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(See Page 12)

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- A law to outlaw all meetings
- Another to isolate progressive movements

Naked Lust for Power

Two new Bills were presented before the South African Parliament recently. Both are blatantly fascist measures aimed at the freedom of the individual and of democratic institutions; both derive purely from the naked lust for power which has been, and continues to be, the hallmark of Nationalist policy ever since they came to power in 1948.

● **The Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill** deals with the banning of meetings – all meetings – big or small; social, political or sporting; funerals or memorial meetings; private or public. Meetings of strikers, demonstrations and even silent vigils are provided for. Two or more people constitute a meeting.

Large sections of the Bill are devoted to changing the definition of the 1956 Act. For instance, in the new Bill, the words "any gathering" replaces the words "public gatherings".

A magistrate will be able to ban any gathering at any place or area in his district without, as in the past, prior authority of a Minister, for 48 hours.

A warrant officer will be able to bar any place or area to the public if he has "reasons to believe" that a prohibited gathering will take place.

Any police officer, from a warrant officer up, will also be able to warn people to disperse, and if this is not done, **to order force to be used.**

In terms of the new Bill the police will no longer have to give three warnings to people attending a banned meeting. An officer, in terms of the Bill, will now only "in a loud voice" order them in each of the official languages – English and Afrikaans – to disperse and to depart from the place of the gathering within the time specified by him.

Penalties

The penalties range from R100 fine or six months imprisonment for attending or publicising a banned meeting to R200 fine or imprisonment for one year.

On a second or subsequent conviction

the penalty is two years imprisonment for convening, encouraging or promoting the attendance of a banned meeting.

Another penalty in the Bill concerns anyone who disseminates the speech of any person banned from attending a gathering in terms of the Bill.

He will be liable to a year's imprisonment without the option of a fine for the first offence and two years without the option of a fine for subsequent offences.

The most damaging indictment of the Bill came from the defender of this measure. The Deputy Minister of Justice, Kruger, introducing the Bill left no doubt that the autocratic, arrogant and jittery South African regime is out to totally wipe out any form of protest.

The Bill has little to do with curbing riots or avoiding mayhem.

Kruger complained that people often attended a gathering just because it was not illegal, which makes it clear that effectively all opponents of apartheid are, once the Bill becomes law, gagged.

He justified the need for more sweeping powers by explaining that "a remembrance service at 4 p.m. could become a silent protest at 4:30 p.m."

Thus the government has given notice that it will brook no form of opposition – vocal or silent!

This blatant defence of a manifestly fascist piece of legislation clearly indicates that the government – neurotically possessed by power-lust and fear of the rising tide of Black opposition to its despotic rule – no longer cares about democracy.

No one should be surprised at this. For over a quarter of a century the South African regime has been practising for totalitarianism and fascism.

● **The Affected Organisations Bill** is ostensibly aimed at organisations receiving funds from foreign sources. But, the provisions go much further and one suspects it could, and would be used, against local donors to organisations opposed to the government.

In terms of this Bill, an organisation

will not have to receive funds – but merely be in contact with individuals or groups abroad – for it to be declared “affected”.

The criteria which will have to be met before the State President declares an organisation “affected” are: that it engages in politics “with the aid of, or in cooperation with, or in consultation with, or under the influence of an organisation or persons abroad”.

“Aid” from abroad could include financial aid – but it could also mean moral support or any other kind of assistance.

In other words if the United Nations Unit on Apartheid or the United Nations General Assembly were to decide to support say, the South African Students Organisation (SASO), SASO could be declared an “affected” organisation. Or, if a foreign firm in South Africa ups its Black wage structure and encourages or works with Black trade unionism, it could be said to be involving itself in politics. If it does so after pressure by its parent company abroad, it could be declared “affected”.

Or, universities who are constantly engaged in consultations with people abroad could also be similarly declared “affected organisations.”

The Bill does not define the key phrase about engaging in politics – which allows the government to make it mean anything it likes.

What the Bill aims at achieving, in the first instance, is the total, isolation of all groups and organisations in South Africa who may, according to the Vorster regime, be “tainted” by overseas contact.

