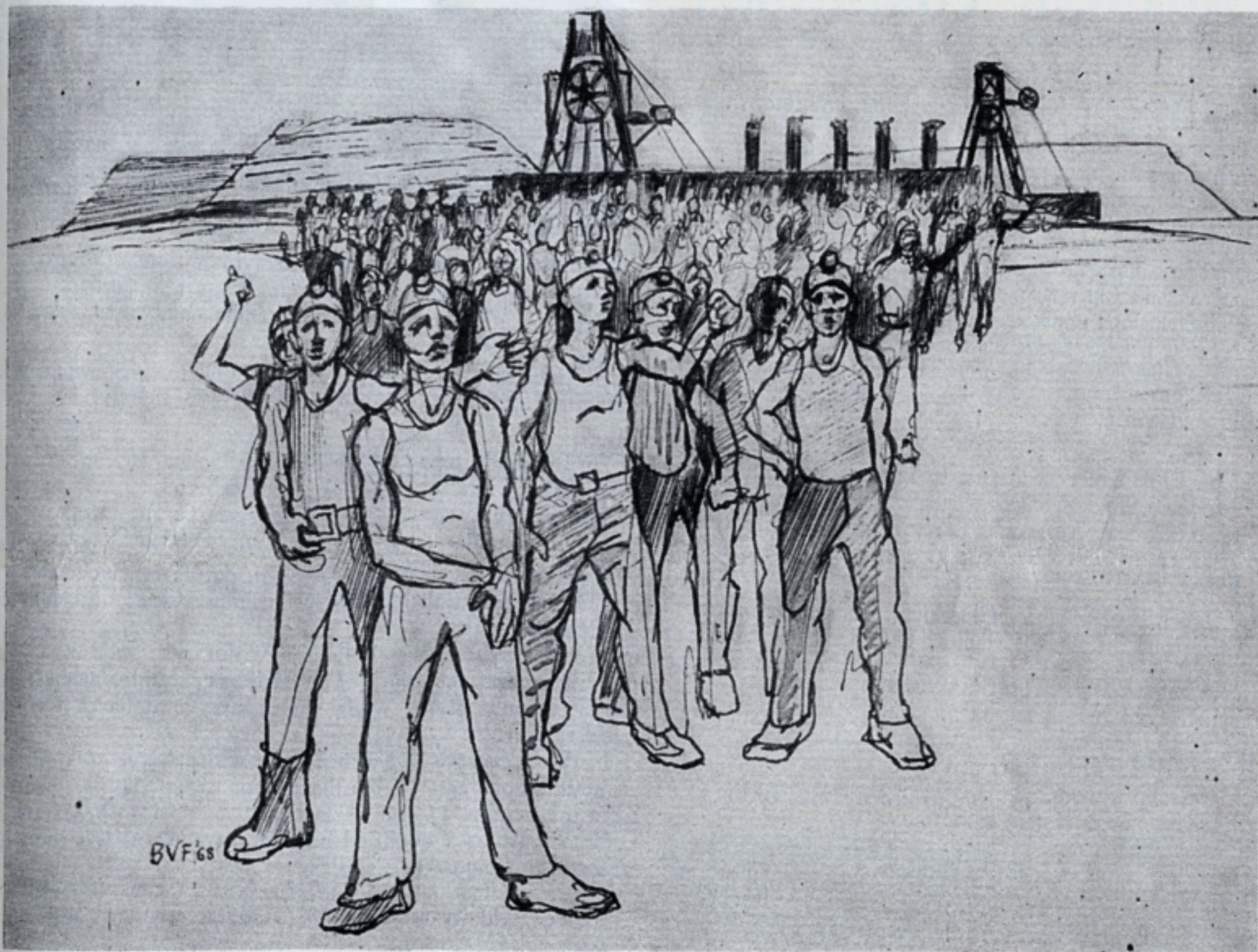


SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN
OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS
SOUTH AFRICA



VOLUME 2

NUMBER 10

OCTOBER 1968

SPECIAL ISSUE ON WORKING CONDITIONS

"Unequal Pay For Equal Work" – S. A. wage gaps, and some curious statements by White leaders. "Black Gold – Yellow Gold" – shameful history of the S. A. mines. "Apartheid in the Trade Unions" – The truth about S. A.'s white unions.

ANGOLA AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

A member of M. P. L. A.'s Politburo answers questions on the Angolon Struggle.

SPECIAL ISSUE ON WORKING CONDITIONS

Last month the British Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress both held their Annual Conferences. We consider it timeous to dedicate this issue to the African and other Non-White workers of South Africa who suffer under the most inhuman forms of race discrimination. We hope delegates to the above Conferences and indeed to all working-class Conferences, and members of all working-class and trade union movements, will rally to the support of our struggle for full democratic rights, decent living wages and improved working conditions for all South Africans. We present the following special articles dealing with these questions:-

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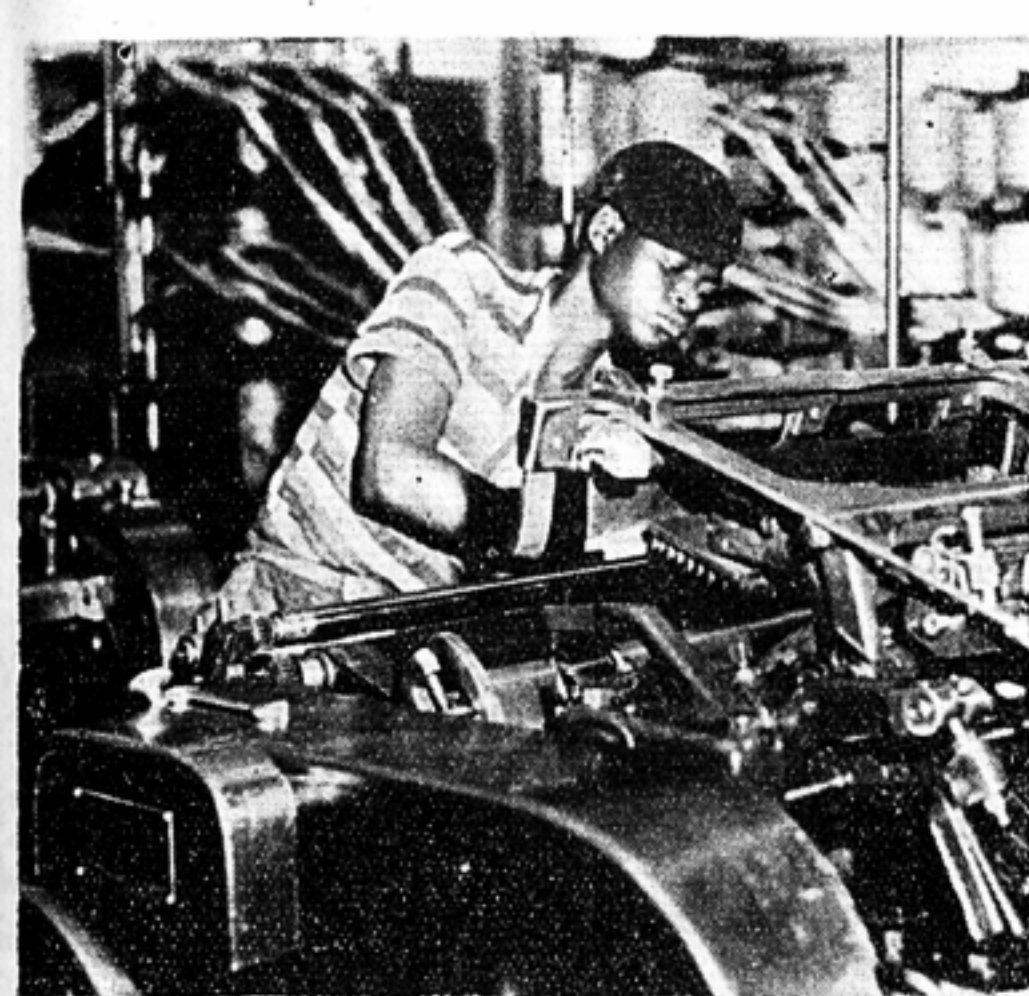
UNEQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

White teachers in South Africa have long been in an uproar over their rates of pay — yet their non-white counterparts are far worse off. The White's starting salary in Natal, for instance, is R2,160 (£1,260) a year. An African with the same qualifications starts with less than half that — R900 per year (£525). And the African's pay scale rises to only R2,160. In other words, he can never earn more than the White's starting salary. A White woman teacher's commencing salary is R1,920 rising to R3,240. The gap will undoubtedly become much wider when White teachers get their long-awaited increases shortly.

WAGE GAPS IN ALL FIELDS

The gap is as great, if not greater, in every field where whites and non-whites do the same or similar work. Non-white lecturers, doctors, policemen, busdrivers, health visitors and workers in all manufacturing industries are discriminated against. In the Durban City Police, a White city policeman starts at three times the salary of an African constable. The African's pay remains fixed, while the White constable's rises considerably. In the Transport Department, the White driver of a one-man operated bus gets double the pay of a Non-White. In the Durban Health Department, an African health visitor (who must be a qualified nursing sister) earns less than half her White counterpart's salary. The following table demonstrates the vast disparities in salaries paid to White and non-White for the same job of work.

Teachers with Degree and Teaching Diploma:-		
White	R2,160 — R3,900 per year	(£1,260 — £2,275)
Indian	R1,440 — R2,790 per year	(£840 — £1,625)
African	R900 — R2,160 per year	(£525 — £1,260)
Drivers of One-Man Operated Buses:-		
White	R40.32 — R47.04 per week	(£23½ — £28)
African	R20.79 — R23.36 per week	(£12 — £14)
Health Inspectors employed by the Municipality:-		
White	R172 — R302 per month	(£100 — £175)
Indian	R94 — R191 per month	(£56 — £112)
African	R75 — R164 per month	(£44 — £93)
Health Visitors:-		
White	R160 — R250 per month	(£93 — £147)



A skilled worker in the textile industry. Because of his colour he may earn as little as £5 per week.

