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- They Fight Apartheid (Inside South Africa)
- New Black Movement Formed in South Africa
- Apartheid and Business in South Africa

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SECHABA

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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

They Fight Apartheid

ANC Activist Sentenced

"I saw my people frustrated and suppressed and decided therefore, to join the African National Congress in order to change the system in South Africa," Fana Cletus Mzimela told the presiding judge before he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Mzimela, who was one of a group of ANC guerrillas who took part in the Wankie confrontations between the forces of Smith and Vorster and the ANC and ZAPU towards the end of 1967, was arrested in Natal on September 28, last year. (Some of the exploits of this group was published in SECHABA, Vol. 4, No. 1 January 1970).

* * * * *

Six Arrested

Four Africans and two whites, one an Australian and the other an Irish citizen, appeared for formal remand before a Pretoria magistrate in connection with allegations under the so-called Terrorism Act. They are: Theophilus Cholo and Gardiner Sijaka, both from the Transkei, Justice Mpanza and Aaron Tembu from Natal, Alexander Moubarris an Australian citizen and John William Hosey, an Irish citizen. Mrs. Moubarris who was also arrested with her husband was subse-



quently released and deported to France. In a press interview Mrs. Moubarris said that her middle-aged French parents were unaware of where she was for four months during which period she was held in solitary confinement in a Pretoria goal. "As far as they knew, I had vanished from the face of the earth," she said. Mrs. Moubarris, who was seven months pregnant at the time of her release said that her parents only learnt that she was in prison a week before she was released.

* * * * *

Kidnapped at Gunpoint

Four South African policemen kidnapped a South African refugee, Fanele Mbale, from Lesotho with the help of two Lesotho troopers towards the end of last year and created a diplomatic storm between the two countries.

In recent months relations between the land locked state of Lesotho and South Africa have not been as good as it was previously.

At the United Nations Lesotho supported other African and Asian governments in declaring that freedom fighters in Southern Africa should not



be termed terrorists. Now once more it has reacted sharply to this latest intrusion on her sovereignty.

So strong was her reaction that the South African government was forced to return Mr. Mbale and apologise "for the excessive zeal" displayed by her police.

In an extraordinarily arrogant statement, even by White South African standards, Police Commissioner, General Gideon Joubert, commenting on the kidnapping said that the policemen involved were only "doing their duty."

Asked whether he supported policemen who crossed foreign frontiers to apprehend people wanted in the



country, Gen. Joubert said, "They did contravene certain regulations, but they acted out of a sense of duty."

He added that he saw no reason to take action against his men and when asked if the kidnapping was carried out with his knowledge, he replied, "I'm not going to be cross examined any further. I have no further statement to make." Meanwhile, one of the Lesotho troopers, Jobo Molofu, who helped in the kidnapping has been granted political asylum by the South African authorities and is at present working in South Africa.

* * * * *

Appeal Refused

Four people convicted of taking part in the activities of the African National Congress and sentenced to five years imprisonment were refused leave to appeal by Justice Snyman, in the Pretoria Supreme Court recently.

He, however, granted an application for bail on behalf of fifty-eight year-old, Mrs. Amina Desai, pending a petition to the Chief Justice for leave to appeal against her conviction.

Bail was set at R10,000 (approx. £5,000) on condition: that the bail would lapse if the petition failed; that she must surrender her South African passport to the Security Police; that she may only move within the municipal areas of Johannesburg, Roodepoort and Krugersdorp unless given permission; that she reports twice daily to the police. Leave to appeal was denied to Mohamed Salim Essop, Yousaf Hassan Essack and Indharsen Moodley.

* * * * *

Bail Granted

Two of three men released on bail may have to live in a tent pitched near the police station so that they may fulfil their bail conditions.

The three men convicted with ten others under the so-called Terrorism Act, were released on bail pending an appeal against conviction and sentence. Their bail of R3000 each was met by Amnesty International in Germany.

They are: Bantwini Thabata, Kwezi Tshangana and Mzoli Mabutu.

One of the conditions of bail was that the men report to the police three times a week. Although these conditions were imposed after an appeal to the Judge who had originally decided that the men should report twice daily to the police it still placed at least two of the men in great difficulty.

The Tsomo Police station, to which they must report, is 48 km away from Mabutu's home and 32 km away from



Tshangana's home. The men will have to find between R8 and R10 a month each to pay for their transport to the police station.

Thabata will have to walk 5 km to the police station. Both Mabutu and Tshangana have no means of earning a livelihood in the Transkei. They had been employed as senior clerks in Cape Town at the time of their arrest. At the time of writing it seems possible that both men will have to live in a tent in Tsomo to meet their bail conditions. They do not have the money to pay for transport and their families are very poor.

* * * * *



INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

A New Black Movement Is Formed

(From "Cry Rage",
a newly published volume
of Black poetry.)*

Can the White Man speak for
me?
Can he feel my pain when his
laws
Tear wife and child from my
side,
And I am forced to work a
thousand miles away
Does he know my anguish as I
walk his streets at night,
My hand fearfully clasping my
pass?
Will he sooth my despair as I
am driven insane,
My scrap of paper permitting
me to live?
Can the White Man speak for
me?

Black Consciousness is the new concept sweeping through the Black Communities in South Africa in an effort to use legal platforms to change the status quo inside the country. Ten years after the Rivonia arrests when the top leaders of the National liberation movement, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were incarcerated on Robben Island for life, there is a growing opposition from the Black - African, Indian and Coloured - oppressed masses.

Side - by - side with this movement is the significant growth within the underground structure of the African National Congress. Following on the successful nation-wide distributions of "illegal" literature, a picture book depicting

* "Cry Rage" is published by SPRO-CAS Publications, Johannesburg and is by two Cape Town Coloureds, Jame Matthews, of Athlone, "a man of no account", and Gladys Thomas, of Oceanview Township, housewife.

the struggle of the people and containing a clear message to the Black people of South Africa to unite, was widely distributed in many parts of South Africa late last year.

While white South Africa watches uneasily, uncertain how to react, the first stirring of a new black militancy has begun. A Blacks-only political party, the Black People's Convention, held its first national congress at the end of last year at Hamanskraal, 30 miles from Pretoria.

According to one White newspaper report, the speeches at the convention were moderate - they had to be if their authors were not to risk prosecution - and the constitution adopted was restrained. "But no observer could mistake the hatred and contempt for white South Africa shared by the delegates."

Liberation

The constitution declares its aim to be nothing less than the liberation of all Black people in South Africa and their emancipation from "psychological and physical oppression." The new party's leaders know that the Government will not hesitate to crush them as it did the African National Congress in the 1960s. But BPC's overtly segregationist stance has placed it in a position of tactical strength, coinciding



as it does with the Nationalist Party's credo that "non-whites" must create their own separate organisations.

"We are aware they can shove us in goal at any time," said Mr. Drake Koka, the party's secretary-general, in a statement to a news reporter. "That is why we are not a movement of confrontation but a movement of introspection — our aim is to awaken Black Consciousness."

Demand For Political Rights

The line between political activism and confrontation is a narrow one and it is open to question how long the BPC, whose very existence is a direct challenge to the government can survive. To succeed it must have time to grow. That this concept of Black Consciousness is not just a fever dreamed up by disenchanted Black intellectuals is shown in a study recently published by the South African Institute of Race Relations on the attitudes of school pupils in Soweto, the vast African township just outside Johannesburg. At the head of a list of what they consider to be their five greatest grievances, 73 per cent of the pupils put inadequate political rights, 67 per cent influx control and pass laws, 65 per cent inadequate income and inadequate educational facilities, and 50 per cent inadequate opportunity for employment. Complaints about the lack of entertainment and recreational facilities were far down the list, with less than 7 per cent.

There are other clear signs that Black Consciousness is on the march in South Africa. The term "Black" to describe Indians, Coloureds and Africans alike — indeed anyone whom the Government terms "non-whites" — has only come into general use in the last few months.

This change in terminology, now widespread, undoubtedly reflects the change in Black attitudes. The director of Black Theology, an organisation seeking a united Black Church, said recently that polarisation was now accepted by Black students as "the only positive response to a situation which sought to bend the Black man forever under the White's yoke of oppression and dehumanisation."

Are they Racist?

The question that immediately comes to mind when assessing this new mood; this new movement, is, are their concepts racist.

It is too early to give a categorical answer to this question. However, it must be noted that nowhere in its policy documents, and except in extremely rare cases, in the writings of some members of SASO and BPC, can one find traces of racism.

They are all firm on one point. Their immediate objective is to organise the Black against White racism. They believe that in order to do this it is necessary for the Black man in South Africa to rid himself of the inferiority complex imbued in him from the day of his birth, in every walk of life, everywhere, by White propaganda and attitudes.

Another aspect which should be noted is that at no time have these movements adopted policies promoting Black capitalism or retaliatory Black racism as some Black movements advocate in some countries.

