

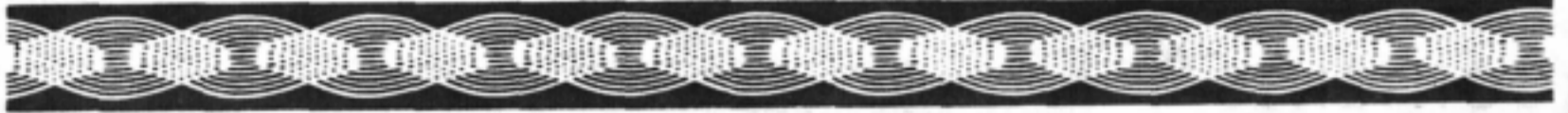
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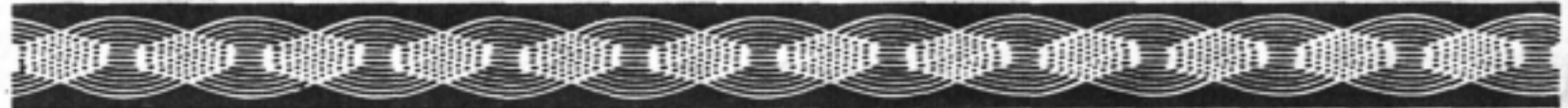


SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



Moses Kotane's
70th Birthday
Honoured by ANC



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INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Workers Sacked

Eighty African cleaners, sacked for striking for two days in a pay dispute were paid off while a police contingent stood by. Their spokesman, Mr. Eric Shelembe was then taken away in a police car.

The directors of the Company which employed these workers - Abe Epstein and John O'Donnell - were brought before a Magistrate last year charged with 182 counts of underpayment totalling R25 000. This amount represen-

ted overtime pay due to the workers for Sunday work. However, despite the fact that the company did not pay overtime for work on Sundays, the court found that the Labour Department which brought the charges were unable to prove their case.

The company subsequently stopped all Sunday work but introduced a 9-hour working day with no extra pay. The workers basic pay of R55 per month remained the same as when they worked a 8-hour day.

Cameras Seized

During a meeting of the striking workers addressed by the Commissioner of Police, Major M. J. van Schoor, a Rand Daily Mail photographer and a reporter were attacked by Epstein and O'Donnell and with the help of the police snatched two cameras and stripped them of their film. The entire episode took place in the presence of the Major who at one time during the struggle was handed a camera by the photographer to stop O'Donnell getting it. The major handed the camera to a policeman who then handed it over to O'Donnell.

Meanwhile, at the time of going to press the fate of Mr. Eric Shelembe, the workers spokesman is not known.

* * * * *

Wage Gap Increases

By South African standards fairly substantial increases have been won by Black workers in almost every industry following the massive strike movement during 1973-74. However, a comparison of the increases between White and African workers show that the gap between White wages and Black wages is increasing rather than decreasing. The increase in Black wages is almost equal to the increase in the cost of living index. But if one takes into account that most Black workers were receiving wages far below the Poverty Datum Line prior to these increases, the present pay the Black workers receive still represents starvation rates as the figures on the next page starkly reveal.

The figures in brackets in the table represent the average monthly wage in April 1973 compared with the average monthly wage in April 1975.



A stream of striking African cleaners approaching John Vorster Square

ON THE WORKERS FRONT

HOW PAY COMPARES

SECTOR	WHITES	AFRICANS	WORK FORCE
Mining and quarrying	R598 (R405)	R67 (R27)	620 623 (684 054)
Manufacturing	R486 (R376)	R100 (R67)	1 343 500 (1 260 100)
Construction	R472 (R376)	R95 (R67)	419 800 (384 700)
Electricity	R554 (R404)	R116 (R76)	31 900 (28 100)
SA Railways	R493 (R365)	- -	248 135 -

MANUFACTURING

MAJOR GROUPS	WHITES	AFRICANS	WORK FORCE
Food	R446 (R343)	R91 (R58)	152 000 (138 300)
Beverages	R430 (R357)	R108 (R75)	27 200 (26 000)
Tobacco	R434 (R348)	R117 (R84)	3 900 (4 100)
Textiles	R484 (R396)	R82 (R53)	97 600 (93 800)
Clothing	R471 (R371)	R79 (R66)	129 700 (127 300)
Footwear	R450 (R356)	R96 (R74)	34 300 (36 100)
Wood and cork	R464 (R323)	R72 (R52)	64 900 (60 800)
Furniture	R436 (R370)	R91 (R72)	38 900 (37 200)
Paper and products	R506 (R402)	R116 (R86)	32 900 (32 200)
Leather and products	R444 (R337)	R89 (R63)	8 100 (7 300)
Rubber products	R471 (R432)	R114 (R81)	23 400 (22 800)
Chemicals	R510 (R399)	R97 (R71)	71 900 (68 000)
Non-metallic mineral products	R486 (R374)	R93 (R61)	107 400 (101 800)
Basic Metal	R541 (R396)	R115 (R72)	95 100 (82 100)
Metal products	R493 (R396)	R103 (R72)	154 900 (145 800)
Machinery	R506 (R384)	R123 (R77)	73 100 (65 400)
Electrical machinery	R462 (R359)	R125 (R82)	51 700 (47 100)
Transport equipment	R475 (R371)	R121 (R83)	90 300 (80 600)
Miscellaneous	R486 (R392)	R95 (R70)	50 600 (48 100)

NB. Since these figures were compiled the Chamber of Mines disclosed, on July 15 that White mi-

ners are earning on average R700 a month while African miners are earning R90 a month.

* * * * *



I pledge allegiance to the flag of the country that gives me the best deal

5500 Die in Mines

In the past ten years 5500 miners - all but a handful Black - died in gold mining accidents in South Africa. Last year 485 men died, at the rate of 9 a week. In addition 22 222 men were injured on the gold mines last year. These are termed "reportable accidents" in which mineworkers are laid off for 14 or more days.

On the coal mines, 44 men were killed and 876 injured during last year. Details of deaths in the goldmining industry in the past ten years are as follows:

1965, 619; 1966, 584; 1967, 607; 1968, 492; 1969, 624; 1970, 512; 1971, 542; 1972, 500; 1973, 529; 1974, 485 - giving a total of 5494 killed.

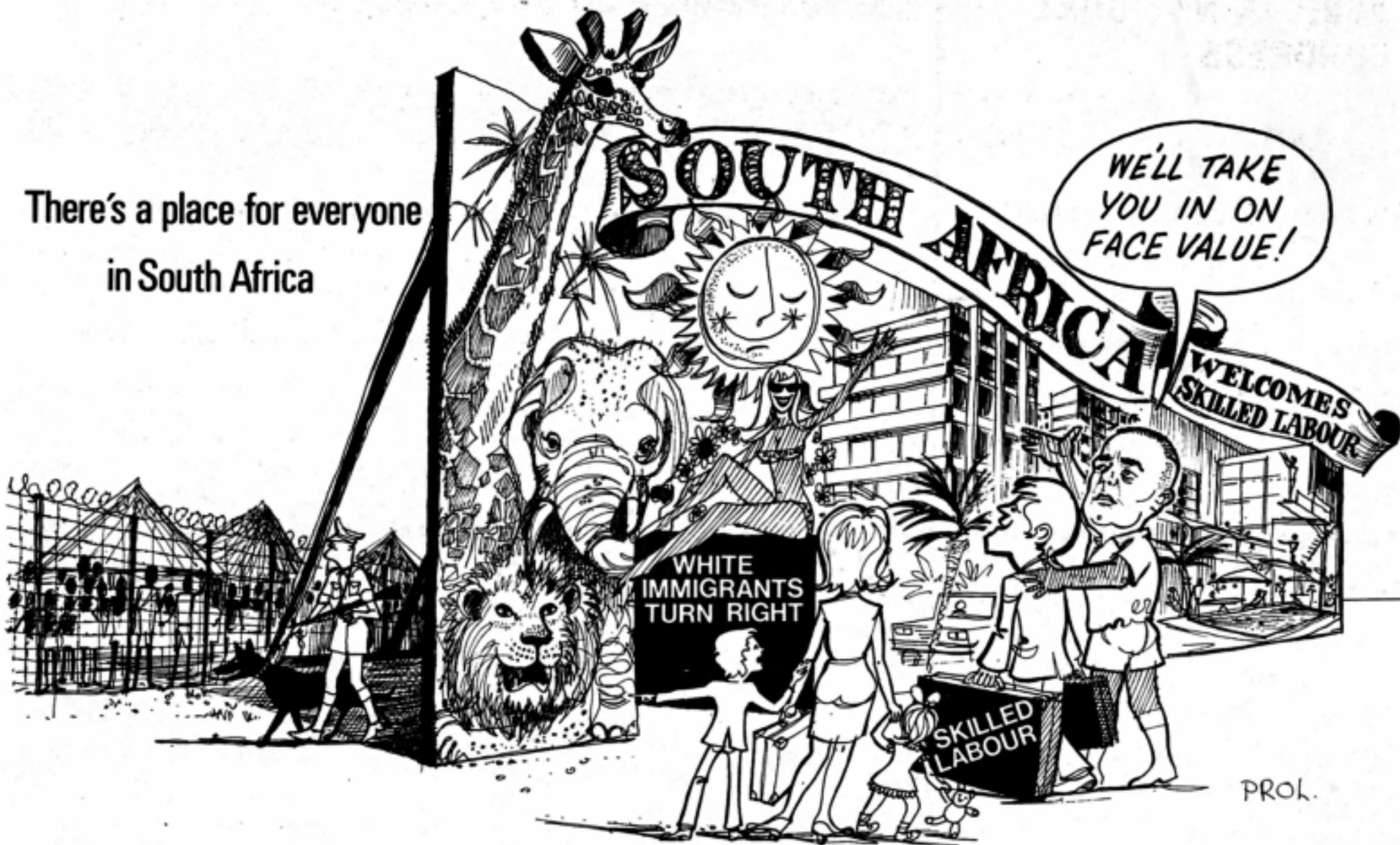
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Riots on the Mines

For the 18 months ending in March this year, the South African mining industry has been faced with an unprecedented wave of strikes and riots in which, according to official figures, 11 000 African workers from neighbouring countries, mainly Lesotho, were repatriated, 114 were killed and 528 were injured.

The history of the Black mine workers struggle for a new deal dates back to

There's a place for everyone
in South Africa



1913, when African miners came out on strike for the first time. The commission which investigated the disturbances which followed found that the main grievance was "the colour bar which blocks practically every opportunity of promotion."

In 1920, 71 000 African workers came out on strike for better wages, lower prices in the company stores and against the colour bar. At that time the White miners were earning 10 times more than the Blacks.

The Building Industry

In 1941, the first effective African Mine Workers Union was formed, with the help of the ANC, by that veteran trade unionist and ANC leader, the Late J. B. Marks.

Four years later strikes and riots followed a reduction of rations by the mining companies.

Then in 1946 the Union called for improved living standards and a minimum wage of R1 a day for all miners. The Companies and the White Unions rejected these demands, and the union called a general strike. Over 75 000 miners responded. Strike leaders including Marks were arrested. After several violent confrontations between the workers and the authorities during its four-day duration the strike was broken when the police and the army forced workers out of their compounds and into the mines at bayonet point. The official figures of casualties during the strike are put at,

nine killed and 1200 injured. These figures were challenged by the Union at the time as they held that several hundreds of miners had been killed during the strike.

The 1946 strike was the last major occurrence of industrial unrest by Black miners until September 1973, when a labour dispute developed on the Western Deep Levels Gold Mine and was followed by a riot.

