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ANTI-SWA

THE ZAMBIAN REVOLUTION

Zambia's first post-independence elections went off so peacefully and in such a meticulously democratic manner that the prophets of doom were confounded. Zambia's enemies had predicted violence and bloodshed, had predicted that President Kaunda would resort to rigging the elections; they were utterly dismayed. Perhaps the most crushing answer to them was given by President Kaunda when he put a Zambia Airforce plane at the disposal of some A.N.C.(Zambia) candidates to enable them to be present in their constituencies on nomination day.

In congratulating the United National Independence Party and President Kaunda personally on their resounding victory in the General Elections we must at the same time thank the people of Zambia for the massive confidence they have displayed in the policies pursued by President Kaunda's Government. In an Africa continually riddled with imperialist intrigue Zambia stands out as one of the few oases of stability under a Government dedicated to the cause of Africa and humanity. Zambia has followed up words with action by severing as many links which were imposed on her by British imperialism. She is breaking these bonds and establishing new links to the North East with Tanzania at great cost and sacrifice. Such dedication to principle is like a beacon and sharply contrasts with the bleatings of puppets.

1968 has not been a good year for Africa. Events have proved that imperialism is very much active. Africa has shown herself to be unable or unwilling to deal with the problems posed by neo-colonialism. The armed struggle for liberation in Southern Africa continues to be waged under unnecessary handicaps caused by bureaucratic attitudes of governments.

The powerful and precise way in which President Kaunda continues to attack White domination is a real thorn in the side of imperialism. One can unhesitatingly state that imperialist strategy in Zambia is to undermine the UNIP government and overthrow President Kaunda.

President Kaunda shows a keen appreciation of and a deep insight into these very real problems. The President revealed some time before the election that he was studying the situation in depth and would make drastic structural changes after UNIP had been put back into power. Developmental emphasis will now be placed in the rural areas, with priority given to agriculture.

When the Mulungushi economic reforms are juxtaposed alongside these structural changes it is clear that the President and the UNIP Government are very conscious of the nation-building tasks before them.

We congratulate President Kaunda, the Government, UNIP and the people of Zambia on the momentous new direction they have chosen. We wish them every success.

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PRISON POPULATION

In almost matter-of-fact tones a South African advocate has confronted the country with the fact that one in 40 of the total population are languishing in jails. The last census reflected a total population of something over 18 million people. That was more than two years ago. Presuming the increase brings the total to 20 million people, statistics reveal that there are half a million of that number detained in prisons.

Advocate C.P. Prest, on whom we have to rely for the figures, told a gathering in Cape Town the alarming state of affairs was probably attributable to poverty, insufficient education and the atrocious social conditions in which certain population groups were living. This, we would agree, would account for many of the crimes of violence. Frustrated people easily become violent people. The law of the jungle will always take over if human beings descend to an animal level of existence. Hence, perhaps, the staggering number of 7,000 murder suspects at present awaiting trial.

But we doubt whether all the half million in prison are anti-social in the criminal sense. How many are bewildered individuals who have fallen foul of South Africa's multiplicity of race laws that limit the movements and the rights to residence or employment of people whose skin colour is not white?

The figures do not tell us, but even if the number of technical offenders were only half of the prison population it would be a terrible indictment of South Africa's social system. And what a burden on the economy! How can a young country, straining to move forward towards massive development along paths lined with opportunity, tolerate wastage of human material? How can South Africa afford the expense of supporting half a million people in enforced idleness?

The real criminals, the hardened sinners, must be cut off from society in the interests of public safety. What South Africa must guard against is that the environments which breed them do not continue spawning evil doers. The remedy is to eliminate the environments and the conditions which create them.

THE FRAUD OF APARTHEID

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Two rockets were recently sent hurtling through space from a launching pad at St. Lucia Bay on the Natal coast, in what is supposed to be the Zulu 'homeland'. St. Lucia is a strategic centre, about 100 miles from Camane in Mozambique near the Natal border, and within easy reach of Swaziland.

Government spokesmen said that the opening of the rocket station marked an important stage in South Africa's defence system, and gave an assurance that the rockets would never be used for aggression. The sole aim was to protect South Africa.

