeal has been launched for assistance to the national liberation movement of the oppressed people of South Africa. The General Assembly's appeal is directed not only to governments and international organisations, but also to national organisations and individuals to provide every assistance, directly or through the OAU, to the liberation movement of South Africa. This should be considered in the light of the solemn affirmation that the struggle of the people of South Africa is legitimate, by all means. This should be interpreted as a clear rejection of the contention that violence could not be used to eliminate apartheid.

Finally, every concerned organisation and individual should be trying to explore and discover new ways by which the struggle against apartheid could be intensified. New ideas and methods are needed to cope with the deceitful propaganda of South Africa and its so-called "outward policy" which is designed to obtain acquiescence and to confuse world public opinion.



# THE STEALTHY AMERICAN

## OPEN DOORS CLOSED MINDS

What are the excuses given for the verbal and concrete support of reaction? Trotting out a common and hoary argument for its involvement with the South African regime, the US's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (David D. Newson) stated in 1971:— "Isolation can breed resistance to change. Open doors can accelerate it."

This is trite nonsense which the mass movement of South Africa has long since exposed. **Resistance to change is inbred in a white regime which took its first lessons at the knee of European Nazism. The more support you give such a regime, the more guns and respectability you supply to it, the stronger it feels and the deeper it digs in.** It is precisely the opposite of isolation that strengthens resistance to change. Nobody laughs louder than the men in Pretoria at such statements as Newson's.

Are we to believe from such statements that the US is actively interested in radical change in South Africa? What have the open doors of South Vietnam done for the Vietnamese people? And what of the door that was opened at the time of Sharpeville? The popular movements in South Africa, following decades of mass organization and growing strength, were at this time actively engaged in countrywide militancy. The massacre at Sharpeville accelerated a situation already turbulent within the country, apart from causing worldwide repugnance for the white regime. Foreign investors began rapidly withdrawing capital and the white-controlled economy of South Africa was threatened with collapse.

Much has been written about the involvement with Southern Africa of Britain and West Germany, both parasites on the body of Africa since the forcible intrusion of early colonization. One who has recently been increasing this involvement quietly, and alarmingly, is the United States of America.

For more than two years the Nixon Administration, much to the delight of American capital, has been steadily backing down on the US "stand" on Southern Africa and reversing earlier decisions. It now becomes clear that the US ruling regime has opted for "increased communication" and "selective involvement" with the white powers of the South.

In support of the new attitude the US offers two red herrings which the general public are expected to swallow whole. We need therefore to examine these stated excuses, and in doing so we may discover the real reasons.

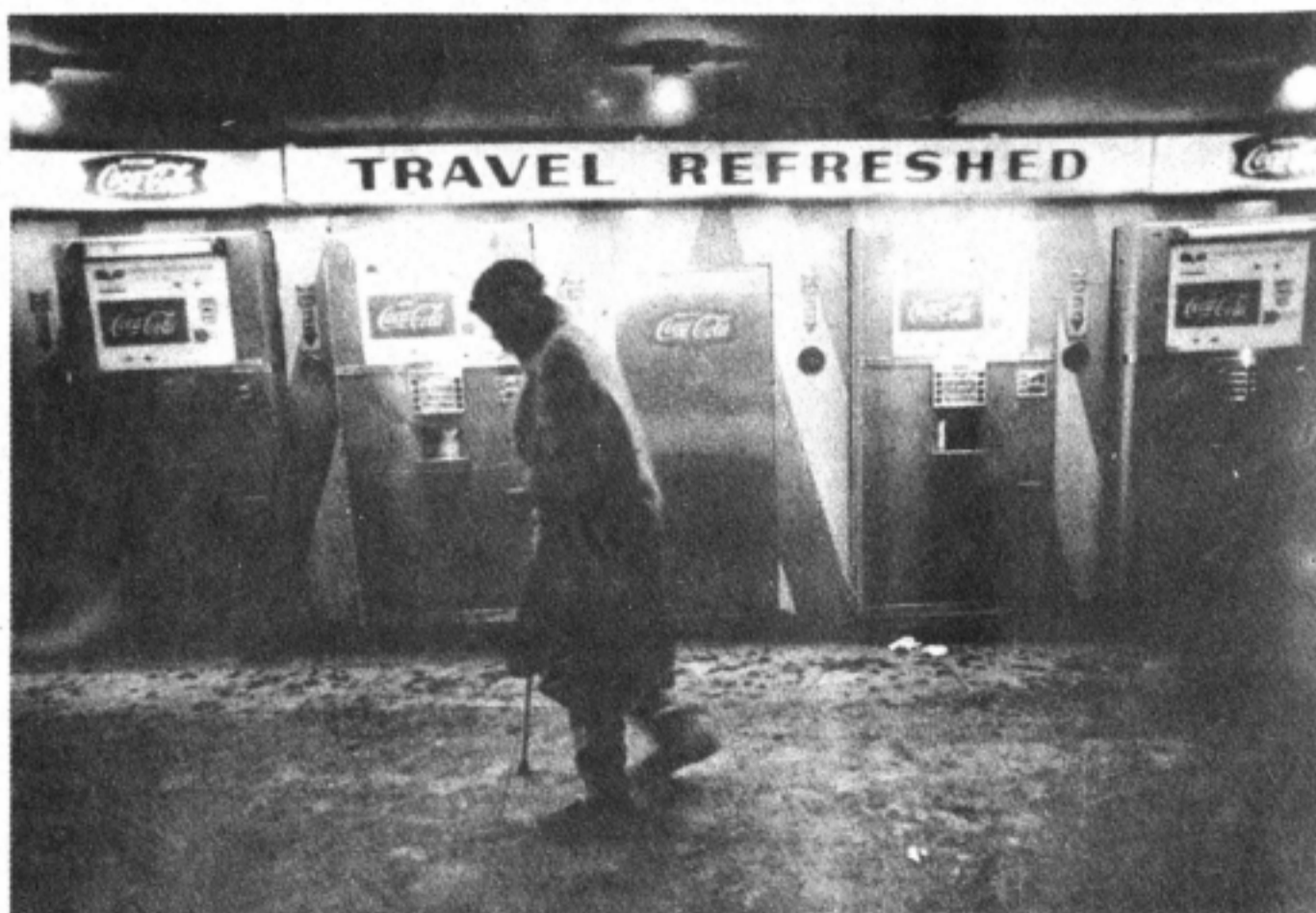
Firstly however we should review the actual extent and significance of this "selective involvement".