This was the forerunner of a series of over 30 major incidents on gold, coal and platinum mines over 18 months.

Reasons

The key factors underlying the riots and strikes are the same today as they were when the first strike was called in 1913.

These factors include:

- At the very core, the migrant labour system under which African workers are compelled to live away from their families in compounds.
- The tremendous gap between White and Black wages and the continued denial by the White workers to allow Africans into more skilled jobs.
- The lack of a communications system between the mine management and the workers; basically the denial of the right for African workers to form trade unions.
- The factor of White prejudice and treatment of Black workers both by the management and the White miners.

- The repressive living conditions in the mine compounds and the lack of social amenities on the mines.
- The hazardous nature of the work – reflected in the mortality rate of 5500 over the past decade.

The riots and strikes may have ended temporarily but as long as these conditions remain White South Africa must expect further confrontations between those in authority and the Black miners. So far, the Black workers have attacked only members of the mine management, mine property and the police. The White workers, who play such a significant part in the maintenance of the status quo, have escaped the wrath of their Black counterparts. There is certainly no guarantee that this will go on for ever!

* * * * *

Super Whites and Ordinary Blacks

Arrie Paulus, general secretary of the (White) Mine Workers' Union, recently concluded an agreement with the Chamber of Mines for a five-day week on South Africa's gold mines. Here are some of the answers he gave to questions put to him by the South African Financial Mail:

What's the long term future for Black miners?

As far as my union is concerned his future is that of a labourer.

How do you justify with-holding certain mining skills on the basis of colour?

Because all gold mines fall, within our White Homeland. A Bantu can rise up to be Prime Minister in his Homeland. But I can't go there and become Prime Minister. So why must he rise here in South Africa, in my Homeland, to the status of a White miner.

A Black miner must always be subservient to a White Miner?

Yes. As long as I'm here.

Should Blacks be allowed to have their families with them on the mine?

I think this is wrong. Because they are migrant labourers. Their families must remain in their countries.

What of Black Trade Unions?

I'm against them. It is said the only reason we're against them is to get more for our own members. That isn't true. In the mines we are working with migrant labour and they can establish unions in their Homelands.

I've got nothing against that. But I feel here they should have no say – especially in the gold mines.

Should Blacks get more pay?

Hell, they got enough over the last year. What they get now is a good wage for a Black.

No problem that he must live for 12 months or more without his family?
No.

What changes will the five day week introduce underground?

There will not be many. We had already agreed that Bantus may enter unblasted furnaces two hours before the arrival of a White miner, who must visit them within two hours, examine them, and make safe.

What we have now agreed to is that a White miner may send in four different Bantu teams at the same time – into working places two hours before the arrival of the contractor in charge.

The White miner must then visit all these places within 60 minutes and convince himself that everything is safe.



In other words the White miner is still in charge of that working place.

The arrogance of the organised White working class in South Africa as exhibited by Arrie Paulus in this interview is not an isolated case. It is universal, including those who profess to champion the cause of the Black trade unions, centred around the Trades Union Council of South Africa, whose long history clearly makes them as reactionary as Paulus except that they, every so often mouth pious platitudes about trade union rights for the Blacks so that they could be controlled and not fall under the influence of "agitators and communists." Let us take another case of a **Super White and Ordinary Black . . .**

The Building Industry

Recently a remarkable agreement – even by South African standards – was concluded between employers and White unions in the Transvaal building industry.

The agreement is a tiny step forward in that Africans will be allowed to do "aspects" of artisan work under supervision. It, however, goes to great lengths to avoid any suggestion that here is a move towards some kind of equality.

Discrimination just goes on to a higher plane!

White artisans are assured that as soon as an African is engaged under the agreement, all Whites will be upgraded, in status and pay, to "master craftsmen".

Whites will get preference for jobs, but if they cannot get work they will nevertheless receive full pay from a special R1-million fund established by the industry.

And should unemployment in the industry "get out of hand" all exemptions to employ Africans will be withdrawn and their jobs will revert to Whites.

White South Africans have become accustomed to manoeuvres such as this that insult Blacks, and what is more, deny them any job security whatever.

One would think that this is the ultimate in insolence . . . But let us deal with another industry where the insults are piled one on top of the other by a regime that glibly talks of detente with

Black Africa while at the same time heaping insults on the South African Black population.

On The Railways

A spokesman for the State-owned South African Railways recently made a statement in which he revealed that more than 13 000 Blacks are now employed on the railways in "White" jobs. Of these, 4501 are classified as "temporary replacements" and the remainder are permanent. In other words the four and a half thousand will be thrown on to the streets once White labour becomes available to fill their jobs.

Brazenly he adds that the title of the job differs according to whether a

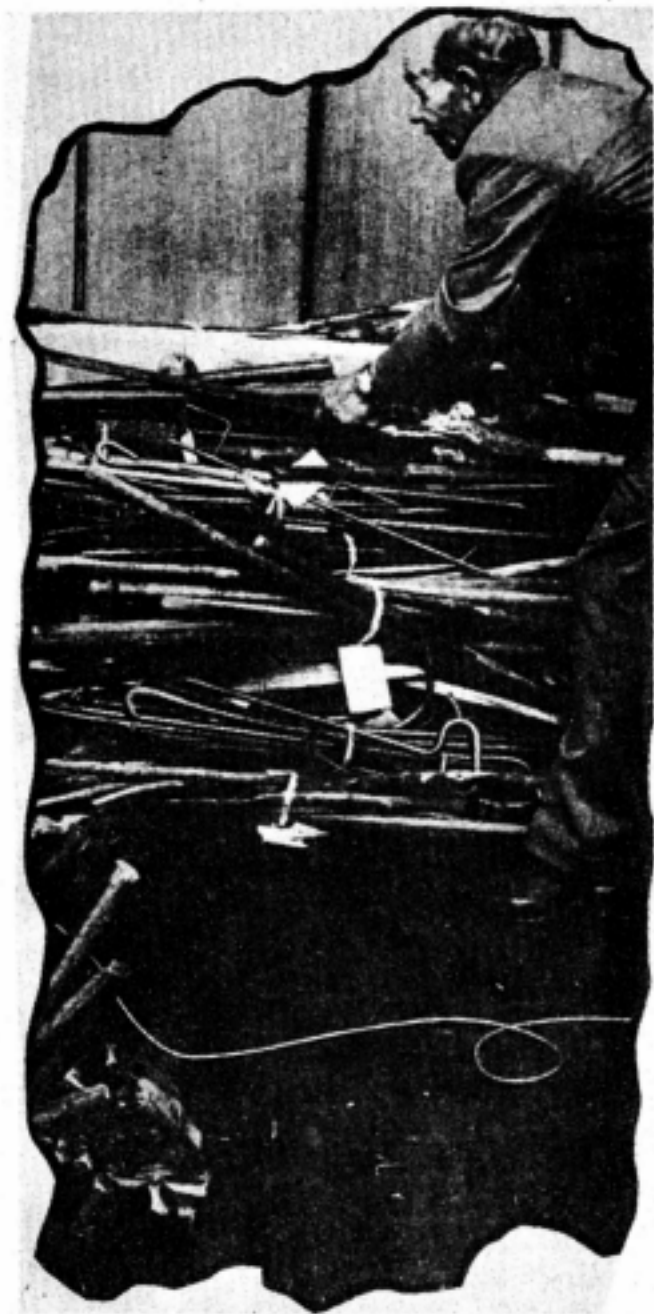


Exhibit in court after the Carletonville riots

Black or a White is doing it. He confirmed that the Black jobs were identical to their White equivalents.

A Black crane driver is officially known as "Driver, (Crane)". A White bulldozer driver is an "Operator (Plant)", while a Black one is a "Driver (Construction Plant)".

Going from the sublime to the ridiculous jobs classified as White, in which permanent Black replacements have been taken on include shunters who are called "train marshalls", and sorters who are called "checkers."

The spokesman added that the rates of pay deferred (Naturally!) but refused to give details.



Arrie Paulus

Ministers Fired

In five of the eight Bantustans there have been clashes between the Chief Minister and their Ministers of the Interior. In all cases the Interior Ministers have been eventually forced out of the Cabinets.

The latest man to fall is Collins Ramusi who has been dismissed by Le-bowa's Chief Minister, Dr. C. N. Pahatudi. Others fired in the past were Curnick Ndamse of the Transkei, Herman Maseloane of Bophuthatswana and Barney Dladla of kwaZulu.

The fifth, Christopher Mageza of Gazankulu, quit after alleging that his Chief Minister, Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi was making autocratic use of his powers.

This use of autocratic powers by the Chief Ministers appears to be the main reason for all these sackings.

The Department of Interior is the biggest department in the Bantustans and often Chief Ministers seem unable to resist meddling in the running of these

portfolios. Another more important reason is that Chief Ministers are all so afraid of losing their jobs that they see the Interior ministries as a danger to their continued "rule". And so we have little dictators emerging!

* * * * *

Dictating To Bantustans

The Vorster regime has been talking glibly for some while about independence for the Bantustans and that its policy is one of non-interference in the affairs of these fragmented so-called homelands.

Yet, recently, the Minister of Bantu Administration, M. C. Botha, contemptuously warned the so-called Le-bowa Legislative Assembly that he will not allow the establishment of a separate House of Chiefs. "My government will not do or allow anything that might prejudice or weaken the position of the chiefs," he said.

The chiefs at present dominate all Bantustan "Legislative Assemblies" because the Bantustan Homelands Constitution Act is so framed as to make it impossible for the people to choose whomsoever they please to represent them on these dummy institutions.

So, even before so-called independence is granted to the "Homelands" the White government is dictating terms on constitutional matters. No one in his right mind would think that after so-called independence - limited as it will be - the Bantustans will be left to work out their own destinies. If further proof were needed of the government's complete disregard for the peoples in these homelands, what better illustration could we give than that the job of Commissioner-General of Vendaland was recently offered to two of the most rabid racists in the Nationalist Party - Cas Greyling and Hans Schoeman.

Both turned it down - but what an indictment on the regime's recently professed enlightened outlook.

* * * * *



◀ B. J. Vorster

M. C. Botha - Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and Bantu Education



Kaiser Matanzima - Transkei





"Information Officers" (from l. to r.) Koyana, Mdeleleni, Qaba and Letlaka

Black Envoys?

After three months of training, five Transkei trainee 'diplomats' are about to face a baptism by fire — as defenders of the Bantustans in South African Embassies. Their official status will be "information officers".

Four of the five were recently introduced to South African newsmen, who were invited to question them.

The five are:

Tsepo Letlaka — A former member of the Pan-Africanist Congress-in-exile;

Sydney Qaba — A former school inspector;

Digby Koyana — An attorney;

King Mdeleleni — Another school inspector.

How did they feel about being the first diplomats to represent the first independent Bantustan?

Mr. Letlaka said that he objected to the word Bantustan, insisting that the Transkei would be a "free and sovereign state," not a Bantustan.

Mr. Koyana agreed that the Transkei was once a Bantustan — by "an accident of history," its annexation by the Cape in the 1880s — but argued that it would regain its status as a sovereign state with independence next year.

How could they associate themselves with independence for the Transkei when that would leave 45 per cent of the territory's people in the lurch as

second class citizens in White-controlled South Africa?

Mr. Letlaka said: "All the African people of South Africa are entitled to freedom.

"The various peoples of Africa have received freedom and independence at various times and we hope the freedom of the Transkei will be extended to all people."

What was their attitude to the Robben Island prisoners?

Mr. Koyana said: "The Homeland leaders have described them as political prisoners. I share that view. I look forward to the day they may be with us in the building of a new Transkei." (Several of the most important Robben Island prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, are Transkeians by birth)

What about the banning order on Robert Sobukwe, former Robben Island prisoner and former president of the Pan-Africanist Congress?

