

# SECHAB A

OFFICIAL ORGAN  
OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SOUTH AFRICA

## FORWARD FROM WANKIE

Fifteen months ago, the first shots were fired by the combined forces of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) and the ANC (African National Congress of South Africa) in the revolutionary war for the liberation of our respective countries (Zimbabwe and South Africa).

That first fusillade, fired at Wankie, has qualitatively transformed the Southern African political landscape.

Wankie, formerly known only as a small coal mining town, is now synonymous with the Southern Africa guerilla war.

Since then, many other battles have been fought in widely divergent places and, even more important, many more battles have been prepared to wreak havoc against the enemy.

The period between the first Wankie encounter and today has been a very full one. Many changes have been wrought. There has been fresh thinking on many aspects of the Southern Africa situation. There is panic and warmongering in the camp of the racist South; there is serious talk of an even greater unity of the oppressed; the boundaries laid down by colonialism seem to have become somewhat blurred . . .



# FORWARD FROM WANKIE

... Above all, the courage and determination of our gallant Freedom Fighters, their skill in the use of modern weapons, their superiority in the field of guerilla tactics, the victories they have notched — this has reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Southern Africa. There is joy in the hearts of the oppressed. Our soldiers have demonstrated that the enemy is not invincible, that he no more enjoys a monopoly in the use of the most modern weapons. The Peoples Army is now firmly entrenched and there can be but one end: the final destruction of fascist racism in Southern Africa.

## ANC/ZAPU — Alliance of Action

Initial critics of the ZAPU/ANC Alliance are fewer these days. The bond has been sealed by blood and the events of the past 15 months have exposed the political infantilism of those who attacked the alliance in its early stages.

In fact, the ANC/ZAPU Alliance on the field of battle has brought closer together not only our two organizations, but also all other revolutionary organizations in Southern Africa. UNITY has now become a keyword in the dictionary of the genuine revolutionary. In the words of our Acting President-General, O.R. Tambo:—

**“Military alliance is a big word. But it’s not as if we sat down and signed a great big document with clauses and terms. We have had close political relations with ZAPU, and these developed into relations at the military level, until we were in a position to fight together. This close alliance is the first of its kind one can recall in the liberation movement. In no previous instance has there actually been fighting by Freedom Fighters drawn from different territories. Our alliance has been acclaimed by the Organization for African Unity. THE LEVEL AT WHICH WE STARTED IS AN INDICATION OF THE SCALE ON WHICH WE PROPOSE TO TACKLE THE RACIST AND FASCIST REGIMES IN OUR COUNTRIES.”**

## Enemy Propaganda

Our friends and sympathizers are advised not to take heed of enemy propaganda. The enemy has been panicked by the potential of the revolutionary situation and has therefore resorted to a campaign of naked deception. A moment’s reflection will show that the action and behaviour of the enemy belies his words.

Repeatedly we are told that large numbers of 'terrorists' have been killed and captured; that the enemy forces have suffered only minor losses; that the villagers are informing on the Freedom Fighters; that the Fighters are weakened by hunger and starvation; that only a few stragglers from 'terrorist bands' roam the bushes and so on.

Yet the same enemy characterizes our guerillas as determined and skilful, so well trained and disciplined that they carry cloth and oil to clean their weapons; so well organized that they have set up adequately camouflaged base camps with food, equipment and ovens for cooking; such shrewd tacticians that they lay false tracks to ambush the enemy; so evasive that they have spread all over Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), with fighting taking place further south than Salisbury. With the ease with which they claim to have destroyed the 'terrorist groups', why does the enemy have to use helicopters, jets and bombers? Why do Smith and his henchmen have to run back and forth between Salisbury and Pretoria? Why the talk of 'terrorism is here to stay'? Why the threats against Zambia?

The enemy is caught in a cleft stick. On the one hand he must minimize his own losses and exaggerate the losses of the Peoples Army to create an illusion that the Freedom Fighters haven't a chance. On the other hand he has to rally his own forces, because he knows the true situation. His lies are self-defeating.

## Our Security Is Paramount

War by its very nature involves the loss of life. Some of our bravest and most dedicated comrades have made the ultimate sacrifice on the battlefields of Zimbabwe. They knew this would happen and we know it is inevitable, and before victory is finally ours, many many more will have given their lives. This, too, is inevitable.

But, as much as the enemy lies about his own losses, so he lies about casualties he has inflicted. We cannot hope to compete with him in this game of deceit and lies. Nor do we intend to. Ours is a JUST cause and our best weapon is TRUTH.

We cannot, of course, reveal all the details of our plans and preparations and achievements, since security is of paramount importance. There is much going on in Zimbabwe and inside South Africa with which we are very satisfied and which the enemy would dearly love to know. The needs of the struggle preclude more than this passing reference to the berg below the tip. We urge our friends to be vigilant -- don't become sheep-like victims of the enemy's propaganda.

## S. A. Troops in Zimbabwe Since 1966

Let us re-state some fundamental though well-known aspects of the overall situation in Zimbabwe and South Africa in order to emphasize the extent of the impact our fighting men have made, not only inside our respective countries but also internationally.

There are a maze of closely connected factors that govern the general situation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) — some are political, historical and economic, others are military and strategic, yet all dovetail into the predatory imperialist strategy defending its interests in Southern Africa and beyond, at the cost of the people.

Although the present fighting made itself felt from the end of July 1967, the people of Zimbabwe had, since UDI, November 1965, put up strong resistance to the enemy. *It was this vigorous mass opposition to the rebel regime which forced South Africa's regime to send troops to help Smith — and that was in 1966.* The British Government chose to turn a blind eye to this aggressive military intervention by South Africa in the domestic affairs of Rhodesia; the British Crown did not and has not uttered a word on the violation of its sovereign territory by the invading Vorster army.

Troops of the S.A. regime are fighting in Zimbabwe not only to defend Smith but also to maintain and expand their imperialist interests. Indeed, South African troops are now dashing from place to place like a mad bull in the war against the guerillas of Southern Africa. The Vorster regime possesses more weapons and offensive means to wage war than any other African country south of the Sahara. Her annual military expenditure is in the region of £120 million (288 million dollars), and this excludes expenditure on the police, who are the most heavily armed para-military force in Africa.

## Widespread Military Bases

South Africa is an active participant in a complex system of military bases that lie between South West Africa and Angola, South West Africa and Botswana, Botswana and Zambia, South Africa and Rhodesia, Rhodesia and Zambia, Rhodesia and Mozambique (especially Tete Province where the Cabora Bassa Dam is situated) and all along the Zambesi River. What one would call the Zambesi Line is a military fait accompli, and it is heavily guarded by troops of the South African racist regime in conjunction with Portuguese and Smith troops.

## Sanctions Alone Can't Work

In the economic sphere, both Portugal and South Africa have vigorously collaborated to deflate the international pressures exerted by sanctions on the rebel Smith regime. No political changes are apparent from sanctions, and none will ever emerge in Rhodesia from sanctions whatever they may be, because of the role of South Africa and other countries.

## Rhodesia Essential Imperialist Link

The war in Zimbabwe therefore developed against a wide-ranging vortex of internal and external interests determined to maintain White minority dictatorship throughout Southern Africa.

What has to be clearly understood is that Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is not only the gateway to the citadel of fascism — South Africa — but it is now, more than ever before, the most essential link in the entire imperialist strategy of maintaining the Zambesi Frontier as the advance battle-line in defence of colonial interests in Southern Africa.

If this Line were breached it would open the floodgates of revolutionary war on a grand scale everywhere in the White-beleaguered south.

It is not necessary in this short review to analyse in detail the reactions of the imperialist world to the guerilla war in

Zimbabwe. It is a war that is part and parcel of other such wars being waged in different parts of Southern Africa. Suffice it to say that NATO weapons have streamed into South Africa; that clandestine and overt military consultations have taken place between the Pretoria/Salisbury/Lisbon axis and now even between the Pretoria/Bonn axis of fascist rulers. The role of USA imperialism has been to announce full support for British policies on Rhodesia in return for British acquiescence in the world-condemned US policies in Vietnam.

## Delays to Find Puppets

Indeed, the general imperialist strategy in Rhodesia is to maintain the status quo or prolong it by such devices as the Tiger proposals, UN sanctions, ship talks, until a puppet group of Africans emerges to be installed in the service of colonialism. This is the real reason for the existence of splinter groups from the liberation struggle whose main form of activity is to divide the masses, create confusion, attack the revolutionary organizations that enjoy mass support. We shall return to this point later.

## A War of the People

The wars that are being fought in Southern Africa are revolutionary peoples' wars. They are directed against a White block whose aim is to maintain and preserve the colonial system of White Supremacy. In this geographic area, South Africa has become the key to the whole structure of international and local imperialist interests. To defend that structural base, South Africa already plays a leading role.

Against the military might of the White racist regimes, and their economic hegemony, we must counterpose the masses of the oppressed people. Revolutionary war is a war of the masses and only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them can the war be carried on and finally won.

To demonstrate that the role of the masses is decisive in the revolutionary guerilla war that we have waged for the past year:— The enemy propaganda agencies have tried to suppress publications of news on the war; they have censored the news; they have distorted the events taking place to depict heavy losses on the side of the guerillas and to portray the oppressed African people as informers and traitors.

Patrick Keatley, a correspondent of the *'Guardian'* (London), who recently visited the battle areas, had this to say in his paper:—

*"But what is astonishing to the visiting correspondent is that this situation has gone relatively unchronicled by the press, radio and television of the Western world. It is far from being a Vietnam at this stage; perhaps a rough parallel might be Vietnam 1955 when the skirmishing was light and the two sides were only beginning to take up battle positions."* (15 July 1968)

## Enemy Tactics in Difficulties

This analogy with Vietnam does not take account of the fact that white South Africa has very heavily drawn on the

lesson of anti-guerilla warfare in Indonesia, the Phillipines, Algeria etc, where a combination of massive aerial bombardment is coupled with ground-force assaults, terrorization of the masses and their encirclement in guarded enclaves. Already the Smith/Vorster strategy is to throw in colossal bombing air-raids (where they are less vulnerable) followed by so-called 'mopping-up operations'.