## VETOES AND AIRCRAFT

The actual extent of the increased involvement is considerable on many levels. In March 1970 the US used its veto in the UN Security Council for the first time against a resolution which aimed at extending sanctions against Rhodesia. The year before it voted negatively in the General Assembly's annual resolution against apartheid, again for the first time.

More concretely it has, among other steps, permitted the import into the US of Rhodesian chrome, allowed for the sale of civilian jet aircraft to South Africa, and renewed an old lease on American air bases in the Azores while simultaneously authorizing bank loans to Portugal of up to 435 million dollars (four times more than all such assistance to Portugal since 1946).

Further, after a suspension of 21 months, during which the South African regime was facing a serious foreign exchange deficit, South Africa was allowed under a new agreement to resume gold sales to the International Monetary Fund, subsequently earning some 307 million dollars in the first half of 1970 alone.





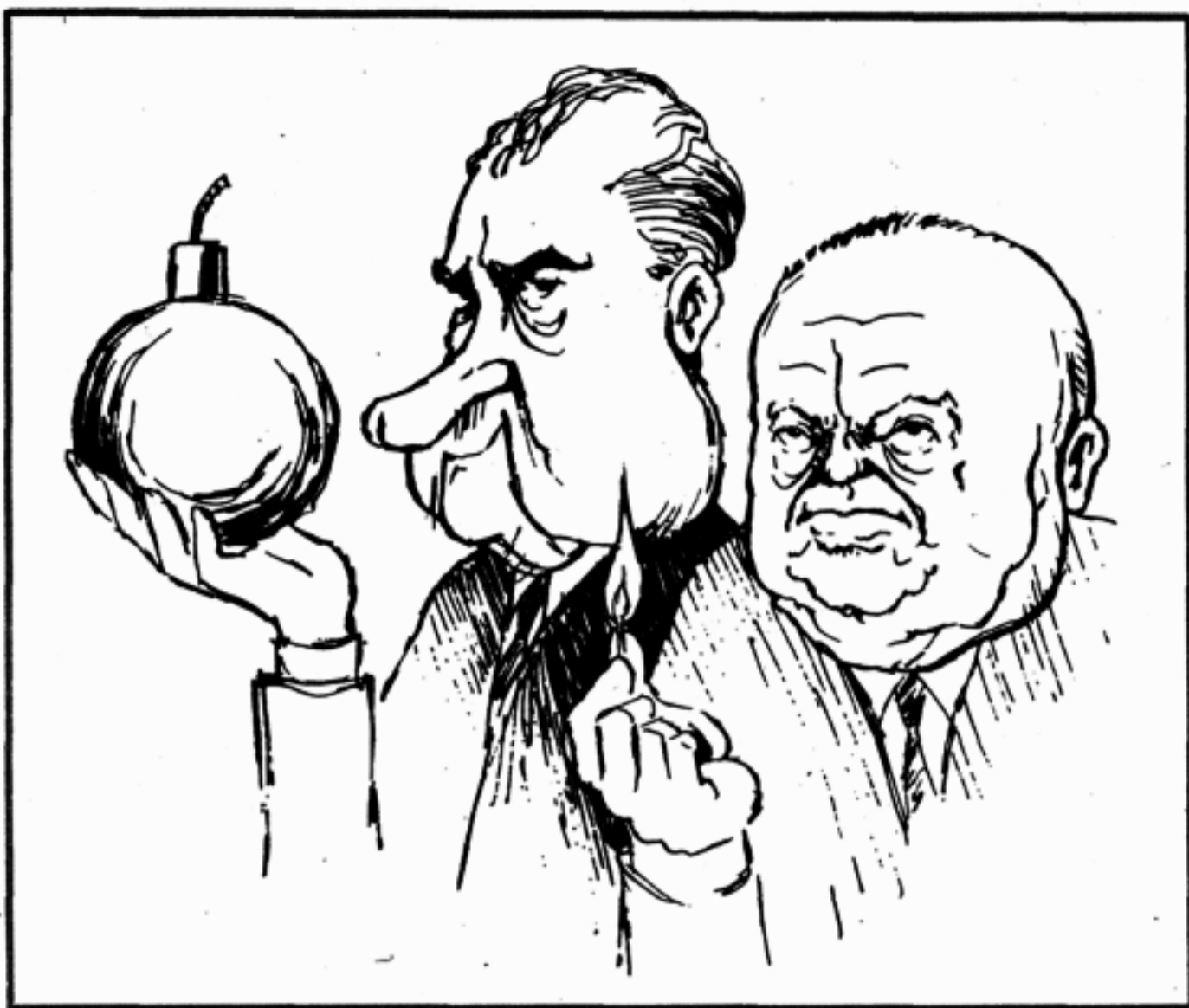
In what way did the United States support the obvious and just claims and aspirations of the South African majority at this crucial point? An 85 million dollar credit loan from US banks, 50 million in trade with the US, and 23 million in investments by US corporations turned the tide and saved the South African regime. From 1963 to 1969 American holdings in South Africa increased by 80 per cent. Today, some 300 American companies have investments in South Africa valued at up to one billion dollars.

The United States is not then actively interested in radical change in Southern Africa. But the "communication" theory is in any case historically out of date. It is based on supremacy: parleying with the overlord to try and help the slaves. Or giving a bone to the dog, like giving land to Hitler. Such times are long past: this is the age when the mass of people are no longer waiting for paternal humanitarianism that never comes but are actively out to get change themselves and control it themselves. And it is they who would more welcome "communication" and open offers of positive assistance.

### SIDE BENEFITS WHILE YOU WAIT

The red-herring theory of communication and "selective involvement" with the overlords has a second fish on the line. The "communication" excuse is extended to include the imagined pay-off of "benefit to the people meanwhile". It is argued by companies involved in South Africa that such involvement increases the opportunities for the masses for employment and higher wages. It is argued that since the black workers of South Africa will ultimately break the barriers of apartheid anyway, financial involvement can only stimulate the movement for change through economic development. Within this setting some of these companies are also diverting sums of money into channels aimed at "promoting" educational and employment gains for blacks under apartheid.