Mr. Letlaka said: I personally see no justification for the renewal of the banning order . . . He has been allowed to travel to Johannesburg, the Transkei and the Ciskei, and has given no reason for misgiving as to his freedom."

How can the Transkei claim to have had free elections and a mandate for independence with Proclamation 400 (which was introduced even before the Bantustan was established) still in force, and which provides for official

control of public meetings, interrogation in detention for indefinite periods and emergency powers for chiefs and headmen?

Mr. Mdeleleni defended the Proclamation as a preventive measure against possible emergency situations.

"I do not remember any misuse of it. I cannot remember anyone who has suffered under it."

He did not add that his "diplomatic" colleague, Letlaka was among the early victims of the Proclamation.

What about reports of a Sotho secessionist movement in the Matatiele region of the Transkei?

Mr. Qaba said only a minority of Sotho-speaking people backed the secessionist movement and most wanted to stay as pioneers in an independent Transkei.

Why then was Chief Jeremia Moshesh given emergency powers under Proclamation 400, including the power to destroy homes of recalcitrant tribesmen?

Initially there was a stunned silence. But then the diplomats-to-be recovered and pointed out that Chief Moshesh, himself a Sotho, was a key member of the Transkei cabinet and that tribalism had no place in the Transkei.

We have refrained from commenting on most of the answers given by these "diplomats" because their statements in themselves are a damnable indictment of the falseness of their case.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER: A DYNAMIC PROGRAMME

In the post-World War II era many national liberation movements have won independence from their former colonial masters with or without resort to armed struggle. A good number of them never felt the need to define the political goals they were striving for. The rallying cry of these movements were "Freedom", "Uhuru" or "independence" but nothing was spelt out in programmatic form before independence. Others have had to map out, in clearly defined or vague eclectic programmes, the kind of future they envisage for their people.

What should be emphasized in this regard is the fact that the very emergence of a political programme represents a historic milestone. In that it means:

- i) the struggle is no longer personalized. Instead the collective will of the people assumes paramountcy through the programme;
- ii) the days of opportunism are numbered. Populist demagoguery ceases to dazzle the public mind. The broad followers and the active cadres of the movement begin to cultivate a critical faculty towards individuals as such in preference for principled programmatic struggle.

To be sure a programme does not, per se, signal the end of opportunism, but it cuts the ground from under its feet. It reduces it by introducing the principle of accountability to the programme as a check on unsteady elements in the leadership.

Most importantly, the appearance of a programme denotes the arrival of a fairly high level of political consciousness on the part of the guiding lights of the movement. It implies that the period of trial and error is gone when parts are confused with the whole. It also implies that the movement in question sets its sights high and views its own struggle as part of a larger historic process that cuts across boundaries. Such a level of political con-

by Sobizana
Mngquikana

sciousness is of necessity attained after a hard innings and such a stage was reached in the 1950s by the liberation movement in South Africa. The result was the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, South Africa on June 26, 1955

Background to the Charter

The early 50s saw an unprecedented wave of political activity in South Africa. The high-water mark of this upsurge was the Defiance Campaign of 1952 called by the African National Congress (ANC) and supported by the South African Indian Congress. At this time consultations and discussions took place between the ANC, SAIC, Coloured People's Organisation, later known as the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats (a movement of white democrats) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) with a view to pulling together the resources of the national liberation movement on a principled programmatic basis. The question naturally arose of the future South Africa which all these democratic organisations could formally pledge themselves to. This in turn led to a national debate at branch and provincial level on the subject of unity and a Congress of the People where such a programme would be drawn. As a fitting climax to this agitation, three thousand 'delegates' comprising 'workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, youth and students of all races defied all manner of police intimidation to meet in Kliptown on June 25, 1955 at the Congress of the People. On June 26, a day when great campaigns of the ANC were traditionally launched, a day which the Organisation of African Unity was later to recog-

nise as "Africa Freedom Day", the historic FREEDOM CHARTER was adopted.

Is the Charter relevant in present-day conditions? The Charter remains as fresh and relevant as ever. Its demands spur each and every patriot in South Africa to strive for the successful prosecution of the liberation struggle and its consequent implementation.

Below we shall attempt, in a limited analytical form, to re-state some of the fundamental demands in the Charter which aim at not only the eradication of racial discrimination **but the complete overhaul of present South Africa's politico-socio-economic structure.**

Following the preamble, the Charter kicks off with the basic demand of universal suffrage, i. e. every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as candidates in all law-making bodies in contrast to the present position where the legislature is the monopoly of Whites. All marionette boards and councils (e.g. Urban Bantu Councils, Bantustan Assemblies, Coloured Representative Council, South African Indian Council) shall be swept away into the dustbin of history.

Economy: After wars of national salvation spanning centuries the African people were eventually subjugated by the superior armoury of the troops of Europe. This was followed by the systematic plunder of our natural resources. Today the most developed country in Africa and one of the richest countries in the world has nothing to offer the Black man except his sweated slave labour and white jackboot. Not only is every white man assured of material prosperity but almost all West European countries and Japan share in the loot of that country. Hopefully the Charter states unequivocally that: "THE MINERAL WEALTH BENEATH THE SOIL, THE BANKS AND MONOPOLY INDUSTRY SHALL BE

TRANSFERRED TO THE OWNERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. ALL OTHER INDUSTRY AND TRADE SHALL BE CONTROLLED TO ASSIST THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.

This is one demand which was repeatedly invoked by the State Prosecution in the 1956 Treason Trial of 156 Congress leaders of all races to prove that the Congress Alliance/Movement is engaged in a 'communist plot to overthrow the state by violent means and to institute a "dictatorship of the proletariat".'

Land: Today over 87 per cent of the land is reserved for white ownership while a paltry, over-populated 13 per cent is set aside for African use – the so-called Bantu Homelands. We have become homeless the louder the enemy shouts the word "homeland". And this in an African country, our own country.

Today thousands upon thousands of whites are recruited from Western Europe, either for their technical skills or their fascist credentials to South Africa, and our own land to which we have no access is available to them. Any Western European worker who is thrown into the ever-swelling army of unemployed labour only has to contact the nearest South African Embassy to be offered a position in industry or a farm to buy on very easy terms as long as he is prepared to shore up the doomed system of apartheid. This explicitly involves willingness and readiness to take up arms against the Black peoples of the country.

Therefore our demand for the 'sharing of the land by those who work it' in contrast to absentee landlordism of today, together with the demand for the equitable distribution of the mineral and industrial wealth of our country strike at the core of apartheid which has been characterised as "colonialism of a special type".

It should be remembered that South African industry has taken phenomenal strides primarily because of the overabundance of desperate, cheap black labour from the so-called Bantustans. It is this factor which has made it possible for South Africa to absorb about 64 per cent of her mine labour on inhuman terms from Mozambique, Swaziland, Malawi, etc.

Human Rights: Nowhere else in the world are the basic elementary rights of the individual so trampled upon as in South Africa.

Our programme guarantees, inter alia, freedom of speech, assembly, the press and conscience. In addition the right to privacy free from police raids is asserted. Freedom of movement, hin-

dered in the case of Africans by a maze of pass laws, shall be guaranteed. Even today, with all the sweet talk about removing pin-pricks of racial tension, so-called detente between "Black" and "White" whereby the white oppressor seeks to buy time by superficially giving apartheid a "human face", Africans still have to carry passes and are not free to move from town to town or between town and countryside.

Labour and Security: It may not be known to many people that Africans are debarred from recognised trade unions by a veritable battery of laws. Though South Africans of 'mixed descent' arbitrarily labelled "Coloureds" and those of Asian origin, perversely dubbed "Asiatics" have a nominal right to form unions, strike action in their case too is doomed in advance by administrative interference in union activity. Many genuine representatives of labour are arbitrarily banned and banished or simply hounded from factory to factory by the Security Police until they find their way into the underground machinery of the ANC. Thus it is that many members of SACTU are either in gaol, banned or integrated in the ANC underground. There is absolutely no social security for Blacks, while equal pay for equal work is unknown.

To prevent the gross exploitation of workers, trade union rights will be respected in terms of the Freedom Charter. To ensure that workers live decent lives, a forty-hour week is the minimum goal of the ANC. With it goes a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, unemployment benefits and sick leave for all workers irrespective of colour or race, maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers.

Child labour and compound labour, such as exist in the white-owned farms and in the mines and certain peri-urban factories; the tot system (whereby workers in the wine industry are often paid in glasses of wine in lieu of cash wages) and contract labour (prevalent in the mining and sugar-cane industries) shall be abolished.

Education and Culture: The domain of culture will be the responsibility of the government. All sorts of foundations and para-statal agencies today provide financial assistance to white artists and to various cultural activities patronised by whites only. A Black artist, by comparison, is fated to peddle his wares at street corners without official or semi-official financial backing. Not to mention the racial slurs officially disseminated against his culture. The Charter demands free

education for all. Hitherto this is the preserve of whites. An all-out state-directed effort to eradicate adult illiteracy will be carried out according to our Charter. Only in this way can future generations be purged of the scourge of racism that permeates South African life.

Foreign Policy: A fully independent South Africa, mindful of the rights of other nations, will contribute its quota to the maintenance of world peace. It will help foster a spirit of peace and friendship among peoples. As a gesture of solidarity with the peoples of neighbouring countries whose territories, at the time the Charter was adopted were still British Protectorates, and were coveted by successive South African Governments, the Charter recognised their "right to decide for themselves their own future". An affirmation is made of the right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government as the basis for close co-operation. The Charter concludes with a ringing patriotic call to action:

Let all who love their people and their country now say as we say here "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY".

Twenty years after the adoption of the Freedom Charter the struggle for the liquidation of "colonialism of a special type" in South Africa is still on. The difference is that a tremendous change in the balance of forces in favour of concerted struggle for the liberation of our country has now emerged as a result of the dramatic victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. The former protectorates referred to in the Charter have taken their places on the pavillion of independent sovereign states as Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. Almost the same applies to the entire patchwork quilt of former British and French colonies in Africa. The tide of self-determination is now lashing against the extended frontiers of South Africa – from Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. A new spirit of defiance is abroad in South Africa. Workers, peasants and students are making ready to grasp the guns of freedom which the ANC has put in their hands. Years of bitter struggle lie ahead. The ANC is under no illusions about the immensity of the task facing it but hope beats louder than ever in the breasts of its militants. The people shall rise, they shall fight.

Indeed, "THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN".

FRG-SA CLOSE LINKS



Franz Josef Strauss, extreme right-wing leader of the CSU of West Germany is a regular visitor to South Africa. Here he is seen during his last visit to the Republic in August with SA Foreign Minister Muller

A wave of visits by West-German Politicians to South Africa in 1975

Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU (Christlich-Soziale Union), was among the many politicians and high-powered businessmen from the Federal Republic of Germany visiting the Republic of South Africa this year. Strauss, who in recent years went to the RSA every other year both for political talks and as a holiday-maker, this time set aside three weeks in August to travel south. People he met included Prime Minister Vorster and the Minister for Defence, Mr. Botha.

But due to the increasing volume of trade and investments by the FRG in the RSA — the FRG became in 1974 the most important trade partner of the RSA and the second largest investor after Great Britain and before the USA —, there are many more politicians interested in a sojourn in South Africa. The Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart), Mr. Filbinger (CDU), in early September which took him to the Cape. He was followed by high and highest business representatives: Berthold Beitz, board chairman of the Krupp company, visited the RSA in October for three weeks to conduct business talks. And at the beginning of November a top delegation of the Federal Association of German Industry (Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie — BDI) discussed plans about an even closer cooperation between the FRG and the RSA; as far as we understand one of the topics discussed concerns a nuclear power-station which is to assist South Africa in solving her power problems. The nuclear power-station is to be fed with uranium which is readily available in the country and

which is being enriched with the aid of West-German technology; it is designed to operate a coal liquefaction plant with the aim of making South Africa independent from oil imports, if the need arises.