Therefore, at this stage, while we must accept the revolutionary interpretation of Black Consciousness, we must at the same time, guard against and oppose, any manifestation of reactionary narrow nationalistic or chauvanistic tendencies that may arise in the future.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM

strategy, tactics and programme
of the african national congress
SOUTH AFRICA



"White man seated in your luxurious pad,
Walls illuminated with the glory of
Nina Simone, Josh White, and Miriam Makeba,
You say that you are my soul brother,
Pay homage to the songs sung by
Singers singing the bitter blues brought on
By gut-clawing, soul-searching, castrating white laws,
And you tell me that you are my soul brother,
When the hypocrisy of your pious double-talk
Of sharing my pain and plight sickens me,
White man get lost and go screw yourself
You have long gone — gone lost your soul."

Dockers Victimised

At least 15 African stevedores employed on the Durban Docks have been dismissed for having given evidence to the Wage Board hearing set up as result of their recent strikes. (Details of these strikes were published in the last issue of SECHABA).

After several requests for reasons for their dismissal the employers replied that their services were no longer required, despite the fact that many of those dismissed were long service indunas (similar to assistant foremen). Although it is unlawful in terms of Section 25 of the Wage Act, to victimise a worker in any way for having given evidence about wages and conditions at a hearing, the Department of Labour has done nothing to take up the case of the workers.

Meanwhile, the workers have unanimously rejected a pay offer of R1. per week bringing up their basic wage to R9.50 (approx. £4.75 per week). A signed objection was sent to the Minister of Labour informing him of their decision and at the time of writing meetings were being held to discuss the imposition of a ban on all overtime.

* * * * *

No Trade Union?

The road is not easy for Africans who want to form a trade union, as PUTCO bus drivers have discovered – and are continuing to discover.

Following the recent strike by these workers (See report in SECHABA Vol. 6 No10 – October 1972) a group of them decided to set up a trade union "to ensure orderly improvements in wages and conditions."

The organisers allege that a Mr. Carleo, a director and shareholder of the Company has threatened to dismiss any worker who joined a union.

When this fact was given to the press and published in the Rand Daily Mail, a number of workers were called to the office of a Mr. Brooks, divisional manager of PUTCO's Kliptown division and cross-questioned about the report in the Mail.

In a statement following their interrogation, the organisers informing the press of the cross-questioning that some of them had to undergo, said:

"Mr. Brooks attempted to discover who had been responsible for the press report appearing . . . He said that the press statement was a direct challenge to the management and whoever was responsible would have to carry the can.

"Those present did not know who released the statement but they told Mr. Brooks that the report was correct. He said he did not want to discuss the merits or demerits of the statement, but the idea of a union was wrong for us. PUTCO could look after us better than a union could.

"When asked what help PUTCO could offer, he explained the system of advisory committees which PUTCO had set up and said if we had problems we should consult the directors and they would decide what could be done.

"He then asked us for an immediate decision as to whether those present intended to go on with the union. When we said we must first meet with the committee, he insisted that we must decide now since he had to report back to his management immediately.

"He then began asking each one of

us separately. Those present were scared of losing their jobs and confused, and some of those present told him that they were not proceeding with the union.

"The committee has since met and issued the following statement:

"It is apparent from the strenuous efforts being made to influence the workers at PUTCO that the management is determined to break the union.

"It is a pity that management is taking this attitude since the relationship between the union and the company should not be one of hostility but rather of co-operation in promoting the interests of the company on the one side, and the workers on the other."

The drivers have obtained legal advice and have concluded that they cannot be dismissed merely for forming a trade union as this would constitute a lockout which is illegal. "Lock-outs are just as much an offence as strikes," said Mr. John Nhlapo, Chairman of the Drivers Committee which is organising the union.

"We have learnt from our recent experiences that African workers cannot strike, but we demand the equal protection of the law," he said.

"We are accordingly writing to the Labour Department to protect us from

People waiting for a permit to seek work



any intimidation or victimisation and our resolve to proceed with the formation of a trade union is now stronger than ever."

● Although there are about 50,000 factories in South Africa and the law makes provision for works committees through which African workers can discuss certain things with employers, only about 27 such committees are in existence. African Trade Unions are not illegal but they have no rights whatever in law. The right of African workers to strike is absolutely forbidden.

* * * * *

Equal Pay Fund

A group of doctors in the Transvaal has established a pay equalisation scheme to upgrade the salaries of African doctors to those of Indians and Coloureds. The Medical Committee of the Transvaal Study Circle, a non-racial organisation of doctors formed in May last year has collected R600 towards its pay scheme.

This was distributed among the four African doctors at the Baragwanath

Provincial Hospital, near Johannesburg. They are the only African doctors working in provincial hospitals in the Transvaal.

A spokesman for the group said that their action was not an act of charity but an act of duty based on principle. "The question of discriminatory salaries is utterly untenable to us," he said.

Stating that the movement was receiving the support of most Black doctors in the Province, he said that originally it was confined to doctors working in Provincial hospitals, but now it was spreading to the GP's.

"About 85 per cent of the contributions to date have come from Coloured and Indian doctors - but there had been some White support, including a letter backing the move from the Association of Surgeons of South Africa and a donation from its executive," he added.

The initial intention was to bring the salaries of African doctors on to a par with those of Indians and Coloureds at provincial hospitals.

Once this has been achieved, a move would be made for equal pay among doctors of all races at the hospitals. The movement is confined to the Transvaal, but contact has been made

with medical groups in Natal and the Cape - urging the establishment of a similar fund.

These are the yearly pay scales applicable at provincial hospitals in the Transvaal for the different races:

● **Chief specialist or professor:** Whites R12,000; Indians and Coloureds R8,400; Africans R7,800.

● **First specialist:** Whites R10,800; Indians and Coloureds R8,100; Africans R7,500.

● **Senior Medical Officer:** Whites from R7,200 to R9,300; Indians and Coloureds from R6,000 to R7,200; Africans from R6,000 to R6,600.

● **Medical officer and registrar:** Whites from R5,700 to R8,100; Indians and Coloureds from R4,350 to R6,600; Africans from R3,750 to R6,000.

Senior house officer: Whites R5,400; Indians and Coloureds R4,350, Africans R2,760.

● **Note:** Black patients in Transvaal hospitals pay far more than Whites in the same income group for the same service.

For a White family of five with a combined income of R2,400 a year, the hospital fee for any member of the family for a fifteen-day stay would be

Textile workers on strike





Farm Labour

Meanwhile in a report recently published by the Wages Commission of the University of Natal (Durban) SRC states that of all labour in South Africa, farm labour is the most exploited and the least capable of changing its situation.

The Wages Commission says an understanding of the role of the State is crucial to an understanding of the impoverishment and control of farm labour.

Dominated politically, through a political system which weighs the votes of the White rural population, the White farmers have used all the means at their disposal to demand the fullest State control over labour.

"As the State bureaucracy has become more efficient in its control of Black labour generally, so increased demands are being made to re-allocate Black labour in the interests of the farming sector.

The commission says the desires of the White farmers have been carried through to legislation:

- The Native Land Act of 1913, destroyed a vigorous system of sharecropping and reduced African farmers to labourers.
- A later Land Act, ensured a more even distribution of African farm labour.
- The Native Service Contract Act of 1932, reinforced the powers of the White farmer and permitted whipping.
- The Bantu Labour Act of 1964, provided blanket regulations for Black labour generally and also provided for farm labour control boards.

These boards, says the commission, comprising State officials and White farmers, determine the number of farm labourers required in an area and the form of employment to be adopted. They direct labour to where it is required and are backed by a central registration system in Pretoria where computers are used to record the full employment history of every Black worker

Commenting on a study carried out in the wattle-growing industry in Natal's

R1.00. But an Indian, Coloured or African with the same income will have to pay R37.50.

While it is true that not many Blacks earn this sort of wages, the fact that such discrimination exists is further indication of the Government's callous disregard for the well being of the Black population in South Africa.

* * * * *

Poverty Wages

Only two of the 13 sectors in the economy pay Africans above the poverty datum line (PDL), according to a research just completed by Mr. Dudley Horner, a research officer of the Institute of Race Relations.

The PDL set in June 1972 for an African family of five is R70.62.

Only the banking and Insurance sectors pay above this rate. The pay in these sectors average at R71 and R77 respectively, said Mr. Horner.

Addressing the national seminar of the students' Wages and Economics Commission on African Wage movements, Mr. Horner said that the lowest rates were in the mining industry (R21), Provincial Administration (R42), retail trade (R46) and local authorities (R50).



mist belt, the commission describes the life-style of African workers as being on a sub-human level.

The report shows three wage structures in this industry. Drivers and foremen received R8.69 a week. Workers engaged in loading, sawing lumber and stripping bark received an average wage of R3.17 a week.

Domestics and women employed in hoeing firebreaks, received on average R2.06 a week.

Note: R1. = approx £0.50.

* * * * *

Starvation in the "Homelands"

One would think this is bad enough, but when one sees the devastation in the so-called "Bantu" homelands one can readily accept that the racists in South Africa are pursuing a policy of genocide in our country.

While mission hospitals in many "homelands" report the "usual" high incidence of near starvation among children, two hospitals report a staggering 75 to 80 per cent of children they see are famished.

There has been an acute food shortage in the land starved "homelands" and the situation facing families without incomes is desperate.