The first argument is gnomish double-talk, a capitalist's tricky re-write of selected Marxism. It is true that the impetus for social change has come from the working masses but it is nonsense for the man with capital to suggest that therefore he is assisting change by supplying industry and capital. (Need we state that industry and capital are in fact supplied by the working people?) Economic development is a historical process but it is a question of who benefits from it, and



of exactly what is meant by development (does it mean profit?).

US companies take a huge average return of 17 per cent out of South African investment and this they do on the backs of cheap Black labour, and that is why they do it. From the SA regime's point of view, cheap labour attracts foreign capital and hence a rake-off. To keep a cheap labour force at hand and unorganized, the regime crowds healthy male workers into concrete ghettos while women and children and the old, and the political and labour organizers among the people, are pushed by law (backed by guns) out into barren reserves.

Apart from this the imagined economic development of South Africa is not at all stable and even the whites are beginning to feel the effects. Because of narrow and vicious policy, and despite the ready flow of capital, the South African economy is very rocky because it is clearly unbalanced (for example many mines would have to close if there were no wage-slave labour). The shortage of skilled labour resulting from job reservation cannot be met by the minority whites, but far from encouraging the regime to amend its labour policy and thus balance its economy more solidly on the skills of all the races of the country, we see it instead engaged in the ludicrous spectacles of importing more whites into the country while encouraging whites to have more children and Blacks to have less! It would be funny if it were not tragic,

for in the interim millions are suffering.

### LIMITING BLACK EDUCATION

The flow of American capital does nothing but bolster this situation. Any educational handouts are bottlenecked and have nowhere to go. Nowhere is it clearer than in South Africa that education cannot change society, because it is used there to serve the interests of the society's ruling class (Who is better educated in South Africa than the whites but what have they done for change?). The South African regime's avowed policy is that there is no place for Blacks "above the level of certain forms of labour" and supports its stand by prohibiting unionization of black workers, banning popular movements and deliberately limiting Black education – and they are going to keep it that way.

The result is that the ruling fifth of the population of South Africa receive three-quarters of the country's income – twice as much as in the United States itself!

Does the US seriously think that it will be permitted to sidestep the educational stranglehold in the police state of apartheid, or even to cause real progress towards equalization of incomes and opportunities? Any such "education" would have to fall rapidly into line or it would be removed. Neither does money talk in a state where land,



**American Air, TWA Net Rose In Third Period**

Both Airlines Attribute Big Gains to Personnel Cuts Made Earlier This Year

**GE Profit Set 3rd Period High, But Sales Dipped**

Earnings Were \$114.2 Million; Slippage in Defense Work Noted; Other Areas Good

**BankAmerica Profit Rose 7.6% in the Third Quarter**

Months Also a Record

**Continental Corp. Third Quarter Earnings Soared; Auto, Home Insurance Lines Cited**

NEW YORK — Continental Corp. reported in the third quarter, as it is recovering from the impact of the merger with the auto and home insurance lines.

**Merck Income at Record**

NEW YORK — Merck & Co. reported record income for the third quarter.

**Du Pont Profits Inc. Rise**

Dow and Monsanto Up

**Westinghouse Posts Records For 3rd Period**

Profit Gain Was 51% From Strike-Affected '70; Net For 9 Months Rose 24.1%

**Goodyear Set High During 3rd Quarter; Line Months Spurred**

Net Up; Rise 17%

**3M's Earnings at Record; Goodyear Net Rebound**

Earnings Rise 26%

**At Allied Chemical**

Earnings Rise 26%

**Crown Zellerbach and Comsat Net Up**

CHASE PROFIT UP 7.2% IN QUARTER

**Bankers Trust Profit Up**

Transamerica Profit Surged in 3rd Period

**Xerox Reports Record Earnings**

Record Earnings

**GTE Post Gain Of 12% in Earnings For 3rd Quarter**

Phone Income Increased 11%; 9-Month Net Climbed to \$1.65 a Share From \$1.42

**JERSEY STANDARD HITS PROFIT PEAK**

Earnings Rise 26%

**At Allied Chemical**

Earnings Rise 26%

**CHASE PROFIT UP 7.2% IN QUARTER**

Bankers Trust Profit Up

**Transamerica Profit Surged in 3rd Period**

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Transamerica Profit Surged in 3rd Period

For it becomes our view that corporate American handouts are in reality nothing more than a front to try and pacify the rightful protests of world movements against involvement. In what might have been considered kindly as misguided philanthropy there is not even any heart.

The Johannesburg 'Star' of 27 May reported: "American business companies are coming under increasing pressure to withdraw their investments from South Africa. Yet very little is known about the detailed scope and size of those investments. There is good reason for thinking they only represent the tip of the iceberg. Literally hundreds of American business organizations operate here and the majority of them keep their heads well down - out of the line of fire."

The article continues later: - "And this is one country which American businessmen love to operate in - a country where a smallish business can make large profits, where an ambitious executive of a big corporation can stake his claim to future promotion."

Further: - "The American Consulate General states flatly it has no idea of the details of American operations here. 'If the State Department were to ask us for a full breakdown tomorrow we would not be able to give it to them', a spokesman said. 'The companies play their cards very close to their chests - this is not only because of pressure in the States but for commercial reasons.' ... Nevertheless the Consulate General, and presumably the American Embassy, has a list of every American enterprise in South Africa. This list seems to be regarded as confidential ..."

The article then places in opposition the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the South Africa Foundation:

"Most of the large American corporations are represented in South Africa and some of them obviously have massive investments. Those that have borne the brunt of the anti-apartheid campaign are Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, First National City Bank of New York, Gulf Oil, Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company, Polaroid, Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax ... Deep in the fight to defend American investment is the South Africa Foundation which is believed to maintain close links with many American companies. But the Foundation cannot, or will not, supply information on American business involvement or even on the extent to which the American companies contribute to its funds."

living space and employment are seriously proscribed by government decree. Education must be for democratic change, not acceptance, and this can only be done by the people for the people. It has long been done by the mass movements and will continue to be. In this context it should be remembered that the mass movement led by the ANC in South Africa has a long history of organization dating back to the beginning of the century. In this time, especially the last 25 years, the movement has made great efforts to obtain change on all levels, including peaceful cooperation and attempts to widen education. All such attempts have been squashed. Education of Africans has been taken over almost entirely by the state in recent years, with all that it implies. Even night schools run by universities in Johannesburg for African adults have been closed by the government. The period of America's involvement in South Africa has seen the erosion of any small rights the Black population might have had (such as isolated areas of representation) totally. The mass movement of South Africa has not come to a revolutionary standpoint through lack or unwillingness to explore all other possible avenues. An article in the Johannesburg 'Star'

of 13 May, taking the view that some American companies involved in South Africa were internally operating an "enlightened" policy, nevertheless went on to say:- "But it would be a pity if the test of their efforts became progress towards equalization of incomes. It is a test that even the United States cannot pass. What is uniquely wrong in South Africa is not that income disparities exist, but that the position of an individual within the wide range of incomes is defined by race." It has also been separately noted that while wages for some Africans have increased in South Africa, the gap between white and Black wages has actually widened, not to mention the education gap.