We shall not discuss nor reveal the effective counter, that our brave comrades have developed to repulse this enemy tactic. The recent visit of Smith, Lardner-Burke and Lord Graham to South Africa speaks volumes, as it came at a time when their forces were under tremendous guerilla attacks.

## Smith Gets More Vorster Aid

Desmond Lardner-Burke has said in the Rhodesian Parliament:— *"We are on the frontline for South Africa as well as for Rhodesia. South Africa appreciates this, and there are now South African police in Rhodesia looking for these ANC terrorists."*

There are now approximately 1,700 soldiers of the South African regime in Rhodesia, and following the Smith visit there in July, more S.A. troops have been sent to Rhodesia. 5,000 soldiers of the racist regime backed by helicopters, French supersonic strike aircraft etc, have carried out extensive anti-guerilla warfare exercises in Sibasa on the S.A. border with Rhodesia in August.

Patrick Keatley cogently remarked on this as follows:—

*"...Guerillas at large in the territory two years after UDI; the clear implication was that they had been too much for the Smith regime to handle on its own. Pretoria had been called in to help and, indeed, an impressive convoy of armoured cars crossed the Limpopo..."* (*Guardian*, 16 July 1968).

## Facts That Don't Reach the Papers

The state of panic which the guerilla attacks caused in the camp of the enemy is also reported by Keatley in the same edition of the *Guardian*:—

*"On the night of 16 March there was a dramatic interruption of the programme in all the cinemas of Salisbury, Bulawayo and other main towns. Notices were flashed on screens ordering troops on leave to return to their units. And as people made their way home that evening, they saw police doing the rounds of pubs and dance-halls, presumably for the same purpose..."*

*"...It was a shock when notices started going out recently to men in their thirties. One case that brought the thing home to White Rhodesians was the drafting of a prominent barrister who, to his surprise, found his protests falling on deaf ears. He was as good as on his way for nine months in khaki, until a last-minute appeal by the Bar Society won him a reprieve."*

*"The strain on skilled manpower in Rhodesia is now very real, with the calling-up of more and more senior men who keep the wheels turning in banks, factories, commerce, engineering. But the handy device of censorship was conveniently at hand, and even now, in spite of the official lifting of the ban, there are subtler*

measures based on military security which discourage any detailed reportage in these matters.

"And yet individual Rhodesians have continued to run across disturbing incidents that simply do not get into their newspapers: hospital wards being cleared for the arrival of wounded policemen and young soldiers; eye-witness reports of helicopters shot down and crew members treated for burns and bullet wounds; groups of commandos speaking neither English nor Afrikaans (ex-Foreign Legion?) clomping through border zone towns such as Chirundu and Makuti." (16 July 1968)

## Role of the OAU

Carefully utilizing what we have so far achieved, WE GO FORWARD. The OAU has a vital role to play in the further development of our struggles. One way of promoting the general impact of our liberation war is to impress on some independent African States the urgency of our needs. Red-tape and protocol delays have cost us many lives already when essential logistic supplies could not be forwarded owing to application of some odd regulation. Protocol is good but should not be elevated to indifference to pressing appeals.

The OAU should also settle the question of unrepresentative splinter groups who receive assistance but have no worthwhile use for it other than dividing the oppressed people. The OAU should not allow the tares to grow along with the wheat in the hope that when harvest time comes it will be possible to identify the genuine from the false. This latitude is costing many lives and plays into the hands of the enemy. The enemy is seriously preparing for aggression against independent Africa and in some places has already launched such marauding blows.

## Call For International Support

In the light of this grave threat to independent Africa and to world peace, peoples the world over should react as forcefully as possible by:—

- Urging their governments to implement United Nations resolutions to boycott South Africa and Rhodesia;
- Rallying the widest possible support for the national liberation struggles being waged by ZAPU and the ANC;
- Supporting the African National Congress and its fighting organ SECHABA both morally and financially.

The challenge before you is the preservation of African independence and world peace. Do you accept this vital challenge?

The challenge before us is to bring into the fullest play the initiative of the masses of the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe, and to GO FORWARD WITH THEM. This challenge we accept!

We shall defeat the enemy and establish a free and democratic South Africa!

Long Live Wankie and the ZAPU/ANC stalwarts who braved the way!

# SECHABA

VOL. 2 NO. 11 NOVEMBER 1968

Editor-in-Chief — Alfred Kgokong  
Managing Editor — Joe Matthews  
Associate Editor — M. P. Naicker

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Sechaba is the official organ of the African National Congress of South Africa. It is published monthly. As costs exceed receipts, we appeal to all democrats to contribute towards publishing costs.

Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1, England.

### MINIMUM SUBSCRIPTIONS:—

Africa: .£1 per year                      Europe: .£1 10/- per year  
Asia: .£2 per year                         America: 6 dollars a year

All postal orders and cheques should be made out to SECHABA and crossed. 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1  
Sechaba can also be obtained from these addresses:—

## ADDRESSES

TANZANIA ANC of South Africa, P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam. TANZANIA African Bookshop, P.O. Box 20837, Dar es Salaam. ZAMBIA ANC of South Africa, P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka. ALGERIA ANC of South Africa, 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers. U.A.R. ANC of South Africa, 5 Ahmad Hishmat St, Zamalek, Cairo. INDIA ANC of South Africa, A-66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3. INDIA Manisha Granthalaya Ltd, 4/3B Bankim Chatterjee St, Calcutta 2, West Bengal. ENGLAND African National Congress, 49 Rathbone St, London W. 1. ENGLAND Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Rd, London W.C.2. IRELAND Anti-Apartheid Movement, 173 Barton Rd East, Dundrum, Dublin 14. HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Hoogstraat 143, Rotterdam. HOLLAND Boekhandel Pegasus, Leidsestraat 25, Amsterdam. FRANCE Michele Vial, 19 Villa de L'epid-'or, 78 Saint-Cyr-L'ecole, Paris. NORWAY Mr Lars Aallden, Holtegt 24, Oslo 3. JAPAN Far East Booksellers, Kanda, P.O. 72, Tokyo. JAPAN Maruzen Co, P.O. 605, Tokyo Central, Tokyo. AUSTRALIA Third World Bookshop, 35 Goulburn St, Sydney 2000. AUSTRALIA Peoples Bookshop, 205 Brunswick St Valley, Brisbane 4006. AUSTRALIA Mrs Elizabeth D Aiken, "Burleigh", 566 Toorak Rd, Toorak, Victoria. GUYANA Michael Forde Book Shop, 41 Robb St, Georgetown. MEXICO Liberia Fomenta Cultura, P. Sanchez, 325 Guadalupe, Jal. CANADA Book World, 72 Gerrards St, West Toronto. CANADA The Peoples Co-Op Bookstore, 341 West Pender St, Vancouver. U.S.A. Jefferson Bookshop, 100 East 16 St, New York, N. Y. 10003. U.S.A. Modern Book Store, Uptown Branch, 3230 N. Broadway, Chicago, Ill. 60657. U.S.A. Subscriptions can be obtained in the USA through: 'All Points of View', Mail Order Book and Subscription Service, P.O. Box 321, San Antonio, Texas 78206.

# EDUCATION IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

**MAXIMUM & MINIMUM** The central thesis of the policy of apartheid is **WHITE SUPREMACY** (its preservation and perpetuation) based on **BLACK SERVITUDE**. The realization of this objective is ruthlessly pursued in every walk of life: politics, social, economy, culture and education. White Supremacy can only be a reality with the total emasculation of the 'Non-White' peoples.

In the sphere of education, the key principle of the Nationalist Government's policy is **NON-EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY** — and provisions aimed at providing a **MINIMUM OF EDUCATION** to the 'Non-White' peoples while at the same time creating and providing **OPTIMAL CONDITIONS** for the education of Whites. The general effects of this policy ensure a vast disparity in educational attainments of the two groups.

## PRE-1948 POSITION

Before the advent to power of the Nationalist Government in 1948, education for the various race groups — African, Coloured, Indian and European — though administered in racially exclusive schools, was provided for by Provincial Authorities. Although there were quite large divergences in approach, standards and facilities (even then wholly inferior for the African people particularly), the **TYPE** of education was uniform, leading to the same examinations as well as the same qualifications. Thus the theoretical basis of the educational system in the pre-1948 era was based on the concept of a single system available to all the peoples.

## BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953

The concept of a single universal education for all South Africans, however, was not compatible with the designs of apartheid as envisaged by the Nationalist Government. A Commission was appointed to formulate the broad principles of an educational policy for the African people (*collectively called 'Bantu' in official terminology of the regime — Editor*). The recommendations of this Commission were embodied in the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

What are the basic 'principles' of the educational policy for the African people pursued by the Nationalists?

- African education was to be based on the principles of "white trusteeship", non-equality and segregation.
- Education of Africans was transferred from regional authorities to a racial institution, the Bantu Affairs Department (BAD).
- A sum of £6½ million was to be voted annually by the white Parliament for the education of the African people at all levels — primary, secondary, university and vocational. Any additional expenses had to be met by the African people themselves. This sum has since remained fixed despite the natural increase in the school going population, rise in costs, etc.
- All private, aided schools (mostly mission schools) were to relinquish control of their schools to the BAD. In 1953—54, 4,827 of the 5,819 African schools were in this category. The largest part of these schools were forced to submit, although some chose to close down.
- English and Afrikaans (the two official languages) had to be taught to the African child in such a way as only to equip him to follow simple oral and written instructions when in communication with whites in industry and commerce, or as servants in their homes.