To crown the series of visits, a visit by the Federal Minister for Economic Affairs, Mr. Friederichs, is foreseen for November or January 1976; the South African Government counts on his coming, although the Ministry is still "thinking about it".

The development of closer economic links between the two countries led already during the past months to a peak of visits by leading politicians. The economics expert of FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei), Mr. Lambsdorff, visited South Africa in February 1975. Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs, Rohwedder, opened the German pavilion at the largest South African fair, the Rand Easter Show, in April 1975. The Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. Logemann, went in November 1974. Mr. Haase, MP (SPD, Fürth) discussed in South Africa questions related to tourism, his special sphere of interest. Prime Minister Röder (CDU) of Saarland (Saarbrücken) informed himself during a visit to his political friends in South Africa and gave praise to the racist society at the Cape upon his return. Prime Minister Stoltenberg (CDU) of Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel) paid a visit in August/September 1974. And the prime minister of SPD, Mr. Hans Koschnick of the city state of Bremen led a delegation of his Senate (parliament) and respective business people on a visit to South Africa, to inform themselves about the containerization of South African ports and

aspects related to it in respect to the port of Bremen.

From the South African side the Minister for Mines, Koornhof, who is also in charge of immigration, was present in the FRG for the opening of the Hannover Fair in April 1975. And today's President of the RSA, Diederichs, who is reported to be on close terms with men like Mr. Abs, the board chairman of Deutsche Bank, and with Alex Möller, like Diederichs a former minister for finance, visited the Federal Republic when he still held the post of finance minister. The political reasons for such a striking wave of visits by German politicians to the apartheid State of South Africa within less than a year were offered by Dr. Lothar Lahn, head of the political department of the Foreign Office in Bonn, at a scientific colloquy on the conflict in Southern Africa held in Munich in June this year:

"In order to bring our views on the possibilities of solution for the existing conflict situation to bear with the South African government; in order to be altogether able to enter with them into a dialogue about solutions; in order to bring successfully into our presumedly better judgement of the real situation, and also in order to achieve that one day participation in the supreme power of the State by the black and mixed part of the population is being attained, it needs, in my opinion; not only normal relations but good if not even friendly relations. Only in this way can one maintain influence. A political friend is generally able to achieve more than a political opponent. Not rupture or freezing of relations, but expansion. Not sanctions, threats, delimitation, but advise, assistance, cooperation and closer contacts".

THE COLOURED REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

In keeping with its imperial policy of 'divide and rule' and in order to ensure that power and privilege remain in the hands of the minority white community apartheid South Africa has created various state instruments for the continued subjugation and exploitation of the oppressed Black majority. The latter have been divided into African, Coloured and Indian, and the African sector has been subdivided further into so-called ethnic or tribal groups.

In the case of the various African sub-groups the question of power and the right to self-determination has been fraudently shelved in the guise of the ghostly (and ghastly) Bantustans; for the Coloured and Indian sectors, so-called advisory councils have been established ostensibly to safeguard the interests of the respective communities. From the very beginning, the African National Congress has consistently exposed all these bodies as fraudulent dummies designed to deceive the world and to confuse the people of South Africa. It would seem clear and obvious that an oppressor regime will not and can not create instruments for the protection of the very people it oppresses - it is surely a contradiction. The ANC has time and again pointed out that nothing is to be gained by participation of Black peoples in these instruments of their oppression - we have said before and we say again - these bodies cannot be used to advance the cause of National liberation; they must be boycotted and ejected.

In this article we will deal specifically with the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), a body set up by the all white parliament to 'advise' it on matters pertaining to the Coloured people. It is an interesting case study. The CRC has sixty members of which 40 are elected and 20 nominated by the Government. The first election to the CRC were held in 1969 but only a small number of the Coloured people actually voted in the elections. This was in keeping with the attitude of the ANC and other radical groups, that such dummy institutions must be boycotted.

Two main parties contested the elections - the Federal Party led by Tom Swartz, and the Labour Party, led by Sonny Leon. The Federal Party comprises lackeys and stooges of the Government and we shall not concern ourselves with it.

Such traitors and Judases are present in every community and their pattern and standard of behaviour is generally similar - they are apologists of the enemy, the oppressor. The Labour Party, on the other hand, claimed to

A case history

be working towards equal rights and for national liberation.

They claimed that they were participating in the CRC in order to expose it, to make it unworkable. Of course at no stage did the Labour Party throw its lot on the side of the National Liberation Movement. And, by and large its leaders have shown confusion and vacillation on many issues; at times they speak of Black unity and other times they speak of the political and economic aspirations of the Coloureds. Nevertheless, under the pressure of events the Labour Party has carried out campaigns against the Government from time to time. Despite their largely reformist outlook leaders of the Labour Party have come under attack from the Government eg. Norman Middleton a provincial leader is a banned person, and Sonny Leon, the national leader, was refused a passport to visit the United States.

In the 1969 elections the Labour Party won 26 of the 40 elected seats but all the 20 government nominated members were from the stooge Federal Party. Thus Tom Swartz became chairman of the CRC. The Labour Party soon realised they could achieve nothing through the CRC. As Sonny Leon said "None of the important motions passed by the Council . . . have ever been taken seriously by the Government." The Labour Party could do nothing but denounce the CRC as a fraud but they exposed their vacillating attitude by continuing to sit in the chambers of the Council. Eventually in July last year the Labour Party introduced and successfully carried a motion of no confidence in the policy of separate development and all its institutions including the CRC. The resolution further called for direct representation of all the people in parliament and in all councils of the nation. Despite this motion Tom Swartz refused to resign.

The Minister for Coloured Affairs came to the rescue of the Federal Party proroguing the council and announced that fresh elections would be held. This totally exposed the CRC as a dummy body completely at the mercy of the Minister and subject to the whims and fancies of the Government. With its sometimes radical stand one would have expected the Labour Party to wash its hands off the CRC and boycott it in the future. But such is the dilemma of those who refuse to support four square the struggle for national liberation while claiming to be opposed to the apartheid sy-

stem. The Labour Party could not escape this reformist dilemma, this illusion that change could come gradually by peaceful means and through Government sponsored bodies. The Labour Party decided to contest the elections held in March this year on the platform that if they won an overall majority they would vote the CRC out of existence. At these elections even fewer people voted than in 1969 elections. However, in the March elections the Labour Party won 31 seats giving it an overall majority. Once again the Government exposed the CRC as a dummy body without real power to do any thing positive. As soon as the election results were announced Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill was rushed through parliament empowering the Minister of Coloured Affairs to take over the powers of the CRC under certain circumstances. Obviously this bill was passed specifically to counteract the possibility of the Labour Party voting the CRC 'out of existence'. Once again the reformist Labour Party is faced with a dilemma of its own creation. It feels itself outmanoeuvred by the Bill passed in Parliament and feels it cannot vote the CRC 'out of existence' for the CRC will carry on under the Minister. It would seem the Labour Party sees the death of the CRC as its major function and duty. Sonny Leon seems to have changed his mind about his original intention and is now seeking an interview with Prime Minister Vorster - once more the reformist deludes himself that somewhere he can convince the oppressor about the needs of the oppressed. This is the dilemma of the reformist, such are the illusions of those who seek to 'bring about changes from within' - they expect to bring about changes by using the platform of the oppressor.

Sonny Leon is only one of the many deluded; the Matanzimas, the Mangopes, the Buthelezi of the Bantustans also feed the masses on similar illusions. Buthelezi in particular is loudest in proclaiming that he is opposed to Bantustans, that he wants freedom and national liberation and yet also says that since Bantustans are the only means available he will 'use them to bring about changes'. This case history of the CRC demonstrates clearly that such talk is nonsense, deceitful and confusing. It must be attacked and exposed.

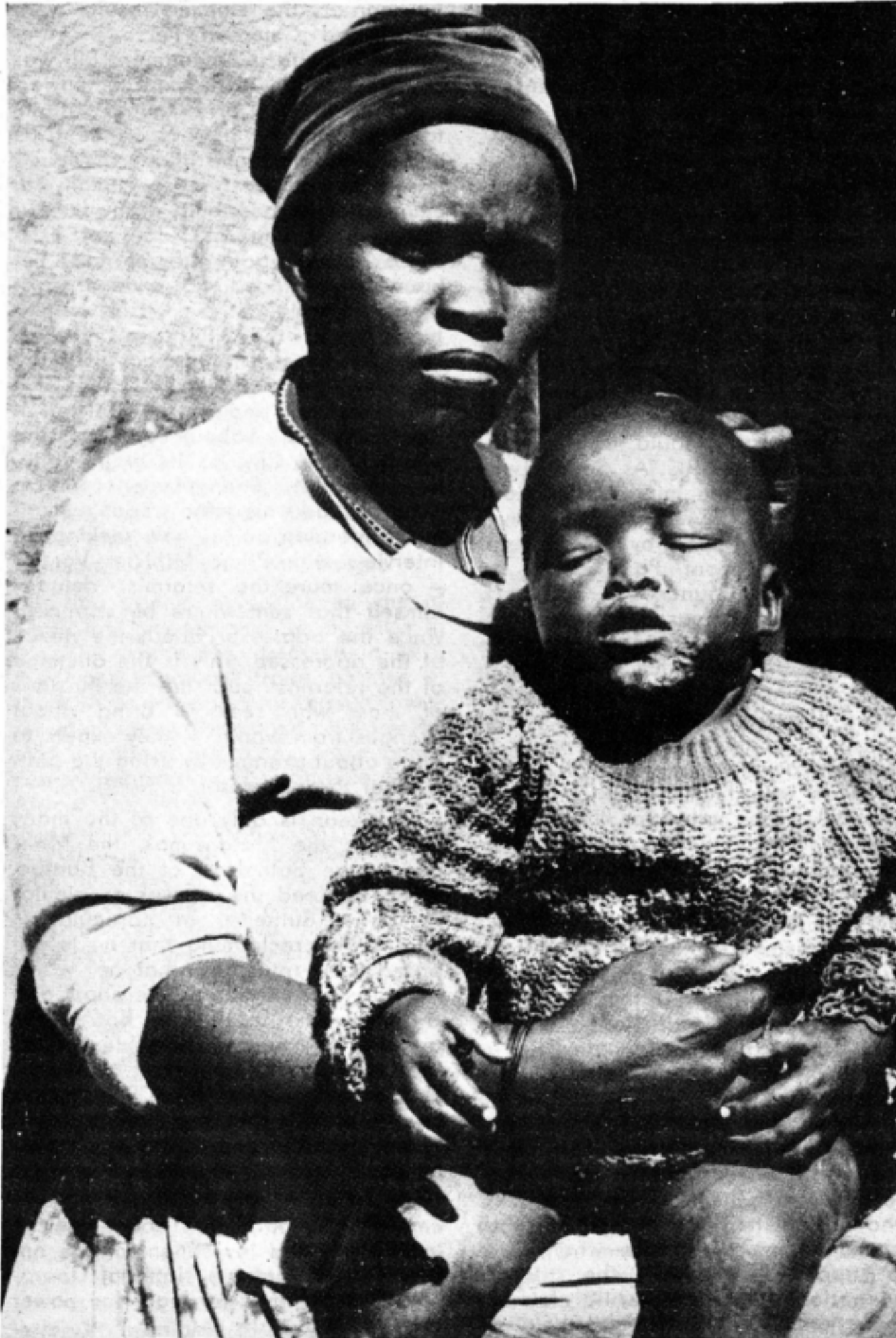
There is no short cut to liberation and certainly the path does not follow the institutions and investment of the oppressor. Our path to National Liberation is the armed struggle for power and national unity.