**FORKED TONGUE**

The "enlightened", paternal American strategy to promote so-called educational and employment gains for Blacks under apartheid can therefore be seen rather like charity - it does not solve the problem and at best is not even related to it. It may even prove to be like foreign aid given by the US to developing nations, which economic commentators now readily admit costs these countries more than they get out of it.



## NO MORAL STAND

We are forced to conclude that the powers within the US have no moral "stand" on the question of Southern Africa and are in fact deliberately moving away, as stealthily as possible in view of protest, from the world conception of just causes. We are forced to conclude that the arguments they put up for their involvement in Southern Africa are towers of words to conceal mercenary and short-sighted self-interest. As the Johannesburg 'Star' stated crudely but succinctly when reporting visits to South Africa by big American businessmen:

"A first-hand picture of a sound and well-managed economy is likely to appeal more to a growth-minded businessman than any theoretical calls, however justified, for justice"!

Sections of the American people are well aware of the reality and have vigorously protested. This journal has reported extensively on the actions of the militant Black workers of Polaroid. This is one part of a growing disaffection. Students picketed the arrival of the first shipment of Rhodesian chrome to America. The National Black Political Convention held in the US in March this year called for an end to American complicity with European colonialism and repression in Africa. It demanded also the transfer of American investments from South Africa to the Black African nations.

Black Africa has denounced the American Administration's relaxed policy towards South Africa. President Kaunda of Zambia warned at an Afro-American conference in Lusaka in January that the policy could have a serious impact on relations between the US and the African continent. A member of the American Congressional delegation at this conference later expressed fears that the US was "on the verge of losing its influence" in Africa.

The US regime has already lost its "influence" in Vietnam and all credibility even in its own country. In the context of this investigation it is pertinent to note that responsible observers have stated that the primary activity of the United States in Vietnam today is the establishment of financial interests for US capital.

## THE BIGGER THREAT

The question of the rape of Vietnam by the US raises a further threat over our heads.

At the time when the US decision to

increase overt involvement in Southern Africa was taken in 1969-70, other, even more open cooperation was being suggested. The decision to take the quiet road of deliberately expanded contacts involved the question of Vietnam. Terence Smith, writing in the New York Times of 2 April 1972, stated that in the secret debate within the administration, the Defence Department was in favour of treating South Africa as any sovereign friendly nation without regard to her internal policies! The National Security Council however favoured a partial relaxation toward South Africa combined with cooler language at the United Nations and elsewhere (i. e. more support in these places for the South African regime).

The latter course was decided upon, bad enough in itself and demonstrating the general tendency. But Terence Smith goes on to write:

"The President and his advisers were said to be in agreement also that the United States, with its involvements in Indochina and elsewhere, could not take on the problem of Southern Africa."

In view of the reality of Vietnam we find ourselves deeply apprehensive about the ambiguities of the above statement, and its possible interpretation given a revolutionary situation in South Africa.

We find ourselves more and more certain that the struggle for national liberation in South Africa is a vital link in the chain of struggles now being waged by the people of the world. For in the long term we are all, including the people of America, up against a faceless system that has outlived its historical role, has lost its reason for existence and retains its supremacy solely through the power of destruction.



Arms supplied by the US and other western countries are responsible for scenes like these





The interdependence of the Namibian struggle with the revolutionary process in the rest of Southern Africa stems from the

# COMMON FIGHT AGAINST A COMMON FOE

This point was driven home by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Great Britain who attended the Namibia International Conference. In a paper submitted to the Conference the AAM said:

Today the revolutionary forces in Namibia form part of an anti-imperialist alliance in Southern Africa as a whole, and these in turn form part of a wider international movement of peoples against racism and colonialism for peace, freedom and independence. The struggle of the Namibian people is intimately connected with that of the oppressed majority in South Africa, with that of the Angolan patriots, and with the future progress of the states of Botswana and Zambia. It is not simply that the Ovambo people live both in Northern Namibia and Southern Angola, or that the Herero people live both in Namibia and Botswana, or even that some Namibian workers work in the Republic and some South African workers are employed in Namibia. Nor is it merely a matter of geographical contiguity and shared cultural historical roots.

The 'Unholy Alliance' which dominates Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa comprises, in the narrow sense, the local regimes of Vorster, Caetano and Smith, and, more broadly, the governments of Heath, Nixon and Pompidou, not to mention other Western European beneficiaries of the exploitation of Namibia such as the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium. Standing close behind this array of governments are the international monopolies. Their activities are less publicised, but they decisively shape the strategies of the imperialist powers. Faced with the growing crisis of colonialism in Southern Africa, they are accelerating their plunder of the re-

gion's enormous wealth of natural resources, and gambling on shoring up the minority regimes for a further decade or two of uninterrupted exploitation and profiteering. This gamble, which began in the early sixties, and is manifested weekly in the growing penetration of foreign capital, especially in Namibia, represents a desperate final bid for survival, and opens up a new and decisive phase in the internationalisation of the conflict in Southern Africa.

## MINING BOOM

Exemplifying this trend is the recent and current boom in mining activities and mineral and oil prospecting in Namibia. The share of mining in Namibia's gross national product jumped from 32% in 1962 to over 50% in 1967.

Prospecting fees of foreign companies paid to the SWA Administration's Department of Mining multiplied over ten times between 1966 and 1971. Since 1969, Pretoria has been receiving directly the company taxes paid by the mines, worth over R40 millions a year.

Characteristic of this new influx of investment capital is its close association with Western governments. Thus Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) undertook the initially expensive launching of a huge uranium mine at Rossing (near Swakopmund) on the basis of a guaranteed sale to the British Government's

Atomic Energy Commission of the bulk of its product over a ten-year period. Also involved in this project is the partly State-owned Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa. This tendency, flowing from the development of state-monopoly capitalism, has dual consequences. While on the one hand it may boost the confidence and increase the power of international monopolies, on the other hand their closer connection with the state draws them more directly into politics and can make them more susceptible to political pressure. This has important implications for campaigns in Western Europe and North America (see below).