## QUOTES FROM VERWOERD

The cynical conceptions and implications of Bantu Education can well be highlighted by some quotations from the late Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs:—

**“There is no place for him (the African) in society beyond certain forms of menial labour.”**

**“When I have control of Bantu Education I will reform it so that the native will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with the European is not for him.”**  
And about the teacher who was to be the pivot of this system:

**“People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers.”**

With the passing of the Indian Education Act in 1965, a structurally uniform pattern of education for the ‘Non-White’ peoples was consummated. This Act is the logical extension of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963. The three acts provide for the control of education of the African, Indian and Coloured people by the appropriate racial institutions: the Bantu Affairs Department; the Coloured Affairs Department, and the Indian Affairs Department.

The following is a brief outline of the realities of the Nationalist Government’s educational policy and its ramifications.

## DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE

In 1965 the Republic of South Africa spent approximately 4.5% of its Gross National Income on education and training at all levels for all South Africans.

This amounted to about R326,475,000 (£190,440,000 or US dollars 391,770,000).

The distribution, however, was as follows:—

	Percentage of Total Population	Percentage of Total Expenditure
<b>AFRICANS</b>	68 %	9 %
<b>EUROPEANS</b>	19 %	77 %
<b>COLOUREDS</b>	10 %	10 %
<b>INDIANS</b>	3 %	4 %

(Simplified percentages calculated from estimates made in the S.A. Race Relations Survey of 1967.)

## PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE

The per capita expenditure per year for the various groups are as follows:—

<b>AFRICANS</b>	Approximately £7 per year
<b>Europeans</b>	Approximate £75 per year
<b>COLOUREDS &amp; INDIANS</b>	Approximately £30 per year

(Figures given by the Minister for BAD in the House of Assembly in June 1965.)

## PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO

The official pupil-teacher ration for Africans was given in 1963 as follows:—

Primary Schools	— 55:1
Secondary Schools	— 35:1

(Minister in the Assembly)



*5,000 out of the 6,000 African schools were private, and were mostly mission schools, as above. Now, the larger part of the schools have been taken over by the regime.*

Compare these figures with the European ratio (i.e. white South African ratio) — 22:1.

And the Indian & Coloured ratio — 33:1.

(Race Relations Survey for 1965.)

## PLATCON SYSTEM

With the natural increase in the school-going population (in the decade following the Bantu Education Act, intake in African schools had more than doubled), and with the refusal of the Government to increase its statutory subsidy above £6½ million to meet this increase, accommodation of the increased numbers has only been made possible by resorting to double and even triple sessions of classes during the course of one single day.

In many cases this is supplemented by the teaching of children of various age groups and standards in a single classroom by a single teacher.

By 1957, more than 60% of all ‘Non-White’ primary schools in the Republic were operating this platoon system of teaching. (Minister in Assembly, May 1964.)

The effect of the platoon system is threefold:

**the child obtains only half the benefit he would normally enjoy; the teacher has to do twice the amount of work; and the Government can boast of an increase in the number of school-going children (without the proportionate increase in cost!).**

## BURDEN OF COSTS ON THE POOR

Of particular significance is the unfair burden which the Government's educational policy places on the 'Non-White' people — the burden of providing for the education of their children largely through their own efforts.

Thus in 1960—61, African parents contributed approximately £4½ million towards erecting new schools, teachers' salaries and educational requisites. This excludes the cost of school uniforms, transport costs, medical funds etc. By 1966, the Indian community in Natal alone contributed some £1 million towards educational costs alone.

(*Race Relations Survey 1967.*)

These dire economic sacrifices fall on communities whose per capita income in 1960 was calculated to be approximately R80.5 for Africans and R147 for Indians as compared with R925 for Whites for whom education is wholly provided for by the State. (Africans £47, Indians £86, Whites £539.)

## TEACHERS AND SALARIES

Whereas the number of school-going African pupils had nearly doubled by 1963, the number of teachers increased by only about one-third.

By 1963 there were some 26,465 teachers employed by the BAD. Of these, 57.2% had only Standard 6 education themselves (Form 1); 36% had a Standard 8 pass (Form III); 3.4% had a Matriculation (Form V); and 3.4% were university graduates. (*Minister in Assembly, March 1963.*)

The single most striking conclusion here is the overwhelmingly low educational attainments of the majority of teachers, leading undoubtedly to a low educational standard. As in all other spheres of employment, remuneration is not based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. African male teachers earn less than half of the salaries of their white counterparts (41%), while African female teachers earn a little over one-third (37%).

## ACCENT ON PRIMARY SCHOOL

The emphasis of the educational system viz-a-viz the 'Non-White' peoples is markedly in primary education. According to the Statistical Yearbook for 1964, based on the 1960 census, the following figures obtain:—

Percentage of total population group who have passed:

	Standard 5 (not yet secondary school)	Matriculation (Form V)
WHITES	65.7 %	15.3 %
INDIANS	23.8 %	1.37 %
AFRICANS	8.2 %	0.13 %
COLOUREDS	(Unknown)	0.54 %

Figures for 1966 quoted by Dr Robert Birley (former headmaster of England's Eton College and visiting lecturer in South Africa) in the 'Observer', indicate the following:— Out of some 3 million African children at school, not more than 60,000 were in secondary schools (2%). Of these only 800 were in Matric (0.03%), with examination success by some 150 only. Furthermore, Dr Birley points out that by far the largest drop-out occurs in the first four-year period of a child's education, with secondary school intake being only about 2% of total school-going population.

## LESS PASSES SINCE 1953 ACT

Since the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 there has been a steady deterioration in the rate of passes. The rate has dropped from just under half (47.3%) in 1953, to less than one-fifth (17.9%) in 1960. (*Figures by Minister of Bantu Education in the House of Assembly, 1961.*)

Further analysis indicates that only a small minority of African pupils passing the Matric examination obtain grades qualifying them to enrol for university degrees. In 1964, of 635 passes only 126 qualified for university entrance. (*Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly, 1965.*)

## UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Whereas the Afrikaans-medium universities (*i.e. those using the language of the Boers or 'Afrikaners' — Editor*) of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Orange Free State and Stellenbosch, have since their establishment refused admission to non-whites, the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand admitted students of all races, (though there too integration was only at academic level, strict segregation being applied in the social sphere).

In 1959 however, the policy of apartheid in education was extended to university education by the 'Extension of University Education Act'. Henceforth 'Non-White' students were not allowed admission into the "open" universities and were required to go to racially and ethnically exclusive colleges, staffed in the main by pro-apartheid lecturers. Those appointed were carefully vetted by the appropriate Government institutions regarding "political reliability".

The disparity between national groups in university attainments are, logically again, vast. The following is a summary of successful attainments for the year ending 1963. (These figures do not include the Tribal Colleges.)

	Whites	Africans	Coloureds	Indians
Degrees and Diplomas	5,517	117	58	146
Postgraduate Degrees	682	19	10	26

## NEVER-ENDING STRUGGLE

The attainments of the Africans, Coloureds and Indians can be properly appreciated (especially the Africans) only within the framework of the high cost of university education. Fees alone amount to about £300 for the normal 3-year course. The sacrifices made by parents to ensure any education — not to speak of university education — are indeed tremendous.

But Bantu Education is more than just the cold statistics of inequality and vast disparity. To the African parents it means a never-ending struggle to provide paper, pens, ink, text-books, school fees and the host of other educational paraphernalia, out of less-than-subsistence wage packets. It means leaving home in the early hours of the morning to reach their places of employment, leaving children to see to themselves. To those parents whose child has advanced to Matric level, Bantu Education means grinding out a sum of £140 (fees, uniforms, books etc), a sum estimated by the Race Relations Survey in 1964.





*School accomadation: seated on the floor with 50 others.*

### 3 HOURS A DAY SCHOOL

To the children attending the morning sessions, Bantu Education means leaving school after 3 hours of tuition to while away empty hours in the street — because libraries and recreation centres are non-existent in the ghettos. Or it means the same in the morning for a child whose session is in the afternoon.

To the children in primary grades, it means being huddled often 50 or 60 in a single small classroom without enough chairs or desks, sitting on the floor trying to concentrate with an undernourished body and perhaps an empty belly; through the intense summer heat or cold of winter; through leaking roofs in rainy months, sand or dust in the autumn.

### MID-COURSE LANGUAGE CHANGE

To those few children who manage against all odds to advance beyond Form 1 (Standard Six), Bantu Education means the overwhelmingly difficult task of translating past knowledge into English as well as absorbing new knowledge in English, and also learning to cope with all the intricacies of English literal and conceptual: this is because all training up to that standard has been in the child's home language, as prescribed by the 1953 Act. More often than not it means writing the first formal examination at the end of Form 1 in the home language after having been taught a subject in English because no text-books exist in the vernacular in these subjects (particularly science subjects).

### NO SCIENCE EQUIPMENT

To these few children who advance through to secondary school, Bantu Education means the learning of science subjects demanding practical demonstrations — without so much as seeing experiments conducted, since laboratory facilities are to all intents and purposes non-existent.

In this respect Dr Robert Birley had this to report of 4 African high-schools around the Johannesburg area: "The four schools have 3,080 pupils, nearly all of whom do some science. Between them, they have 13 bunsen burners, 6 balances and 3 microscopes."

### TEACHERS' BOREDOM, FATIGUE

To the African teacher, Bantu Education means often teaching children of various age groups and educational standard in the same classroom simultaneously; it means teaching the same lesson to two or even 3 classes of children in one day — leading to boredom and fatigue without the consolation of being paid for it.