Against whom? Freedom Fighters returning home from Mozambique or Swaziland or the sea? Or the Zulus themselves, rising against their oppressors? Whatever the answer, we can be certain that the racists will never voluntarily hand over control of St. Lucia to the Zulu. Any future Zulustan will be allowed to exist only under the shadow of the White man's rockets and the launching pad.

Further along the coast, and also in Zulu country, is Richards Bay. Here the National Development Corporation - a state-owned enterprise - has joined hands with private capitalists in the business of erecting a smelting plant at an initial cost of R48 million and with technical advice given by a Swiss firm, the Alusuisse.

The plant will produce aluminium from bauxite. Since S.A. does not contain adequate supplies, the ore will be imported, most probably from Australia. It is expected that from 300 to 400 Africans will be employed in the works, together with 200 Whites, who are to be settled with their families at Empangeni.

Still further south on the east coast is Port St. Johns near Umtata. This is a seaside resort for Transkeian Whites, a fishing centre and potential harbour. Like St. Lucia Bay and Richard's Bay, it is a White 'reserve', over which no African government will be allowed to exercise control.

The point to be noted is that the White man's strategic and economic interests are given priority, even in the so-called homelands. In other words, apartheid, separate development, or whatever other word is used to describe government policy, operates only and always to maintain White baasskap.

Consider the position of the Bafokeng reserve near Rustenburg in the Transvaal. A new platinum mine is being opened in the reserve by a capitalist firm, the Impala Platinum Company, at a cost of R30m.

In terms/.....

In terms of an 'agreement' between the Bafokeng chiefs and the Bantu Trust (which is the legal owner of the land in the reserve), the Bafokeng will receive 13% of the profits made by the mine.

But they will have no control over the mine, nor will they be able to demand a greater share of the profits. They will not even be given work in the mine, for the bulk of the labour force is to come from the Transkei.

Transkeians will do pick and shovel work at unskilled rates. The supervisory and technical work will be reserved for Whites, living at Rustenburg.

In the Tswana 'homeland' as at Phalaborwa, the industrial colour bar operates as rigorously as on the Witwatersrand. The African is told that he will be his own master in the 'homelands'. Here he can rise to the top of the scale. But he will not be allowed to do skilled mining work. That is a privilege reserved for the White man, like manning the rocket station, or controlling the ports.

That, among other reasons, is why we denounce apartheid. Africans will never be able to govern themselves, or to achieve independence, in the scattered fragments of territory that make up the reserves. Always and everywhere, the ruling class will retain control in order to perpetuate Afrikaner domination, White supremacy and capitalist exploitation.

Self-government will not come to us as a gift. We must fight for it, and seize it not only in a mythical Bantustan, but in the whole of South Africa. There is no other way of resolving the conflict between White baasskap and African Power.

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FIVE YEARS OF BANTUSTANS

In the last issue of Mayibuye we analysed the political developments in the Transkei over the five years. It should be clear to the reader that the Transkei is as far from genuine political independence today as it was five years ago, that the fascist-racist regime has neither had nor intends ever to grant such independence. In fact, developments reveal the real purpose of the racists which is to develop a class of middle men between the African majority and the minority White oppressors.

They hoped that the chiefs, the African civil servants, the traders, etc. can be used to bludgeon the African masses more effectively as

well as to/.....

well as to act as a cushion against revolt.

In this article we shall deal with the economic aspects of Bantustans which should make clear even to the most prejudiced observer that Bantustans are a and were fraudulently conceived and undertaken. To quote from Govan Mbeki's "The Peasants' Revolt":-

"....but even more important is the economic aspect of Bantustan policy. For the Bantustans are the most densely populated African rural areas in South Africa, the homes of millions of peasants who live in grinding poverty, and so the traditional reservoirs of labour for the entire country. Can they exist in "independence"? Would any government pledge to White supremacy allow and assist them to develop their resources on the scale necessary to make self-government possible?"

Govan Mbeki asks these questions rhetorically knowing the answer to be a "no". And every action of the racist regime before and since independence confirms this.