APARTHEID:

"Disease of Human Relations"

An Article by Thomas J. Gray, written for the World Health Organisation

This child shows all the signs of malnutrition



Immense and tragic problems in the Republic of South Africa result from apartheid: the legally-enforced racial segregation of black from white.

Apartheid permeates the whole fabric of South African life; it segregates health services with effects clearly seen in drastically disparate rates of disease incidence and life expectancy between black and white groups.

No attempt to catalogue the health hazards to which black South Africans are unnecessarily subjected would be valid without a brief assessment of the nature of apartheid.

This is necessary, because the language of apartheid bureaucrats often veils harsh inequalities in contemporary South Africa. But medical statistics reveal high rates of disease, death and suffering, unmistakably caused by racial discrimination – the South African way of life.

Current estimates set the country's population at 23,000,000, of which more than 16 million are African (70 % officially designated "Bantu"), over 2 million are described as Coloured (9 %, of mixed racial origins), 700,000 are Asians (3 %) and 4 million are white (about 18 %).

Only the white Afrikaans and English speaking minority has ever wielded political power and defined South African domestic policy.

The country's main policy, apartheid (variously termed "separate development" or "separate freedoms") has received staunch white support since 1950, when the ruling National Party classified every man, woman, and child by race. White policymakers then parcelled out some 13 per cent of remote land, described these fragmented areas as "Bantu homelands," and proclaimed the remaining 87 per cent of South Africa as "white".

Such unequal partitioning results in the political exclusion of blacks in "white areas" and mass evictions of Africans from urban areas to "Bantu" homelands. Africans have been transformed into foreign "guest-workers" in their land of birth. Bantu homelands, or reserves, are generally arid; low yields of dryland crops alone cannot support relatively dense populations, who would face starvation if it were not for wages sent home from the "white" areas by migrant African workers.

Just as much as Africans need the money earned in "white" areas, so do whites depend on black labour. But black labour is subjected to apartheid, with all its indignities of the "pass laws" which compel Africans to carry passes to work for low wages at jobs allocated to them.

These economic structures lead to South Africa's key statistic: Africans, forming 70 per cent of the population, receive only 19 per cent of the country's cash incomes. Moreover, South African blacks had a yearly per capita income of US \$130 in 1970 (according

to World Bank Figures), which placed them well below at least seven independent African states: Ghana, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Zambia. Such low incomes and living standards for black South Africans leave them vulnerable to disease in a way that is not in keeping with the economic wealth of their country. More than 55,000 of them died from tuberculosis in one year, compared to 824 whites during the same period, according to the official figures for 1970. Tuberculosis is a major killer of the malnourished.

Regrettably, malnutrition is all too familiar to black South Africans; babies in the African homeland reserves are reported to have only a 50 per cent chance of ever reaching the age of five.

Yet white infant mortality rates compare with those of most industrialized nations. Such rates are considered by most experts to be reliable indicators of a community's level of health.

What is the health level of older black children in South Africa? A recent survey in Pretoria revealed that 80 per cent of African schoolchildren in the area were undernourished. And on a wider national basis, one million black children were estimated to be suffering from the effects of malnutrition by an authoritative South African publication in 1971. The most common deficiency diseases are protein-calorie malnutrition, pellagra, scurvy, beri-beri, nutritional anaemias, and rickets. Added to these are the results of malnutrition, such as retarded growth and iron-deficiency anaemia. At one outpatient clinic, 30 per cent of the black children aged from three to seven showed signs of rickets.

South African nutritionists concede that malnutrition is a major problem among the black population. One report following an experiment by a white churchman in survival on an average African social pension of US \$7 per month, pinpoints the cause. "The five rands (US \$7) per month I have been living on for the last three months", he wrote, "leaves me significantly better off than most Dimbaza inhabitants. Nevertheless I am feeling the strain. It is like serving a prison sentence - I hold on grimly counting the days. My life revolves around my stomach". Almost 60 per cent of the deaths among Africans in the Dimbaza area were due to malnutrition and gastro-enteritis.

Higher incomes would break the links between poverty, malnutrition, deficiency diseases and death. But apartheid denies Africans the right to negotiate wages in a way open to whites. African strike-action is branded illegal by the South African Government and protesters are frequently imprisoned without trial.

Meanwhile, two-thirds of urban Africans continue to live below a monthly "poverty datum line" set at R 75



An emaciated child - proper diet could prevent this scourge for thousands of Black SA children

(US\$ 105) in 1972. Inevitably, disease follows in the wake of such poverty; available figures confirm that the burden falls most severely on the poorest: nearly 750 Africans had leprosy in 1970, compared to two whites, four Coloureds and one Asian. In the same period, 4,000 Africans contracted typhoid, compared to 60 whites, 231 Coloureds and 32 Asians.

During the same year, the only cases of smallpox reported were among Africans, while as recently as 1972 the Cape Town medical officer of health reported that the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases was 22.4 per thousand among non-white South Africans and 1.6 per thousand among whites.

Experts at WHO consider such disparate disease rates among South Africans racial groups show clear links with the inferior socio-economic and

educational status of the country's black people.

Such a clear association with environment and disease is less clear when it comes to figures on mental health, but recent South African statistics show that two-thirds of all African mental patients are schizophrenic. The Swiss psychologist C. G. Jung wrote: "The fact that dementia praecox (schizophrenic) patients react to their environment shows that the disease cannot be purely organic".

An estimated 620,000 Africans are arrested yearly for "pass laws" crimes. And in 1970, more than 160 African babies were born in prison, while over 4,000 other black infants suckled at their mothers' breasts as they innocently served out their parents' sentences.

Violence as well as mental ill health

is bred in the monotonous streets of African townships such as Soweto. In 1970, 89 South African convicts were hanged for crimes of violence – thus accounting for about one-half of all judicial executions in the world.

Other social side-effects of apartheid add to the stress on urban Africans: lack of recreational facilities, insecurity of tenure coupled with the possibility of banishment to an ethnic "homeland".

Given the shortage of black doctors in South Africa, medical training facilities for non-whites should, logically, be extended. But, in reality, Africans find it difficult to study medicine. They lack prior education, they lack money to support themselves and, broadly speaking they are effectively debarred from all but one medical school.

In 1971, the cumulative results of such deprivation had produced only 252 African physicians in 25 years – or just ten African medical practitioners a year.

Even when qualified, non-white medical personnel earn a good deal less than their white counterparts. Health professionals with identical qualifications and skills receive differing rates of pay based on their ethnic origins.

Commendably, this ruling brings regular protests from the country's medical association. But a recent recruitment advertisement in Cape Town announced pay scales for Coloured and Asian physicians at only around 76 to 81 per cent of those offered to whites. For Africans, the salaries drop to 61 to 74 per cent.

In cash terms, the State recruited white medical officers three years ago at a maximum annual salary of R 8,100, Coloureds or Asians at R 6,600 and Africans at R 6,000. Even greater pay discrepancies exist for non-white nurses, radiographers and physiotherapists: a white student nurse earned a maximum of R 1,920, Coloureds or Asians R 1,170 and Africans R 840.

Attempts to eliminate racial pay differentials receive scant sympathy. In 1969, Dr Carel de Wet, then Minister of Health, told protesters that "differences in black-white salaries would remain whatever the agitators said". Two years later, the country's medical association sent a deputation to the Ministry of Interior and received a "firm" assurance that salary gaps between black and white would be reduced. These assurances were repeated in 1972. But last year, gaps in cash incomes between black and white physicians had actually increased, according to the South African Medical Journal.

Sick black patients make massive demands on their segregated hospital and clinic facilities; how are these legitimate demands met?

The South African Department of Health answers: in 1972, 10 hospital beds per thousand of population for



whites but 5.57 beds per thousand for non-whites. In the "homelands", where health standards are almost certainly the lowest, the figure dropped to 3.48 beds per thousand Africans. All told, some 43 per cent of all beds in South Africa are allocated to the white minority of 17 per cent.

The conclusion that the least provision is made for those with the greatest needs is reinforced at every turn. For instance, paediatric units for whites, Coloureds and Africans in urban hospitals also reflect the lack of equity in South African society. A visiting social scientist writes: "In the African hospitals, the wards were extremely crowded, with very limited staffing. In one of the infant units I saw two nurses attempting to feed, change and generally cope with 37 very sick children. I went to a comparable white hospital where two nurses were caring for five white children who were less ill. The comparable unit for Coloured in the same hospital was somewhere between these two extremes".

It appears unlikely that such overcrowded hospitals for blacks are unusual, in the light of the number and distribution of medical personnel in South Africa.

In 1972, the country had a respectable total of 11,504 medical practitioners of all races – yet there is still a serious shortage of physicians for rural Africans in the reserves.

According to South African sources, there is one white doctor for every 400 whites, one Indian doctor for every 900 Indians, one Coloured doctor for every 6,200 coloured and one African for every 44,000 Africans.

In practice, many black patients in urban areas visit white doctors, but government policy is based on the premise that, ideally, black patients should be treated solely by doctors of their own racial group.

WHO figures in African countries where the ratio of physician-to-population is not based on any racial affinity are informative: Botswana: 1 medical practitioner to 15,850; Cameroon: 1 to 25,950; Kenya: 1 to 7,830; Mozambique: 1 to 14,780, and Swazi-

land: 1 to 7,880. Comparable figures in industrialized countries are: England and Wales: 1 to 820; United States: 1 to 630; USSR: 1 to 420; France 1 to 750, and Switzerland: 1 to 700.

Such ratios, when contrasted with those for racial groups in South Africa, show that access to qualified medical attention is a function of race and not of the availability of the best resources in that country.

At the same time, black physicians are often hampered in delivering immediate health care to their own patients by apartheid regulations.

From the operating theatre to ambulance services, racial segregation dominates the country's health service and includes the classification of blood donations made at transfusion centers and enforced to the letter

Today, "A" for Asians, "B" (Bantu) for Africans, "K" (Kleurling) for Coloureds and "W" for white donors is the racial coding stamped on each blood donation.

Official reasons have never been advanced for racial coding, although two South African scientists pointed out that "no medical reason existed for labelling blood that had been accepted from members of any of the country's racial groups". Despite this, racial coding is carried out and African donors continue to receive one rand for each half-litre of their "B" blood.

The labelling of blood donations by race strikingly illustrates the unscientific attitude underlying South African apartheid. It is equally wrong to pay health personnel differing rates of pay on the basis of race. And the country's system of delivering health care not according to need or the availability of the best resources flagrantly contradicts the ethical values of the medical profession. And yet it is being done.

Such acts of economic and social injustice have not escaped the attention of the world. Regrettably, international concern has done little to change racial discrimination in South Africa. But undoubtedly this concern influences the South African Government and modifies its implementation of apartheid measures. WHO also contributes to this influence. In January this year, the WHO Executive Board at its fifty-fifth session, recommended that the Director-General continue to lead the Organisation in joint United Nations action against apartheid.

This year we are half-way through the UN Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the focus is still on the Republic of South Africa, whose official policy of apartheid is the most acute and institutionalized form of racial discrimination anywhere in the world.

Dutch Workers Against Apartheid



Rotterdam dock workers

The following interview with dockers in the Rotterdam Harbour and steel workers employed by the Estel Company which has plans for investment in South Africa, was conducted by PIM JUFFERMANS, an economist, on behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands

Pim: When you heard about the investment plans of Estel in South Africa, what did you do?