It means surviving on a salary of £20 (male) or £12½ (female), in a society where the bare minimum salary for any person has been estimated as at least £30, per month.

### NO SAY FOR TEACHERS

To the teacher in general, Bantu Education means a passive acceptance of an iniquitous system, lest he lose his job or worse still, fall into the hands of the Security Police, become jailed and tortured without trial in solitary confinement — as has happened to many who refused to implement inequality in their schools and classrooms.

It means being unable to join any political organization except those approved by the Minister of Bantu Affairs; not being able to militate for an effective Teachers' Union able to bring about changes even if only in the educational sphere; not having a voice in the formulation of educational policy no matter how highly qualified one might be.

It means teaching a distorted history of one's own people to one's own future people. It means being the instrument of white racism.

### NO 'SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL'

The truth is that white South Africa cannot feel itself safe and secure until it has successfully and overwhelmingly depressed the national aspirations of the rest of the people of South Africa. And Bantu Education, like its counterparts Indian and Coloured Education, is designed as a most potent means towards this end.

Bantu Education does not intend a separation of whites and blacks into two *parallel but equal* societies, as the Nationalist Government claims. As can be seen from this brief survey, its object is *vertical differentiation*, dividing those who command from those who "obey".

While the mind of the white child is being moulded into believing beyond question in their "divine mission" to rule, the millions of African, Coloured and Indian children must be taught to be, and remain, the servants of the "chosen servants of God".

There can be no doubt that the principles of segregation and of non-equality in opportunity and provision in education, is a grave threat to the well-being of the 'Non-White' majority of South Africa. At the same time, the deliberate pursuance of this policy is the cornerstone of the maintenance and continuation of 'white supremacy'.

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## Half the World's Executions

In the period 1961—65, the number of death sentences passed throughout the world totalled 2,066, according to a UN report. Half of these sentences were carried out.

Examining statistics of South African executions in the same period, the yearly figure now averages 100 executions. It would therefore appear that South Africa is at present responsible for almost 47% of the world's legal executions.

## South African Cricket

The South African Coloured cricketer Basil D'Oliviera (who lives in England), having been left out of the MCC team to tour South Africa, was put into the team (where he rightly belonged through merit) following a public outcry. South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster responded by telling a meeting of his followers that South Africa would never accept a touring team with D'Oliviera in it. The MCC thereafter justly cancelled the tour.

The white South African attitude was clear from the start. For example, before the original MCC team was announced, special arrangements had been made to inform the S.A. Minister of Police if D'Oliviera was on the team or not. A message was handed to the Minister at a meeting of his Party's followers. He interrupted proceedings shortly thereafter to announce D'Oliviera's omission. His announcement was greeted with loud cheering and enthusiastic clapping.

## Half a College Expelled

Police with dogs moved into Fort Hare College for Africans at Alice in the Cape, following a 3-day strike and boycott of lectures. 200 students, nearly half the student population, were ordered to pack and were put on trains to their home-towns.

The strike resulted from reaction to the new Rector, who treated the students "as though they were children". Many students boycotted the Rector's installation a month earlier, and anti-government slogans appeared on walls of the Great Hall and Library.

## White Art Week

Mr J Brown, a Coloured sculptor, was turned away from a "National Art Week" held at a Cape Hotel, where he arrived with three sculptures to exhibit. Mr Etienne Stander, who organized the open exhibition, told reporters: "I tried to tell Mr Brown that it was impossible for him as a Coloured artist to take part in a National Art Week staged at a major hotel. But he was adamant."

The organizers had earlier advertized for local artists to bring their works for exhibition.

## White Women Must Hide Themselves

Following a request from a 'Public Morals' commission of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Krugersdorp Town Council will strictly enforce its ban on bikinis at the whites-only municipal swimming baths. One reason for the decision was the effect that "unseemly displays" of the white female body had on non-white men, "many of whom are only half-civilized".

In a letter to the Johannesburg Star, Mrs Urbaniah Mothopeng said she doubted the validity of this. "The so-called half-civilized non-white men are familiar with scantily dressed girls. African girls in their traditional dress wear very short skirts, and their upper bodies are usually quite bare."

Listing other scanty African dress, Mrs Mothopeng added: "It is the 'civilized' white man who would be affected directly (by bikinis etc), as he is not accustomed to semi-nude bodies of women."

And she concludes: "There is a tendency among some white people to project their weakness onto the non-white. If the Krugersdorp Town Council wishes to ban the bikini, it should not use the non-white man as a scapegoat."

## Some of My Best Friends . . .

Having blamed the South African Jewish community for disturbances in certain universities recently; and having been attacked for his anti-Semitic pronouncements — the Minister of Police, Muller, stated that what he said about Jews and Jewish students had been "grossly misunderstood" and wrongly interpreted. He added: "I am happy to count many prominent members of the Jewish community among my closest personal friends."

## Can't Bear Being Coloured

If he had not been lent £250 to appeal against his family's classification as Coloureds (i.e. people of mixed race), he would have shot himself, his wife and three children, stated the father of a family formerly classified as White. Their re-classification as Coloureds by the Race Classification Board "threatened our whole way of life".

His family, he said, still lived in fear that their "plight" would become known and lead to their white friends ostracizing them.

But they were hopeful of the future, and the elder daughter said she could start thinking of marrying. She had not been able to marry because of the uncertainty of her racial position. The younger daughter is looking forward to going back to a white school. She has not attended school for some time because her father has not wanted to prejudice their case by sending her to a Coloured school, and has been unsure of her acceptance in a white school.

The son said he feared he might lose his job if his employers discovered he was classified as Coloured.

The father said his family intended no insult to the Coloured people by appealing against being classified as Coloured. "My family and I have always lived and worked as whites, and it would be impossible for us now to move and adjust ourselves to life in a Coloured township," he said.

## Vorster Ignores Plea For Families

The Black Sash (protest group of S.A. white women) wrote to Prime Minister

Vorster about the disruption in African family life by the many laws that affect it. They received neither reply nor acknowledgement.

The letter appealed to the Prime Minister to "take note of the suffering which is being inflicted on the African people. Efflux enforcement of members of settled and established families is being ever more strenuously applied, with the resultant breaking up of families. Mothers of families are being endorsed out.

Teenage children are being separated from their parents and sent to fend for themselves in strange places. These are verifiable facts."

The new labour regulations, aimed at turning the whole labour force into a migrant labour force, were ringing the death-knell on stable family life for working Africans, who would almost inevitably be separated from their families.

"In the rural areas, whole communities are being moved... and their transplantation from a rural subsistence economy to an unfamiliar urban way of life in newly established villages in the homelands (*regime's word for the 13% of S.A. land "set aside" for 70% of the population — Editor*) will undoubtedly result in the break-up of the family unit which must scatter to earn a living."

When the Black Sash wrote last year to Vorster about the disruption of African family life, his Secretary replied that "It is a waste of time to write to Mr Vorster as he is not prepared to take any notice of matters raised by you, in view of your attitude to vital matters affecting the future of South Africa."

#### Films Restricted For Africans

Police raided three 'non-white' cinemas in Johannesburg and confiscated their films when Africans were found in the audience. The films — 'Five Golden Dragons', 'Darling', and 'Boy, Did I get the Wrong Number' — were limited by the Publications Control Board to Whites, and to adult Indians and Coloureds, but banned outright for Africans.

A cinema proprietor said: "We find that about 20% of all films coming into South Africa are banned outright for all races." He added that Africans were allowed to see only films normally suitable for the sub-teens. Any film with an element of violence was banned outright for Africans.

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and comment  
from apartheid South Africa

## ZULU BANTUSTAN

Chief Cyprian Bekuzulu, late Paramount Chief of the Zulu people, went shortly before his death to Pretoria to see Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

The purpose of their meeting was to devise plans for the imposition of the hated Bantustan system on the Zulu people. The people of Zululand have, over and over again, rejected this bogus form of 'government'.

As early as 1959, the people throughout Natal revolted against the forerunner of Bantustans — the so-called Betterment Scheme. Thousands rose in anger in almost every rural area in the Province, not only rejecting Bantustans but demanding freedom and a rational minimum wage of £1 a day. A significant feature of the uprising was the gallant part played by our women in the rural areas.

The women, who were compelled to fill cattle-dipping tanks, refused to do so unless paid. When this was refused, they fought back by destroying all dip tanks.

Hounded by the police, many fled into the mountains and fought back.

At a meeting held in Nongoma, Chief Cyprian's home village, the entire tribe rejected a plea by the then Minister of Bantu Affairs, De Wet Nel, calling for support by the Zulu people for the Government's Bantustan policy. As a result of this rejection and the widespread struggle in Natal, hundreds of people were arrested. Then followed a period of endless court cases. Testifying in one such case, Walter Kanyile, confirming the peoples opposition to the regime's Bantustan scheme, said:—

"I was present at this meeting called by the Paramount Chief where the people refused the Betterment Scheme... All the people stood up as one man and said they were against the Scheme... After this rejection by the people, the Betterment Scheme was enforced and applied."

The people do not want Bantustans. We demand full freedom and democracy for all in South Africa. And in order to win our freedom, we have taken up arms.

In this war, no true African, chief or labourer, can stand on the side of the oppressor.

## ANOTHER MASS REMOVAL

The latest plan for mass removal of a settled non-white population, comes from Johannesburg's largest African township — SOWETO.

Acting on Government instructions, the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department is preparing to deport hundreds of African men and women and children from Soweto to the rural "reserves".

The reason the Council gives for this inhuman act, is that the mothers being moved are either widows or divorced, and therefore not entitled to live in municipal houses.

This move follows other mass removals throughout the country. Thousands of Africans have, and are continuing to be, moved out of Cape Town following the Government's decision to make Cape

Town and the Western Cape an all-white area. Thousands of Indians were and are continuing to be moved from various areas in and around Johannesburg to Lenasia, over 20 miles from the city.