The Medical Superintendent of the N.G.S. Mission Hospital in Bambisana, Pondoland, said on Christmas eve that malnutrition had been acute during the past year.

"I would say 80 per cent of the children we see are poorly nourished - some of them are serious Kwashiokor cases.

"We have a lot of malnutrition - you can call it starvation", he said

A report on the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital in Nqutu, KwaZulu says:

"A third of the patients are tubercular and most suffer from preventable protein and vitamin deficiency diseases.

"Seventy-five per cent of the admitted children are grossly underweight and 18 per cent of the babies born in the wards are underweight because of the starved conditions of their mothers.

"In some areas one in three babies die at birth," said the report.

The maintenance of this system is part of the grand design of the white rulers in South Africa. The "homelands" which in fact are reservoirs of cheap labour from where starving people could be sent out to work for slave wages in the White farms and factories is a deliberate policy of the government.

Slave labour is not too harsh a term to describe a system whereby men are treated as cogs in the machine of the White economy and are denied every one of the basic human rights.

At least the slave owner has a vested interest in the health and welfare of a man who represented a capital investment.

But in South Africa no such heed may be taken. There is a plentiful supply of starving labour in the "homelands".

Leather workers at a strike meeting



Death Sentence

Towards the end of last year a man was hanged in South Africa. Almost everybody in the country knew his name – Frans Vonsteen. Two weeks earlier six men were hanged. Few people knew even one of their names.

Where Vonsteen's execution led to protests and sleepless nights at the thought of the hangman's noose, the hanging of the six men occurred with hardly a ripple of public conscience.

All the men were convicted of murder. All knew in advance the date and hour of their death. All had to contemplate a black hood over their heads, a rope round their necks and a sudden drop which will break their necks.

The only reason for the different reactions to the hanging was the fact that unlike Vonsteen, who is White, William Dilihlazo, Jeremiah Ludick, Wellington Ngwabeni, Fanyana Shabalala, Piet Rotombo and Fori Mokona, were all Black.

Whites alone have the power to raise the wider question of the death penalty and to organise for its abolition. Yet they have remained curiously mute, largely because the vast majority of those who go to the gallows in South Africa are Black.

Professor Barend van Niekerk, Director of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa, which was founded by a group of academics, church and professional men, about a year ago, spoke bluntly on this question in a statement to the press.

He said: "A few more White executions and we will never look back. It is only when Whites are hanged that Whites are really made aware of the death penalty."

Referring to the fact that protesters had even pitched a tent on Pretoria's Church Square – the very heartland of Afrikaanderdom – and that the Minister of Justice had agreed to see Vonsteen's family, Professor van Niekerk said:

"Can you imagine a tent being pitched on Pretoria's Church Square for a Black rapist who did not even kill?"

"Can you imagine the Minister of Justice agreeing to see relatives of condemned Blacks?"

"Because these people do not have the sympathy of White society, nothing is known of them; the whole issue goes by default."

The people who appealed so passionately for the reprieve of Frans Vonsteen, simply forget that in South Africa an average of two persons – almost always Black – are hanged every week

of the year. These executions excite no emotion whatever. Yet somewhere, to somebody, each hanging causes the same dread and anguish and sickening of the heart as has been publicly displayed in the instance of Vonsteen's death.

* * * * *

Parted For 11 Years

Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, former national president of the banned African National Congress Women's League and the South African Women's Federation recently met Mrs. Helen Joseph for the first time in 11 years.

Mrs. Ngoyi, whose many bans restricted her to her Orlando West town-



Helen Joseph

Lilian Ngoyi



ship home, has not had her banning re-imposed.

Mrs. Joseph, who had her banning order suspended at the end of October last year after being put under house arrest for eight years, worked with Mrs. Ngoyi as national secretary of the Women's Federation during its tempestuous years before the government banned all its leaders in 1960.

* * * * *

Race Jibes in Court

Warnings of contempt charges were given in a court case where a white man appearing referred to an African as "kaffir".

A case, in the Johannesburg Regional court was adjourned in uproar after a White man, Theo van der Merwe, accused of fraud, shouted "kaffir" at an African attorney who was questioning him.

The exchange came after a 15-minute cross-examination of van der Merwe by Mr. D.A. Dlamini who was appearing for another accused in the case.

The magistrate had to intervene on several occasions when van der Merwe treated Mr. Dlamini disrespectfully. When Mr. Dlamini continued with his cross-examination after one such intervention he said: "Mr. van der Merwe, I have been tolerating your sarcastic talk..."

"... And I've been tolerating your cross-examination, kaffir," shouted Mr. van der Merwe with a break in his voice.

Dlamini: I'm taking strong exception...

van der Merwe: You can take exception...

Dlamini: Your worship, I'm referring the matter to the court...

Through the uproar the Magistrate could be heard to say: I will take a contempt of court... as a White man... You will apologise. Mr. Dlamini is an officer of the court. You will apologise to Mr. Dlamini and to the court.

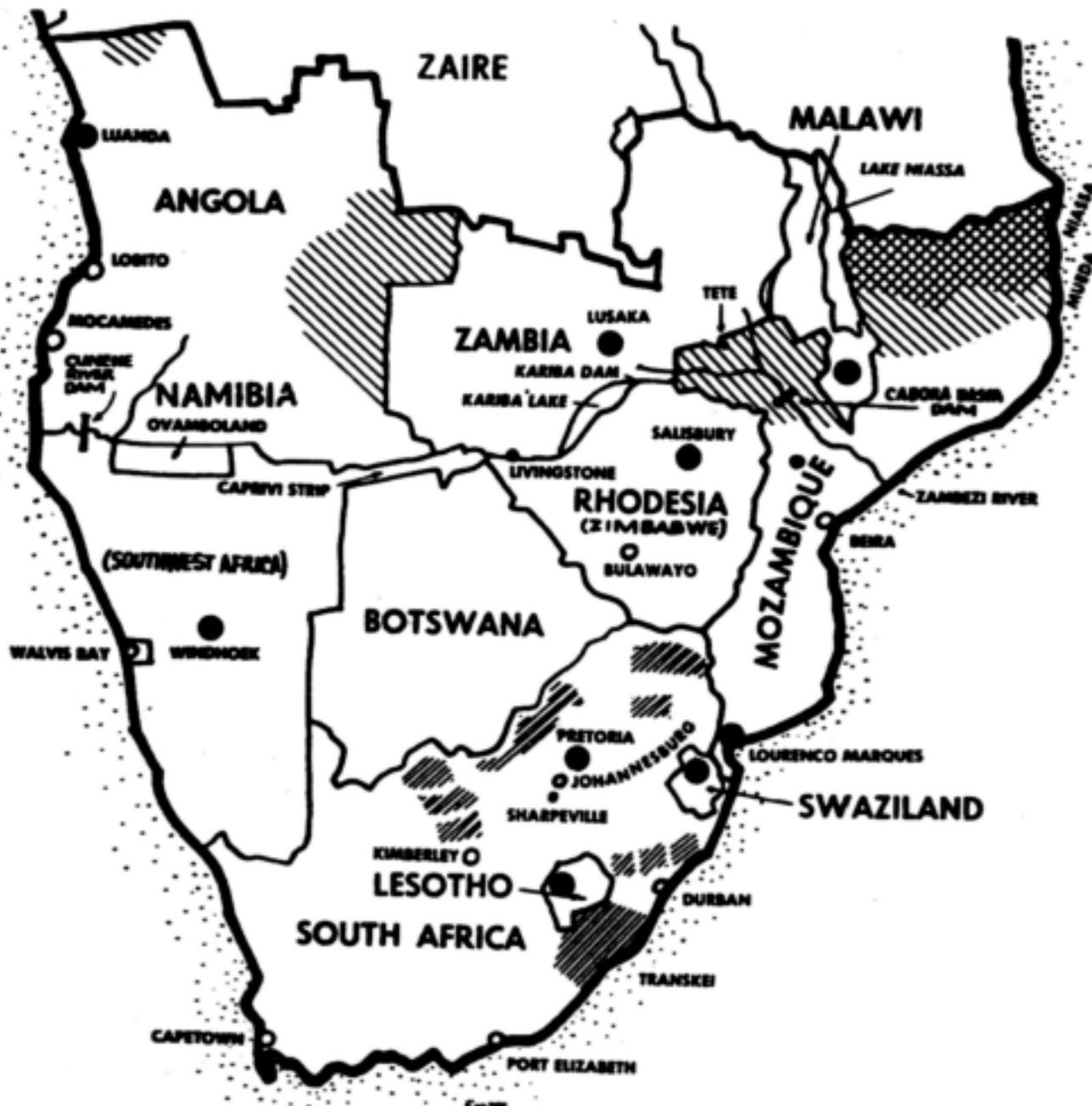
Mr. van der Merwe: I will apologise to the court... I grew up as a man who can never... (the rest was unheard).

The magistrate advised van der Merwe to consult his attorney and adjourned the court for five minutes.

The case continued after the adjournment when all that van der Merwe said was: Your worship, I am sorry. Mr. Dlamini later laid a charge of crimen injuria against van der Merwe.

The Following Statement made by the American Committee on Africa and supported by the Southern Africa Committee, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa and the African Information Service, all of the United States, demand a . . .