Indian & Coloured	R86 — R135 per month	(£50 — £80)
African	R75 — R105 per month	(£44 — £62)

City Police Constables:—

White	R144 — R210 per month	(£84 — £122)
Indian	R71 — R77 per month	(£42 — £45)
African	R47 (does not rise)	(£28 — £28)

City Police Sergeants:—

White	R246 — R274 per month	(£143 — £160)
Indian	R81 — R87 per month	(£47 — £51)
African	R52 (does not rise)	(£30 — £30)

Doctors in Provincial Hospitals:—

Whites start at R4,200 per year	(£2,450)
Indians and Coloureds at R3,000	(£1,750)
Africans at R2,700 per year	(£1,575)

Housemen:—

Whites start at R2,640 per year	(£1,540)
Indians and Coloureds R1,380	(£805)
Africans start at R1,260 per year	(£735)

Note that the above figures apply to the Province of Natal. The position is as bad in the other Provinces and certainly much worse in the Transvaal.

DO NOT WARRANT SAME PAY

When non-White doctors at Durban's King Edward VIII Hospital recently threatened to work to rule unless they were paid the same salaries as their white counterparts, Members of Parliament, Provincial Councillors and Trade Unionists (all White of course) made some remarkable statements in support of discrimination in wage scales between non-white and white workers.

Gert Classen, ruling Nationalist Party member of the Natal Provincial Council:—

"Non-white doctors do not warrant the same pay as white doctors because they are not as adequately equipped. It is a question of ability: Jews make good doctors; Greeks make good shopkeepers.

"It is quite wrong to demand equal pay for equal work because it would amount to economic suicide; it is economically illogical to expect non-whites to get the same wage."

Willie Maree, leader of the Nationalist Party in Natal and a Cabinet Minister (in an interview in the Sunday Tribune) is reported to have said:—

"There could not be equal pay for the various race groups in South Africa. This is because the living standards of the groups differ materially."

These statements by leading members of the ruling white Nationalist Party are to be expected. But what of the white trade unionists? In our article *Apartheid in Trade Unions* (elsewhere in this issue) we deal with the role of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). Its former President Tom Murray, who is at present an executive member of the organization, in a recent statement to the South African press stated that TUCSA demands equal pay for equal work, but does not support the major demand of all non-white workers, i. e. that they should have EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES as well.

The reason, to quote Mr Murray, is *"simply self-interest. Look at it this way: We must at all costs protect the white workers from unfair competition from cheap non-white labour."*

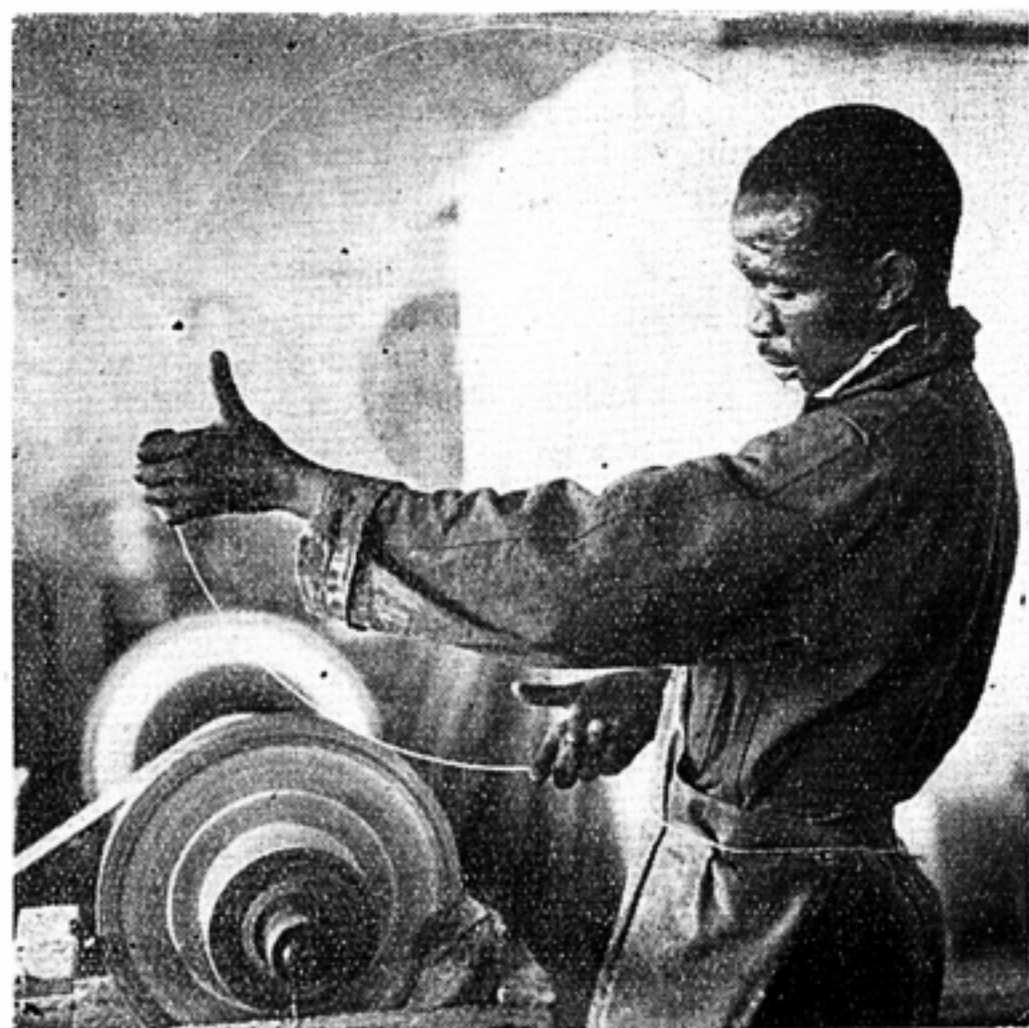
Referring to the African Building Workers Act (where the wage disparity principle applies) Mr Murray stated:—

"There is some justification for this stand because the quality of buildings for Africans is not the same as that of White buildings. African houses, for example, do not require the same finish."

Is any further comment necessary for us to justify our avowed aim to rid South Africa of these parasites!



A skilled worker in the glass industry. His wages may approximate as little as £6 per week.





Barracks conditions for mine workers. Miners live like this throughout their contract and without their families.

BLACK GOLD - YELLOW GOLD

Since Britain devalued the pound sterling in November 1967 there has been considerable activity in the financial capitals of West Europe and North America, Zurich, Paris, London and New York.

Simultaneously, the press of the Western countries has been debating, at length, questions of international liquidity, paying particular attention to the gold question.

In all these discussions, scant attention has been paid to two fundamental issues: firstly, the basic causes of the crisis, and secondly, the condition of the producers of the three-quarters of the gold that is produced in the Western countries — the black workers of Southern Africa.

The "financial crisis" of the capitalist countries is deeply rooted in the history of the growth of the predatory system of imperialism. In the period of imperialism, the world has seen the sharpening of conflicts among the capitalist countries, resulting in two world wars in this century. The conflict has continued since world war two, with the USA emerging as dominant partner in imperialism.

Advances made by the people fighting for national liberation — the struggles of the Vietnamese people are crucially relevant to the present crisis — have weakened the imperialist system and intensified contradictions within each and among the various imperialist countries.

While the international bankers have been frantically occupied with trying to perpetuate imperialism on a world scale, racism and fascism in South Africa have been strengthening their hold over various Southern African peoples to ensure continued availability of black gold — the black mine-workers, upon whose labour the giant companies flourish.

In this article we trace the history of South Africa's gold-miners' wages since the end of the last century.

Miners' Wage Gap

The average cash wage of an African miner in S.A. gold mines is 5s 9d a shift; that of a White miner is £5 17s, over 20 times as much. If allowance is made for food supplied to Africans by mine-owners (costing 1s 8d a day) the White miner's wage is about 15 times as much as the African's. The gap was only 9-to-1 at the start of the century. Yet mine-owners are richer, while African miners are more skilful and productive, than they were 68 years ago. By any standard of comparison, the rate of exploitation of African miners is greater now than in the early period.

When adjusted to changes in cost-of-living, the real wages of African miners reached a peak in 1895 with an average of 63s 6d for 30 shifts. The mine-owners then conspired to reduce wages to an average 48s 7d in 1897, on a scale from

1s 2d to 2s 6d a shift. Anticipating strikes and desertion the Chamber of Mines asked the Kruger government to send police to the mines and to instruct magistrates to "forward as many natives as possible". What the mining magnates wanted was an abundant supply of low-paid workers, hired and employed under compulsion.

WAGES SLASHED

During the S.A. war of 1899—1902 the British military command acting at the request of the mine owners, slashed African miners' wages by half to 1s a day. The average wage fell from 47s 1d per 30 shifts in 1898 to 26s 8d in 1901. Men of the Cape, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and old miners of Mozambique refused to work for the reduced rate. The total number of Africans in Transvaal mines fell from 107,500 in 1899 to 64,500 in June 1903, although as many Africans were employed in other occupations as before the war. The owners thereupon restored the basic rates to 1s 6d for surface and 2s for underground workers.

Other factors, such as suspension of recruiting and dislocation of industry during the war, contributed to a decline in the number of African miners, but the main reason was the wage cut. Instead of admitting this, the owners agitated for Chinese indentured workers. The British Government gave its consent, and agreed to a minimum wage of 1s to 1s 6d a shift for the Chinese workers.

1914—1918 Strikes

The Chinese were withdrawn after the grant of 'responsible government' to Transvaal Whites in 1907, while the number of Africans on Rand mines topped the 300,000 mark a few years later. Drawn from throughout Southern Africa, they belonged to scores of different language and cultural groups. But they showed a capacity to organize, and pulled off boycotts and strikes, notably in 1914 and 1918.

Tens of thousands came out on strike in 1918 in response to a call for a general strike by the Transvaal African National Congress. Police and troops rushed to the compounds and drove the strikers down the shafts, after overcoming the resistance of the men who fought back with pickhandles, axes and iron pipes.

TROUBLE DUE TO COLOUR BAR

J. B. Moffat, the Transkeian chief magistrate, was appointed to investigate the men's grievances. He rejected their demand for more pay. They had volunteered to work for 2s a day, he said, and had no reason to complain of inflation. They should buy less if prices had risen.