Toon: We came together and decided to arrange, together with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, an open 'information evening' over the work conditions in South Africa. And a thousand or more people attended this meeting. A petition was adopted which deman-

ded that Estel's investment plans should not be carried out as long as there is white minority rule in South Africa.

Pieter: We have strongly emphasized that such an investment would create a competitive relation between Estel workers and the Africans, and that the Estel management could play this out to its heart's desire. It is especially the low wages and the absence of trade union rights in South Africa that give the management possibilities to also exert pressures to infringe on our own rights. In the second place we emphasized the danger of a possible second Vietnam in South Africa. The economic and military involvement of the West in South Africa are insepar-

ably tied together. This is quite dangerous for South Africa. If only we think about the fact that this country will explode on an A-bomb in a few years.

Jacques: After that we sent letters to trade union contacts in West Germany and Austria where investments in SA is also under consideration. We are trying to make contacts through official channels and also relying on personal contacts. We are now going to write an article about South Africa in our publication "Steel", and hope in this way to keep people informed. In connection with this, we are working with the Anti-Apartheid Movement to raise financial support for SACTU.

Estel workers . . . no truck with Apartheid



"If you keep hitting the right spot long enough . . ."



Vuyisile Mini . . . singing to the gallows

Vuyisile Mini was born in bustling and rapidly developing Port Elizabeth in 1920. But the development taking place on that important dockside was not for the benefit of the Black workers who were paid minimal wages by the bosses. His father was involved in the desperate struggle to raise a family on these wages.

When he was a boy of ten, the workers in nearby East London went on strike to try to improve their situation. The strike was broken by scab labour, and most strikers lost their jobs. The Government demonstrated its ruthlessness, by later removing most of the strikers from the city to remote areas where employment opportunities were virtually nonexistent.

This pattern was to emerge again and again. It did not daunt the militancy of the workers, however. It is a tribute to their dogged determination that they continued to fight, despite being beaten back, and to fight back again.

Trade Union struggles

Mini himself became part of this struggle at the age of seventeen. He joined the fight against bus fare and rent increases and the crippling injustices perpetrated against people who could barely afford food. He was active in local campaigns against the mass removal of Africans from Kortsien, Port Elizabeth, where he lived.

In 1957, the stevedores in Port Elizabeth struck. This strike received international publicity when convict labour was brought in to break it. The South African Congress of Trade Unions, (SACTU) and the African National Congress, (ANC), as well as other organizations, protested vehemently against this intrusion of convict labour and appealed to international bodies to help them in that struggle. The International Transport Workers' Federation threatened to call on workers in other ports to refuse to handle goods loaded at Port Elizabeth. The stevedore companies panicked and the Minister of Labour announced the immediate withdrawal of convict labour.

Eventually the Government took revenge. When the stevedore companies offered an increase of 15 pence a day, the Minister of Labour withheld his permission and ordered a Wage Board inquiry. The result of this inquiry was that the workers did not receive the 15 pence increase offered by the employers.

There were many more dock and transport strikes in this period. Most ended in the same way. The Government representatives stepped in, even where companies were prepared to negotiate and complicated the situation. Police were often brought in to clear striking workers out of their living areas, and to bring in scab labour from remote areas.

Government action to stem militant trade union action took a new turn.

Lest we forget . . .

VUYISILE MINI

worker, poet, political leader and martyr for freedom

On November 6, this year it will be eleven years since Comrade Vuyisile Mini was hanged together with two other colleagues, Comrades Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba, by the South African racists. The following brief biography was prepared by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) so that this great son of our country is never forgotten

The law was manipulated to harass trade union leaders on political charges and thus remove them from their places of organisation.

Through these kinds of experiences, trade unionists became aware that trade union activity was really part of a wider struggle. The intervention of the State in factory floor disputes showed workers only too clearly that the exploitation of the African workers was but an aspect of the overall oppression. Workers not only had no right to strike, but they also had no right to choose where to live, no rights to vote, and no representatives in Parliament. The union struggle, trade unionists came to realize, could not be divorced from the struggle for freedom.

The Defiance Campaign and Treason Trial

The ANC grew rapidly in strength in the decade after World War II. The African National Congress formed an alliance with the Indian Congress and together they launched the Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws in 1952. Later this alliance was strengthened when the Coloured, Trade Union and White Movements joined the Alliance.

Vuyisile Mini was then the Secretary of the Dock Workers' Union and the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, which were both affiliated to SACTU. A father of six, he volunteered to take part in the Defiance Campaign, and was sentenced to three months imprisonment for entering railway property, which had been reserved for whites only.

Treason Trial

Because of his arrest, he lost his job as a packer in a battery factory. After release, he combined his trade union activities with political work and became Secretary of the Cape Region of the ANC.

The State machinery was soon busily seeking other means of harassing the people's leaders. In 1956, it arrested 156 persons of all races and charged them with treason. One of these was Mini. The trial dragged on for four years, disrupting the lives and work of the accused and their families, before the State case collapsed and all the accused were freed.

Composer and singer

Through all his arrests and victimization, Mini reacted with that great gift which heartened all who heard him — his singing. His own compositions, which he sang in magnificent bass at meetings, in prison and during the mass trials, were militant at times:

"Verwoerd pasopa

Naants' indod' emnyama"

("Look out, Verwoerd, here are the Black people");

and at times, nostalgic, especially the song composed during the long and

wearying Treason Trials, which expressed the yearning of the accused to return home:

"Thath' umthwalo Buti sigoduke balindile oomama noo bab 'ekhaya' ("Take up your things Brother and let's go,

They are waiting, our mothers and fathers, at home")

The feelings in this song have taken on a new dimension for all those South Africans who live as refugees from the land of their birth.

Mini, however, also loved classical music. He sang in various choirs, including the Port Elizabeth Male Voice Choir. Some of the choirs of which he was a member included whites who were not connected with the struggle for freedom. He joked about this afterwards, saying he had carried the "gospel of Congress" further by way of song. This allusion to the gospel refers to a song Mini had composed during the Defiance Campaign:

"Mayihambe le vangeli

Mayigqib ilizwe lonke"

("Let this gospel spread and be known through the world")

The final test

The early 1960s saw an all-out campaign by the racist régime to smash the popular movements. The oppressed people had seen all their appeals ignored and the doors to peaceful protest bolted by the National Party leaders, who had been schooled in the ideology of Nazi Germany. The popular movements therefore took to direct action in the form of limited acts of sabotage against Government installations.

While working in the Port Elizabeth Local Committee of SACTU in 1963, Mini was arrested along with two other prominent ANC members, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. All three were charged with committing

acts of sabotage and complicity in the death of a police informer in January of that year. (None of them was charged with participation in the shooting of the informer: four others were subsequently tried on that charge).

The accused men, as well as the witnesses who gave evidence against them, were held in solitary confinement under the "90-day law". This law, enacted in May 1963, allowed the authorities to detain any person without charge for successive periods of 90 days. Most detainees held under the Act were tortured severely. Some committed suicide during this period of confinement; others are known to have died under circumstances which have never been explained. These were the conditions under which statements were extracted or even dictated to the detainees by the police.

The three men were eventually brought to trial in Port Alfred, hundreds of miles from their hometown of Port Elizabeth, thus making it difficult for their families and friends to visit further, the attorney briefed for their defence was forbidden by the authorities to leave Durban, making proper defence and a fair trial impossible.

The three men were sentenced to death in March 1964. Appeals, calling on the South African régime to refrain from executions and release of prisoners flooded into South Africa from all over the world: telegrams, statements and letters came from the Presidents and Prime Ministers of many States; from Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic on behalf of the Conference of Non-aligned States; from U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations; from trade unions and private individuals all over the world. The United Nations Security Council called on South Africa to renounce the executions, the United Nations Special

Widowed and orphaned by the hangman. Mrs. Mini and her four children



Committee on Apartheid did all it could to press for the liberation of South African prisoners. All these efforts were in vain, however. Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba were hanged in Pretoria Central Prison on November 6, 1964.

No turning back

In a statement Mini wrote from the death cell, he recounted that a Captain Geldenhuis and two other policemen had come to see him in the cell. The statement read:

"They then asked me about Wilton Mkwayi". They said I saw Mkwayi in January 1963. I said 'Yes.' They asked me if I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi, whom they had now arrested. I said 'No', I was not. They said there was a good chance for them to save me from the gallows if I was prepared to assist them. I refused to assist.

* A prominent trade union and political leader, now serving life sentence on Robben Island.

** "Amandla Ngawethu" ("Power to the People") is the slogan of the African National Congress.

"They then said, would I make the 'Amandla' salute** when I walked the last few paces to the gallows. I said, 'Yes. After a few more jokes of that nature, they left. Vuyisile Mini."

It became known soon after their execution that the three patriots, Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba went to their deaths singing Mini's beloved freedom songs.

The last moments

One of the few people in a position to recount the last moments of Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba is Ben Turok, former Secretary of the South African Congress of Democrats, a white organization allied to the ANC. Ben Turok was serving a 3-year term of imprisonment at Pretoria Central Prison at the time the three workers' leaders were executed. In an account which he wrote for *Sechaba*, (Vol. 3 - No. 9), he said: "The last evening was devastatingly sad as the heroic occupants of the death cells communicated to the prison in gentle melancholy song that their end was near . . . It was late at night when the singing ceased, and the prison fell into uneasy silence.

I was already awake when the singing began again in the early morning. Once again the excruciatingly beautiful music floated through the barred windows, echoing round the brick exercise yard, losing itself in the vast prison yards.

"And then, unexpectedly, the voice of Vuyisile Mini came roaring down the hushed passages. Evidently standing on a stool, with his face reaching up to a barred vent in his cell, his unmistakable bass voice was enunciating his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. In a voice charged with emotion but stubbornly defiant he spoke of the struggle waged by the African National Congress and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come. And then it was Khayinga's turn, followed by Mkaba, as they too defied all prison rules to shout out their valedictions.

"Soon after, I heard the door of their cell being opened. Murmuring voices reached my straining ears, and then the three martyrs broke into a final poignant melody which seemed to fill the whole prison with sound and then gradually faded away into the distant depths of the condemned section."

STARVATION DIET IN PRISON

According to the South African Hansard No. 18, 1975 (c. 1117, 1135) the Minister of Justice is reported to have said that new diet scales had been introduced for prisoners "based on the nutritional need of the various racial groups." These scales, he said were approved by the Department of Health.

He then proceeded to give the following startling figures which show that a White woman prisoner doing needlework gets a much better diet than an African male prisoner breaking rocks in a quarry:

WHITE PRISONERS

	Male	Female
Breakfast:		
Mealie meal Porridge (5 times a week)	100g.	70g.
Oats (2 times a week)	100g.	70g.
Bread (daily)	112.5g.	90g.
Lunch:		
Meat (5 times a week)	170g.	170g.
Fish (2 times a week)	170g.	170g.
Samp or Mealie rice	50g.	40g.
Vegetables	320g.	320g.
Supper:		
Bread	225g.	180g.
Vegetables	130g.	130g.
Protone soup powder	15g.	15g.
Daily issue per person	Both Male and Female	
Milk powder	25g.	
Butter or margarine	20g.	
Dripping for preparing food	5g.	
Coffee or tea	8g.	
Sugar	60g.	
Salt	15-30g.	
Jam or syrup	30g.	
Weekly issue per person:		
Peanut butter	90g.	
Cheese	45g.	

Eggs	2
Tomato puree	20g.
Fruit	280g.
Cake flour	30g.

As required for cooking:

Baking powder, curry powder, vinegar, pepper, cooking oil.