FREE AND INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA



Secretary General Waldheim's November 15 report to the United Nations Security Council on contacts on the question of Namibia by his personal representative, Mr. Alfred M. Escher, represents an ominous retreat from the principles established by the United Nations decision to terminate the South African mandate over Namibia and to end all South African authority in the area, in effect declaring South Africa an illegal occupier. The report also constitutes a reversal of the U.N. position of support for the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence under conditions of national unity and territorial integrity.

In initiating contacts with South Africa, Mr. Escher's mission has served only to re-legitimize and strengthen an illegal authority. South Africa has not been forced to relinquish any part of its total control of Namibia.

Indeed South Africa is clearly using the time gained by pursuing these contacts to consolidate its control of the country.

We therefore urge the Security Council to terminate all such contacts and to return to its program, from which it was diverted by resolutions 309 and 319, of seeking effective means to compel South Africa to cease its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Back-handed Recognition

In justifying his recommendation that "contacts between the Secretary General and the South Africa Government . . . should be continued" Mr. Escher refers to "positive elements" that emerged from his discussion with the South African Prime Minister.

These elements examined appear positive only for South Africa, which has won from this interlude a back-handed recognition of its status in Namibia and implicit consent for its policy of fragmentation of Namibia. This is in violation of the U.N. resolution which established the mission and its mandate in terms of seeking ways to secure South Africa's complete withdrawal from the territory and the establishment of a united, free Namibia.

Mr. Escher's report on the substance of the discussions between himself and Prime Minister Vorster makes it clear that South Africa dictated the

framework of all the discussions. No amount of dialogue on such a basis could possibly advance U.N. objectives for Namibia. In particular:-

- Mr. Escher reports that Mr. Vorster did not consider it an "appropriate stage to go into a detailed discussion of self-determination and independence". Thus the central issue was stricken from the agenda before any talks began;

- As if to underline his contempt for the United Nations and its interpretation of self-determination, Mr. Vorster made it clear in a press conference on November 20 that South Africa has "no timetable whatsoever" for full independence for Namibia, and that it is impossible to make one (New York Times, 11/21/72);

- Mr. Vorster also reiterated the South African determination to press ahead with its 'homelands' policy, which will divide Namibia into ten 'homelands' or Bantustans, with a pretense of self-government in each segment. This system is now described in new language which talks of "self-determination on a regional basis". Bantustans have been totally rejected by the U.N. and by the people of Namibia, as well as South Africa, yet Mr. Escher reports that "this seemed acceptable to me in principle". His addition "provided that the necessary conditions for the exercise of self-determination were fulfilled" is unrealistic. Bantustans are a South African instrument designed to prevent the establishment of self-determination as defined by the U.N. Changing their title does not change their function;

- To provide a cover for this Balkanization of Namibia, Mr. Vorster has apparently offered to establish a National Advisory Council. The hollowness of this offer is immediately betrayed by its corollary - that the South African Prime Minister himself will assume overall responsibility for Namibia as a whole. Thus in one act all power is to be re-centralized in South African hands;

- South African intransigence is further revealed by its response to Mr. Escher's inquiry "whether the Government would consider the abolition of restrictive legislation". With contemptuous honesty Mr. Vorster declared that curbs on freedom are necessary for "influx control" - thus giving Mr. Escher notice that South Afri-



Herman Ja Toivo - SWAPO leader who is serving life imprisonment on Robben Island

ca's vicious forced labour and apartheid system in Namibia is not open to negotiation;

- The Prime Minister flatly denied any victimization of Africans who met with Secretary General Waldheim in the spring of 1972, though there is clear evidence of their victimization. Thus the Acting President of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), Mr. G. N. Maxuilili, is still under a banning order imposed in the spring of 1972, when he was permitted to have an interview with Mr. Escher;



- There was apparently not even any discussion about the raising of martial law now in effect in Ovamboland or the repeal of laws enforcing the apartheid system, nor about the release of all political prisoners.

Terminate Contacts

The Security Council authorized the Secretary General to conduct exploratory conversations with the South Africa government to determine whether means could be devised to transfer power from the occupying force to the people of Namibia through U.N. intervention. "Conversations" with South Africa are leading not to the transfer but to the entrenchment of South African power. It is clear that South Africa is not prepared to agree to any real U.N. authority in Namibia.

Therefore the Security Council should terminate these contacts between its representatives and the South African government and undertake effective measures to compel compliance with existing resolutions on Namibia. In particular, it is important that the Security Council take action to:-

- Intensify its efforts to establish an independent, freely elected, democratic government of the people of Namibia in a united land;

- Call on all U.N. specialized agencies and related organizations to implement the International Court's Advisory Opinion of June 21, 1971 by refusing to allow South Africa to represent or act on behalf of Namibia;

- Call on all U.N. member states to comply with and implement relevant U.N. resolutions relating to Namibia, and in particular Security Council resolutions 283 and 310;

- Give full support to representation of the territory by the Council for Namibia pending the establishment of a freely elected government of the people of Namibia, and to call on member states to similarly recognize the interim authority of the Council for Namibia;

- Support the establishment of an adequate staff, including Namibians, to assist the Council for Namibia (and the U.N. commissioner upon his appointment) to carry out their functions.

APARTHEID AND BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA



There are several large multi-national business firms in the United States with investments in racist South Africa. Some of these Companies who underwrite apartheid have been analysed in documents published by the Corporate Infor-

mation Centre of the National Council of Churches, New York, in co-operation with the Southern Africa Committee.

This brief extract from one of their documents is the first of a series

which we have decided to publish in order to show that foreign investments in South Africa, far from helping the Black people, as some would want us to believe, actually helps to perpetuate white racism.

1. International Telephone and Telegraph Company (IT&T.)

Standard Telephone and Cables (STC) which represents IT&T's major investment in the sub-continent, is one of South Africa's largest electrical manufacturing concerns. Affiliated with the London-based IT&T subsidiary of the same name, the company has its head office and manufacturing facilities at Boksburg, outside Johannesburg, in a 71-acre industrial site. Products made there are not only sold in South Africa but are exported throughout Southern Africa and to Europe. The solid growth of South Africa's telecommunications industry has also meant rapid expansion for STC. During 1970, STC is said to have expanded its assets from \$16 million to \$23 million. According to a press report, between 1966 and 1971, sales trebled and annual turnover reached \$42 million. At the end of 1970, the company announced plans to

spend \$4 million to build an additional 30,000 square feet of factory space. Operations are divided into five divisions, four of them involving manufacturing and the fifth handling electrical wholesaling. The product areas are electronic systems (such as data transmission equipment), private communications equipment (intercoms, etc.), electronics components (transistors), and communications equipment for the Post office (a government department which controls the national telephone system as well as the mail).

The company employs 1800 persons in their Southern African operations, 1400 of them at their Boksburg location. These 1400 include approximately 800 Coloureds and 100 Africans. In March of 1971, company chairman, Mr. L. T. Wildman, estimated that aver-

age salaries for Coloured workers ranged from 73.5c (U.S.) to 92c per hour. During an average 45-hour week, these employees would earn between \$33.50 and \$41.90 weekly or \$134 to \$168 per month. African wages are lower.

These Coloured wages are somewhat higher than the national average in manufacturing industry of \$100 per month (1970), but they are lower than average Coloured wages throughout the metal and communication industry, \$181 per month. Lowest wages barely match the "minimum effective level" which the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has found to be required for subsistence for African families in Johannesburg's major township and Coloured cost of living is estimated to be substantially higher.



Technological Contributions

Technology is probably STC's greatest contribution to the maintenance of SA's "way of life." Because of the severe shortage of skilled technicians, STC imports personnel (whites only) both on assignment from STC plants in other parts of the world and by active recruiting in several European countries.

As one of the most sophisticated electronic manufacturers in the sub-continent, STC promotes SA's economic selfsufficiency. It is the company's policy to encourage local design and manufacture of both components and complete electronics systems, and to increase locally-made content of all products. These measures both reduce the necessity for importing certain equipment, and increase the ability of the white government to withstand international pressure. The strategic nature of STC's products is particularly important to a country which is threatened by both internal unrest and outside force.

The Boksburg plant has under its roof the only facility in Africa manufacturing integrated transistor circuitry.

Currently, the firm is gearing itself to be the major supplier of microwave equipment and receiver components, in anticipation of the coming of television to South Africa. Already the principle supplier of microwave systems to the Post Office, STC expects to be ready for the scheduled introduction of television in four or five years. Emphasis is placed on using local resources.

Cape Town-Lisbon Cable Link

South Africa has delayed the advent of television until such time as internal sources were able to contribute both equipment and skills in programming. Heavy dependence on foreign hardware would be a drain on the economy, and to use outside programs would increase fears of possible liberalizing influences-both of which are undesirable from the point of view of the South African government. STC helps to hasten the day of government-con-

trolled T.V., and to allay fears of its effects.

Celebrating another technological feat, STC announced on February 18, 1969, the completion of a cable link between Lisbon and Cape Town. Heralding improved communications between South Africa and Portugal, Prime Minister Johannes Vorster of South Africa inappropriately dubbed the new connection "The Cable of Good Hope."