"The whole trouble in the compounds" he reported, "is due to the colour bar. A native may know his work very well, but on account of his colour he cannot obtain advancement. The government ought to withdraw the colour bar clauses from the mining regulations and encourage men to settle permanently with their families at the mines."

Moffat made another observation worth recording. "So long as natives are denied citizenship rights as voters, there can be no real contentment in the country." Wise words, but they fell on deaf ears.

Black and White Leaders Arrested

The government chose to start a witch hunt, and prosecuted people's leaders for inciting to strike. "For the first time in South Africa," commented T.D.M. Sketa, author of *Black*



Folk's Who's Who, "members of the European and Native races, in common cause united, were arrested and charged together because of their political responsibilities."

D.S. Letanka, Vice-President of the Transvaal ANC, and L.T. Mvabaza, a director of the Congress paper *Abantu Batho*, were charged together with J. Ngojo, H. Kraai and A. Cetyiwe, leading members of the *Industrial Workers of Africa* (the first African trade union), and three members of the International Socialist League, S.P. Bunting, H. Tinker and C. Hanscome. The case collapsed when its chief witness, a government spy, admitted to having given perjured evidence.

The 1920 Strikes

The miners organized another series of strikes in 1920 behind demands for a minimum wage of between 5s and 10s a day, a fair deal in the concession stores and the right to do skilled work. The owners granted a 3d increase, raising the average cash wage to 2s 3d underground and 2s for surface workers — but they refused to remove the colour bar.

Injured — or dead — miner carried by his fellow workers.





Patients injured on the South African mines. Note the apartheid sign over the door of the shop.

Men continued to strike some 70,000 had stopped work by February 1920. This was "a new phenomenon", reported Sir Evelyn Wallers, President of the Chamber of Mines, "the first native strike in the true sense of the word". It was a sign that Africans were "advancing more rapidly than we had anticipated", and would not long remain satisfied with their position in industry. Their ability "to put into practice White organized labour's methods of direct action is an ominous sign."

11 KILLED, 120 WOUNDED

The Smuts Government agreed to and used force to break the strike. Police and troops surrounded compound after compound and drove the men out with rifle butts. Those who resisted were said to have "rioted" and were arrested. Strikers at Village Deep compound barricaded themselves behind logs. The troops broke through with fixed bayonets and fired, killing 3 and wounding 40. Police and civilian Whites attacked an African meeting at Vrededorp, killed 8 and wounded 80. The strikers were forced back to work at the old rates of pay and an extra hour of work per shift.

Some 20 years later in the 2nd world war, the basic cash wage of African miners was 2s, but its real value in terms of goods was much less due to inflation. Yet the government

excluded the miners from the compulsory cost-of-living allowance paid by employers during the war.

The African Mine Workers Union, then being revitalized under its President J. B. Marks's leadership (at present Director of Transport in the ANC's Overseas Mission) launched a vigorous recruiting campaign behind a demand for 10s a day minimum and Trade Union recognition. By 1944 the Union claimed more than 25,000 registered members in good standing.

A Mine Native Wages Commission reported that year, recommending an increase of 5d a shift, a COL bonus of 3d, boot allowance of 3d per 30 shifts, and overtime rates at time-and-a-half. These improvements, it was estimated, would cost the owners £2,642,000 a year.

The 1946 Strike

The Government and Chamber agreed to an extra 4d a shift surface and 5d underground, undertook to pay overtime rates, and rejected all other proposals. The cost, said the Chamber, would be £1,850,000 a year. But the mines were then paying shareholders £17 million a year, while the government took over £27 million a year from the mines in taxation and rent. "The whole system of discrimination, segregation and oppression directed against the African people is powerfully supported by the Chamber," said Marks at a Conference attended by 700 union delegates and 1,300 working miners in August 1944.

A number of protest strikes broke out along the Reef and culminated in the Great Miners Strike of August 1946. Nearly 80,000 men struck and paralysed 21 mines. The police drove the men back to work and fired on demonstrators. Nine Africans were reported to have been killed by the police, while 1,248 were injured — but the actual total of casualties was never disclosed.

Colour bars, police repression and a dictatorial system of control in compounds (working by police, informers and tribalism) have succeeded in keeping African miners at the bottom of the industrial ladder. Their wages, writes Dr Wilson in *Financial Mail* (10.5.68) are lower than those of Africans in manufacturing. Minimum wage of an African steel worker is R1.52 per 8-hour day (17s 4d); the average African goldminer gets 58c for a somewhat longer day (6s 7d).

It is not surprising, he adds, that the proportion of S. A. Africans in the goldmines has dropped from 52% to 34% in the past 30 years (from 166,000 to 131,000), though overall African employment on the gold mines rose in the same period from 297,000 to 370,000.

Our War Is Against Greed

It is the influx of low-paid workers from the outlying regions of South Africa's economic empire — from Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi — that enables the magnates to depress African wages in the interest of shareholders, the government and white supremacy.

When these territories have been liberated and are truly independent, when they utilize their manpower within their own boundaries, South African workers will be able to combine effectively against colour bar on the mines and for a living wage. Our national liberation war is a war against capitalist greed and ruthless exploitation. No better evidence of this need be looked for than the conditions of African miners in South Africa.

APARTHEID IN THE TRADE UNIONS

White workers of South Africa have moved far away from the ideals that inspired the early radicals. They wanted to achieve working-class solidarity — the unity of all workers of all races. Today, the movement is split into racial camps, partly because of government pressure and legislation, but largely because the White workers themselves have been infected by the disease of colour prejudice.

Of the 171 registered Trade Unions, 89 (with a combined membership of 265,363) are for Whites only; 37 (totalling 48,409 members) consist of Coloureds and Indians; and 45 (representing 175,772 workers) have no colour bar. Africans are not included in these figures because the law prohibits them from forming or belonging to registered unions.

A majority of the unions are affiliated to one or other of three co-ordinating centres: SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions), TUCSA (the Trade Union Council of South Africa), and SACL (the South African Confederation of Labour).

SACTU, the trade union wing of the Congress Alliance, has been persecuted and harassed by the police to such an extent that it has ceased to expand; but it continues to put up a stubborn fight for inter-racial solidarity against all forms of racial oppression.

SACL a Government Body

SACL, on the other hand, is unashamedly racialistic. Claiming to represent 33 unions with 190,000 members, it is the trade union wing of the ruling Nationalist Government; the Confederation consists of three sections: Die Ko-Ordinerde Raad van Vakunies, centred in Pretoria; the Railway and Harbours Staff Associations; and SAFTU,

the S. A. Federation of Trade Unions. All their members are White.

Leaders of the SACL identify themselves wholly with government policy. They support job reservation, oppose 'open' i. e. non-racial unions, and reject the Africans' claims to full trade-union recognition under the industrial laws. J. H. Liebenberg, SACL's Chairman, has said that Africans "tend to use trade unions for political purposes", and that "their general illiteracy and lack of development" prevent them from forming sound and stable unions. (See the *Johannesburg Star*, 24 March 1966.) This merely paraphrases the official government reasons for withholding recognition, and ignores completely the long and excellent record of African trade unionism both in South Africa and in other parts of the Continent.

'Whites Should Guide'

TUCSA, in contrast, claims to be non-racial. Its programme calls for the establishment of open unions, rejects job reservation, demands equal pay for equal work, and welcomes the organization of African workers in the interest also of White workers. TUCSA argues that the growing preponderance of unorganized Africans undermines the bargaining power of the registered unions. To safeguard these, says TUCSA, "responsible Whites" should organize and guide the African unions to prevent them from falling into the hands of "subversive elements" and to prevent them from undercutting Whites. (Arthur Grobbelaar, General Secretary of TUCSA, in its *Newsletter* No. 55 of December 1967.)

Yet TUCSA, when it was formed in 1954, erected a colour bar by limiting membership to registered unions, which naturally excluded all African unions. As a result of pressure from the International Labour Movement, a separate organization was created in 1957 for

African workers, known as FOFATUSA — the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa. Financed partly by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Federation operated in collaboration with TUCSA and was intended to counter the growing influence of SACTU. The latter objected successfully to TUCSA being recognised by the International Labour Organization, and this led to a change in its Constitution.

In 1961, TUCSA removed its colour bar and opened its door in principle to any bona fide union, including African unions. FOFATUSA was disbanded in January 1966 and its members were urged to join TUCSA. It was then able to claim that it represented all sections of the working class. That improved its international image, but brought it into disfavour with the racists. For instance, the Amalgamated Engineers Union, with nearly 18,000 members, disaffiliated in 1966 as a mark of disapproval.

TUCSA Defends Apartheid

TUCSA tried to conciliate the racists by defending apartheid. A widely circulated pamphlet issued in 1965 condemned "ill-informed" and "unjust" attacks on South Africa, rejected boycotts and other forms of sanctions, and criticized labour organizations in Britain and the United States for lending support to "attempts of the Communist and Afro-Asian bloc to boycott South African goods". Africans were "better off in South Africa", according to TUCSA, "than in the independent African states".

In another pamphlet, issued in 1966, TUCSA claimed to be in the forefront of the fight against communism. After slandering the socialist countries and independent African states, the pamphlet offered a recipe for the fight against

communism. "The underprivileged are always the first target of the Communist agitators. It is not accidental that some African unions have in the past fallen under Communist influence. This is the motivation for TUCSA's African trade-union policy." But the pamphlet contained no word of protest against pass laws, racial discrimination and the fascist treatment of political opponents in South Africa.

Appeasement never pays. In spite of its snivelling indorsement of apartheid, TUCSA was attacked by Marais Viljoen, the Minister for Labour, in October and November 1967; he warned TUCSA to stop organizing African workers who, he said, were not "ready" for trade unionism, and "used it as a political forum". "We won't let the Trade Union

Council undermine the industrial harmony which exists in South Africa."

(*Sunday Times*, 29 October 1967.
TUCSA Newsletter, December 1967.)

TUCSA responded by holding a special conference in Johannesburg after a fruitless attempt to persuade the Minister to withdraw his opposition. Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, told the conference that it was the intention of the African unions to disaffiliate from TUCSA "in order to save the Council any further embarrassment through our continued association". At the same time, she identified herself with TUCSA's policy of appeasement by declaring her opposition to boycotts "or any other forms of active outside

intervention". (*Garment Worker*, December 1967.)