Limeville, Sparks Estate, Stinkwater, Klipgart, Sibasa, Welcome Valley, Happy Valley — all are living hells where sanitation is either non-existent or extremely limited; where no drainage exists; and where most live in overcrowded shanties. These are the areas to which our people are being moved by force in most cases.

Others like the mothers in Soweto are sent to an even worse fate: the overcrowded "reserves" where Kwashiorkor, the dreaded disease caused by starvation, stalks unchecked.

# STUDENTS MUST FIGHT

Leaders and the rank-and-file among African students all over South Africa are watching the demonstrations at the University of Cape Town and elsewhere over the question of the appointment of Mr Archie Mafeje, with keen interest. Mr Mafeje, an African, was appointed as a lecturer by the University, but this appointment was opposed by the government. Students demonstrated as a result.

Clearly the students in Cape Town are fighting to defend the right to be taught by the best qualified lecturers regardless of race. But the question the African students ask is: does this action really mark the awakening of the white students? Because the apartheid masters have not only confined African students to the storehouses of fascist indoctrination — the tribal colleges of Turfkloop, Ngoye and Fort Hare — they have also appointed apostles of racism and fascism as lecturers and professors in these places.

Hundreds of African students have been forced to leave these "institutions", and have joined Umkhonto We Sizwe, the

military wing of the African National Congress. They have been forced to break their education and chose instead to stay in the mountains and learn the art of revolution to deal with the fascists and nazis. Today some of the African students, some ex-Capetonians included, are replying to the fascists with the rattle of machine guns on the battlefields of Rhodesia.

We are encouraged by the militancy shown by the students of the University of Cape Town. We hope they have drawn inspiration and courage from the exploits of the African youth of our country fighting in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and now preparing to start in South Africa itself. In present-day South Africa, it is imperative that the students not only intensify their long-drawn fight for academic freedom, but also transform the fight into a general one for the overthrow of the fascists.

In the words of the late Professor Z. K. Matthews who said when he resigned from Fort Hare in October 1959: "No one can, as a teacher or a student, serve the truth and also the apartheid masters. We are left with no choice but to fight without compromise totally to uproot racialism."

## ANTI GUERRILLA EXERCISES

The reverse being suffered by the Vorster/Smith forces at the hands of the ZAPU/ANC freedom-fighters in the valleys and mountains of Zimbabwe, are causing panic both in the government of Ian Smith and its armed forces. Recently with cap in hand Ian Smith flew to South Africa to discuss the growing guerilla fighting in Rhodesia and to ask for more material support in men and arms.

Equally, the pledge often re-iterated by the Acting President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, that "what is happening in Rhodesia today is going to happen in South Africa tomorrow", has frightened Vorster's regime and his fascist forces. Vorster's forces are now

engaged in frantic and desperate preparations for ANC guerilla attacks.

For the first time in its history, the South African Defence Force engaged in full-scale anti-guerilla operation practises two months ago, using combined army and air-force units. The area chosen for this exercise was Sibasa. Sibasa is in the Northern Transvaal near the border of Rhodesia. The South African Army chose the area for two reasons: firstly, they believe that ANC guerillas will cross into South Africa through the northern border; second, this is the area where the S.A. regime expect the guerillas would operate when they did enter South Africa. Five thousand troops with support from seven air-force squadrons were engaged in this exercise.

It is interesting to note that these exercises took place after Ian Smith's hurried visit to South Africa — and after the Vorster regime was forced to publish the death of the white South African, Daniel du Toit, who was killed by our guerillas in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The announcement of du Toit's death has frightened many white South Africans and has upset many parents, who up to now do not know the fate of their sons fighting against the ANC/ZAPU freedom-fighters in Zimbabwe. The policy pursued by the Vorster-Smith regimes is that of hiding their heavy casualty figures from the public. They inform only the next-of-kin concerned. They have announced some names, and Daniel du Toit is one of the few.

As a show of force and also to calm down frightened white South Africans, the convoy of 700 military vehicles travelled 250 miles from Pretoria to Sibasa. This 20-mile-long convoy was patrolled from end to end throughout the trip by air-force and army reconnaissance helicopters. It is also the government's desperate effort to intimidate the African peasant population by staging the exercise in an African "reserve".

In the meantime, attacks by the ZAPU/ANC guerillas on enemy positions are continuing in the area near Mtoko and around Nyamumba in Zimbabwe.

---

*Editor's Note: We hope to continue this new feature. Most of the items are from correspondents in South Africa.*

# THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Part in the Series by DUMA NOKWE, Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa:

## Part Three. Towards Freedom



### TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The history of the South African labour movement is a stormy story indeed, rich in varied experiences.

Here, I shall content myself with outlining some of the main features of its development, under two headings — the trade union movement, and the revolutionary political working-class movement, the *Communist Party*.

#### Early White Unions

The trade union movement in South Africa had its origins among immigrant workers, mainly from Britain. The Cape Town branch of the *Amalgamated Society of Joiners and Carpenters* was established in 1881 as a part of the parent organization in Britain, and most of the early craft unions followed this pattern.

Many militant struggles were fought against the employers by these pioneer labour organizations, particularly on the Witwatersrand goldfields. In 1922, the famous miners strike (misnamed the 'Red Revolt') developed into an armed confrontation between troops of the Smuts government on the one side and "workers' commandos" established by the strike committee to prevent the strike being broken by force, on the other.

However, despite its early militancy, the white labour movement suffered from a fatal weakness, which led to its almost complete surrender to the imperialist bourgeoisie. That was, and is, its colour prejudice, which has alienated it from the non-white workers (today the great majority of the labour force) and their national liberation movements. As Michael Harmel has pointed out:—

"...The white trade unions did not reach out to include Africans in their ranks, or even to assist their organization into separate unions of their own. On the contrary, they often looked upon the African worker as a dangerous competitor who was able to offer labour at a rate far cheaper than their own. They adopted *holus-bolus* the vicious anti-African theories of the ruling classes, and sided with them against the young liberation movements of the non-Europeans." <sup>1)</sup>

Even the 1922 miners strike was fought around the issue of preventing the employers from introducing Africans into certain categories of skilled work.

#### African Unions — International Socialist League

However from the end of the first world war, a new factor entered the picture. The African workers began organizing trade unions of their own.

In November 1917, the *International Socialist League* organized the *Industrial Workers of Africa* (predecessor of the famous ICU) which, in 1918, issued the first Marxist pamphlets in the Zulu and Sotho languages.

In the same year, following the famous "bucket strike" of African sanitary workers in Johannesburg, five ANC leaders (N.D. Ngojo, A. Cetyiwe, H. Kraai, D.S. Letanka and L.T. Mvabaza) and three ISL leaders (S.P. Bunting, H.C. Hanscombe and T.P. Tinker) were arrested and charged with incitement to violence.

#### Industrial & Commercial Workers Union of Africa

The main drive of African trade unionism in the 20s was bound up with the spectacular rise of the *Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa* (ICU). The ICU was founded in Cape Town in 1919, among the dock-workers. Its founder and first Secretary was Clement Kadalie, a Malawian.

Police terror and massacres were used against the ICU. 23 Africans were killed and many more wounded when police opened fire at Port Elizabeth in October 1920; and 5 Africans were killed and 24 wounded by police at Bloemfontein a few years later. This terror did not stop the movement. The ICU made remarkable progress, conducting militant strikes and enrolling members throughout the country and even as far afield as Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Zambia and Malawi. At its peak it claimed a 1/4-million members.

However, under the influence of white 'liberals', Kadalie decided on a fatal step: the expulsion of the 'reds', i.e. the most hard-working and incorruptible builders of the ICU. Roux writes that Kadalie

"...was not unwilling to be influenced by their suggestions (the liberals). He was not immune to subtle flattery or being spoken to courteously, almost as if he were the equal of these

humanitarian representatives of the ruling race. He was persuaded, some say against his better judgment, to listen to these people. They told him that government hostility could be attributed only to the presence of certain communists and agitators among the leaders of the ICU. They told him that if only he would get rid of these "reds", all would be well with the ICU. The government would tolerate — nay, even recognise — the organization." 2)

He succeeded in carrying through a motion in the Executive (by six votes to five) excluding members of the Communist Party from membership in the ICU. This marked the beginning of a process of decline in the ICU which ended in its disintegration.

### Council of Non-European Trade Unions

When the African trade union movement was revived in the 30s, it was not on the "all-in" basis of a general trade union like the ICU, but in individual trade unions for different occupations. These were united, after various divisions had appeared, in the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. This body was established in November 1941 at a special unity conference presided over by Moses Kotane, the present Treasurer-General of the ANC. The CNETU did great work organizing African workers until 1955, when it merged into the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which it helped to form.

### The Great African Miners Strike

One of the greatest achievements of the African trade union movement of that period was the Great African Miners Strike of August 1946, when over 100,000 African workers on the Witwatersrand goldmines struck for a week, in the face of overwhelming police terror in which the miners were machine-gunned and bayoneted, suffering hundreds of casualties. The Union President, J. B. Marks, was arrested together with scores of militants and supporters of the Union. It has been said of this strike:

*"The miners' strike of 1946 was one of those great social events which at once illuminate and accelerate history: brilliantly showing up and hastening the main conflicts which determine social development, pitilessly exposing the hypocrisy, cowardice or futility of those who seek to evade those conflicts and stand on the sidelines. The strike destroyed, once and for all, the myth of the State as a "neutral" body, standing above the conflict between employer and employed, rich and poor. It spelt the end of the compromising, concession-begging tendencies which had hitherto dominated African politics." 3)*

But the rise in militancy of the African trade union movement was not paralleled in the officially "recognised" white labour movement, organized in the Trades and Labour Council. The TLC sent a disgraceful cable to the World Federation of Trade Unions, to which it was then affiliated, condemning the African miners and condoning state brutality against them.