Exports by STC

A recent sale concluded by STC made a substantial contribution to South Africa's ailing exports. During 1970 and 1971, the company delivered telephone transmission equipment worth \$1.4 million to Spain. According to STC managing director P.K. Loveday, the company "has organized an air service to replenish equipment, and any equipment needing repair or maintenance will be brought back to South Africa. In a large advertisement, which appeared in South Africa's major financial magazine, STC calls attention to such contributions:

"STC manufactures in Boksburg for export to the African Continent and the rest of the Southern Hemisphere."

STC and the S. A. Government

Much of STC's business is with various government agencies, including the South African Police, and employees often need to get security clearances

African workers "living" quarters



to perform their jobs. The company is the major supplier of telephone transmission equipment to the Post Office.

In 1970, STC won a \$1.5 million contract to supply postal automation machinery, which will speed up sorting and delivery of South Africa's mail. The Postmaster General has said that the new equipment requires only 12% of the personnel formerly needed for sorting. Such labor-saving devices are particularly important for the Post Office, where a severe white labor shortage has recently begun to slightly alter South Africa's strictest application of job reservation based on race.

In addition to agreements with civilian government agencies, the company has a contract with the Simonstown Naval Base, regarded by South Africa as a bulwark of the Western world against the advances of Communism. (It was the success of selling this image in Britain that led to the controversial announcement in 1970 that South Africa would be allowed to purchase WASP helicopters "for defense purposes.") STC provides telecommunications equipment for Simonstown, and recruits and employs its own people as engineers and maintenance supervisors at the base. Although STC is involved through this contract with the South African Navy, the U.S. government apparently feels that it does not violate its "embargo on any arms deliveries to South Africa."

Management Attitudes

Mr. Louis Wildman who had been STC's managing director since 1955,

was appointed chairman of the company in 1970. At that time, he also became I.T.&T.'s chairman for Africa.

As a man on the way up, Mr. Wildman has had various cultural experiences to inform his management of the Company's African operations. He knows, he says, the colored races, and has seen their living conditions around the world. In South Africa, he feels, "they are better off than anywhere else."

"Industry works for the people," he believes, and he worries about the World Council of Churches' decision to give money to aid the humanitarian work of Southern African liberation movements. Lending respectability to terrorists, he says, jeopardizes the good that can be done within the country. Mr. Wildman also resented the sanctions then in effect against Rhodesia. Besides the fact that he believed they were "doing no good," sanctions disrupted the traditional Southern African area, an integrated trading system within I.T.&T.'s world network.

In his new post, Mr. Wildman has sole responsibility "for shaping broad policies on Government, political and labor relations, acquisitions and new business developments." He brings with him his political philosophy about life in South Africa, and the measures necessary to improve its quality.

Supersonic Africa

I.T. & T. Supersonic Africa has operated as marketing agent in the Republic for Supersonic Radio Manufacturing Company of Rhodesia. Last year, the South African company announced plans to construct its own factory, costing approximately \$650,000, in Pietersburg, Northern Transvaal border area about 200 miles north of Johannesburg. The factory represents an important contribution to the South African government's plan to "decentralize" industry by locating it outside the major industrial centers. Through this policy, which has not been generally successful, the government hopes to cut off the flow of Africans to the "white" urban areas by providing jobs for them near the designated rural homeland, or "Bantustans."

Pietersburg has been called one of the "true border areas in the wider terms of government ideology," in contrast to the most successful "border areas" to date which have all been located near major cities. Although it was declared a "border area" in 1960, growth of industries had been slow until 1969 when the pace quickened, helped in part by I.T. & T. Supersonic.

Supersonic's black workers are drawn from the township of Seshego, 7 miles outside Pietersburg, on the edge of one of the "Bantustan" areas for Northern Sotho-speaking Africans. Victims of the government's efforts to draw a "neater" racial map, the township's residents were recently displaced from their

homes in Pietersburg's municipal location and a near-by area where Africans had land-owning rights not available to Seshego's dwellers. Residents now have the benefit of a school which trains health instructors and one which gives technical instruction, but it is reported that those who receive training in trades such as welding cannot work in the Pietersburg factories but only within the "Bantustan," where there are almost no industries.

Previous to the announcement, the company had been renting factory space in Pietersburg and planned to move into the new facility in early 1972. Full production should be reached by 1975, and by that time the products are expected to have 100% local content. The company will purchase its transistors from STC in South Africa, and will manufacture all radio equipment now being supplied to the Republic by Supersonic Rhodesia. From the government's point of view, I.T. & T. could not have done better: the project supports apartheid policy by its location, saves foreign exchange by replacing imports, and stimulates other industries by purchasing its materials locally.

Other I. T. & T. Companies

While other I.T. & T.-related companies are not as large as STC, they are also important to the South African electronics industry. The company recently purchased **Miller's Electrical Lines**, a wholesale distributor of industrial and general electrical installation material, cables, switch-gear, motors, domestic appliances and hardware, and switchboards.

Another South African subsidiary, **African Telephones and Cables**, manufactures electric wire and telephone cables. Recently, the firm provided 600 km (350 miles) of wire for electrical installations and control circuitry at the new oil refinery just completed near Sasolburg.

Two other I.T. & T. international subsidiaries own South African companies which operate in fields unrelated to electronic manufacturing. **Speedwriting Inc.** (including the Nancy Taylor Finishing Schools), a 1968 I.T. & T. purchase, owns **Houghton Commercial College** and **Speedwriting Commercial College** — two related Johannesburg secretarial school which only accept white students. **Maister Directories**, prepares the "Yellow Pages" for South Africa's telephone books, on contract from the Post Office.

I. T. & T. in Rhodesia

In Rhodesia, **Supersonic Radio Manufacturing Company** makes portable and automobile radios, portable and console radio/record players, stereo players and amplifiers, and television

sets, at its Bulawayo factory. The company exports to South Africa and Namibia.

Under pressure of international sanctions, the illegal Rhodesian regime has implemented various Emergency Power regulations which, in effect, have nationalized companies such as Supersonic. The government appointed the company's managing director as its "agent" to direct operations. This has allowed Supersonic to continue normal activities without breaching U.S. government policies regarding sanctions.



I. T. & T. in Portuguese Colonies

Through its Portuguese Subsidiaries, I.T. & T. is also active in Mozambique and Angola. **Standard Electrics S.A.R.L. Portugal** is owned by I.T. & T.'s subsidiary International Standard Electric Corporation — "a holding company which controls overseas manufacturing and service companies that, together, constitute one of the largest producers and suppliers of electronic and tele communications equipment outside the U.S. "and is primarily engaged in selling communications systems to governmental agencies.

Since 1969, most of the large new industrial investments in Mozambique have been of foreign origin. The largest of these was the acquisition by International Standard Electric Corporation of Grupo Oliva, formerly Portuguese-owned, with a registered capital of 110.7 million escudos. (A Portuguese escudo is worth U.S. \$.037.) Comprising four metallurgical and metal mechanical companies, Grupo Oliva was purchased at a price of 397.9 million escudos.

In 1968, at Cascais, Standard Electrica opened a new semiconductor plant, which employs 1000 people and produces transistors, radio receivers, and electronic components.

A 1968 press account reported that Standard Electrica had already invested more than \$6 million and planned to spend another \$36 million in Portugal and the colonies during the Third Development Plan. The company has supplied much of the equipment for the Mozambique telephone system. The Lourenco Marques and Beira systems, which have 28,000 and 7,000 lines respectively, and one main exchange each, are presently being expanded by 100%. In a contract signed with Portuguese companies, Standard Electrica agreed to supply underground cables and to aid in the development of the system at a cost of 156 million escudos.

Standard Electrica is also a major supplier of telephones and exchanges for Angola. The company won a \$2.2 million contract for installation of a complete network in 1969. This year, the Angolan Post Office department signed a contract with an I.T. & T. subsidiary and a Plessey subsidiary for an automatic exchange with 32,000 lines for Luanda, and another 1000 for Cabinda,

the separated Angolan enclave sandwiched between the Congo and Zaire where Gulf Oil exploits its major petroleum find.

A Summary of the Issues

1. The continuing and growing involvement of I.T. & T. and other foreign companies in South Africa is desired by the government because:

- Locally-made products save foreign exchange which would otherwise be spent on imports, help to make South Africa less vulnerable to economic pressures from outside, and stimulate local industries which supply parts to large factories.

- Skills imported along with foreign capital add to the sophistication of the economy, and provide access to technical capability is an important asset in the government's struggle to maintain control of the black majority, despite internal pressures from blacks themselves for greater share in wealth and political power.

- Both money inflow and technology mask the adverse economic effects of the government's restrictive racial policies.

- I.T. & T.'s participation in schemes to build factories in "border areas" lends credibility to government decentralization policies, and to the attempt to make urban areas "white" while still utilizing black labor.

2. Continuing operation of I.T. & T.'s Rhodesian subsidiary, which exports to South Africa and Namibia, aids the racist regime in its fight to maintain its economy despite sanctions.

3. Investment in the Portuguese colonies, especially in the strategic field of telecommunications, aids Portugal in the war effort against African independence movements.