The mineral and oil extraction and prospecting boom is not confined to Namibia, although it is probably more extensive and blatant there, and possibly more vulnerable to counter-attack by reason of Namibia's peculiar international status, the illegality of Pretoria's rule and consequent impropriety of commercial activities in the territory which inevitably entail recognition of that illegal rule. Since UDI there has been a similar mineral boom in Zimbabwe (in which, incidentally, RTZ is also a major participant), and in Angola, too, the frantic scramble for oil, diamonds and base minerals has been apparent.

The close convergence of the racist and colonialist governments' strategic and military planning with the interests and activities of the giant monopolies is best exemplified by the proposed Kunene Dam project in Southern Angola and Northern Namibia. This massive long-term undertaking, with its complex of dams, irrigation schemes and power generators, will facilitate white settlement and military entrenchment in this key region and consolidate the Lisbon-Pretoria axis. Viewed overall, taking into account the financial, administrative and construction aspects as well as the governmental/political side, there is no doubt that in Kunene as in Cabora Bassa, the major partner is white South Africa, whose imperialist expansion and growing determination to uphold colonialism throughout the region contrasts with Portugal's fading strength.

In this policy, Namibia plays a crucial role for the apartheid state, linking as it does the Cape Province with Southern Angola, and providing in addition the territorial basis for the encirclement of Botswana, and (in the Ca-



privi Strip) a springboard for aggression against Zambia and Tanzania. The Kunene project is intended to be the king-pin of the western flank of colonialism in Southern Africa.

## SOUTH AFRICAN IMPERIALISM

South African imperialism, manifested in the Kunene and Cabora Bassa projects, and in the continuing attempt to trap independent African states into a 'dialogue', forms part of a co-ordinated strategy, together with the speeded-up implementation of Bantustans, show that their object is the preservation of white supremacy. The internal aspect of this strategy, the Bantustan policy, can be seen as an apartheid version of decolonisation – from old-style colonialism to neocolonialism and to some extent as a local variant of the US policy of Vietnamisation in Indo-China, i. e. an attempt to Africanise the war of independence. (The recent despatch of the largest yet contingent of African and Coloured troops to the Caprivi Strip by the Vorster regime illustrates this insidious tendency).

But perhaps the most important aspect of the accelerated application of the Bantustan policy to Namibia is its international implications. There is now a real danger that the South African government will lead allied Western governments and some in the

Third World down the cul-de-sac of a debate about which parts of Namibia should get independence, when, and on what terms. This diversion from the need for economic disengagement by Western interests, and from concerted action to enforce the rulings of the World Court and to render effective the UN administration of the territory as a step towards its full independence – this diversion is precisely what Vorster's regime is looking for now that the legal and political view of the world community about Namibia are in closer conjunction than ever before, and the pressure on South Africa's Western allies is approaching new levels of effectiveness.

Complementing the international diplomatic manoeuvres of the South African and Portuguese governments at the UN and elsewhere, and their increasing military/policing and propaganda collaboration on the ground (e. g. the new radio station on the Angola-Namibia border established this year), is the equally dangerous strategy of broadening the scope of new capital investment, involving wider groupings of financial and mining monopolies (and with them governments) with hitherto few or no connections with Southern Africa and Namibia in particular. The Kunene project also illustrates this tendency. It entails extensive commitments and benefits (direct and indirect) for a cluster of French, Canadian, US, West German

and Belgian and Italian banks, construction and mining companies, in addition to those Portuguese and South African interests which are heavily involved in Cabora Bassa. The political consequence and purpose of this growing involvement is clearly to commit still further the Western powers to the maintenance of colonialism in Southern Africa and in respect of Namibia to obstruct the efficacy of UN action. It is no accident that all the nations mentioned are members of NATO and thus already implicated in the military intervention of that bloc in Southern Africa.

## SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

Against this background, the strategy of action in support of the Namibian people takes shape. Having regard to the revolutionary character and legitimate goals of the liberation movement, to both the common Southern Africa features and the peculiar international status of the country, it is evident that a multi-level approach to solidarity action is called for in Western Europe and North America – an approach which will both render effective moral and material support to the Namibian people and reverse the growing involvement of the Western powers and interests, at the same time laying the basis for decisive UN intervention on behalf of the Namibian people.

Namibia International Conference calls for

## ALLIANCE OF ALL FREEDOM FORCES

Attended by delegates from more than twenty international organisations, the liberation movements of Southern Africa, including ANC, FRELIMO and ZAPU, as well as representatives from over 55 countries, the first international conference on Namibia organised by the South West Africa Peoples Organisation took place in Brussels on 26, 27 and 28 May.

The declaration adopted by the conference which was held in the Palace of Congresses, emphasized that this historic gathering took place at a time when decisive action is needed on the issue of Namibia.

Stating the case for the independence of Namibia, the conference declared: South Africa's illegal occupation of

the territory is now in its 57th year. During this half century while the old colonial empires have been dissolved South Africa has entrenched in Namibia a system of colonial-type rule maintained by an apparatus of repression unequalled in race tyranny. This conference recognises that the principal battleground of the freedom

struggle lies within Namibia. The people of this country have a proud record of resistance to conquest, beginning with the independence wars of the beginning of this century and culminating in the 1966 decision to embark upon armed struggle which opens a new era of confrontation between the people and the occupying power.

The outcome of this battle is not in doubt, but in the coming years the struggle will summon the maximum resources of endeavour and sacrifice of the Namibian people. The strike of contract workers has demonstrated the readiness of the people for mass struggle and their capacity to organise under conditions of grim and unrelenting repression. This strike must be seen as an integral and indivisible part of the overall liberation struggle.



The regiments of freedom fighters are being drawn from the rank of striking workers, rebellious students, embattled peasants led by the political militants and armed units of SWAPO.

## WORLD RESPONSIBILITY

At the same time the world has a unique and special responsibility for the colonial condition of Namibia, for this territory was a ward of the international community which was forcibly and illegally incorporated by the white minority state.