AFRICAN PRISONERS

	Male	Female
Breakfast:		
Mealie meal Porridge	170g.	140g.
Protone powder	5g.	5g.
Bread (3 times a week)	112.5g.	112.5g.
Lunch:		
Whole Mealies (4 times a week)	80g.	70g.
Both male and female		
Meat (3 times a week)		125g.
Fish (2 times a week)		125g.
Somos (dry weight)		40g.
Daily per person:		
Salt		15-30g.
Sugar		45g.
Dripping		15g.
Coffee or tea		4g.
Tomato puree		6g.
Vegetables		240g.
Oil for frying fish	70 millilitre per prisoner per week.	

As required for cooking: curry powder, vinegar, pepper. Other figures that emerged during the debate were the following on government subsidies for children in Places of Safety or Registered Children's Homes:

	Children's Homes	Places of Safety
White	R1.30 per day	R1.25 per day
African	33-45 cents per day	32 cents per day

32 per cent of one per cent will not cover even a pint of milk a week!

A LAW THAT CASTS ITS NET WIDE . . .

They called it the suppression of Communism Act. Its main object was to crush the Communist Party of South Africa. But today the victims of this sweeping piece of legislation represent a spectrum of political beliefs, ranging from mildly socialist to non-communist and even avowedly anti-communist.

Act 44 of 1950 achieved its main aim. But included in its other aims was the prohibition of certain "communistic or other undesirable activities" and it is these secondary aims which have been the object of security police and administrative action in the past 25 years.

Communism, as defined in the Act, has very little to do with communism proper. Rather, it is statutory communism and; except where the State charges an individual with "furthering the aims of communism", the definition has little significance.

But the definition must be there. This the law demands. It is deprived of its significance by the vast powers granted to the Ministry of Justice to restrict the activities and circumscribe the lives of the people of South Africa.

ACTION

The Act specifies only that the Minister, before he takes action, must be "satisfied that any person engages in activities which are furthering or are calculated to further the aims of communism".

In practice, this means any individual whose activities (or reported activities) do not meet with the Minister's approval.

There is no means of testing if the activities do in fact further, or are calculated to further, the aims of communism.

For the Minister's order to be set aside, a restricted person would have to show the court positively that the Minister acted in bad faith.

The impossibility of this is clear. It is not enough to show the Minister must have been wrong. If asked for his reason for certain orders, the Minister only has to disclose such information as, in his opinion, can be made public without detriment to public policy.

ESCAPE

Invariably, the Minister simply relies on this escape clause.

Sometimes his only answer to requests for reasons is to invite the recipient of a restriction order to examine his own activities.



Ahmed Timol . . . tortured to death

The restricted person has no right to be heard, nor does he have an opportunity to know or refute the information on which the Minister relies.

It must be assumed that this information is so flimsy or suspect that it would not bear scrutiny by an objective court. In the occasional criminal trial in which informers have given evidence, that evidence has frequently been discredited, as have the people who gave it.

What in fact does a banning order mean?

- A person can be prohibited from attending any gathering, or a particular gathering, or a particular type of gathering. A gathering consists of three or more people (including the restricted person), with a common purpose, for example, a bridge game, a luncheon or a picnic.

The courts have even indicated that two people (again including the restricted person) could constitute a gathering.

- The Minister can prohibit a person from being within or from leaving any place (town, suburb, flat or house) or communicating with any person or receiving any visitor or performing any act which he may specify.

- If a person is prohibited from attending any gatherings, anything he says or has said prior to his banning order cannot be quoted or reproduced, irrespective of its subject matter. This covers simply reporting in everyday conversation anything a banned person may have said.

- If a person visits a member of the family of a banned person, the banned person must leave the room in which the visitor is being entertained.

BLACK

- Banned people may not enter Black areas, or, if they are Black, townships other than their own.

- Nor may they go into courts and court houses except as accused persons or witnesses or to obtain relief from their restrictions.

- If both husband and wife are banned, they must apply for permission to talk to each other, as banned people may not communicate with each other.

- Banned people are invariably confined to their home towns or to portions of them. Ministerial permission to leave is only granted for the most cogent reasons, seldom for any reason as human as the need for a holiday.

- A banning order has been held to override an exit permit if the Minister refuses permission for the banned person to leave his area of restriction to go to a port of exit.

- Banned people must report to the police on stated days and between stated times, and failure to do so can result in a minimum sentence of one year's imprisonment, no option of a fine being allowed, although part of the sentence can be suspended.

- House arrest means exactly what it says. It can be, and has been 24-hour house arrest, although it is usually between 6 pm and 6 am.

CHURCH

The only exemption may be to attend bona fide church services.

- Nobody may visit a house-arrested person during these hours except for lawyers attending to his or her affairs and they, in turn, may not be banned people or people listed as supporters of an unlawful organisation.

Special permission is required even for close family members to visit.

The Security Police hound the transgressor for the slightest breach of the act or the restriction orders.

Through these powers, the Minister can silence and restrict anybody and can stop any activity.

Thus the exposures by Father Cosmas Desmond of conditions in the resettlement camps in the homelands were stopped by his order and even before his book "The Discarded People" was banned its dissemination was no longer possible.

Today 147 people still suffer under these statutory restrictions.

Their future is in the hands of the Minister.

Isitwalandwe Kotane

Comrade Moses Kotane was awarded the highest ANC Award when he was declared **Isitwalandwe – Seaparankoe** in a ceremony held in Moscow where Moses Kotane is hospitalised since 1969.

The occasion was the 70th anniversary of his birthday.

Among those who were present were all members of the National Executive of the African National Congress and representatives of the Women and Youth Sections of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

In the modern times that this honour

Comrades Tambo (r) and Kotane singing the National Anthem during the birthday celebrations



was conferred upon persons who fought for the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of South Africa was 20 years ago, when at the historic Congress of the People, the late Chief Albert Mvumbi Lutuli, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress and

the Rev. Trevor Huddleston were decorated.

The following is the official declaration of this, the highest honour any South African can achieve was made by Comrade **Oliver Tambo**, President of the ANC on the occasion of Kotane's 70th birthday anniversary.

Among those who attended the celebrations were (sitting) l. to r. Comrades Duma Nokwe, Yusuf Dadoo, Kotane, Tambo and Eric Mtshali. (Standing l. to r.) Wesi Masisi, Jerry Mbuli, Thabo More, Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo, John Pule, Florence Mophosho, Josiah Jele, Thomas Nkobi, Moses Mabhida and John Gaetsewe



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

CITATION

On The Award Of

ISITWALANDWE-SEAPARANKOE*

TO: MOSES MAUANE KOTANE

On The 9th Day of August, 1975,

being the 70th Anniversary of his Birth.

BY Decision of the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS taken at Lusaka, Zambia, in July, 1975, It Is Decreed that the Title of

ISITWALANDWE-SEAPARANKOE*

be and is hereby conferred on Comrade MOSES MAUANE KOTANE in recognition of his outstanding contribution and role in the South African revolution, the struggle against imperialism and the struggle for democracy and peace.

MORE particularly, this honour, the highest traditionally bestowed by our people, is conferred on Comrade Moses Kotane for:

a. his long, tireless, consistent and principled record as a fighter for the birthright of our people;

b. his endurance and determination in the face of persecution and torment by the racist and fascist oppressors in our country;

c. his wise and patriotic leadership and statesmanship in the protracted and complex struggle of our people for full national and social liberation;

d. his role as a unifying force in a situation which demands the broadest alliance of all patriotic forces who stand on the side of true national liberation;

e. his combination of national patriotism with a true sense of internationalism which has won him honour beyond the borders of our country. AND we proclaim that from this day onwards, Comrade MOSES MAUANE KOTANE will be known and honoured throughout our land as bearing the Title of ISITWALANDWE - SEAPARANKOE.

Signed

OLIVER TAMBO

Acting President, A.N.C.

Moscow, August 9, 1975.

* ISITWALANDWE - SEAPARANKOE: Is the wearer of the feather of rare, even legendary bird, and is awarded to the bravest warriors.

Secret Power Under the . . .

TERRORISM ACT

If the powers conferred on the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act are absolutely totalitarian, the powers vested in the police under the Terrorism Act are at best equally totalitarian.

Recently the Security Police freed five members of the Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) who had been detained incommunicado and in solitary confinement under this Act for periods up to nine months. Despite their rigorous confinement no charges were brought against them.

The five followed two Indian members of SASO who were freed after awaiting trial on Terrorism Act charges for nearly five months. They too have been proclaimed innocent.

These young people were among a group of 48 who were detained after attempts to hold pro-Frelimo rallies throughout the country (Details of the arrests were published in Sechaba Vol. 9 - No 2).

At frequent intervals since then, the Security Police had promised that the detainees would be tried "soon" or "in a few weeks", as soon as all evidence had been sifted.

This latest outrage against innocent young opponents of apartheid once again highlights our oft repeated contention that the Security Police do not need any evidence whatever before picking up members of organisations that are opposed to apartheid even if their activities are all within the law. They may, with impunity, arrest, detain and torture their suspects merely because they suspect them or on unsubstantiated allegations.

That the victims thus detained are tortured is no secret. Ample evidence has been made public of the vicious forms of torture used on detainees. At least 22 people are known to have died in detention.

Like the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) the Security Police in South Africa are a power unto themselves. They are answerable to no one except the Prime Minister; not to the courts, not even to the all-White Parliament.

More Detentions

Meanwhile several new arrests have been made and all those arrested have been detained under this vicious legislation. Among those arrested are: Mr. Breyten Breytenbach, a leading Afrikaans writer who lives in self-imposed exile because he could not live with his wife in the country, she being Vietnamese; Mr. Kerel Tip, President of the National Union of South

African Students (NUSAS), a White student organisation with an anti-apartheid programme; Mr. Glen Moss, a former president of the Students Representative Council at Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg; Mr. Gerry Mare, an executive member of NUSAS; Mr. James Polley, a Methodist minister who is senior tutor in the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Cape Town University; Mr. Polley's friend, Miss Megan Riley; and Mrs. Clara Rohn, the wife of a scientist working with the Atomic Energy Board in Pretoria (Mrs. Rohn is pregnant).

"Terrorism" Trials

At present a "Terrorism" Trial in which 9 leading members of the Black Peoples' Convention and SASO (See Sechaba Vol. 9 - No. 4) which began earlier this year continues after several adjournments.

Eight of the accused pleaded not guilty to the charges levelled against them and one - Mr. Zitulele Cindi, 24, former secretary general of the Black Peoples' Convention, told the Pretoria Supreme Court: "We are charged with plotting violent revolution, but it is we who have been the victims of institutionalised violence," when he was asked to plead.

"If building schools and dams," he added, "and trying to instil a feeling of self-reliance among the Blacks is terrorism, then I would plead guilty, but I do not believe it is terrorism."

He then refused to plead.

Mr. Roy Allaway, senior defence counsel, said the accused believed the charges against them were part of a strategy to eliminate Black opinion in South Africa. They believe they were victims of a strategy to eliminate all Black opinion except those expressed by the Bantustan leaders and other supporters of the Government, he added.

The trial continues.

More Trial to Come

• The Security Police have arrested nine Africans recently. Their names have not been made public and we have been unable to get them at the time of going to press. It is understood that all nine will appear in a new "Terrorism" Trial in Johannesburg.

• Another "Terrorism" Trial is pending in Durban, where a University law lecturer, Mr. Raymond Sutner and two others are under detention on allegations concerning leaflets.