4. The wages and benefits paid by I.T. & T. subsidiaries in Southern Africa do not distinguish themselves as being significantly better than other foreign or domestic companies operating in the area. In many cases, black employees receive wages that are not sufficient to maintain an average family in healthy conditions.

5. Participation in Southern Africa by I.T. & T. gives the company an interest in political developments in the areas, and a rationale for exerting influence on U.S. policy towards the area when it perceives those interests as threatened.

Despite stringent anti-strike laws pertaining in South Africa - Black workers are forced to resort to strike action



THE HISTORICAL PROCESS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

This paper was delivered by Mr. A. C. Moloi at a SASO week address last year at the University of the North. He was at the time lecturer in African Languages at the "North". It was this paper which resulted in him being called up to a senate level "interrogation" where he was questioned on certain things that he had claimed in his address. Subsequently, Mr. Moloi resigned his post and took up an associate professorship at a university in the United States. The subject in which he lectures is African studies. Mr. Moloi has a master's degree in History and an honours degree in African Languages.

We shall trace the development of Separate Development philosophy in detail and explain it as it is applied today. The idea of separate development is as old as South African history. The idea of Separate Development, as the Afrikaner's philosophy of life, stands for complete separation of the different racial groups of South Africa in both church and state.

It involves discrimination in land possession, labour, franchise, education and cultural improvement in general. It is complete segregation from Parliament to park benches. However, the Afrikaner does not view it in this light. He uses sweet terms to explain it: he envisages a kind of a commonwealth of South African "nations" similar to that of the British Commonwealth, where nations would cooperate in matters of common interest, without having a common central federal government or one nation dominating the others.

It is often claimed that the Blacks, in particular, are trained for their future responsible government in their territories, and that they are helped towards nationhood: Perhaps one might add, "nationhood" with Pretoria holding the purse, the gun and the police!

Driven off Land

The many land-wars in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century dispossessed the Africans – the Blacks. The colonialists, imperialists, liberal and Boer combined their forces to drive the Blacks completely from the land by passing land-laws. Many so-called native locations were cut up in 1879 into five morgens for residential areas and cultivation; the rest was communal property for registered owners of plots.

Many people were driven off the land and many chiefs-turned-traitors-received large individual allotments so as to remain loyal government foremen and police on the Blacks. This was a way to provide Rhodes' diamond mines with cheap labour. Rhodes made his point of view very clear on the matter before he legalized the dispossession of the Blacks in the Glen Grey Act of 1894 (which he called the Native Bill for South Africa):—

"... we have to treat the Natives in a different way to ourselves. We are the lords over them... The Native is to be treated like a child and denied the franchise... (1)

The Glen Grey Act further deprived the Blacks of the land they already occupied. Hut taxes were imposed; farms were subdivided until they were small; only the eldest son could inherit the allotment; many other people were driven to the mines as cheap labour. Even the "allotment" owners had to leave their plots to go and work for their hut taxes. Rhodes was more determined than ever to destroy the Blacks.

He emphasized:

"Every Blackman cannot have three acres and a cow... it must be brought home to them that in future nine-tenths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labour, in physical work, in manual work". (2)

The landless and voteless proletariat had to be humiliated further. The national government was not for them. To divert their thought from serious matters of State, a puppet, segregated ineffective local "government" called the Bunga system was created for the Blacks at the Cape. (Bunga is a Xhosa word for council).

These local "councils" consisted of White magistrates and nominated Blacks whose sole function was to help oppress the people. The 'nominated' tribesmen were usually puppets who were incapable of formulating any national aspirations of the Blacks. Thus the people's hatred and bitterness were directed not on the English liberals, but on their Black henchmen.

Rhodes would never tolerate the development of a settled working class because this class would soon amass wealth, send children to school, have enough time to reflect on national affairs, instead of being preoccupied with how to make a living, and; therefore, it could become a dangerous "agitator" element. Therefore he advocated labour training for the Blacks instead of the development of the intellect.

It is very interesting to note that Rhodes provided a basis for the present attitude of the Afrikaner to the education of the Blacks and the educated Blacks in particular. The Glen Grey Act is the pillar of government policy, even today.

Labour Reservoirs

In 1903 Tsomo, Butterworth, Tembuland and Griqualand East formed the Transkei Territories General Council (Bunga) which had Umtata as the capital. In 1911 and 1927 the West and East Pondoland General Councils were formed respectively. By 1930 the African areas east of the River Kei formed the United Transkeian Territories General Council.

The Native Affairs Act No. 23 of 1920 provided that the Glen Grey Act would be applied to any Black area – called 'native' area. Thus by 1940 all Black areas in South Africa were affected. Naturally the indigenous population resented the Glen Grey Act and other "native" bills because their sinister intentions were obvious.

The Act merely provided labour reservoirs, as the liberals were also conscious of what they were doing. The liberal, Rose-Innes helped to explain the true status of the Reserves (if you like, our new Bantustans) when he declared:— "The principle of the Act necessarily involves the creation of purely native reserves . . . The principle must be maintained against every species of opposition . . . **We shall in time be compelled to create more of such areas as reservoirs of labour.**" (3)

Indeed that time came. The 1936 Land Act affected the Reserves which were not affected by the farm-oriented 1913 Land Act. A "South African Native Trust", which could buy "more land and care for the moral welfare" of the Africans was established. Very few farms have been bought for the Blacks by the trust to date, because there would be clashes with White vested interests, especially in the Eastern Free State. I shall refer to this again when I treat the individual Bantustans (also this term will be explained later).

Blacks could buy land in "released" areas, but the title-deeds were worthless since the owners could not dispose of their lands as they pleased and they could be arbitrarily driven off their lands by the "commissioners".

The Act provided for the old English trick of "divide and rule", because the Blacks were divided into tribal groups. This was, however, realized and effectively put to use by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. (This is the Act which helped the Afrikaner leaders with their new find, the Bantustans — the newly coined word for the envisaged toy councils and dummy labour reserves).

The 1936 Land Act, like its predecessors, further worsened the Black man's position. Arid areas which are economically unviable are to be occupied by the Blacks, officially called Bantu. (Hence their places are called Bantustans. Think of other "stans", e. g. Turkestan, Afghanistan, etc.) The Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951 provided for the establishment of Tribal, Regional, and Territorial Authorities in the Bantu (black) areas. (Certainly these Bantu areas were not going to be like the ones that were suggested in the development programme of the Tomlinson Report).

A tribal authority is made up of a chief and his tribal council. A Regional Authority consists of the chiefs and tribal councils of two or more tribes. The Territorial Authority is "elected" from the chiefs and councillors of the different Regional Authorities. The educated and more articulate

Blacks are often shut out from these mini-politics institutions.

Before the so-called homelands can gain self-rule, they must pass through the stage of Territorial Authorities. The first such Territorial Authority was established in the Transkei in 1956. (Remember this is the area where the Britishers like Rhodes had experimented with their Bungas). 'Self-rule' had to follow. Act No. 46 of 1959 which dealt with the self-rule question provided for self-rule in the "Homelands".

The Transkei received this status in 1963. The Transkei has its own "Parliament" and "ministers". An interesting situation has arisen. The next step should be independence; but will South Africa grant it as they had been preaching? It is a doubtful matter. Ultimate independence for every one of the "Homelands" is not the intention of the Nationalists.

Sabotaged

The policy will fail because it is sabotaged by the Afrikaner himself. They talk of complete separation and development of the different groups, but they deprive others of means towards such development. Foreign and White capital is discouraged. (Of course there can be none forthcoming from the Blacks themselves because they are economically exploited).

The Bantu Investment Corporation is government machinery to turn those Blacks who get loans from the White government for their industries into effective managers of government businesses. The Black man, therefore, should, forever remain heavily dependent on the White. He must remain a cheap migratory labour force.

"Border industries" are in "White" areas and are White controlled. The Blacks must come and work and return home after spending their money there. No capital circulates within the Black area. Thus Rhodes and Milner would sleep soundly in their graves.

"The unskilled labour of this country must remain Black" (4) said Milner when he taught the Afrikaner how to rule. Again, the more articulate and capable Blacks are frowned upon; Black education is starved, much of it is irrelevant. The Afrikaner also fears other influences in the Black states of Southern Africa should they be granted independence. His own economy, based on Black labour, would collapse.

This is a typical example, of separate but "equal" development



Therefore, to avoid this, South Africa (White, of course) plays delaying tactics. The Blacks must be kept low artificially by not granting separate, yet equal facilities and opportunities. The Blacks must not be taught the technical know-how. The government controlled Black universities must keep admission numbers low. The science departments must grade their students arbitrarily. In short, reduce the tempo of Black education in order to eliminate effective leadership!

Perhaps an unconscious fear the Afrikaner has for completely free and viable Black states in Southern Africa is the possible unifications of these states. He has tried hard to avoid creating compact homelands. The Tswana and Leboya (Pedi) Territories are scattered with many White patches in between. The Tswanas and Ciskei obtained Territorial Authority status in 1968, Witzieshoek (Southern Sotho) and Leboya (Pedi) were accorded this status fairly recently. The Tsonga and Vendas are scheduled for later this year. Where White interests are involved, the policy is pursued half-heartedly. Witzieshoek is the case in point. The Afrikaners will not part with their maize and sheeplands in the Eastern Free State. Therefore, for the convenience of the White farmer — whose vote the Nationalists dare not lose — the Basotho must be forced and crowded into a "hoek" (corner).