The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice has pronounced the South African occupation illegal. Successive resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have recognised the international status of the territory. The Council of Namibia has been charged with the task of administering the territory in the name of the United Nations. The status of the territory is, therefore, no longer at issue. The problem of the world body is one of implementation. There is no other issue of Southern Africa on which 3 permanent members of the Security Council have so consistently and deliberately blocked all meaningful action. Here lies the source of failure of the world body in discharging its obligations.

In this, too, lies the source of South Africa's intransigence. Whilst United Nations resolutions have grown steadily more emphatic and have won greater unanimity in the councils of the world body, South Africa has tightened her grip on the territory and received ever-increasing support from the Western powers.

**This political collaboration grows out of and is reinforced by the extensive**

**stake of international corporations in the exploitation of Namibia's resources. This engagement on the side of South Africa by international capital commits the Western powers ever more firmly to the maintenance of apartheid - colonialism in Namibia, and leads to the obstruction of efficacious action by the United Nations.** Schemes such as the Kunene River project and the illegal extraction of uranium by the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation symbolised this commitment of imperialism to the preservation of South African rule.

## BANTUSTAN SYSTEM

In the full knowledge of this committed western support, South Africa has steadily extended its control over Namibia. The Bantustan system is the central part of this strategy. Far from offering any prospect of self-determination, and genuine independence, the Bantustans, which constitute a reservoir of cheap forced labour, are intended to dismember the national unity and territorial integrity of the Namibian people and to undermine the forces of resistance.

A prime purpose of the Bantustan policy is also to ward off international criticism. This conference denounces the tactic as fraudulent and affirms that Namibia is one and its independence indivisible, and that its national sovereignty is the preserve of all the people.

Since the future of Namibia can only be determined by its people, all negotiation and dealings with the occupying power must be conducted with their consent and proper participation. Towards this end the conference calls for the recognition of SWAPO

as the true and legitimate representative of Namibia and demands that it be accorded formal status in all international forums and institutions concerned with Namibia.

The Namibian conflict has been internationalised not only by the world community's historic responsibility for her fate but also by the close economic, political and military links between South Africa and her allies.

It is this complicity of the Western powers which faces us with the very real prospect of external forces coming into direct confrontation with the liberation movement of the African people.

## COMBINED FORCES

This conference considers that the response to this crisis must lie in the forging of an alliance between the combined forces of all antagonists of imperialism and the freedom forces of Namibia. This alliance-in-action will require a multi-level approach to support any solidarity action which on the one hand will render effective moral and material assistance to the struggle of the Namibian people; and on the other will combat the growing complicity of western powers and interests.

This conference welcomes all concrete aid rendered to the Namibian struggle by the OAU, Socialist countries and organisations the world over.

**We call for support for the struggle of the Namibian people for independence, freedom and human dignity, and are confident that the convergence of the internal freedom struggle and that of concerted international action must bring near the day of victory.**

## Message from Afro-Americans

A special message to SECHABA came from Mr. Claude Lightfoot, Afro-American leader in the USA who also addressed the WPC Commission on the struggle against racism in his country.

He told SECHABA: "A few years ago there was not too much understanding on the part of Americans of the struggle being waged in Southern Africa. Sechaba helped to change this considerably. While there is an increased interest in the African revolutionary process as a whole, the main focus is now directed on the struggle in the South. This aspect was sharpened considerably by increased interest and attention to this problem by the Congressional Black Caucus. The Caucus recently held a conference

in Washington, attended by several hundred representatives of organisations. This Conference was the offshoot from a Black political convention held at Gary, Indiana, several months ago - a conference representing the overwhelming majority of Black Americans. I cite this fact in order to show that the struggle waged by our Black brothers and sisters in the Southern part of the African continent is directly connected with the mainstream of the battle of the Afro-American people for liberation".



# THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Part 2: African Real Wages  
(continued from previous issue)

With the population growth, mass removals and the overcrowding in the reserves, African families in the towns and in the rural areas, are becoming increasingly impoverished. The conventional means whereby workers' incomes can be maintained or improved, the right of labour to organise in trade unions, has been denied for the majority of the labour force in South Africa. The final stage in outlawing strikes and all African union activity was the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953. (16) Since then, minimum wage rates for Africans are fixed by the Government and real incomes have been falling. This has been an essential element of the Nationalist Party's economic strategy.

It is interesting to note that the above-average increases in African wages, which began in 1958 or 1959 and continued at least until 1961-1962, were the result of a positive campaign by Government, employers and economists. This was a period of severe political unrest, dramatized by the Sharpeville incident of 1960, when it was thought that the situation might be alleviated by the payment of higher wages to African labour (17). Significantly, these moves coincided with the recession and panic flight of foreign capital that followed the Sharpeville shooting.

## African cost of living

### African real incomes in "white" areas (18)

Official statistics do not contain data on the incomes of urban Africans, and the cost of living for them. It is therefore necessary to rely on a variety of sources for calculating real incomes, which makes any comparison extremely difficult.

It is misleading to weigh African incomes by the general rate of inflation in the economy, by the retail price index, or by the so-called white cost of living index. These are too low to reflect the rising cost of living in the African community. The retail food index tends to rise faster than the price index for all items, and this tends to be a larger item in the budgets of the poor than of the rich. Between 1938 and 1962 the retail price index for all items rose by 130 per cent, and for food by 150 per cent. The agricultural price index, covering field crops and animal products, rose by 240 per cent. (19)

The sales tax imposed in the budget for 1969-1970, and increased in 1971, also falls more heavily on the lower-income groups.

A study of the trends in the 15 years from 1938-1939 to 1953-1954 showed that the African cost of living rose 50 per cent faster than that for whites. (20) In the two years 1967-1969, the African cost of living rose twice as fast as the price index - 12 per cent, as compared with 5.5 per cent (21)

The consumer price index for the principal urban areas has risen since 1958 between 2.3 per cent and 4.4 per cent per annum, and seems likely to continue its acceleration. However, estimates based on the Poverty Datum Line for Africans as measured in the townships of Johannesburg at various times show a much higher rate of increase. From 1938 to 1953 there was an increase in the cost of living of all urban Africans of 152 per cent (22), or about 10 per cent per annum. The following table illustrates that in the decade 1944-1954 in Johannesburg, the absolute minimum household expenditure rose from £12.18.6 to £23.10.4 (23), about 80 per cent, or 8 per cent per annum.