Few of TUCSA's 13 affiliated African unions followed this lead. The special conference held in Johannesburg, 11—12 December 1967, thereupon decided by 51 votes against 13 to recommend to its affiliates that membership of the Council be confined to registered unions (i. e. to exclude Africans). (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, 17 December 1967.)

A motion to this effect was placed before TUCSA's annual conference at Cape Town in April 1968 — and was rejected 123,566 votes against 32,871. That seems a courageous and welcome decision — and calls for explanation.

Retaining the Image

The desire to retain TUCSA's image as an open, multi-racial and fully representative organization undoubtedly played a part. W. G. Lawrence of the British TUC, who attended the Conference as the ICFTU observer, underlined the point when he said that if the resolution had not been defeated, it would have caused "considerable adverse reaction from international labour organizations". J. R. Altman, of the National Union for Distributive Workers, said that TUCSA would be "finished" internationally if it decided to discontinue African affiliations.

Another and more important consideration was stated by T. P. Murray, the retiring President. He spoke about the "perturbing rise in African employment in industry", and added: "If we don't take the African with us, he will go it alone. We have seen it in the rest of Africa and must not allow it to happen here."

Mrs C. du Preez of the National Union of Tobacco Workers took up the same stand. If Africans were alienated from TUCSA, she said, "they would go to others who would use them to meet their own political ends. (*Cape Times*, 25 April 1968.)

The dominant section of TUCSA recognises the growing power of Africans in industry, fears it, and wishes to harness it. There is no essential difference between TUCSA's aims and those of the White Supremacy regime. If they disagree, they do so only as to method.

Unskilled railway workers, who constantly live below the poverty datum line. Besides wages being kept criminally low as part of government policy, South Africa operates a Job Reservation system which prevents Africans taking better jobs purely on the basis of their skin colour. These policies of a fascist regime are, in practice, endorsed by the white trade union bodies in South Africa.



LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Are African Workers Exploited?

In a curious article in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* recently, Anthony Davenport "examined" the question of whether African workers in South Africa are exploited. He said:—

"The vital question which should trouble the mind of South Africa's business community is whether industrialists are guilty of exploiting cheap African labour. The answer, however, is not easy to find. It is not unusual for the nation's critics to make accusations of exploitation, but such allegations are often based more on political emotions than on statistical facts."

He then proceeds to give some statistical facts but remains unconvinced that exploitation does in fact occur at all! "The average African workers employed in South Africa's leading sector, the manufacturing sector, received a wage of R 44 (£ 25) a month last year. The earning of the average white worker in the same sector was R 238 (£ 140) a month. The White wage was thus more than five times greater than the African wage."

He goes on to explain that "the African wage has increased quite substantially in recent years. From R 26 (£ 15) a month in 1957, it has risen by some 70% in terms of money earnings over the past ten years. The cost-of-living index in South Africa has increased by about 27% during the past ten years. This means that the average African wage in the manufacturing sector has risen by approximately 36% in real terms since 1957."

After stating once more that it is statistically impossible to know whether any group of workers is being exploited through the payment of low wages, Mr Davenport goes on to give more statistics.

"The minimum budget for the average African family living in Soweto, Johannesburg, was estimated at R 53.32 (£ 31) a month by the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality last year. It can be seen that the minimum family budget in 1967 was considerably higher than the earn-

ings of the average African worker employed in the manufacturing sector.

The average family income for Soweto has not been published by the Non-European Affairs Department in respect of 1967, but the estimated proportion of African families with monthly earnings below the minimum budget was given as 68%. A claim which is not entirely devoid of truth (*sic*) is that many Africans in industry are denied the opportunity of increasing their earnings due to the barrier of job reservation... African workers are not legally permitted to form their own trade unions within the framework of the Industrial Conciliation Act."

He ends up by saying: "I have not answered the question concerning the supposed exploitation of African workers for the reason that the question cannot be honestly answered without specific productivity statistics, which are not available!"

Mother Coloured — Children Indian

"In July, the Group Areas descended on my husband and I early one morning. We were living in an area which had been declared 'White', and would have to get out. Because my husband was Indian we were forced to move to Lenasia, the Indian group area some 20 miles out of the centre of Johannesburg. "We had been living in our new home for about eight months when my husband died as a result of a car smash. Being a good citizen of the Republic of South Africa, I duly informed the Department of Community Development whose job it is to house people. It was necessary for me to do this because we were buying the house on the instalment plan and since my husband was dead, transfer of the house would have to be on my name.

"I was informed by the Department however, that as a Malay I was not legally entitled to occupy premises in an Indian area and would have to move out to a Coloured area.

"Having no wish to uproot myself and my seven children yet again, I asked to be allowed to stay. They agreed — on condition that I seek re-classification

as an Indian. This means that I would have to hold an Indian identity card and if I wished to travel to provinces other than the one in which I am permanently resident, I would have to apply for a permit.

"I then asked about the children. I was told by the Department of the Interior, which deals with identity cards, classification etc, that by law the children must take their father's race, i. e. Indian, and under no circumstances could they be re-classified Malay.

What this all means in cold, hard facts is that I am a criminal — because I am still in the house in Lenasia, living with my Indian children. If I decided to move to a Coloured area, my children would not be allowed to live with me and nor would they be allowed to attend a Coloured school."

— From a letter received by Sechaba

Shattering Families

On the occasion of Family Day, the Johannesburg *Star* looked at the position of families in South Africa.

"If a sound and happy family life is the basis of all stable communities, then we have little to be joyous about in South Africa. Our record for happy families is a sad one.

"The divorce rate (among Whites) here is among the highest in the world. Time and again children are torn from a mother or a father. The accident rate on our roads does more to break up homes in South Africa than anywhere else. The children of parents who died in mangled wrecks on the highways join those of the divorced in many orphanages.

"To add to all this, we have our own specialized way of shattering families. We have "influx control", which means that thousands upon thousands of African families are kept apart forever. What stable life they may have had is being destroyed by the carefully planned and cold-blooded execution of a Government's decree. Wives are separated from husbands, children are ordered away for "resettlement in the homelands", aged people after a lifetime



of work are endorsed out and sent where they are unknown or unwanted. The human and personal suffering is sickening and the eventual effect this will have on the society in which we live cannot be measured."

Indian Yes-Men

The sacking of Mr A. S. Kajee, regarded as the doyen of Indian stooges in South Africa, from the new 25-man Indian Council, has evoked considerable comment from South Africans of all shades of opinion.

The White "opposition" United Party's MP for Port Natal, Mr Eric Winchester, said: "That Mr Kajee could be dropped from this new Council *which is hand-picked by the Government*, illustrates only too well the fears expressed in Parliament, that by appointing its members the Government would kill any idea of an effective Council. Over the head of every member now hangs the sword of Damocles. They may just as easily be dropped if they voice views that the Government does not wish to hear."

Mr Kajee said the only reason he could think of for being dropped was that he

never failed to impress on the Government the hardships suffered by Indians under the Group Areas Act.

A close associate of Mr Kajee described the move as all the more puzzling because in 1963 *in the face of vociferous opposition from the Indian community*, Mr Kajee held meetings at his house to urge them to co-operate with the authorities in the establishment of the first Indian Council.

"He even risked his life for supporting some Government policies. People hated him so much that they put a bomb in his Alice Street office. The Government seems to have a short memory."

In Johannesburg, the announcement of the names of the new members of the Council caused little excitement, reports a South African newspaper, as leaders of the Indian community regard it as *little more than a tool to carry out Government policy*. "In no way does it represent our hopes and ideals", said one prominent Indian lawyer. "I think I speak for most of my people when I say I don't really care who serves on the Council. They have to be Yes-Men if they want to keep their jobs."

(For the record, members of the new Stooge Council are:

From Durban: B. Rambritch, A. M. Rajab, P. R. Pather, M. E. Sultan, A. G. Khan, H. Naran. *Capetown:* C. C. Pal-sanian & G. M. Patel. *Pietermaritzburg:* G. M. Singh & S. R. B. Naidoo. *Lenasia:* N. Phillips & N. Govender. J. N. Reddy (*Chattsworth*). R. Bhana (*Port Elizabeth*). H. Bodasing, K. P. Desai & E. M. Moola (*Stanger*). Y. S. Chinsamy (*Verulam*). S. Collakpoon (*Germiston*). M. D. Coovadia (*Bethal*). R. A. Govender (*Umzinto*). A. Ismail (*Potgietersrust*). H. E. Joosub (*Pretoria*). A. I. Kajee (*Est-court*). I. H. F. Mayet (*Johannesburg*).

Sins of the Fathers

The traditional last kiss which a bride's father plants on her cheek in church as he gives her away in marriage, has been denounced as "un-Afrikaans, alien and unnatural" by a leading Dutch Reformed Church man, the Rev. Johan Dreyer, who is Editor of the Hervormde Kerk's official organ "Die Hervormer". He reminds couples who have married in this way that they have sinned unwittingly, but asks that they should take care that their children marry better one day. •

REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

Radio South Africa (RSA) in its external services now makes a regular point of hurling abuse at African leaders. To some extent this is a manifestation of the brutal arrogance with which White South Africa dominates every sphere of life and contact with Africans inside South Africa. The only Africans upon whom this foul treatment is not imposed both inside South Africa and abroad are those who allow themselves to be used as puppets in support of the wicked apartheid regime.

Recently when President Dr Kaunda of Zambia returned from a triumphant overseas tour, the South African Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha had the effrontery to advise Zambia on the art of choosing friends and the practice of co-operation between neighbouring States. Dr Kaunda rapped the Vorster regime over the knuckles for this hypocrisy and challenged them to make friends with Sobukwe and Mandela who are unjustly held on the Robben Island prison.

VILE RADIO PROPA- GANDA

A few months ago, RSA was mischief-making again. This time they distorted the speech of the Zambian representative at the UN, Mr Mwaanga. They all but described Dr Kaunda in malicious disrespectful terms, casting aspersions on his integrity regarding statements he has made on Freedom Fighters.