This is the smallest "homeland" although it has to accommodate two and a half million Basotho. Many live under worse conditions on the farms and cannot send their children to school beyond the third grade. The farmer, who is also the farm school manager, cannot allow his cheap labour to escape him.

Men earn R3 (4.20 dollars) a month, plus fifty to a hundred bags of maize (corn) a year. Washer-women earn half their husbands' monthly wages and nothing more. Poverty is rife and everybody pretends that things are right in the country! The government connives at this. Thus the new peasantry is formed in the land of plenty.

No man in his right senses can accept the policy of Apartheid or Separate Development as it stands. All citizens should be developed equally for the good of the State. The Blacks must be fully integrated into the economic, social and political life of South Africa.

Integration does not mean miscegenation, the only excuse the Afrikaner has. It means according human rights and dignity to everybody, allowing people, regardless of their race or colour, a fair share in their national heritage and riches, removing debasing and irritating disabilities and artificial limitations. In short, it implies a full acceptance of man as the image of God.

Today only the bourgeois intelligentsia is capable of formulating national aspirations of the Blacks. However, the present rulers do not want to believe this. They limit the principle of self-determination to chiefs and tribal courts, and refuse it to the educated and more articulate Blacks.

It is not difficult to see through the shallow and false "baaskap" theory. No man is superior because of his race or colour. Civilization is the standard test of a man's capacity for political rights. Culture is acquired. The Blacks can acquire a higher standard of living if they are granted the opportunity. Man-made obstacles will crumble some day, but who knows with what consequences?

Allow me to point out that Bantustans are a purely artificial process imposed from above. They are at best labour reservoirs and beehives for neo-serfdom and oppression.

References:

1. Rhodes in the House of Assembly, Cape Province, 23rd June, 1887.
2. See Rhodes Speech, 30th July, 1894.
3. R. W. Rose-Innes: Glen Grey Act, p. 30
4. Milner to Chamberlain, 9th May, 1900.

Although the African National Congress is convinced that the so-called Homelands policy of the South African government is a gigantic fraud we, nevertheless, present this paper which formed the basis of CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI'S address to the Scandinavian Institute for African Studies recently, so that readers may see the dilemma in which some of those who are forced to serve on these institutions because of their position as chief of their people, are placed.

Chief Buthelezi is Chief Executive Councillor of Kwa Zulu.

My Role Within Separate Development Politics

I have chosen the above title for my talk today as I assume that most people are curious to know what Separate Development looks like through the eyes of one like myself who is participating in the implementation of this policy. It is probably one of the most controversial policies pursued by a country in our time. Because of the mass media many people know of South Africa and her policy of APARTHEID, although that word now tends to be substituted with Separate Development, particularly within South Africa.

I have great reservations about the philosophy of Apartheid which is behind the policies in whose implementation I am participating. This I am not saying because I am in Sweden, it is something I made quite clear from the moment I was elected by my people to lead them. Some of you may know that this was embodied in my in-

augural address delivered in the presence of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, on 11 June 1970 at Nongoma, KwaZulu. I have since then repeated this, not only in front of the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. B. J. Vorster, but at every possible occasion.

This policy is not a policy of options and to pretend that the question of accepting or not accepting this policy ever arises at all, is grossly misleading. What is worse, such pretence gives the South African white minority who rule us undue credit by giving the impression that we have any latitude in this matter at all. In my opinion, to say that we have "accepted" Apartheid, by serving our people within the framework of the South African Government policy would be as nonsensical as to say that when great African leaders like the late Chief Albert Lutuli, Dr. Z. K. Mathews and others, served their people within the framework of the United Party Government policy of segregation as members of the Native Representative Council, that they did so because they "accepted" the segregationist policies of the United Party Government. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Void of Ten Years

It is also a well-known fact that when African political organisations like the banned African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress got militant in the early sixties they were clamped on for the very reason that the authorities in South Africa could not tolerate the militant way in which they articulated the wishes and aspirations of their people, despite the fact that they were leading an unarmed people.

There was a void which lasted for almost ten years on the African political scene as no politics are allowed except within the framework of the policy of Separate Development.

Operating as I do with my reservations clearly spelled out, I therefore do not believe that, like Dr. Farst, I have in any way sold my soul to the devil, if I may use the expression.

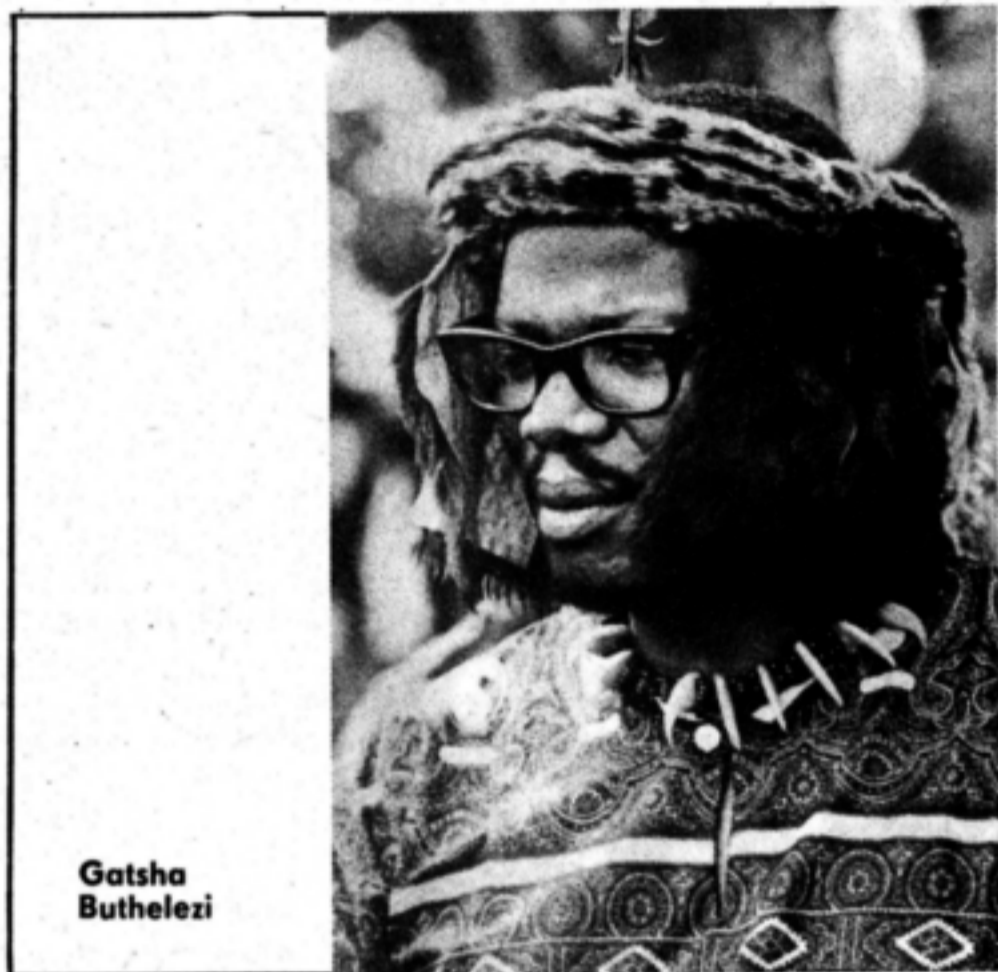
On the occasion of the inauguration of the Zulu Assembly I also defined what I considered to be the implications of this policy, if its propounders intend to carry it out with any degree of honesty. Foremost it is a crude joke that anyone can consider them to be countries in the making with any degree of seriousness. They all need to be consolidated if this is a serious experiment and this is the only point on which all Homeland Leaders agree. I further made it clear at my inauguration that I expected us to have full human dignity and to have freedom. This leaves the ball in the Republican Government's court which is where it is as far as I am concerned.

I also wish to place on record that these so-called 'Homelands' are areas into which we were pushed after conflicts and wars with the antecedents of the present Whites. It is nonsense to call them our traditional homes. They have not been set up by the Nationalist Party Government alone. All that they have done is to romanticise the old reserves by giving them a new Christmas wrapping of 'Homelands'.

When my people asked me despite my well-known views to lead them I felt that I just could not dare to refuse. It was one of those moments in history where I felt caught between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. It is therefore

one of those events where I think history will be the best judge of my actions in agreeing when I was called in to serve. I did so because no other chance of serving my people in politics is allowed. I did so also because I felt that when there is as much suffering as exists in that situation, it is a moral obligation to alleviate the suffering of human beings in however small a degree one does it. For the moment I have scope for articulating the wishes and aspirations of my people for the first time since the time of Sharpeville. I think this is important even at the risk of these instruments ending up as 'talking shops' in the same way in which the Native Representative Council was ultimately looked at by its members.