### Johannesburg: Average incomes and minimum expenditure, 1944-1954

In £.s.d.	1944	1950	1954
Total essential expenditure	12.18.6	14.14.4	23.10.4
Average family income	9.18.1	12.16.6	15.18.11
Monthly deficit	3. 0.5	4.17.10	7.11.5

Statistics quoted in African Taxation (Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1960, No. 4).

This rate is confirmed by a study of the last four of these years, from 1950-1954; the cost of the barest essentials necessary for an African household rose by 32 per cent, or 8 per cent per annum (24).

Between 1954 and 1964 there is a shortage of reliable evidence. However, according to surveys by the Institute of Race Relations, the Poverty Datum Line for a family of five in Johannesburg showed a rise from R42 (\$58.80) a month in 1957 to R52.67 (\$73.73) a month in 1964 (25).

Between 1964 and 1966 the rate of increase seems to be the slowest since World War II. The Poverty Datum Line for a family of five in Johannesburg rose from R52.67 (\$73.73) a month in 1964 (26) to R55.57 (\$77.79) (27) in 1966 and to R59.70 (83.58) in 1969 (28).

During the most recent period, from 1969 to 1971, the increase may have been most rapid. According to a recent estimate by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, a family of five in Soweto would need about R73 (\$102.28) per month. (29).

Comparing the figures from 1969-1971 with those for 1948,



when the Nationalist Party came to power, it appears that the average increase in the cost of living for Africans in Johannesburg was just under 5 per cent per annum, and any calculation of the trend in African real wages in the cities would have to take this into account for all urban areas.

### African real wages and incomes

Between 1925 and 1953, the wages of an African male worker in private enterprise rose from R7 (\$9.80) a month to R23 (\$23.20) a month, an increase of just over 8 per cent a year. Between 1938 and 1953, it is estimated (30) that real African incomes in urban areas declined by 6.5 per cent. In real terms, as one study has pointed out, Africans may have been only slightly better off than in 1953 (31). The war years seem to have boosted the average, since between 1950 and 1954 the increase in average family incomes in Johannesburg was only 6 per cent per annum, as compared to a rise in the retail price index of over 8 per cent per annum (32).

The estimated net national income per head for Africans rose from R58 (\$81.20) per month in 1950 to R87.20 (\$122.08) in 1959 (33), an annual increase of about 5.5 per cent. Thus, the increases in African wages seemed to be decelerating after the war. This is strongly confirmed by the slow rise in the minimum monthly wage rate in Johannesburg between 1954 and 1958 of only 2 per cent per annum, while the retail price index rose by almost 3 per cent per annum. (34).

If the money increases are compared with the rising cost of living for Africans which, as noted earlier, was probably faster in this decade than the rise in the retail price index, real incomes appear to have declined. Although the manufacturing sector is generally thought to offer wage increases to Africans much higher than the average, it appears to have followed the average pattern for the post-war years up to 1959. At constant 1959-1960 prices, wages in this sector increased at 2.4 per cent per annum between 1935 and 1960. (35). However, this increase must be entirely accounted for by increases during, and possibly before, the war; between 1946 and 1959, when secondary industry expanded greatly, African wages at constant prices declined (36). The following table emphasizes the sudden slowdown of real wages in manufacturing after the war, as measured against general inflation. If the greater rise in African cost of living is taken into account, there would be a net decrease.

#### AFRICAN REAL WAGES IN MANUFACTURING, 1938-1959 (37)

	Average annual money wages per worker	Average annual real wages per worker at constant (1938) prices
1938	46	46
1946	96.1	71.6
1954	144.5	73.8
1959	164.8	74.2

The data available for the overall trends during the 1960s shows great fluctuation; this almost certainly reflects a sudden acceleration in the first two years of the decade, and a very slow increase, possibly even a net fall in average money incomes, in the middle years of the decade. These phenomena coincide with the recession at the time of Sharpeville, and the unprecedented boom for most of the rest of the decade. If the levels of increase are compared with the rising African cost of living in white urban

areas, it appears that in most cases real wages are falling. A report from the Johannesburg City Council confirms the impression that this is a long-term trend that has become evident since the war:

"Bantu wages barely keep pace with the rising cost of living and are a matter of extreme concern. The general mass of Bantu have not really improved their positions financially in the two decades 1946-1966" (38).

The Financial Mail emphasizes the widespread nature of this phenomenon:

"Lest it be thought that Soweto is a special case, country-wide surveys conducted by the Trade Union Council over ... 1958-1967 show a similar picture". (39)

Perhaps the most satisfactory figures are based on long-term observations which cancel out any temporary aberrations. As regards average family incomes in Johannesburg, the increase in the eight years from 1958 to 1966 was from R34 (\$47.60) per month to R46.31 (\$64.83) per month (40), or about 4.5 per cent per annum. Given the rise in the number of wage-earners per household, this increase is reduced to 2.6 per cent per annum. Estimates of African family incomes in all South African cities show a similar trend: the average income per month was R37.15 (\$52.01) in 1954 (41) and R54 (\$75.60) in 1968 (42).

This shows a rate of increase of 3.2 per cent per annum, rather lower than the increase in Johannesburg. Assuming that the number of wage-earners per household was increasing at the same rate as in Johannesburg, incomes were rising at only 1.1 per cent per annum or less than the rise in the African cost of living.

It would appear that African real earnings in urban areas are declining substantially; the situation in other areas appears to have been even worse. In mining, African real wage rates have not risen since 1911 (43), and have certainly fallen in real terms since 1935. At constant (1959) prices, all non-white wages fell from R144 (\$201.60) per annum in 1935 to R140 (\$196.00) in 1960. (44). African real wages may have fallen faster than this.

In the area of white agriculture, African real wages are often below the level of 60 years ago (45). And in the reserves, income per head has dropped from R25.8 (\$36.12) in 1954 (46) to R22 (\$30.80) per annum in 1969 (47), a drop in real terms of over 30 per cent.

Taking wage earners alone, it would appear that average real cash incomes have remained static for the past 12 years. Total African cash incomes, according to Government estimates, rose from about R730 million (\$1.022 million) in 1958 to R1,020 million (\$1,228 million) in 1970, an increase of 65 per cent. In the same 12 years the number of African wage earners increased by over 25 per cent. Average income per head therefore increased by about 3.3 per cent per annum, about the same as the rate of inflation and below the increase in the African cost of living.