Aside from the stark poverty of the peasantry the Transkei started off with an apology of an infra-structure. In 1963 there were very poor railway facilities and their chief function was to take labourers from the reserve to the White farms, mines and factories. The roads were poorly developed and were to serve the same function as the railways. There was hardly any power to speak of, virtually no industries. Hundreds of years of White rule had resulted in the Transkei becoming increasingly more poverty stricken. Five years after Bantustans the position is little different. The Tomlinson Commission recommended in 1956 that at least £10 million had to be expended on the Bantustans annually to lay the basis for development. It also recommended improvement in agricultural methods which would displace thousands of peasants from the land. To provide employment for these peasants, secondary and tertiary industries would need to be created. According to the Commission at least 50,000 opportunities of employment would have to be created annually. It should be remembered that the Tomlinson Commission pointed out that even with the fullest and most extensive development the Bantustans would be able to accommodate only 10 million Africans by 1987 still leaving another 15 million in the so-called White areas. In other words on the basis of land allocation and distribution the Bantustan scheme was already a non-starter in 1956!!

But in terms of the past five years the Tomlinson recommendations appear other-worldly, something from cloud-cuckoo land. The "Financial Mail" (1/11/68) described any talk of "development" in the Transkei as "wishful thinking". The government has

no intention/.....

no intention of providing the money for development in the Transkei for this would undermine the whole system of migrant labour.

However, in keeping with the pretence that Bantustans were to be independent African States the government announced originally that all Whites would have to leave the Transkei and that all commercial and industrial enterprises would be undertaken by Africans only assisted by the Bantu Investment Corporation. Needless to say this was all very well in theory but in practice Africans have not the capital to create industries. As a result the racist regime's economic policy with regard to the Bantustans has gone through several changes.

- 1) The Africans' only policy failed for reasons given above;
- 2) Border Industries: This was a policy whereby White industry would be allowed to site itself on the borders of Bantustans.

While this did nothing for the development of the Bantustans the government explained that it would provide employment for residents of the Bantustans. Various incentives were given to White industries such as cheap power, cheap transport on the railways, freedom from wage board regulations, and labour legislation, etc. What this amounted to in practice was intensified exploitation of the Africans and opportunities for Afrikaner business. White enterprise was however reluctant to go to border areas except where existing industrial areas already bordered on the Transkei.

- 3) Allowing White Capital: Early this year the government finally departed from its pretence that Whites would be totally excluded from the reserves. It announced that henceforth White capital would be allowed into the Transkei but had to be controlled and channelled through Africans or through government corporations. White industrialists were taken on a lavish, all-expenses-paid tour of the Transkei but their unanimous verdict was that there were no investment opportunities in the Transkei. This scheme having failed the government has recently embarked on;
- 4) Allowing White Industries into the Transkei as "agents" for the Bantu Investment Corporation. What this means is that the industries will be allowed to operate for a certain number of years and then would have to sell out to the Corporation at a "fair" price. One doubts if even this will be very successful. To quote "News/Check" (25/10/68):

"It may/.....

"It may still not be an attractive enough business prospect to attract much White capital into homelands. But having gone so far, the wheel of policy is bound to go the full distance."

In other words, the racists will shortly be compelled to allow White capital and industry to enter the Bantustans without restriction thus totally exposing their fraudulent policy. Fraudulent, that is, in terms of the racist public pronouncements. But in terms of White baastkap and Black subjection there is, of course, no fraud. For it has never been the intention of the fascists ever to grant the Bantustans complete political freedom or to enable them to attain economic viability. The reserves have always been and (so long as the fascists rule our country) will continue to be reservoirs of labour for the Whites - their continued existence as poverty stricken areas is vital to the maintenance of White privilege and profit.

After five years of Bantustan even the most short-sighted observer can see that talk of independent African States within South Africa is a hollow sham. No amount of double-talk, no number of stooges and Uncle Toms can disguise the fact that the Bantustans are as underdeveloped and poor as ever and that real power continues to be wielded by the Pretoria regime.