Tambo Attacked

Now the full blast of this campaign of mendacity and vilification by radio has

been directed at Mr O. R. Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress of South Africa. On 30 July in its 6pm broadcast, apart from describing Mr Tambo as an avowed Communist, there was nothing new in the fascist propaganda of RSA. One might ask whether Tambo's leadership of a national struggle for the establishment of a democratic non-racial State in South Africa constitutes communism. Whenever South Africa raves about Communism, she is ideologically appealing to the Western imperialist countries and their allies everywhere in the world to rally to the defence of the fascist apartheid regime in power in South Africa. Apartheid is so bankrupt politically, morally, socially and economically that to justify its continued imposition on the majority of the South African people can only be done by naked force and violence accompanied by a barrage of anti-communist propaganda.

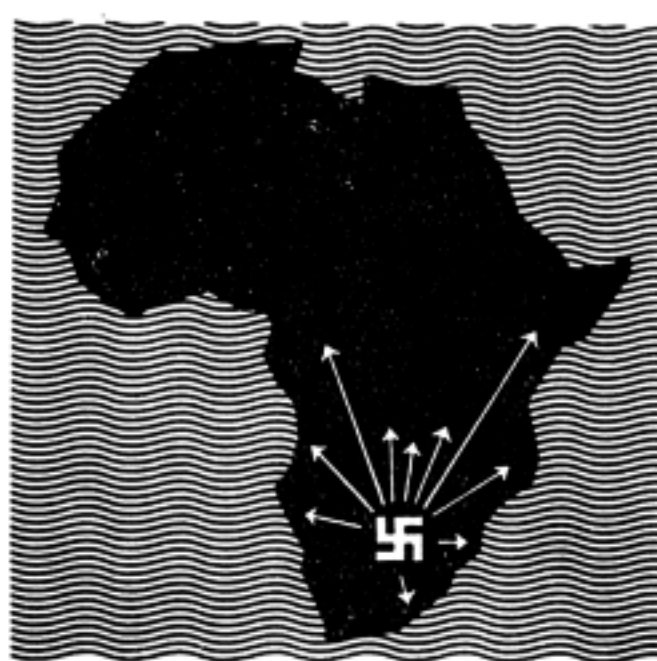
In this situation all opponents of apartheid are deemed communists. South Africa cannot deny the unmitigated terror by which our people are suppressed. In the Transkei as from 1960 there is a State of Emergency in force under the provisions of Proclamation 400. Settled Indian communities are removed by force from businesses and homes which they have occupied for many generations. They are thus economically ruined and rendered destitute through the implementation of the cruel Group Areas Act.

Onus of Proof

There are dozens of prisoners detained in jail under the 180-Day No-Trial Law which can be renewed and re-imposed as soon as each period of detention is over until the prisoner makes a "confession". There is no redress in the courts of law to this assault on individual elementary civil liberties because recourse to the judiciary is prohibited.

The Criminal Procedures Act has been amended in South Africa to place the onus of proof upon the arrested person who is required to establish his innocence. Every arrested person is thus assumed guilty until he can prove his innocence.

A special law enables the fascist South African regime to keep a prisoner in jail even after he has completed his



sentence. That is how Robert Sobukwe is for years now still being imprisoned on Robben Island. All these violations of fundamental human rights by the Vorster regime are well-known. The International Commission of Jurists after an exhaustive analysis of the apartheid laws of South Africa unequivocally described South Africa as a Police State.

Unless South Africa heeds the serious warnings of such eminent statesmen as Dr Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Emperor Haile Sellassie and others, the internal mass resistance that now confronts her in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa will grow into a mighty unextinguishable fire. There is still time to hearken to the wise words of African leaders, and the fascist White minority regime will be well-advised to take the initiative to do so.

SECHABA BURNED

At a public meeting the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, burnt his copy of SECHABA, the official monthly organ of the ANC of South Africa. The Sunday Express of South Africa reported that the Lesotho Premier said Sechaba was the "most notorious" of Communist literature that entered his country. The Lesotho Government is considering the introduction of legislation to ban the distribution and circulation of our journal in Lesotho. Chief Leabua Jonathan finally called on his followers to burn their copies of Sechaba.

It is indeed regrettable that Chief Jonathan should stoop so low as to commit the scandalous act of burning a publication that fights for the liberation of the oppressed people in South Africa. Sechaba is not a Communist organ and never has been. The farce of burning ideas is a monstrous medieval and latterly Nazi practice which only led to the intensification of suffering humanity.

Chief Leabua Jonathan would be better advised to desist from actions that will earn his country the approbrium of the whole of progressive mankind.

We know that the Vorster regime has been violently shaken by the progress of the armed ZAPU-ANC guerilla war against the combined fascist troops of Rhodesia and South Africa. Hence the pressure of Pretoria on its puppets to condemn the Freedom Fighters.

At 1pm on 2 August 1968, Radio South Africa broadcast the news of fund raising for the "Rhodesian Security Forces" by another stooge, a Mr Solomon Siko. Mr Siko is reported to have said that "if the terrorists could infiltrate into the Republic, the Bantu people will have no homes and no freedom". Mr Siko is the Secretary of a government-controlled body called the Urban Bantu Council of Kroonstad.

The Germiston City Council in the Transvaal has also raised R1,000 (£580) for Rhodesian and R 1,000 for Portuguese soldiers fighting the African guerillas.

Finally a Society for Southern Africa has been formed by the Whites to collect funds to fight against African liberation forces throughout Southern Africa.

In view of the gravity of the situation, we call upon Chief Leabua Jonathan, Mr Siko and any others of their ilk not to dance to the baton wielded by the Vorster regime. Let the White oppressors do their own dirty work. Help the African guerilla units to free our people. There is no future for apartheid, White domination or Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The oppressed African people will take back their sacred birthright whatever the oppressors do.

FRONTLINE NEWS

The Rhodesian fascist military command supported by South African military forces, has been compelled to admit that the ZAPU-ANC forces are presently engaging enemy troops on many fronts.

The panic-stricken regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) had to call up Territorial Reserve units and jet bombers firing rockets.

The use of jet bombers and rocket-fire follows the complete paralysis suffered by the White fascist ground forces after two of their platoons were routed and many casualties inflicted on them by our militants in the fighting zones. The new wave of ZAPU-ANC attacks on the white racist detachments have caused general panic among the whites in Rhodesia and South Africa. Lardner-Burke, so-called Minister of Justice in the Smith regime, has appealed not only for the extension of the State of Emergency regulations in Rhodesia but also openly asked for our guerilla forces not to carry on the liberation struggle.

ENEMY LOSSES SECRET

The enemy losses have been so heavy that Lt General Keevy, S. A. Commissioner of Police, refused to give details of casualties. The Rhodesian and South African racists are now faced with the ugly reality that the white widows of soldiers killed in fighting are increasing, and so is the impatience of the white population over the tactics of the authorities who have been conducting secret funerals and thus denying the dead white soldiers correct military funerals.

The current wave of fighting is taking place in many parts of Zimbabwe. Fierce pitched battles have been raging particularly in an area one hundred and forty miles north of Bulawayo.

In their usual desperation and callousness the enemy has bombed African villages and they count civilian dead as guerillas. This is a vain attempt by the enemy to intimidate the African population, hoping to prevent them from supporting the struggle.

VORSTER-SMITH MEETING

On 22 July, Ian Smith convened a secret emergency meeting of certain Chiefs for the purpose of soliciting support in his fight against the ever-increasing involvement of local rural people in guerilla action in Zimbabwe.

At the end of July, Smith and his Minister of Law and Order, on the pretext of watching a rugby match in South Africa, held talks with Vorster. This continued in August, with over 5,000 South African soldiers and airmen participating in major "guerilla war" manoeuvres.

These operations, spread over nine days, were carried out by assault troops backed by six squadrons of supersonic Mirage strike-aircraft, helicopters, and transport, and was held in the Northern Transvaal.

FEAR UNDERLINES BRAVE WORDS

The growing fear among the white population in South Africa seeps through all the brave talk one sees in the South African press. Typical press comment on the death of a South African policeman in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was the following in the Johannesburg Sunday Express:—

"South Africa this week mourned the death of a policeman in the anti-guerilla fighting in Rhodesia.

"He was the first South African casualty. Unfortunately he will not be the last.

"What we have been seeing is the continuation of a guerilla campaign aimed at South Africa itself.

"The terrorists are trying to get through Rhodesia to the Republic.

"The Republic is committed to helping the Rhodesians to contain and destroy the guerillas.

"In a very real sense, therefore, South Africa's frontier is now the Zambesi.

"If these outer defences are breached, the terrorists will reach the borders of the Republic.

"Therefore, it is in South Africa's interests that the terrorists be kept as far away as possible . . .

DEFEATED, BUT . . .

"At this moment, if reports are true, there are 2,500 guerillas massing in the camps in Zambia.

"They will attack.

"They will be defeated.

"BUT THAT WILL NOT BE THE END OF THE MATTER.

"THE GUERILLA WARFARE WILL CONTINUE, WITH GROWING SERIOUSNESS.

"...an assessment of the situation may be the chief reason for Mr Smith's visit to Pretoria . . .

"We can be sure of this:

"Each wave of guerillas, defeated though they may be, will be followed in time by a new wave.

"Each time the guerillas will be better trained and better armed.

"Each time it will require bigger and more skilled forces to contain them.

'LOYALTY' NEEDED

"... We do know that if the white regimes can maintain the loyalty of their indigenous population, they will have nothing to fear.

"Militarily they are well enough armed and determined. *It is in the political warfare which accompanies guerilla attacks that they are at their weakest.*

"The position is simply this:

"No country has been able to defeat guerillas if the indigenous population is not on the side of the existing forces.

"... To have the support, even if only passive, of the non-Whites in general, the white regimes of Southern

Africa will have to find a political rather than a military solution to South Africa's crisis of colour.

MILITARY EMPHASIS

"Unfortunately, in South Africa the Government seems to be concentrating more on the military side, with measures ranging from the call-up of all youths (*White — Editor*) to the installation of air raid sirens in the major cities.

"IT KNOWS THAT IT MAY HAVE A TOUGH FIGHT ON ITS HANDS, AGAINST GUERRILLAS INITIALLY AND PERHAPS OTHER FORCES LATER.

"But it is doing precious little to win the political battle too.