### Government 'Purge' — TLC and Tucsa

In 1950, the Nationalist (white) government used the Suppression of Communism Act to 'purge' the trade unions, both

white and non-white, of all their most militant leaders. This weakened the TLC still further and by 1954 the right-wing leaders were able to carry a resolution dissolving this body — which had been founded by Bill Andrews and other militants thirty years earlier, on the basis of a non-colour-bar constitution.

In its place, the right-wingers set up a new body — the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa), whose constitution barred African workers' organizations.

### Sactu — Ally of the National Liberation Movement

A section of the former TLC affiliates fought bitterly against these actions as a betrayal of trade union principles. These unions refused to join Tucsa. Instead they joined with the TCNETU to found a new body, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, based firmly on non-racial and internationalist principles.

SACTU became the first and only non-racial trade union movement in South Africa which allied itself with the national liberation movement. It endorsed the Freedom Charter and became a partner in the Congress Alliance.

As a result, it has been bitterly persecuted by the fascist government. The national president of Sactu, Steven Dhlamini, is serving a long-term jail sentence; and all the former officials have been banned, jailed or exiled.

---

## COMMUNIST PARTY

---

In 1915 the South African Labour Party, political wing of the white trade union movement, split over the issue of the war. The left-wing headed by the party's chairman, W.H. Andrews, the Secretary, D. Ivon Jones, S. P. Bunting and others, denounced the war. The right-wing jingos, however, managed to capture a majority at a special conference. The revolutionary section thereupon set up a new organization: the International Socialist League, which campaigned vigorously against the imperialist war.

### ISL — Bold New Ideas

Although the International Socialist League broke away from the rest of the Labour movement over the war issue, it was not long before it became clear that on a whole host of matters this organization took up positions which were as yet unknown to South African political organizations. The League began to turn away from the idea that only European workers could be organized. In August 1917, the Industrial Workers of Africa movement was formed under the auspices of the ISL. A campaign called "WAR ON WAR" was waged on class lines. Efforts were made to link up with international working-class organizations. When efforts were made to hold a Peace Conference in Stockholm in 1917, the ISL sent Bill Andrews as a delegate. When the idea of forming the Communist International was mooted by Lenin, it found ready response in South Africa. The ISL was among the first working-class organizations to affiliate to the Comintern.

## CP Formed – Comintern Resolution

Subsequently it was the healthy elements in the *Industrial Socialist League* and the *International Socialist League* who came together to form the *Communist Party of South Africa* as a section of the Communist International on 29 July 1921. A meeting of over 2,000 people was held to inaugurate the formation of the Party at the City Hall in Cape Town on that day. On the following day the formal proceedings of the first Conference began and lasted for three days.

The Executive of the Comintern on which Ivon Jones represented South Africa, took a great interest in the affairs of South Africa. Very detailed resolutions on developments were adopted which had results on matters of day-to-day tactics in the liberation struggle. The 1928 Congress of the Comintern in particular considered the position of the *Communist Party of South Africa* and its programme, and concluded that the main demand was the establishment in South Africa of an 'Independent Native Republic'. At the time the resolution was adopted, South Africa was still a "self-governing" colony of Great Britain, and it was only in 1931 with the passing of the *Statute of Westminster* that the country became "independent". In fact, what the Comintern was demanding in the parlance of today was the establishment of a Republic under African majority rule.

## Party Campaigns – Regime Violence

In the South West Cape and Natal the *Communist Party* had made great strides. During 1929 and the following year big anti-pass campaigns were organized by the *Communist Party*. It had by now become traditional to have protests against the pass laws on 16 December every year. In Potchefstroom in the Transvaal, a demonstration was held yearly on that date. At one such demonstration (16 December 1929) the principal speakers were Edwin Mofutsanyana and J. B. Marks. Groups of white hooligans broke up the meeting when they fired shots at the speakers. Miraculously both J. B. Marks and Mofutsanyana escaped. But one African was killed and six injured.

The following year, bigger demonstrations were held in Durban and in the Western Cape. In Durban a huge pass-burning campaign took place on 16 December 1930. The police intervened in force. Johannes Nkosi, leader of the *Communist Party* in Natal, was shot and killed with two other men. Over 200 Africans were deported from their homes. The Government boasted that 'Communism' had been smashed in Natal.

During the second world war and in the post-war years, closer fraternal relations were established between the *national liberation movement* and the *Communist Party*. On 8 May 1945, when the victory over Hitlerite fascism was celebrated, the biggest gathering ever seen in Johannesburg met under the joint auspices of the national liberation movements, the trade unions, and the *Communist Party*.

## New Militant ANC Leadership

In the 1949 elections of the *African National Congress*, the moderate leadership of Dr Xuma was ousted and a new militant one elected which included prominent members of the *Youth League* such as O.R. Tambo, W.M. Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others. Early in 1950 a mammoth *Defend Free*



Top: Steven Dhlamini, the President of SACTU, now incarcerated on Robben Island. Corner: Moses Kotane in 1941, when he helped create CNETU; today the ANC's Treasurer-General.

Right: J. B. Marks, Union President at the time of the 1946 miners' strike, and today the ANC's Director of Transport.



*Speech Convention* decided on a strike throughout the Transvaal Province to protest at the bans imposed on J.B. Marks, Yusuf Dadoo and other leaders. On 1 May 1950, a powerful strike took place in the Transvaal which was the most widespread in the long history of liberatory politics. In Parliament the government introduced the *Unlawful Organizations Bill* to give it power to proscribe organizations. The *African National Congress*, the *Indian Congress*, the *Communist Party* and the *Council of Non-European Trade Unions* together organized the first general strike covering the whole country in protest against this law. On 26 June 1950, hundreds of thousands stayed away from work. This was a historic date because it laid the foundations for close co-operation between national liberation and working-class organizations, which was to be a feature of progressive politics in South Africa.

## Communist Party Banned – Core Continues

Two days before the general strike, the *Suppression of Communism Act* had become law and the *Communist Party of South Africa*, which had worked legally for 30 years, was illegalized. Severe penalties were provided in the Law for any person who advocated Communism or who defended any of its objects. A list of Communists was prepared by the Liquidator and administrative action was taken against people on the list.

The Party was formally dissolved, but its core came together in underground conditions to form the *South Africa Communist Party*.

---

## FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE NEW PHASE

---

Between 1953 and 1955 a giant campaign was organized which covered every part of the country with the aim of mobilizing the people behind a common programme. The cli-

max of this unique campaign was the holding of the *Congress of the People* in Kliptown. The *Congress of the People* adopted a *Freedom Charter* on 26 June 1955.

The *Freedom Charter* was and is the programme of the united front of national liberation in South Africa.

The government called this programme a treasonable document and on 5 December 1956 arrested 156 leaders of the National Liberation Movement on a charge of High Treason. The trial was to drag on for four years.

The importance of the *Freedom Charter* lay in the fact that the different national organizations of the African, Indian and Coloured people together with the workingclass organizations, had a common programme of national liberation. The various strands of the progressive movement which had worked separately with brief moments of co-operation, were now pledged to work together for longterm aims. A complex structure of united front emerged with tremendous potential for the future. The unity of the *African National Congress of South Africa*, the *South African Indian Congress*, the *S.A. Coloured Peoples Congress*, the *Congress of Democrats* and the *South African Congress of Trade Unions*, became famous as the *Congress Movement*. This is one of the greatest achievements of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

### ANC and COD Banned

In 1960, the *African National Congress*, which had previously been made illegal in the rural areas of Zeerust and Sekhukhuland, was declared illegal throughout South Africa. The other organizations of the *Congress Alliance* were immobilized by arrests, banishments and restrictions of all kinds. In 1962 the *Congress of Democrats* was also declared illegal.

### Armed Struggle Planned – Sabotage Campaign

The campaigns before 1960 had been based on militant mass actions such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. But the situation internally and the upsurge in Africa of the emergence of many independent states, caused a change of policy. The national liberation movement decided to prepare for armed struggle. The terrorism practised by the government against the freedom struggles of the people made it clear that this was the only way out. Therefore the liberation movement added armed struggle to the methods to be used in the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

In 1961 *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) came into existence as the military wing of the liberation movement. Numerous acts of sabotage took place. People were sent abroad for military training which they could not get in the country. Thousands of freedom fighters were imprisoned by the government in retaliation. Those imprisoned included a number of the foremost leaders of the national liberation movement.

### ANC/ZAPU Alliance

Beginning in August 1967, a new phase of the armed struggle has opened with the formation of a military alliance between the ANC and the *Zimbabwe African Peoples Union* (ZAPU). Freedom-fighters of the *ANC/ZAPU Alliance* have entered into armed clashes with the combined forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa.

Inevitably, the guerilla struggle will be intensified and the masses of the people will continuously join in meeting armed repression with armed revolt.

## World Support Needed – Fascism and Imperialism

Our people's eventual and inevitable victory is also dependent on the vital role played by the government and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin Americas, the international working-class and democratic movements, and the socialist countries.

We are waging our struggle not only against the fascist Vorster government, but also against the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar. International imperialism, led by the USA, considers it its fundamental task to protect the fascist white minority government in South Africa and to maintain the hegemony of imperialism over the whole of Southern Africa.

For this reason, the imperialists have ensured that the Republic of South Africa continues as their fortress. Hence the military, technical, economic and other might that the South African white racists control and have turned against our people and organization.

A sinister characteristic is that Nazism is firmly resolved to re-group in South Africa. The involvement of West Germany in this development has been fully documented, especially by the *Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee* of the German Democratic Republic.