The combined total income of wage earners and subsistence farmers increased 61 per cent in money terms, and about 20 per cent in real terms. However, the total African population increased by 40 per cent. African real income per head seems therefore to have declined by about 1.7 per cent a year in the twelve years ending in 1970. (48)

Thus it is clear that while Africans in the reserves are living in extreme poverty, the majority of families in white urban areas are also living below the subsistence level. The proportion of families with incomes below the Poverty Datum Line appears to have remained stable during the 1960s at about 68 per cent, according to a survey covering 1962-1967 in Johannesburg, (49) in spite of the increasing number of wage-earners per household. The same phenomenon has been found in Natal, (50) and may be assumed to be fairly general. An increasing proportion of household





The main sources of exploitation, the mines and heavy industry with foreign investments

heads have earnings below the Poverty Datum Line (51), which is below the minimum ideal for human beings. The Effective Minimum Level is estimated at about half as much again as the poverty Datum Line (52), which means that many more than 68 per cent of African families are unable to afford the basic essentials. Perhaps 85–95 per cent of all urban families are in that predicament.

### III. Unemployment and Impoverishment

The fact that there are no published figures for African unemployment, although there are full statistics for the other races, seems to indicate that the current level, and perhaps also the trends over recent years, are not fit for publication. It is a matter for observation that there are large numbers of Africans in the Republic without jobs. In the reserves, those who bother to register at the labour bureaux form constant long queues. Since unemployment is one of the excuses for "endorsing out" Africans from urban areas, the need to find employment quickly in the towns is forcing African wages lower.

The only figures available are for African work-seekers from the reserves. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following statistics:

- 1967 (average) 76,700
- 1968 (average) 84,300
- 1969 (average) 78,500

These figures, which do not include work-seekers in the towns or the people who are "temporarily" in the reserves can hardly represent more than the tip of the iceberg. It may be noted in passing that in 1967, with 76,700 Africans registered as looking for work, South Africa claimed in her official information leaflets that she had only 14,922 jobless, "less than 2 per cent, the recognized measure of full employment". (54)

The only recent estimate of the number of unemployed has come from an academic source. In an address to the national labour conference in Cape Town at the end of April, 1971 (55) Professor J. L. Sadie of the Department of Eco-

nomics at Stellenbosch University estimated that the real number of unemployed workers in South Africa was 1,294,500. As the unemployment figures for whites, Asian and Coloured people are available, and are in fact negligible, one is therefore forced to the conclusion that one out of four economically active Africans is unemployed.

There are no statistics to indicate whether the proportion of unemployed is increasing or diminishing. It is possible that it is in fact increasing, due to the introduction of increasingly sophisticated and labour saving machinery, and the removal of Africans to the "resettlement areas" or the reserves.

Since statistics on African unemployment are not available, it is not possible to correlate the trend of unemployment with that of real wages. If the trend for African real wages is plotted against unemployment for non-Africans, one finds a curious phenomenon. In a conventional economy, there would be a positive co-relation between unemployment and wage-price movements. However, as one study shows, "the curve for the black labour market is apparently perverse". (56) Most below-average increases in African wages occur when non-African unemployment levels are low, and most above-average increases are found at high levels of unemployment. This suggests that the supply of African workers is so elastic – probably because there is a permanent pool of unemployed regulated by the influx control regulations – that it does not affect wages in the usual way. It also suggests that a boom in the South African economy, creating a great demand for non-African workers, tends to coincide with the below-average increases in African wages. Conversely, African real incomes fall less rapidly, or even rise, in times of economic stagnation. This is a disconcerting finding for the proponents of the theory that as the economy grows, and job reservation is broken down, so Africans will become materially better off. In fact, in those sectors of the economy which have increased or maintained the same proportion of white employees in their work force, so that there is no break-down of the "colour bar" or "job fragmentation", one finds the smallest rises in the ratio between white and African wages. It is in the sectors where the proportion of white workers fell most rapidly that the gap widened most dramatically (57). In the construction industry, notorious for its contravention of job reservation, the ratio between white and African wa-



ges is the highest for any sector except mining (58). A further significant trend is the relation between the real wages of African workers and their productivity. In the period 1957-1962, it has been estimated that the physical output of the African industrial labour force rose by 30 per cent. Since real wages in this sector are at best static, and probably falling, it is clear that real wages are lagging way behind the increase in productivity (59). It therefore appears that the growth in productivity of African workers benefits white workers and white company profits.

The importance of this factor in the development of the South African economy should not be underestimated. Since South Africa, and particularly the goldmining industry, is so vulnerable to inflation, it is of vital importance to the Government that the majority of the labour force should have incomes rising slower than prices, and below the level of productivity. The chairman of ISCOR and the Industrial Development Corporation, Dr. M. J. van Eck, has pointed out that the mineral wealth of which South Africa boasts is not relatively very abundant, and the ore content is so low that in other countries it could not be mined economically. "We must glorify not the metals of the earth but our remarkable human material". (60)

The boom of the 1960s, therefore, like the general economic expansion since the war, was dependent on falling real wages. The Financial Mail described the process early in the decade:

"The kernel of the matter is this: we have a completely artificial economic society with conditions frankly and openly manipulated to protect white privilege". (61)

The absence of economic pressure from abroad encourages the process of impoverishment of the African majority.

## References

- (16) Act. No. 48 of 1953. See also Trade Union Rights in South Africa, Unit on Apartheid "Notes and Documents" No. 10/70.
- (17) See for example L. Katzen, *Op cit.*
- (18) The Government claims that 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa - all the country except the African reserves - is a white area.
- (19) South African Reserve Bank. Quarterly Bulletin, March 1963.
- (20) F. P. Spooner, *The South African Predicament* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1960)
- (21) John Sackur, "Casualties of the economic boom in South Africa", *The Times*, London, April 26, 1971
- (22) F. P. Spooner, *supra*
- (23) Before 1961, the pound (£) was the official currency in South Africa. After the declaration of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, the pound was replaced by the Rand (R), equivalent to ten shillings or \$1.40.
- (24) *African Taxation*, *supra*.
- (25) 1965 Survey
- (26) 1965 Survey
- (27) Sheila Suttner, *Cost of Living in Soweto* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1967)
- (28) 1969 Survey
- (29) Ida Biggs, "Malnutrition", *Black Sash*, March 1971
- (30) F. P. Spooner, *The South African Predicament*, above
- (31) N. Hurwitz, *The Economics of Bantu Education in South*

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