"As we have already pointed out, it cannot contain guerilla attacks by making concessions to those terrorists and their backers, nor should it attempt to do so. *But it will certainly have to find a way of keeping the non-whites as allies, or potential allies, of the whites.*"

The writer of the above piece makes no suggestions on how the "political battle" could be won by the white regime in South Africa. Yet he wishfully urges his Government to find ways of keeping the non-whites as allies, without making any concessions to the people. How foolish can one be!

Meanwhile, our fighters are showing white South Africa and the world the mettle they are made of. The recent trial in which 32 ANC-ZAPU Freedom Fighters were sentenced to death is a case in point.

32 FREEDOM FIGHTERS SING DEFIANCE

There were unprecedented demonstrations of bravery, defiance and confidence in the future when these Freedom Fighters were sentenced to death for "bringing weapons of war into Rhodesia", in the Salisbury High Court.

As soon as the Judge left the Court, the men sang Freedom Songs and chanted ANC and ZAPU slogans. They were still singing loudly as they shuffled, bare-footed and handcuffed in pairs, down the steps to the cells.

DEFIANT

Many of them addressed the court before the sentences were passed. Some were defiant, some made political speeches, but all were unafraid. "As we stand here, the people are fighting so everyone can enjoy life in Rhodesia", said one. "Harsh sentences and the hanging of our people will not cower us. It will only make us bitter. Whatever happens to me, we shall continue to fight."

WHO DO YOU LISTEN TO?

Another said with a smile: "I welcome the death sentence. I am prepared to sacrifice my life for Zimbabwe... My spirit will continue to fight with the Zimbabwe people." Another guerilla told the judge bitterly: "You don't want to listen to the African. You don't want to listen to the Privy Council. Who are you going to listen to?... When you go to Heaven, you will find us there and we will continue asking you these same questions."



JUDGE TO STAND TRIAL

Another man told the Judge that he would be committing murder if he sentenced them to death. "The Judge is going to stand trial in the future for assisting the illegal regime in trying us."

SMITH SHOULD STAND TRIAL

The accused sat in court with numbers round their necks. Number 15 said simply that he was sorry that he had not accomplished what he had set out to do. Another said it was "Smith and his terrorist government who should be on trial".

One man accused the court of trying to exterminate the black man. "It's exactly like your brother Hitler said, that the black man shall not be left in this world except for his statue."

PLEASED BY SENTENCE

Number 17 started his speech: "I am so pleased that on Friday 9 August 1968, I am going to be told by an illegal regime that I am going to be sentenced to death. My name will be respected in history." He asked for permission to hold a press conference before he died.

The indomitable courage demonstrated by our fighting men is clear evidence, if evidence is still required, of the determination of ZAPU and the ANC to destroy white supremacy in our motherlands. In the face of death our men sing, for they know that the people are with them and the future belongs to freedom and democracy for all in Southern Africa!

Sechaba raises its banner to the 32 men facing death and to all our Freedom Fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa!

Sechaba calls on all freedom-loving peoples to intensify their support for the just struggle of our people for freedom and independence!

Sechaba demands the unconditional release of the 32 men and all others sentenced to death, and warns all those responsible that they will be called upon to answer to the people should they ignore this demand!



In this interview (re-constructed from notes),
LUCIO BARRETO DE LARA
 Member of the Politburo of MPLA
 (Movimento Popular de Liberacao Angola)
 answers questions on

ANGOLA AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Comrade de Lara, what progress has been made by the liberation movement in Angola over recent years? What areas does MPLA now effectively control?

Following the crisis period in 1963 we attempted to reestablish contact with certain internal isolated groups. The first step was to cross the Congo-Kinshasa border. By 1964 two areas were held in Angola but these were without external support and no arms were being sent in. In 1966 however, small detachments which were very well armed and equipped managed to cross the border and get through to this area. This was a most important move in the development of the fight.

It was also necessary to open a new front in the eastern region — and this was achieved in May 1966. In fact 1966 was a very important year for the struggle — from that time the struggle rapidly widened, save for the Cabinda front as our cadres were required to go to the other fronts. Nevertheless even in Cabinda actions took place although these were not spectacular and there were no great developments there.

From 1967 up to the present time we have achieved tremendous and rapid expansion. We are effectively in control of a large area (*See Maps — Editor*) and have a confident programme to enlarge the struggle to the whole of Angola. Our control in these areas is such that food has to be dropped to certain isolated Portuguese troops by air. When garrison personnel is changed they are obliged to travel by certain confined routes only. Our fighting men are now only a matter of 50 kilometres from the centre of the country. In addition we have this year opened a fourth front north of the Benguela railway, which is now being enlarged.

In the third zone we have established a hospital and primary schools at every village where necessary. In Cabinda and the third region we have a centre for revolutionary instruction, where cadres are trained politically and militarily. Here cadres not only learn to read but study the questions of capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, and the struggle for liberation; in other words, complete ideological, political and economic instruction is available. Furthermore there is instruction in the maintenance of arms and such subjects as geography etc.

On the first front, conditions are good but contact remains limited due to the difficult conditions in coming through from Congo-Kinshasa. On the third front however there is little trouble in moving through. On this front we are witnessing an interesting experiment: the population there, totalling more than 100,000 people, have no links now with the Portuguese administration, and supplies must be maintained. It is impossible to help all the people due to lack of money and means. The experiment consists in the following: We get from friendly centres certain basic necessities such as salt, soap and clothing, and these are exchanged with the people in return for food such as manioc and maize for the freedom fighters. As yet we have no figures to demonstrate the success of this system.

In addition, we have captured great numbers of cattle from the Portuguese. Conditions however are not yet ripe for the breeding and raising of herds. People are needed for this task — and many Angolan refugees have been convinced by the development of the struggle to abandon their refugee status in other countries and return to assist us in this region with cattle-farming.

The decision was taken this year to remove our headquarters from Brazzaville and move them inside Angola. This is a consequence of all the other developments. We have always been preparing for this and now it has become possible to realise the conditions to return. The process is not yet completed but many sections of headquarters activity and operations are now conducted from within Angola. This re-installation of headquarters within the country is a great step and indicates the strength of our position. On the international front, this move created good conditions and much support, and led to the solving of problems within the OAU.



1967



The OAU decided to end recognition of Roberto Holden's so-called 'government', the GRAE (Government Revolutionaire Angole Exile). This was an important step in the diplomatic struggle to end recognition of Holden's group, for it is a myth that Holden is fighting. Furthermore, we now obtain great material and moral support from sections who were formerly reserved about MPLA but who are now confident and fully supporting us.

The Portuguese themselves admit that internal conditions are worsening from their point of view. We are fighting almost in the centre of Angola — and the region fronting the third front is the most heavily populated of all. The first front is within 40 to 50 kilometres of Luanda. In their panic, the Portuguese are collaborating closely with South Africa and the regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in an effort to stop further development of the struggle. There is an incident which became public knowledge and which demonstrates this collaboration. A plane with South African troops flew over Angolan territory and gave movement details of guerillas to the Portuguese. They called by radio to the Portuguese command in the area, who were however, because of isolation, unaware of this Portuguese-South African collaboration and complained to the Portuguese authorities of violation of air space!

Your struggle undoubtedly influences the struggle in South Africa. What is the effect on your struggle of the fight which is now unfolding in Zimbabwe and South Africa?

Till now we were alone with FRELIMO in armed struggle, a method of struggle unacceptable to certain people with peace leanings. Sometimes we were accused of going too hastily into armed struggle. These people did not understand the conditions of neo-colonialism. The Smith-Vorster-Salazar clique were working in collaboration against us, but we on our part were far from Mozambique and Frelimo in terms of geographical placement.

With the struggle now in Zimbabwe with the participation of ANC and ZAPU, this may well be a determining factor, because we will be obliged, perhaps sooner than we expect, to have an organized united front to face the collaboration of the fascist neo-colonialist alliance. This might perhaps also include even some parts of the independent countries facing the Unholy Alliance with us. Then there is the question of Zambia. We feel Zambia is today a sensitive point: the racists wish to destroy Zambia because they think that to eliminate Zambia would break up the resistance movements. Therefore Zambia needs support, and not only from the peace-loving countries of the world. We too must also support Zambia effectively. If we are able to stop white mercenaries before they even get a chance to attack Zambia, we will be doing a great service to that country.

On the international front, there seems to be a deliberate blackout of news about the Angolan struggle. What is MPLA doing to rally international solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people?

Naturally we are getting much support from many countries. Firstly some African countries, risking reprisals from the Portuguese colonialists, are granting us the possibility to carry out work in, and gain passage through, their countries. This support is very important. Then we have the support of the OAU through the Liberation Committee. This is a great help to us, and although it is not as yet sufficient, it expresses the will and engagement of African countries to help completely in the liberation struggle.

The socialist countries are helping greatly with material and moral support. There is also the solidarity of many international organizations such as trade unions etc, which offer great moral support and some little material help. We feel however that all this worthy support can be further improved, and we try to mobilize more and more forces throughout the world to support our struggle.

We are in the process of sending delegations to various countries to explain Angolan developments over the past two years, and we always obtain a good understanding. We are confident that as our struggle develops, so we will attract more and more support.

What message have you for the democratic people of the world regarding the future of Angola and Southern Africa?

I am optimistic, but my optimism does not allow me to think that the struggle will be won very soon. The struggle will be long, hard, because we need, firstly, integration of all our peoples in the struggle — South Africa, Zimbabwe, Moambique and Angola. Also we need effectively to mobilize the progressive forces in the world and all forces loving liberty, to stop the dangerous threat of the South Africa-Portugal-Rhodesia alliance.

We are confident because we have seen, in the seven years of armed struggle we have experienced, that the people will continue fighting until they are victorious. In spite of all difficulties and dangers coming from the Southern African fascist bloc, we know that the people will go ahead and win.



THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Second of Three Articles by DUMA NOKWE,
Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa

Part Two. Rise of the National Liberation Movement

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

It is significant that the year 1880 which saw the defeat of African military resistance in the country (though this flared up again briefly in the so-called Bambata Rebellion of 1906) also saw the birth of the first African political organization — the *Imbumba yama Afrika* (Union of Africans) in the Eastern Cape. Then, in 1884, an African newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, was established under the editorship of J. T. Jabavu. These pioneer efforts were followed by others in other parts of the country, and were paralleled by a trend among the African churches to break away from the missionaries and establish themselves independently.