Imperialism and fascism are using South Africa as their base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary offensive in Africa. The aggressive nature of these forces constitutes a direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa, but also in the rest of the world.

In this year, the *Year of Human Rights*, the duty of the anti-imperialist forces that stand against Vorster fascism is not less than the duty that faced the progressive forces against Hitler Nazism during the second world war. From the progressive international point of view, a fundamental change of attitude and outlook is required toward the struggle against fascism in South Africa.

### Main Struggle Is Ours – Freedom Ahead

The brunt of the struggle is ours — it is a duty to our people and it is our internationalist duty to destroy the monster of white domination in our country. That struggle is also international. It is of basic importance to the whole development of the world-wide revolutionary and progressive movement, urgently and immediately.

The *African National Congress* and its allies are confident that victory will be ours in the hard and protracted struggles that lie ahead. The long night of oppression that descended upon our people is approaching its end. A new dawn of freedom is heralded by the machine guns of our freedom fighters — the first African army with modern weapons ever to tread the soil of our motherland.

However hard and long the battles, ahead may be, we shall win, because our cause is just, it is supported by our own people, the peoples of Africa, the whole of progressive mankind.

Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke a Rona! Power to the People!

### References:—

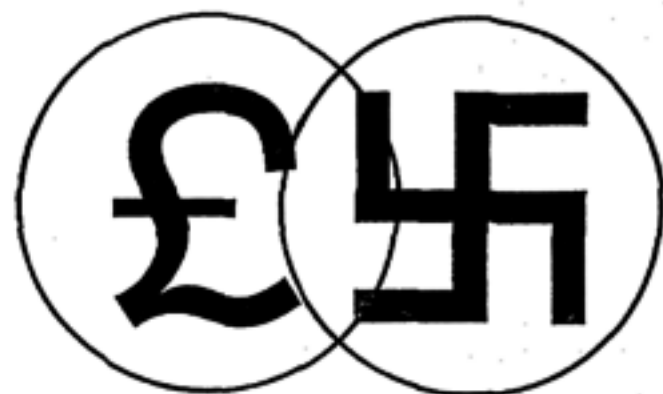
- 1 M Harmel in '*Liberation*' No. 16, Johannesburg, November 1954.
- 2 E Roux, '*Time Longer Than Rope*', Wisconsin University, 1964.
- 3 M Harmel in '*Liberation*' No. 10, Johannesburg 1954.



# FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Imperialism and fascism are using South Africa as a base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary offensive in Africa. The aggressive nature of these forces constitutes a direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa, but also in the rest of the world."

— Duma Nokwe, ANC Secretary-General, in a paper submitted to the scientific conference: "Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism: For the Liberation of Southern Africa", held in May 1968 in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic.



## PART ONE: BRITAIN

South Africa plays a leading role in the global strategy of world imperialism. This has not happened by chance, but is based firmly on the need of the imperialist countries to protect their interests in South and Southern Africa and to recover lost positions in Africa and the rest of the world. Our purpose in this article is to highlight the economic interests, in the form of investments, that the imperialists have in South Africa. This will demonstrate conclusively why the struggle against racism and fascism in South Africa is not only of first importance to the whole African revolution, but is also of major international urgency and significance.

It is proper that we begin with Britain's stake.

### Investment & Trade Figures

Britain has over £1,000 million invested in the Republic of South Africa, and some £200 million in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). By 1963, South Africa had overtaken the US and Australia as the UK's biggest earner of investment income abroad.

In trade, the UK exports some £150 million worth of goods a year to South Africa, and imports some £120 million — excluding gold. Before the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia in 1965, British exports to Rhodesia amounted to £32 million a year and imports to £30 million a year.

In addition, British finance has links with the Portuguese colonies: a British company, Tanganyika Concession, owns the Benguela railway linking the copper-belt with Angolan ports; and another British company, Lonrho, with a Portuguese one controls the pipeline between Beira in Mozambique, and the Rhodesian oil refinery at Umtali.

Britain's interest in South Africa is an fact greater than in all the rest of the continent put together .

### Extension of Imperialism

It is also different in kind, for whereas foreign capital in the rest of Africa is concentrated in plantations, farming and mining, in Southern Africa it is centred in mining, manufacturing and finance. In other words, foreign and above all British capital has gone into partnership with local white enterprise, to create in the sub-continent not merely a source of raw material and a market for manufactured goods — but an extension of imperialist economies themselves. Here perhaps lies the clue to the tenacity with which this alliance of local and foreign interests has clung to the status quo from which it profits so richly.

### Mining

Britain is the major partner in this alliance. The foreign stake in the South African mining industry alone amounting to approximately £250 million, is still British. Until recently one of the seven biggest Rand mining houses, Union Corporation, was actually registered in London. Four of its ten directors are still British, and its former chairman, the late Sir Charles Hambro of Hambros Bank, is down on record as saying in 1963 that he had not lost confidence in the long-term future of South Africa, and that one of the best ways to strengthen "Western civilization" in Africa is to strengthen South Africa.

Rand Mines, another of the big seven, has three British directors out of 13. Gold Fields of South Africa has 3 British directors out of 8; General Mining and Finance Corporation

3 out of 13; and Johannesburg Consolidated Investment 3 out of 8. The giant of them all, Anglo-American (authorized capital £10 million) has a separate board of London Directors. A third of Anglo-American's capital is British, and the London company was united in 1965 with Cecil Rhodes's original Charter company which administered Rhodesia and controlled rights through Rhodesia's British-South Africa Company.

Indeed, ever since Rhodes opened the Kimberley diamond fields in the 1860s and with his colleagues joined the gold rush to the Rand and later into Rhodesia, Britain has provided capital, skill, and the market for South Africa's gold and diamonds. Southern Africa's gold exports, worth some £490 million a year, are marketed exclusively through the Bank of England; and 80% of the world's diamond output, including nearly all South Africa's diamonds, are sold in London.

### London: S.A.'s Banker

London's role as Southern Africa's banker is of some political significance. Well over 70% of South Africa's domestic bank deposits are held in British-owned banks. The Standard Bank, controlled from London, possesses South African assets worth £330 million, and is one of the three dominant interests in Rhodesian banking. Barclays Bank DCO, though it does not publish separate accounts, has an amount of £1,209 million. National and Grindlays Bank has major interests both in Rhodesia and South Africa. Most leading British insurance companies and building societies have a share in the Republic's £400 million insurance and £680 million building society strength. Lloyds alone has 21 agents and underwriters in the Republic of South Africa.

### British Industry Giants

Among the British firms with investments in South Africa figure nearly all the giants of British industry. Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) — in which the UK Government has a holding and representation on the board — has invested £45 million in the Republic since the last war. Its most notorious recent venture was £10 million invested in three munitions plants to manufacture ammunition for Vorster's army. Courtaulds, in partnership with the state-financed Industrial Development Corporation in South Africa, operates in the S.A. Industrial Cellulose Corporation making rayon pulp. Unilever is increasing its already considerable interests in the Republic. Dunlop Rubber, Metal Box, English Electric, are all there.

### Shipping and Others

The list includes major shipping lines, such as the South and East African Conference Lines and the British and Commonwealth Shipping Company. The British-registered Union Castle Line exercises a monopoly over mail shipping between Europe and South Africa.

Shipbuilding firms such as John Brown of Glasgow and the Clelands Shipbuilding Company of Wellend; textile firms such as Cyril Lord of Lancashire (who transported an entire factory, workers and all, to a development site offered by the S.A. Government in one of the 'border areas' near the Transkei, part of the regime's 'Bantustan' policy); food companies such as Cadbury-Fry, Harvey's of Bristol, Booths, Gilbeys, Guinness, Associated British Foods (empire of the Canadian Garfield Weston, who has described the S.A. Cabinet as "a god-fearing body of Christians" and in 1963

expressed himself "enormously impressed by the growth and possibilities of the South African economy, by the quality of its business and the stability of the government") — all have huge investments in the country.

These investors have always been branded collaborators in the machinery of exploitation, content with profit through apartheid and oppression of the non-whites of Southern Africa.

### Motors, Oil, Engineering

In 1965 South Africa was Britain's best customer for motor vehicles, having ousted the USA as the Republic's main source of motor imports. The UK also now has the largest share of the 110,500 cars assembled in the Republic (1963 figure). Six British car firms have established assembly plants there.

Leyland Motors has an £8 million stake and its Chairman, Sir Henry Spurrier, admits that "we back our belief in that country with a big stake". The Rootes Group (now linked with the Chrysler British Motor Corporation) has set up a factory to produce 90,000 car engines a year and has also a plant in Rhodesia. Rovers are making Landrovers for South Africa's army and police.

Shell and BP have a large share of South Africa's oil industry, and it is their subsidiaries which, directly or indirectly, supplied and supply the means for South Africa to breach the oil embargo against Smith's regime.

British Insulated Callendars and Cables, Stewart and Lloyds, British African Standard Telephones and Cable, Turner & Newall, Mitchell Cotts and Dorman Long all have an increasing share in South Africa's flourishing engineering industry. English Electric was reported early in 1966 to be increasing its existing stake to £1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> million, second largest investment by the parent company in overseas manufacturing. Its South African plant is supplying 65% of the S.A. market and exporting as far afield as Chile and Greece. According to Lord Nelson of Stafford, Chairman of English Electric, the new investment reflects "the continued confidence in the economic stability and future growth of the Republic".

Vickers and Associated Industries are both involved in the £3 million VECOR engineering works, a state-controlled concern.

### Chemicals, Textiles

The foundation-stone of a new £3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> million ICI factory was laid in Cape Town in February 1966, and is expected to save the Republic some £350,000 annually in foreign exchange.