PLIGHT OF THE BANISHED

Apartheid South Africa is a Police State in so far as the oppressed Black majority is concerned – the day to day activity of the African population is rigidly controlled by a fantastic number of discriminatory laws. In addition, there are hundreds of political prisoners; those detained indefinitely without being brought to court; those banned, restricted and house arrested.

Among these are those sometimes described as "the forgotten peoples" – brave men and women banished to various remote parts of the country where they eke out a hungry, lonely, isolated existence. Any society which treats its courageous and principled citizens in this manner can only be described as fascist. Among the banished are one-time chiefs of their tribes who refused to obey government dictates which were opposed to the interests of their people and leading men and women of the African National Congress.

They have been banished from their homes, their families, their workmates and friends to barren, isolated, semi-desert areas where the soil does not support suitable crops, where water is a great distance away, where there are no services or amenities of any kind.

They are deliberately removed from their own area to regions where they are not known and where the people speak a different language and, even from these people, they are separated so that communication becomes difficult. In many instances, they are placed 80 to 100 kilometres from the nearest town or shops, making it difficult to buy food and other personal or household necessities.

The exact number of those so banished is not known. In 1969, the Minister reported to parliament that there were 39 people in banishment for periods ranging from one to eighteen years. Yet, the United Nations Unit on Apartheid has given publicity to the plight of the banished in a fifteen page document issued in January, 1970, but even there, it is stated that the exact number is not known. But aside from the individual militants who are banished in terms of the Native Administration Act, one must also remember the tens of thousands who are moved from settled areas to remote areas by Ministerial decree – their plight is no less cruel and miserable: Under the Act the President of apartheid South Africa is designated as "the supreme chief of all the natives" and is given unlimited powers to appoint and depose chiefs, to remove any African from any place to any other place including whole communities.

In 1950 Chief Paulos Mopedi of Witzieshoek was banished to one place and his wife, Treaty to another place – only later was she allowed to join him. Chief Abraham Mopedi of Zeerust was banished from Lefarotse and subsequently fled to Botswana. Chief Edward Tyaliti was deposed in Cala in the Transkei and banished to Tabaans in Sibasa which is in the Northern Transvaal – he was accused of being contemptuous of Matanzima and resisting Bantustans and the Bantu Authorities Act. He was among a large number of A.N.C. people banished shortly after the Pondoland uprising in 1960. Others included Theophilus Tshangela from Bizana: the Ganyile brothers, Anderson and Mthethanzima who were banished from Bizana to the Kalahari from where they later fled, Anderson to Lesotho



Theophilus Tshangela one of the many who were banished to desert areas for many years

and Mthethanzima to Botswana: the two Joyi brothers, also banished, later joined Anderson Ganyile; Alcott Gwentshe, prominent leader of the ANC was banished from East London to the Kalahari, Alex Tikane of Cala, Nelson Zulu of Vryburg, Gilbert Tshibalanga of Sibasa were all banished to Kuruman. The list of the "Forgotten People" can go on, but the above examples are illustrative.

In 1970, three people, Alfred Thebeisa, Mqulus Mpongose and Mokate Ramafoko, died in banishment. Subsequently, Chiefs Tyaliti and Paulos Mopedi died, also in banishment. In an article in the Guardian (11/6/71) Father Cosmas Desmond, outspoken priest on the evils of Resettlement, stated that Mokate Ramafoko had been ill for 11 months with cancer of the stomach before he was admitted to hospital – he died within a week. Father Desmond also mentioned the intolerable conditions in which Ramafoko and five fellow banished lived at Driefontein.

The cruel plight of the thousands uprooted from their homes and dumped in the veld is also reported by Doctor McDonald Mackenzie and his wife, Rachel. They worked at a hospital a few miles from Kuruman. They report of unemployment which compels the men to leave and seek work elsewhere, leaving wives and children exposed to starvation and illness; of diseases which are rife; of the rate at which children die. Doctor Rachel mentions the names given to children she treated as depicting the conditions under which they were born – "Woman-in-Ruins", "I-Am-Done-For", "I-have-Suffered", etc.

Such is the plight of the banished, the "Forgotten People", who suffer loneliness, hunger, cold in distant, remote, arid places. Recalling their fate also reminds us of the real horrors of fascist-racist oppression in South Africa – this is the meaning of Apartheid in action, segregated park benches and such like are merely the symbols of apartheid.

EDITOR'S NOTE

We would like to mention that women members of the ANC annually collect money, food, clothing, toiletries, etc and send Christmas parcels to as many of the banished as they are able to locate.

CAPE VERDE WINS INDEPENDENCE



The Cape Verde Islands became Africa's 45th independent nation July 5 when a Portuguese delegation led by Premier Vasco Goncalves handed over power to the new Cape Verdean National Assembly in the capital city of Praia on Sao Tiago Island. Independence for the islands ends over five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule which left the fifteen islands totally undeveloped and drought-ridden.

After the formal ceremonies, Cape Verdeans danced to music in the streets, and there were parades throughout the islands.

Independence day followed by five days elections on the islands, 400 miles off the west coast of Africa, that decided in favour of union with the West African nation, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The union of the two countries was a major demand of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) which fought a ten-year-long guerrilla war against the Portuguese army in Guinea-Bissau.

PAIGC declared the independence of Guinea-Bissau in September, 1973. After the coup in Portugal which overthrew the fascist dictatorship in April, 1974, the Portuguese officially relinquished power to the PAIGC in September, 1974.

The Cape Verde Islands are the third of Portugal's African territories to become independent in the last year. In addition to Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique gained its freedom on June 25. Angola, Portugal's largest territory, will become independent on Novem-

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS BECOMES INDEPENDENT, VOTE TO UNITE WITH REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU



ber 11. And two small islands off the west coast of Africa, Sao Tome and Principe, are also scheduled for independence this month.

Election Turnout Heavy

Reports say that the turnout in the June 30 election on the islands was heavy. Officials there estimated that 84 % of the registered voters cast ballots for candidates for the 56 member National Assembly which will write a constitution and decide on formal union with Guinea-Bissau. PAIGC was the only political party which ran candidates. Almost half of the islands' 300,000 inhabitants are registered voters, of whom more than 92 % backed PAIGC's platform.

The new nation's first National Assembly elected Aristides Pereira president and Pedro Pires prime minister. Pereira is secretary general of PAIGC. He succeeded the party's founder, Amilcar Cabral, after Cabral was assassinated in January, 1973 in a plot organized by the then-Portuguese governor of Guinea-Bissau, Antonio de Spinoza. Spinoza became president of Portugal after the 1974 coup, but fled to Brazil in March after he led an unsuccessful attempt to take power away from the leftist Armed Forces Movement.

Pires, the new prime minister of Cape Verde, is chairman of the PAIGC's committee for Cape Verde, and has been credited as one of the major architects of PAIGC's military successes in the dense forests of the southern front of Guinea-Bissau. A

Cape Verdean who studied in Lisbon and was an officer in the Portuguese army before the outbreak of guerrilla war in Guinea-Bissau, Pires also negotiated the independence agreements between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal.

Ten large islands and five smaller islets comprise the Cape Verde Archipelago. The islands are volcanic in origin, and there is still one active volcano over 9000 feet high on the island of Fogo, which last erupted in 1951. Most of the islands are rugged, mountainous and barren, with many peaks over 3000 feet. Recent visitors to Cape Verde have said that the island's mountains are spectacular, comparing them to the Rockies or the Alps.

Eight Year Drought

Located in the same latitude as the Sahara Desert, the islands are arid for the most part, and are presently affected by the same drought which has caused the famine in the lower Sahara nations of Africa. Sand dunes are present on some of the islands, and it is the prevailing northeast winds, visitors are told, which carry the sand over 400 miles from the Sahara.

The present drought, only latest of many, began in 1967. The PAIGC has filed reports with the United Nations which show that from 1747 until 1972 there were a total of 58 full years of famine on the islands, claiming the lives of over 250,000 victims.

But the Portuguese developed only agricultural production for-export, the primary crops being bananas and sugar cane. Consequently, the islands do not produce nearly enough food to sustain their people. The staple of the Cape Verdean diet is maize (corn), but 96 % of the islands' needs are imported. And because of the present drought, 90 % of agricultural workers are unemployed.

Until about five years ago, Sao Vicente, with a population of about 30,000 people, had no water supply other than what was imported from the island of Santo Antao, only a few miles distant and one of the few islands with running streams and good wells of fresh water. Now there is a desalination plant on Sao Vicente, but water has to be purchased for about \$1.00 a ton. The plant is not really a solution to the

water problem, though, because the oil needed to run the plant must be imported and there is very little money to keep up with rising world oil prices. Ninety percent of the people are peasants. But many have left the islands to avoid the famine and harsh Portuguese rule.

There are many who left the islands to avoid the famine and the harsh Portuguese rule. There are as many as 300,000 people of Cape Verdean descent living in the United States alone, as well as in many European and African countries.

"The overall impression one gets is of extreme poverty," said George Houser, the director of the American Committee on Africa, after a recent trip to the islands. "Exports are only 5 per cent of imports. It's been possible for the mass of people to survive because Portugal has given funds which have amounted to about \$12 million in 1974 and 1975. But this will dwindle after independence."

Some years ago Portugal initiated a public works system to employ thousands of the unemployed on building cobblestone roads, and Houser reports seeing men, women and children gathering, breaking and piling rock for the roads. Prior to the coup in Portugal, these workers were paid less than \$1 a day. Cape Verdeans refer to the roads as the "pyramids of Cape Verde."

The islands have only two hospitals, and altogether there are only twelve doctors.

Spinola opposed the union of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, for the islands are strategically located and more than once the Portuguese dictatorship tried to convince NATO to build a base on the island of Sal. But now, says Houser, the PAIGC has "uncontested control of the political future of the islands."

"If there had been any question about the popular support of the PAIGC," says Houser, "this would have been dispelled by the mass reception for Aristides Pereira when he arrived in Praia on February 26th. The visiting mission from the UN., on a tour of the islands at the time, estimated that 30,000 to 50,000 people greeted Pereira at the Praia airport and 20,000 heard him speak in the main plaza of the city later that same day.

"Such an outpouring is quite remarkable when one realizes that the total

population on the island of Santiago is only about 135,000 and that people had to travel many miles by foot to get to the capital city."

"Discovered" in 15th Century

The Cape Verde islands were "discovered" in 1460, fourteen years after the Portuguese explorer Nuno Tristao first landed on the African continent in the area which is now Guinea-Bissau. Some Portuguese settled there, began to develop farming and procured slaves from the mainland. During the centuries of the slave trade, the islands served as a springboard for shipping thousands of slaves to the Americas.

Guinea-Bissau, crisscrossed by many rivers and waterways, became known to the Portuguese as the "Rivers of Cape Verde," because, as Basil Davidson, the British historian, journalist and close friend of Amilcar Cabral, wrote recently, the Portuguese took from this area "their manual labor for the islands, decade after decade, century after century, in large part from the country now called Guinea-Bissau. In short, the two peoples have had the same ancestors for more than 500 years."

During the long years of guerrilla warfare in Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC operated only clandestinely in Cape Verde. Members operated in small cells where the members of one cell would not know those in another. Portuguese repression was severe, and many spent years in prison.

There is no question that the problems of the islands are immense. "Seven years of drought coming after 500 years of colonialism and fifty years of fascism, that's what our country has seen," Pedro Pires said in a recent interview.

But for the first time, the people of Cape Verde will be able to determine their own future.

"Very rapidly, workers, peasants and especially young people have begun to respond to our needs," said Pires. "The youth have always played a decisive role in our struggle for liberation, in Guinea as well as Cape Verde. Young people come from all regions of Guinea and Cape Verde to join the party, and they are today, like yesterday, in its vanguard."

— Liberation News Service