The pioneer political organizations from the four British colonies — Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State — met to oppose the proposed Act of Union, drawn up by the all-white National Convention in 1909, which proposed that Britain should hand over political power in the entire area not to the people of the country, but to the privileged white minority alone.

The meeting, led by the three African newspaper editors, the Rev Walter Rubusana, J. T. Jabavu and the Rev John Dube, demanded “full and equal rights” for all in the new Union. A deputation was sent to London to petition the British Parliament to reject the proposal for an all-white South African Government: but their demand fell on deaf ears. Opposed only by the small Labour group led by Keir Hardie, the British Parliament duly passed the “*South Africa Act of 1910*” — which provided for a Parliament of whites only, elected almost exclusively by whites. That British Act of Parliament, with some modifications, is basically the same as the present Constitution of the fascist Republic of South Africa.

Need For Unity — A.N.C. Founded

This situation faced the Africans of all parts of the country with an urgent need for unity. After two years of hard preparatory work by Pixley Ka Izaka Seme and other overseas-trained professional men, the founding conference of the African National Congress (at first called in English the ‘Native National Congress’) opened in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912. Many Chiefs, African clergy, teachers and people from all walks of life participated in this conference. The very nature of the Conference was full of dynamic and

revolutionary potential. Its purpose was, in the words of Seme’s opening address, to “*find ways and means of forming one national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges*”.

The Rev J. L. Dube was elected first President of Congress, with S. T. Plaatje as Secretary-General.

1913 Land Act — Mines and Farmers

From its inception the new organization was faced with a struggle of immense importance to the future of the African people: the fight against the *Native Land Act of 1913* — that profoundly illuminating expression of the class interests of the united front of imperialist mine-owners and rich farmers who dominated the newly-formed Union of South Africa. They had their own inner differences; but they had an insatiable appetite for cheap labour and African land. The 1913 Land Act expressed their common drive to satisfy these appetites at the expense of the African people.

The Chamber of Mines, representing all the goldmine owners, had complained of lack of labour supplies. As early as 1903 a Government Commission on this question reported that “*the scarcity of native labour is due first and foremost to the fact that the African native tribes are, for the most part, primitive pastoral or agricultural communities who possess exceptional facilities for the regular and full supply of their needs... The subject of food supplies is thus intimately bound up with the fact that African natives are in possession or occupation of large areas of land... No considerable change can reasonably be expected in their industrial habits until a great modification of these conditions has been brought about.*” The Commission therefore recommended “*legislation modifying the Native Land Tenure system*”, and also “*that the entire native social system should be attacked with the object of modifying or destroying it*”.

In other words, to force the African to work on the mines it was essential to alienate him from the land and destroy the fabric of his social and economic systems.

The 1913 Land Act went far to satisfy these demands of the mining monopolists. It made it illegal for Africans to own or occupy land outside the overcrowded rural areas designated as “*Native Reserves*” (now re-christened by the Nationalist Government as “*Bantu Homelands*”) comprising less than 13% of the country.

This law created untold misery for the African people. Tens of thousands of families, unwilling to work as agricultural labourers for white farmers or unwanted by them, were

suddenly turned adrift on the roads: a whole nation turned suddenly into a landless proletariat, wanderers and "foreigners" in the land of their ancestors.

Early ANC Campaigns – First World War

The African National Congress campaigned vigorously up and down the country against this vicious law, winning widespread popular response.

A substantial sum of money was collected from the ordinary people to send yet another deputation to London, for the British had retained powers to veto certain types of legislation affecting Africans (a sop to Labour and Liberal opinion). But once again, the deputation was unsuccessful; the mine-owners were far more influential than the liberals and, in any case, most of the shares in the Witwatersrand mines were held by British monopolists and financiers. Other, more pressing problems faced British imperialism: it was the eve of the first world war.

Despite all their disappointing experiences, the African National Congress leadership at that time continued to insist that the British Government should rectify its betrayal of the African people.

On the eve of the first world war, in 1913, Congress campaigned against the Land Act. In the same year, Congress women in the Orange Free State conducted a militant struggle against the extension of pass laws to women.

The war temporarily interrupted mass activities. At the end of 1917, under the impetus of the economic crisis arising from the war, which hit the African workers hardest of all, further steps forward in militancy and organization were taken. One of the great world factors which also, directly and indirectly, played a most important part, was the worldwide wave of revolutionary feeling evoked by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

ANC Warns Botha. 1918 Miners Strike

It was at the same time as the first ten days of the Revolution in Russia that members of the executive of the African National Congress met South Africa's Prime Minister Botha and Sir Jacobus Graaff to protest against the proposed *Native Administration Bill*. The interview took place on 15 November 1917. Those representing the African National Congress included such famous men as S. M. Makgatho, H. N. V. Msane, D. S. Letanka, Alfred Mangdina and L. T. Mvabaza. During the interview, General Botha warned the leaders of the African people against the International Socialists who were then advocating a strike against the Native Administration Bill. The President of the African National Congress, S. M. Makgatho, informed General Botha that if the Bill were proceeded with there would be a General Strike. The Bill was withdrawn and it was ten years before the ruling class felt strong enough to pass it.

In March 1918, one of the greatest strikes in South African history broke out when 100,000 African workers on the mines refused to work until their demands for higher wages were met.

In 1919, a renewed African National Congress campaign against Pass Laws broke out in both the Free State and the

Transvaal. On the Rand, a mass movement of defiance and strikes broke out; over 700 Congress supporters were arrested.

Swing to the Left

For a number of years, vigilant and militant struggles were conducted by the *Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union* (ICU), which had then emerged. We shall deal with this organization later. At the same time the *Communist Party* of South Africa was established.

But though the African National Congress went through a period of recess in the twenties, it never ceased to function. It represented profound forces of national unity and aspirations among the people, and contained within it not only conservative forces but also the revolutionary representatives of the working masses and youth.

At the 1927 National Conference of the African National Congress there was, writes Mary Benson, "a sharp swing to the left". The new President, James Gumede, was sent to attend the militant conference of the *League Against Imperialism*. The Soviet Delegation invited him to tour the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He "had in South Africa been subjected to the usual humiliations". He now found himself feted "as though I was the Prime Minister of the Union", and visited Asiatic parts where he saw that non-Europeans, some as dark as himself, enjoyed the same political and social rights as the whites. Back in Cape Town in January 1928, he told a crowded reception in his honour that he had come from "the new Jerusalem"; Russia was a land of equality and freedom raised from serfdom. "Your land and yourselves", he told South Africans, "are held in bondage. You must redeem your heritage.")

ANC Approach Determined By Situation

The methods of struggle and the tactics of the ANC have always been determined by the concrete situation in which it had to lead the people.

From its inception and throughout its whole history, the ANC rejected race domination and white minority government. It has always stood for pan-African unity. It participated in the very first *Pan-Africa Congress*.

To arouse the political consciousness of the African people in South Africa, the ANC has since its inception adopted its own independent national anthem which basically expresses and calls for African Unity. It has also had its own flag around which it rallied the masses of the people in South Africa, as opposed to the flag of the ruling group.

In addition to the task of uniting the African people, the African National Congress has sought for and participated in the unity of all the non-white peoples in South Africa and all persons of whatever colour, creed and ideology who believed in and believe in the destruction of racism in South Africa.

One of the greatest achievements of the liberation movement in South Africa was the establishment of the Congress Alliance. It is necessary to proceed now to consider the evolution of the fraternal movements that together with the African National Congress belong to the Alliance.

(continued overleaf)

THE COLOURED PEOPLE

Centred mainly in the Western Cape, the large Coloured community forms a distinct national group in South Africa. Of mixed descent, they speak European languages (English or Afrikaans) but, because of their skin colour, they are denied practically all citizenship rights.

African People's Organization

One of the earliest political organizations in South Africa was the *African Peoples Organization* (APO) formed by the Coloured people in the Cape in 1902. Dr A. Abdurahman, a member of the Cape Town City Council, was elected President in 1905, and continued for many years to head this organization. The late South African historian, Lionel Forman, considered Abdurahman "*one of the giants of the liberation movement. After Gandhi, he stands out among the men of the early years of this century. It is utterly shameful that no one has yet written his biography.*"²)

Certainly in its early years, the APO was a militant organization, favouring a united front with the African people and workers' unity for the eventual achievement of socialism. What undermined the APO, however, was the fatal tendency towards alliance with the white bourgeois *South African Party* (now the *United Party*), the party of Smuts and the Chamber of Mines. No doubt E. Roux overstates the case and overlooks the many achievements of the APO in building Coloured unity when there were no other organizations to do so. But there is some justice in his statement that:

*"For over thirty years the APO dominated Coloured politics and, except during the brief period when the Bond existed, it was the only political organization of any importance among the Coloured people. It could be relied upon always to support the SAP and was considered by its critics as little more than a Coloured branch of that organization."*³)

The virtual collapse of the APO with the death of Dr Abdurahman in 1940, left a gap in the political life of the Coloured people which was not to be adequately filled for many years. Efforts to found new bodies such as the *National Liberation League* under the leadership of Dr Abdurahman's daughter, Mrs A. Gool, enjoyed important but only temporary success.

S. A. Coloured People's Congress

A new revival of militancy and consciousness took place with the establishment of the *South African Coloured People's Congress*, closely allied with the ANC and sharing its common programme — the *Freedom Charter*.

Under the leadership of the CPC, the Coloured people have entered the political field as a formidable force. Mass Coloured participation in the general strikes of the 50s and early 60s shook the South African ruling classes who had previously held the delusion that the Coloured community could be relied on as an ally against the "black revolution".

As with the other organizations of the *Congress Alliance*, the CPC has suffered heavy casualties in the period of fascist repression since 1960.

Many of its foremost leaders have been jailed, banned or forced into exile. With public activity virtually precluded by police terror, the CPC is compelled to work mainly underground, but it retains the warm support of the majority of the Coloured population.