In textiles, the bold Mr Cyril Lord is not alone. The Calico Printers Association, Horrockses, Paton and Baldwin, and Lindhurst have all accepted white South Africa's invitation to invest in the 'border areas' where cheap labour (trade-union organizers are excluded from the region) and government incentives are offered to firms that cooperate in the "separate territorial development scheme" of apartheid. Boasted Mr Lord in 1963: "In the same position as South Africa, I would do exactly the same as the Verwoerd government."

### Similar in Rhodesia

On a smaller scale, the pattern is repeated in Rhodesia. Between 150 and 200 British companies have interests there,

in many cases operated through the same companies as South African subsidiaries.

Barclays, Standard Bank (now linked through the Portuguese to extend its operations to Mozambique) and National & Grindlays, dominate Rhodesia's banking.

British manufacturing interests in Rhodesia include the Dunlop tyre factory in Bulawayo, the BMC assembly plant at Umtali, the British-American Tobacco cigarette factory in Salisbury, and Metal Box works in Salisbury and Bulawayo. There are also British interests in agriculture, for instance through Tate & Lyle (Rhodesia Sugar Refineries); and in tobacco through British-American, Imperial Tobacco and Gallahers. Lancashire Steel and Stewart & Lloyds are two international shareholders in RISCO, the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation.

Other British companies have interests in Rhodesia mainly through or in collaboration with S.A. companies. Schweppes and Unilever both co-operate through their S.A. companies. ICI is represented through a South African company, African Explosives and Chemical Industries, financed jointly by ICI and the S.A. diamond empire, de Beers. John Brown (ship-building and engineering) has a halfshare in Rhodesian Alloys.

### **Lonrho Interests — The Pipeline**

Lonrho (of which Mr Angus Ogilvy is director) not only has direct interests in Rhodesian land and mining, motor assembly and breweries, but also has five subsidiary companies to its South African subsidiary. It has built the Umtali-Beira pipeline that is the main route of Rhodesia's oil supplies, and has been in the centre of the drama over whether or not oil should be piped through in breach of Britain's embargo. The other partner in the venture is a Portuguese company, Companhia de Pipeline Mozambique — and a Portuguese government minister has a casting vote. Lonrho also, incidentally, has extensive interests in Zambia, including control of the country's only daily newspaper.

One of the biggest single shareholders in Lonrho is the British South Africa Company — Rhodes's 'chartered' company.

### **Rhodesia Mining**

The BSAC in 1965 joined with the London holding company of Anglo-American to form a new company, Charter Comondated; a deal which symbolizes the continuing role of the Rand as a centre of the economy not only of the Republic itself, but of the whole of Southern Africa. Anglo-American and other Rand mining companies with interests in Rhodesia, appear over and over again behind Rhodesia's mining industry; and the fact that a large proportion of the investment on the Rand is in fact British, underlines the complexity and closeness of the financial connections that dominate the economic life of the Republic and Rhodesia. They are making increasing moves to draw Mozambique and Angola into the net.

### **£100m Profits — Tory Attitude**

These extensive economic connections — which of course involve the three former High Commission Territories of Basutoland (now Lesotho), Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Swaziland (also now independent), since all three are economically dependent on South Africa — are the background to British policy in the sub-continent. Successive Conservative governments in Britain allowed themselves to be

dominated by the interests of the financial collaborators. Mr Peter Thomas (now Lord Colyton), speaking in the House of Commons for the Foreign Office in 1962, declared that South Africa "affords us one of the largest export markets. Our total net invisible earnings there are about £100 million a year... South Africa is the repository of about £900 million of United Kingdom capital investment. As the world's largest gold producer, she is an important member of the sterling area, and I am sure that it is a matter of great importance to Britain that South Africa should remain in the sterling area and that her gold come to London."

### **Labour Government**

The Labour Government which succeeded the Tories in October 1964 has shown itself to be no less interested in the profits of apartheid. No move has been made to discourage investment in the Republic. Mr Douglas Jay, President of the Board of Trade, has said publicly that he values and intends to encourage South African trade. While imposing economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the Wilson Government has continued to oppose moves against South Africa, even when faced with Vorster's blatant defiance of the Rhodesia boycott.

Indeed, since Labour came to power there has been a veritable scramble for South African trade: a nine-man mission of the British wool textile industry visited the Republic early in 1966, declaring that the Republic was one of its most important markets; their visit coincided with one by the head of the African department of the Confederation of British Industries, and with another by the newly-formed UK-SA Trade Association (which shares many of its officials with the London committee of the South Africa Foundation, which attempts to whitewash apartheid).

"A powerful group of men in Britain is determined to maintain and increase two-way trade and investment with South Africa", said Mr W.E. Luke for the delegation. Mr Luke is chairman of the Southern Africa Committee of the Labour Government's National Export Council — an official body which had already made its position clear through its Chairman, Sir William McFadzean. Sir William, writing in the South Africa Foundation's monthly journal 'Perspective' in August 1965, pleaded for "greater understanding" by all concerned for South Africa's problems, and an increase in mutual trade.

One major step, and one only, has been taken by the Labour Government against collaboration with Vorster: its announcement to implement its long-promised arms embargo. But its implementation has been too timid, incomplete, and too late.

This gives the true measure of Britain's economic involvement in the suppression of the people in South Africa.

### **References**

Information and figures on the extent of foreign investment in South Africa may be obtained from the following sources: 'The African Communist', Number 31, 1967.

'The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance', published by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR, 1967.

'Great Power Conspiracy', published by the African National Congress of South Africa.

Copies of the latter two publications are available from our offices.

**NEXT MONTH: USA, WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE**

# BOOK REVIEWS

Frantz Fanon's 'Black Skins, White Masks'. 232 pages. MacGibbon & Kee.

Stating as his *aim* the discovery of "the various attitudes that the Negro adopts in contact with white civilization", Fanon proclaims that his *theme*, "being the disalienation of the black man, I want to make him feel that whenever there is a lack of understanding between him and his fellows in the presence of the white man, there is a lack of judgment".

Setting himself the task of attempting "to help the black man free himself of the arsenal of complexes that have been developed by the colonial environment", Fanon intimates his *belief* that "only a psychopathological interpretation of the black problem can lay bare the anomalies of effect that are responsible for the structure of the complex".

Discussing this "black problem", Fanon reaches the following conclusion: "... regardless of the area I have studied, one thing has struck me. The Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority, alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation. Therefore I have been led to consider their alienation in terms of psycho-analytical classifications. The Negro's behaviour makes him akin to an obsessive-neurotic type, or, if one prefers, he puts himself into a complete situational neurosis. In the man of colour, there is a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence. When a man of colour protests, there is alienation. When a man of colour rebukes, there is alienation. We shall see... that the Negro, having been made inferior, proceeds from humiliating insecurity to strongly-voiced self-accusation to despair. The attitude of the black man towards the white, or toward his own race, often duplicates almost completely a constellation of delirium, frequently bordering on the region of the pathological." Hence, he argues, "one should investigate the extent to which the conclusions of Freud or Adler can be applied to the effort to understand the man of colour's view of the world".

When he is arguing this thesis, one cannot help being aware of the author's erudition and depth of learning. But therein lies the book's weakness. We are taken on a Cook's tour of the Marx of 'alienation', of existentialism (notably Sartre and Marcel) and of the psychology of Jung, Adler and Freud — all couched in the fashionable terminology of present-day Anglo-American sociological jargon. To illustrate:— "Man is not merely a possibility of recapture or of negation. If it is true that consciousness is a process of transcendence, we shall have to see that this transcendence is haunted by the problems of love and understanding. Man is a yes that vibrates to cosmic harmonies. Uprooted, pursued, baffled, doomed to watch the dissolu-

tion of truths that he has worked out for himself one after another, he has to give up projecting onto the world an antimony that coexists with him."

It's the sort of stuff which gladdens the heart and races the pulse of the Master in the senior common-room. But where does it leave the Vietnamese peasant, the South African mine-worker or the Bolivian herdsman? The vast learning never gells, it remains a cerebral orgasm. It is not an uncommon phenomenon: it is endemic in Western European institutes of learning, in the ranks of the 'Left Wing Establishment's' critics and intellectuals. That is why, I would suggest, they stop when they get to alienation. To be able to discuss Marx is both a sign of modernity and a token of radicalism — as long as all that uncomfortable nonsense of understanding the world in order to change it is left out!

Even in his own specialized field the author is not up-to-date — although, in all fairness, we are given no indication as to the date of the book's composition. He ignores the fact that Jung's "collective unconscious" and Adler's individual psychology — in fact, the whole gamut of 19th-century European thinking on the subject — has virtually been discarded. In Western Europe alone, researchers like F. Alexander, Otto Rank and Robert White, among others, have all helped to bury the stillborn baby of psycho-analysis. Narcosis therapy, chemotherapy, insulin-coma therapy, and electro-convulsive therapy have virtually replaced the stuff that dreams are made of. Furthermore, at no stage does the author distinguish between psychotic behaviour (where the subject is totally disoriented from reality) and neurotic behaviour (where the subject is aware that he has problems, but is unable to cope).

But... the major question is simple. Can psychology solve political problems? Perhaps, but only if one makes the large assumption that there is a collective consciousness or identity based on colour. Fanon himself makes the very good point that the concept of black inferiority is a white man's artifact, that it goes hand in hand with imperialist exploitation and colonial subjugation. When oppressed peoples struggle to throw off the yoke of oppression they do not run away from their individuality — they do exactly the opposite. Their behaviour is not neurotic. In fact, the desire to achieve freedom is one of the most normal and reasonable demands of man. Their behaviour proves that physical enslavement does not and cannot destroy the burning desire to free themselves.

In a period of revolutionary change, more and more "experts" from within the ranks of the oppressed will purport to speak for the desires of the oppressed. In such a situation, particularly, vigilance is essential.

— Kenneth Parker