Another aspect of the racists' Bantustan policy was that eventually all Africans would have to leave what are arrogantly termed "White" areas and go back to their respective Bantustans. But what is, in fact, happening is that the number of Africans in the urban areas has been steadily increasing every year. If the increase has not been even more phenomenal it is because the fascists have used the Bantustan bluff to apply influx control more stringently and harshly than ever before - the weak, the sick, the old, the women are being sent back to the reserves in thousands.

Bantustans cannot bring freedom for our people. Their only effect is intensified economic exploitation, greater political oppression, social degradation and humiliation. Bantustans (and, in fact, the whole apartheid system) are opposed to all laws of political and economic development. And for this reason they will give way to a non-racial democratic South. The People's Liberation Army, led and guided by the A.N.C., are engaged in bringing that date closer.

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PERSECUTION OF POLITICAL REFUGEES

IN BOTSWANA

- Watchful Eye.

The Botswana Government passed a law during the beginning of 1967 styled as "The Refugees (Recognition and Control) (Amendment) Act No.8.1967.

In terms/.....

In terms of this Act the Minister has appointed a statutory committee to inquire into any immigrant who seeks asylum. The committee comprises of a chairman and between 2 to 4 members.

The Act provides that any immigrant seeking asylum could be detained for 28 days incommunicado while being investigated by the Committee. Any person who fails to appear before this committee or fails to answer any questions satisfactorily may be prosecuted and if found guilty sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment or R500 (£250) fine or both. It is difficult to visualise any function of this committee that could be of assistance to the refugees. The committee does not and has no powers to concern itself with refugee problems, such as the welfare of refugees or his dependents or assist with their problems, especially when a refugee wants to leave Botswana.

In terms of this Act only members appointed by the Minister may sit at hearings, but it is alleged that often the security police also attend the proceedings of this committee and subject refugees to interrogation. This procedure is not only illegal, but outrageous to have Special Branch police to question refugees. It was unfortunate that refugees were unable to challenge the validity of the hearings of this committee due to lack of finance.

The following are some salient features of the Act:

1. The Minister upon receipt of the Committee's secret report has the right to recognise or refuse recognition to a refugee.
2. The Committee is bound to review the case of refugees every six months.
3. Refugees cannot take part in local politics, cannot attend any political gatherings or join any political parties, and cannot take part in politics anywhere in Africa.
4. Once a refugee leaves Botswana he ceases to be a refugee and cannot return to Botswana.

The disabilities which are imposed on "recognised political refugees" and the insecurity that surrounds their lives is clearly demonstrated in the fact that under the Section "Recognition of Immigrant as Political Refugee 8 (2 and 3)" the Act as amended states:-

"(2) Where in terms of sub-section (1), (i.e. the declaration by the Minister that he recognises a person as a political refugee, —Ed.) the Minister declares that he does not recognise a person as a political refugee such person

shall, if/.....

shall, if liable to be removed from Botswana under the Immigration Laws, be so removed and shall whether so liable or not, be subject in all respects to the provisions of that law."

- (3) Save where this Act otherwise provides, a person who is recognised as a political refugee shall be subject to the provisions of the Immigration Law in all respects as if the declaration of recognition had not been made."

So Refugees must be kept in suspense, anxiety and be haunted even in the land that proffers them "recognition" in one hand and snatches it away with the other. What is even worse is that a "political" refugee (mark "political") is not allowed to take part in the "politics" of the rest of Africa, let alone Botswana. Any comment by a "recognised political refugee" on developments on any other African country is made illegal under the Act whether such comment is adverse or complimentary. Sounds like an assault on the "refugees" freedom to think!

Since April of last year a large number of refugees appeared in various centres before such a Committee and a number of refugees were recognised. These refugees were served with a notice in terms of this Act imposing a number of restrictions, some of which are as follows:-

- a) Refugees report to the police weekly (this was done even before the Act came into being). Failure to do so could lead to prosecution and if found guilty, the refugee could be sentenced to six months' imprisonment or £500 fine or both.
- b) Refugees cannot leave their area of residence for more than 24 hours without police permission.
- c) They cannot take part in local politics, cannot attend any political gatherings, cannot join any political parties or take part in politics any where in Africa.
- d) The Minister can detain such a refugee until his removal from Botswana.
- e) A refugee who is not recognised may be detained and dealt with under the Immigration Laws of 1966 and this means deportation.