At present we find that the challenge is to do the utmost one can do towards the development of our people. This is the only machinery through which one can legally make this attempt in South Africa. It might rightly be said that the most we can achieve in his direction would be to nibble at the edges. This I consider much better than folding arms and crying about it.



Gatsha
Buthelezi

Workers Strength

At present we are drawing the attention of White South Africa to the cruelty of stinging us for our share of the wealth which we help to produce. More than seventy per cent of our people receive wages below the poverty-datum line. We are at present engaged in warning South Africa about the dangers of the kind of polarisation of wealth and poverty which exists. At the moment the ratio of black to white wages is 1:14. The dangers entailed in the perpetuation of this situation are too obvious if one takes the history of the human race as any guide. We feel that it is our duty at this time for our people to see themselves as Black workers instead of on an ethnic basis. Once this solidarity becomes a reality we have enough faith to know that our voice will be heard. We do not underestimate the reaction of the powerful should this moment be reached.

We are also concerned about disparities in White and

Black educational opportunities. Whites have a free and compulsory education with all the wealth they command. No such facilities are anywhere in sight for Blacks. In 1968 R14.48 was spent per head on Black children. In the same year expenditure per head for white children in the four Provinces of the Republic of South Africa was as follows: R 191 per white child in the Transvaal, R 244 per white child in the Orange Free State, R 266 per white child in the Cape and R 288 per white child in Natal. According to a February 1970 issue of Hansard this represents R 228 per white child, if we take the number of white pupils in each Province into account. Or in simple terms it means that fifteen times more is spent per white child than on an African child.

When we look at the health of the people we also see a grim picture. There is a doctor for every 44,400 Africans, one Coloured doctor for every 5,2000 Coloureds, one Indian doctor for every 900 Indians and one White doctor for every 400 Whites. Less than 12 African doctors a year are trained for a population of 15 Millions. I have been approached by a number of Black doctors with a request that we should launch a fund to establish a private school with a science bias in order to get as many candidates for the medical school as possible. According to an editorial in the latest edition of "The Bantu Education Journal", a sum of R 500 million is estimated as the sum required to eliminate the numerous inequalities and evils we suffer under Bantu Education. We are trying to impose taxes on ourselves to do as much as we can. But this will certainly not go very far. There is a group of white South Africans who are getting concerned about the situation and have launched funds known as the Teach Fund in Cape Town, the Learn Fund in Durban and the Rand Bursary Fund in Johannesburg. This will not solve the problem. But we feel that there is scope for friends within South Africa and also all the countries that have diplomatic relations with South Africa to help us to relieve the situation. It is of no use to be over-righteous about Apartheid if we get no concrete assistance while Apartheid lasts. In other words we feel it is not enough to condemn Apartheid as it will not crumble like the walls of Jericho merely by people shouting only without doing something concrete to alleviate our plight. While the problems of South Africa remain unresolved we feel we should be helped as Blacks to help ourselves. The ritual of resolution after resolution at the United Nations condemning Apartheid has not the same euphoric effects such as it had on Blacks say twenty years ago. We realise that we must like the Afrikaners also attempt to uplift ourselves by our own bootstraps, the difference with us is that we do not even have the bootstraps, which they had after the Anglo-Boer war.

Statute of Westminster

While many people are surprised, for instance, about the Rhodesian situation, we in the South are not. After all it was by the Statute of Westminster, a British Parliamentary Act, that South Africa was granted autonomy without any regard as to whether Blacks were represented or not. The African National Congress sent delegations to make protestations in Europe with no effect.

Friends, we have learnt the hard way that any amount of sympathy for us which is not expressed in concrete terms is like an empty echo of a mountain valley.

Those of us who have qualms of conscience about Apart-

heid and yet are working within the framework of the policy do so only because it gives us the only opportunity of awakening our people to help themselves. We can only judge as to who are our friends not by any torrents of crocodile tears that are shed, but by concrete contributions towards our campaign as Blacks to try and stand on our own feet despite the situation in which we find ourselves. There is a lame excuse which has become threadbare in our eyes: that is the excuse that if we are helped those who do so are strengthening Apartheid. We are living within Apartheid not out of choice and anyone interested in us will help us where we are. We will sink deeper into the Apartheid seas if we are to look at the situation from that angle, unless we are helped right where we are to keep our heads above water. Many people say South Africa is rich and can do these things for us. What a specious argument? After all there is both a White and a Black South Africa and people should know who is wallowing in wealth as much as who is wallowing in poverty. There is also the argument that the situation should be allowed to deteriorate and this will bring about a revolution soon. Some of us are not committed to a violent confrontation. I belong to this group. We do not pretend that this might not overtake us if we do not make a serious effort to solve our problems in South Africa. We find it rather strange for anyone outside South Africa to prescribe this for us. It seems to us that in the final analysis that the South African problems will be solved whether peacefully or violently, may God forbid, within South Africa by those within the country. The question of whether it will be a peaceful denouement or a violent confrontation can be dictated by the extent to which we are or are not assisted right now to stand on our own feet as Blacks. We have not given up the concept of Blacks as an entity. That is why although we are the so-called Homeland leaders Chief Minister Matanzima and myself have pledged ourselves to work towards a federation of the Transkei and KwaZulu and with whoever wishes to join us. It must be mere definition of such a goal however remote, it might be in the opinions of others, particularly our critics, within South Africa that keeps the concept of Black unity alive as something we must strive for. The Xhosa-speaking Blacks and the Zulu-speaking Blacks are the two largest ethnic groups in South Africa. We have other things in common such as NOSKI SIKELELI AFRIKA as our National Anthem. This is also the National Anthem of Zambia and Tanzania. We have also Sotho-speaking communities in both the Transkei and KwaZulu which has made us keep MORENA BOLOKA as an additional Anthem in both KwaZulu and the Transkei. Last month I launched the Lutuli Memorial Trust Fund in South Africa with the financial assistance from the Lutuli Memorial Foundation. I appointed the Bishop of Zululand, the Right Reverend A. H. Zulu, as Chairman of the Fund and a Committee was set up. **This fund is for the educational needs of all African children who can be helped. It is in keeping with Chief Lutuli's ideas not an ethnic venture.**

I mention these things to show that we have not abandoned everything which was precious to patriots who have passed on the African political scene before us. It must always be remembered that there is no situation in any country where politics cannot be defined as the art of the possible. Also in a situation like ours, even more so it remains the art of the possible. We are doing what is possible no more and no less. This I venture to say is what politics is about anywhere and in any situation.

7.

Reaffirms its conviction that economic and other sanctions, instituted under Chapter VII of the Charter and universally applied, constitute one of the essential means of achieving a peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa;

8.

Requests the Security Council to consider urgently the situation in South Africa with a view to adopting such effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter;

9.

Firmly supports the efforts of all those engaged in the struggle inside South Africa against apartheid and its evil consequences;

10.

Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to eradicate apartheid and racial discrimination by all available means and to attain in the country as a whole majority rule based on universal suffrage;

11.

Appeals to Governments, specialized agencies, national and international organizations and individuals to provide greater assistance, directly or through the organisation of African Unity, of the national movement of the oppressed people of South Africa;

12.

Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to discontinue all collaboration with the Government of South Africa until it renounces its policies of apartheid in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

13.

Requests States, members of international agencies and organisations, particularly the members of the European Economic Community, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund, to take the necessary steps to deny all assistance and commercial or other facilities to the Government of South Africa so long as it pursues its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination and continues to defy the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council;

14.

Requests all States to take appropriate steps, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2775 D (XXVI) to uphold the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sports and withhold any support from sporting events organized in violation of this principle, particularly with the participation of racially selected teams from South Africa;

15.

Commends the activities of anti-apartheid movements, trade unions, student organizations, churches and other groups which have promoted national and international action against apartheid;

16.

Invites all organizations, institutions and information media to organize, in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations, intensified and coordinated campaigns in 1973 with the following goals:—
(a) Discontinuance of all military, economic and political collaboration with South Africa;

(b) Cessation of all activities by foreign economic interests which encourage the South African regime in its imposition of apartheid;

(c) Condemnation of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees in South Africa;

(d) Discouragement of emigration to South Africa, especially of skilled workers;

(e) Boycott of South Africa in sports and in cultural and other activities;

(f) World-wide collection of contributions for assistance to the victims of apartheid and support to the movement of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom;

17.

Requests the Special Committee on Apartheid to arrange, in consultation with the Secretary-General, for the preparation and widest dissemination of expert studies to counteract the propaganda by foreign economic and financial interests against resolutions of the United Nations and in favour of economic collaboration with the South African regime and racist institutions in South Africa;

18.

Further requests the Special Committee to take steps to publicize all available information on collaboration by States and foreign economic and financial interests with the South African regime and South African companies;

19.

Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on the implementation of this resolution.

Notes

1) Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 22 (A 8722) and *ibid.*, Supplement No. 22 A (A 8722Add. 1); A 8770.

2) Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 3 (A 8703), chap. XIV, sects. B. 3. and 4.

Vote: 100 in favour to 4 against, with 21 abstentions.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

Absent: Dominican Republic, Gambia, Malta, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Swaziland)

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