INDIAN CONGRESS

In 1860, the white sugar-planters of Natal made an agreement with the British Government of India to import from that country indentured labourers to work on the plantations. After their terms of indenture were over, many of the Indian labourers elected to remain in South Africa and by the 1890s numbered about 80,000 in Natal (compared then with 40,000 Whites).

Gandhi in South Africa — Mass Strike

But the whites both in Natal and the Transvaal discriminated viciously against the Indian people. A young Indian lawyer, M. K. Gandhi, had come to Natal in 1893, temporarily, so he thought, to conduct a law suit. But, on a visit to Pretoria, he was subjected personally to the sort of insults which, then as now, affect Indians and all persons of colour in South Africa. Returning to Durban, he found the local Indian community in a ferment about the proposed *Indian Disenfranchisement Bill*. They wanted to set up an organization, and they asked the young Gandhi to lead it. This was his first experience of political activity, but he immediately agreed to found the *Natal Indian Congress*. It was not until 1914 that Mahatma Gandhi returned to India to head the national liberation movement of his motherland. The formative years of his political experience were spent in South Africa.

Much influenced by the ideas of Tolstoy and other humanist thinkers, Gandhi led a number of famous passive resistance struggles both in Natal and in the Transvaal, where the *Transvaal Indian Congress* was formed, and which joined the NIC in the *South African Indian Congress* (SAIC). One of the greatest of these campaigns began in the Transvaal in 1906, against a Smuts measure requiring Indians to carry passes. The Indians defied en masse; thousands were arrested, and the campaign, in many forms, carried on for many years. An attempt to meet this resistance by deporting Indians from the Transvaal to Natal was countered by a mass march of Indian defiers across the border in 1913.

In sympathy, and in protest against a discriminatory poll tax, a mass strike took place among the Indian coal miners of Newcastle and among other workers. The strikers joined the march to the Transvaal. Against a world-wide storm of protest and solidarity with the Indians, the South African government was forced to retreat and to withdraw a number of the discriminatory measures it had imposed against the Indians.

Leadership Vacuum — Negative Features

With the departure of Mahatma Gandhi for India in 1914, a leadership vacuum was left in the Indian Congress which was not filled for decades.

Moreover, while tribute must be paid to the many positive and inspired features of Gandhi's leadership, it must be noted that it had its negative side as well. He concentrated solely on the justified grievances of the Indian community, but had little to say, at that time, about the even more grievous disabilities of the oppressed Africans, the great majority of the population.

After his departure, the leadership of the SAIC was taken over by representatives of the Indian commercial bourgeoisie, bent on negotiating with the authorities for minor concessions for their class, with little regard for the ever-deepening difficulties of the Indian workers and none at all for those of the African masses.

Dadoo and Naicker — Militant Take-Over

It was not until the advent, in the early forties, of the militant and radical group headed by Dr Y. M. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr G. M. Naicker in Natal, that a completely new orientation took place in the SAIC. They boldly challenged the "go-it-alone" policy of the bourgeois leaders and proposed that a revolutionary alliance be formed of all oppressed people on the principle of equal rights and opportunities for all. This challenging policy won the enthusiastic support of the Indian people who, after a difficult internal struggle, removed the reactionaries from office.

Immediately a new round of passive resistance struggles was begun by the SAIC, as thousands of courageous volunteers, headed by their leaders, defied the new segregation laws and were sent to jail.

1946 — The Famous ANC-SAIC Pact

On 9 March 1946, Dr Xuma (then President of the ANC), Dr Naicker for the NIC, and Dr Dadoo for the TIC, signed the famous 'Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Agreement', for the Congresses to work together for full franchise rights and equal opportunities for all.

This was the forerunner of the great *Congress Alliance* which developed in South Africa.

Since then, the SAIC has been a firm and unswerving partner in all the great campaigns of the liberation movement. One of the first achievements of the ANC-SAIC Alliance was the *Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws* (1952), in the course of which over 10,000 disciplined Congress members were jailed for deliberately flouting apartheid legislation. The Campaign was a landmark in Congress history, winning for the movement greater mass support than it had ever had before. This had an historic and indelible impact on the struggle for national liberation. As Nelson Mandela has pointed out, the Defiance Campaign had far-reaching effects at home and abroad:—

"...It pricked the conscience of the European public which became aware in a much more clear manner of the sufferings and disabilities of the African people. It led directly to the formation of the Congress of Democrats. It also influenced the formation of the Liberal Party. It also led to discussions on the policies of apartheid at the United Nations; and I think to that extent it was an outstanding success."*)

WHITE DEMOCRATS

A prevailing atmosphere of intense white chauvinism dominates official politics in South Africa. The ruling *Nationalist Party* differs only in degree from the "opposition" *United Party*, which also upholds white domination, segregation, police terror and fascist legislation and all other main aspects of government policy. Between them, these two parties hold all the seats in the whites-only Parliament — with one exception. This is the solitary seat held by Mrs Suzman of the *Progressive Party*. It is only against the background of South African politics that this party deserves the name 'Progressive'. For, though Mr. Suzman takes a courageous stand in opposing many aspects of government despotism and injustice, her Party advocates a modified franchise for non-whites which would leave political power firmly in the hands of the white minority.

Against such a background, considerable credit is due to that courageous band of white men and women of principle, some of them Communists like Bram Fischer, others earnest Christians like Bishop Huddleston, who have come out unequivocally for the Congress stand of complete democracy in every field.

Congress of Democrats

In 1953, following the Defiance Campaign, a number of white South Africans approached the ANC to find out in what way they could help the movement. As a result the ANC called a crowded meeting in Johannesburg at which the then Secretary-General, Oliver Tambo, suggested that an organization be formed whose main task would be to campaign amongst the white minority, against racialism and in support of the Congress policy of equal rights.

The result was the establishment of the *Congress of Democrats*, whose first President was Abraham Fischer (son of a notable Boer Republican family), which played a full and honourable part in the Congress Alliance. It took part in the *Congress of the People* and fully endorsed the *Freedom Charter*. It was outlawed in 1962; many of its former leaders and members are in prison today, or have been placed under house arrest, banned and exiled.

NEXT ISSUE: CONCLUDING SECTION

In the third and final article in this series, Duma Nokwe writes on the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions, the Communist Party, the Freedom Charter, and the course of events which is leading us today towards FREEDOM.

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ADDRESSES

Sechaba may be obtained from these bookshops addresses and ANC offices.

TANZANIA African National Congress of South Africa, P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam.

TANZANIA African Bookshop, P.O. Box 20837, Dar es Salaam.

ZAMBIA African National Congress of South Africa, P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka

ALGERIA African National Congress of South Africa, 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers.

U.A.R. African National Congress of South Africa, 5 Ahmad Hishmat Street, Zamalek, Cairo.

INDIA African National Congress of South Africa, A 66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3.

ENGLAND African National Congress, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.

ENGLAND Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road, London W.C. 2.

IRELAND Anti-Apartheid Movement, 173 Barton Road East, Dundrum, Dublin 14.

HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Leidsestraat 25, Amsterdam.

HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Hoogstraat 143, Rotterdam.

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The Fascist Alliance

"West Germany has been receiving uranium ore from South Africa since 1958. In return the West German atomic company Degussa in 1958 assured Pretoria of the supply of enriched fissionable material for the production of nuclear fuels and atomic bombs. In 1961 an official agreement on military and atomic co-operation was concluded between Bonn and Pretoria, i.e. on the joint production of nuclear material for atomic bombs in South Africa. The agreement was specified in 1963. At the beginning of 1967 Bonn bought one thousand tons of South African uranium concentrates. South Africa is the biggest supplier of uranium to West Germany."

— A.D.N. Report.

We are somewhat surprised that certain White circles in South Africa, among the Jewish community in particular, are disturbed at the appointment of a former Nazi SS Officer as West Germany's Ambassador to South Africa. This is not the first former Nazi to be so appointed nor for that matter is the presence of former Nazis in South Africa confined to the diplomatic corps. Our astonishment arises from the fact that the very people who demur at the presence of a single Nazi functionary are prepared to support the fascist racist government of South Africa without any qualms.

Gustav Sonnelhol, the newly appointed Ambassador from West Germany, joined the Hitler Youth in 1931, even before the Nazis grabbed power. He rose rapidly to become First Lieutenant of the notorious SS. Throughout the war he served in the Nazi diplomatic corps. Briefly detained after the war, he was released by the Americans and put to work on the Marshall Plan. He has since worked in the Foreign Service. Sonnelhol is but one of a whole army of former Nazis holding high office in West Germany. Former members of the Nazi Party are to be found in both the State and Federal Cabinets and Parliaments; Nazi Generals command not only West German but also NATO forces; even the Federal President was involved in helping to build Nazi concentration camps. What is of interest to us is the

increasing collaboration between West Germany and racist South Africa — a collaboration less well known than it ought to be, for it spells danger not only for liberation movements in Southern Africa but for Africa as a whole.

The association between South Africa and West Germany goes back to the mid-thirties when many members of the Broederbond (secret Boer organization of top Boer Nationalists) studied in Germany and men like Vorster openly sabotaged the war effort. Trade, economic, financial ties between South Africa and West Germany are being tightened and top West German officials like Herman Abs (key financier of Hitler's policies) frequently visit South Africa; H. G. Thorney, a former official of Goebbels's propaganda department, edits 'Afrika Post', a German newspaper in South Africa.

The most dangerous aspect of the collaboration is the military links being forged between the two countries. Military co-operation was formalized in a treaty signed in 1961. Major-General von Mellenthin, a former member of Hitler's General Staff who has been living in South Africa since 1950, an advocate of the Southern Africa Treaty Organization with South Africa at the centre, was a key figure in the formulation of the treaty. West German arms manufacturers have helped South Africa circumvent the arms boycott against her by opening subsidiaries in South Africa to produce all types of arms and poison gases. And West German nuclear know-how has been put at South Africa's disposal.

This co-operation is mutually beneficial for, while South Africa gets the arms it needs, the West German militarists are able to carry out research, manufacture and test weapons which they are prevented from doing in Europe. The danger to world peace in this link-up is obvious. With the fascist racists in South Africa frequently indulging in sabre-rattling against independent African countries, the immediate danger is that South Africa will use these arms in her aggression against independent Africa. Let Africa take note!