It is interesting to note the conditions under which a "refugee" may be arbitrarily detained pending deportation. There is no appeal against both such detention and deportation. In the Section headed "Restriction on Removal and Control of Refugee" there is a proviso

which sets/.....

which sets out the following conditions:

"Provided that where in the opinion of the Minister delay is likely to occur before such removal may be effected, the Minister may, in his sole and absolute discretion, direct that the refugee shall not be detained under this subsection but shall while he remains in Botswana be subject to all or any of the following conditions:-

- (a) that the refugee shall reside at a place or within an area specified by the Minister;
- (b) that the refugee shall not depart from such place or area or only depart therefrom subject to such conditions as may be specified by the Minister;
- (c) that the refugee shall give recognizances for his good behaviour in such form and subject to such conditions as may be specified by the Minister;
- (d) that the refugee shall report to the police or such other authority as may be specified by the Minister in such manner as he may determine;
- (e) that the refugee shall not take an active part in the politics of Botswana or of any other country in Africa or not take part in such activities being activities of a political nature, as may be specified by the Minister;
- (f) such ancillary or additional conditions as may appear to the Minister to be necessary or desirable in the circumstances of the case."

These conditions for the "restriction" of a refugee are too wide, unlimited, and extremely harsh. Section 12 of the Act as amended makes it possible for the money of a political refugee which he might be required to give in bond as surety to be forfeited. It states:

"Recognizances

12. Where under the provisions of the proviso to Section 9(2) a recognised refugee is required to give recognizances and such recognizances include the entering into a bond, for an amount of money to be forfeited if the conditions of the bond are broken, the Chief Immigration Officer may, upon breach of any condition of the bond, make application to a court of competent jurisdiction which may give judgement against the refugee or his sureties in accordance with the conditions of the bond."

The "political refugee" is also denied any possibility of acquiring the status of a naturalised citizen following a set period of residence in the country of asylum. This denial of what other countries offer to immigrants is couched in an under-stated camouflaged phrase, namely "ordinary residence." (Section 13).

"Residence of Refugee not Ordinary Residence"

"13. For the purposes of any other written law, other than a taxation law, any period during which an immigrant has resided in Botswana as a recognized refugee shall not be regarded as a period during which he has been ordinarily resident in Botswana."

When it comes to taxation, the refugee falls under the "ordinary" interpretation of the law and its application to all "residents" but when the question of citizenship might be acquired by a law-abiding, tax-paying refugee he suddenly does not become an "ordinary resident." In other countries the wage-scales for refugees are made on the basis of what local, ordinary citizens receive but when pension and other grants that these citizens receive have to be made available to the "refugees", the "local rates" and "local conditions" are shamelessly administered to deny "refugees" what they should be entitled to under the local service conditions of employment. For immigration purposes one is an alien, a refugee though his country of origin is Africa but for employment purposes one is sometimes a local citizen or a refugee whichever is adverse and unfavourable to the refugee. Meanwhile the White expatriates with qualifications no better than those of employed African refugees (and sometimes demonstrably inferior qualifications) continue to drain the newly-independent African countries of vital resources. Their service contracts are too luxurious and defy adequate description viz. free house, transport, free air-tickets for the children of expatriates to study in their home countries whilst their fathers teach abroad, - (in other words, the tuition which their parents give is good for Africa but not so good for the offspring of the teachers themselves) gratuities, return fares on completion of contracts, etc.

Insofar as immigration status is concerned, the White refugee from Europe enjoys unheard-of privileges under the international conventions that govern refugees. African countries scrupulously honour these international obligations which they inherited from the treaties, conventions and accords contracted by the former colonial regimes. Instead of extending the same and even better facilities to the African political refugees, the newly-independent African countries subject African refugees to regulations that are embarrassingly painful to reveal. History will pass its judgement on all this.