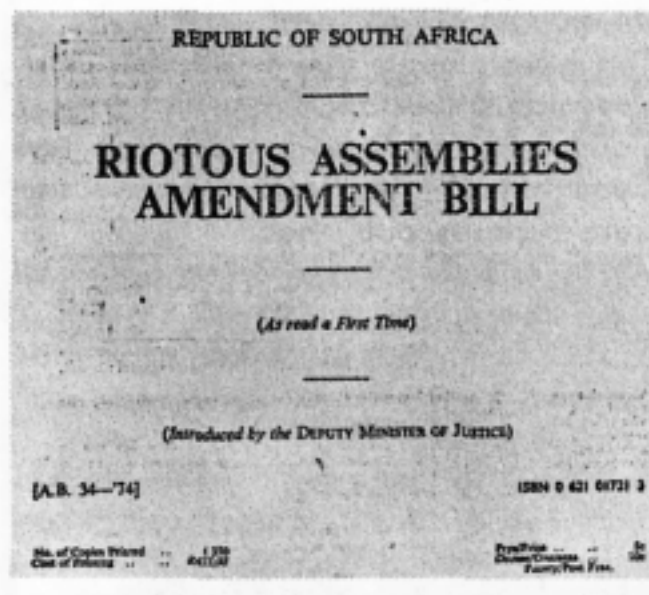
However, it has more deeper connotations which we shall deal with later.

How it will Operate

The procedure to be adopted is ominously simple. First the Minister’s suspicions must be aroused. The “Security” Police are past masters in doing just that and more.

The Minister will then appoint a person as “Registrar of Affected Organisations”, with gauleiter authority.

He, or any person appointed by him may “then enter upon any premises to inspect and extract information from or make copies of any document relating to finances of an affected organisation and may, if in his opinion it is desirable for practical reasons,



remove any such document to any other premises . . ." The “Security” Police are good at this too!

One will note that no mention is made here of specifically foreign funds. In other words the gauleiter can take lists of South African donors who almost always donate funds to progressive organisations anonymously and then demand to know who the anonymous donor is. Or, he may take the names of members who pay membership fees to say their trade union. In both cases one could easily see what will be done with such lists. Donors and/or members will then have to face massive intimidation.

The “Security” Police are more than capable of doing this also.

Finally, the minister must submit the matter to a committee of three magistrates.

A safeguard? Never. Ask anyone who had a similar “safeguard” while in detention under the Terrorism Act.

Like the magistrate who visited these detainees, who were in solitary confinement, the magistrates are precluded from making recommendations by their mandate to produce only a “factual report”. This report may show nothing. But the Minister can still decide that it looks dreadfully political and sinister to him.

He has the final word!

Penalties

Any person who contravenes the provision of any section of this Bill when it becomes law shall be liable on conviction:

- in the case of a first conviction, to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 5 years or to both such fine and imprisonment;

- in the case of a second or subsequent conviction, to a fine not exceeding R20 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 10 years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

Awesome Armoury

With these two laws added to the awesome armoury of fascist laws, such as the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1953, The Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960, the Sabotage Act of 1962, the Terrorism Act of 1967, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 and a host of others, at its command, the government has restricted our right to speak, to meet, to hear all views.

It has imprisoned, banned, banished, tortured, house arrested and even executed genuine patriots who opposed its vile policy of apartheid baaskapism.

Through censorship it has barred our people from the world of new ideas, and has restricted our right of free movement within the country. It has substituted Ministerial decree for judicial judgement.

It hires informers to spy on its citizens both at home and abroad. It imprisons without trial and punishes without giving reasons. It uses commissions to conduct secret investigations into people, organisations and institutions. It has given unlimited and unrestricted powers to its police force and its so-called Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is beyond the rule of the Law or Parliament.

Reason

This amendment has almost certainly been introduced, in the first instance, as a result of the recent Black student and workers strikes. However, we have no doubt that it will not be aimed only at Black opponents of the government although this will be a priority. It will be used against the small, but growing volume of white opponents, such as sections of the Church and students organisations who, although they may not wholly support Black liberation, nevertheless, call for the extension of some democratic rights to the Black population.

- On the Students Front
- On the Sports Front
- On the Trade Union Front
- In the Bantustans

ON THE STUDENTS FRONT

The all-Coloured University of the Western Cape has been the scene of intense student actions, including strikes and demonstrations, for almost two years now. (See Sechaba Vol 7, No. 10, 11, 12, 1973)

The students demands include:

- opposition to ethnic and tribal universities;
- opposition to attitudes and laws that differentiate between Black and white;
- opposition to white control of the university;
- disparity in development and wages of Coloured and white staff members;
- a greater say in the running of the university by the students;
- recognition of their organisation – SASO;
- the lack of communication between students and university authorities and the rejection by the white rector of the SRC constitution.

So intense has students' struggle been that the university was forced to close,



TOP STUDENT, BOTTOM JOB.

and has remained closed since around the middle of last year.

The government, faced with this massive opposition, appointed a one-man Commission of Inquiry – the Van Wyk Commission – whose recommendation were recently published.

While rejecting some of the students main complaints, the Commission:

- recommended that the wage gap between white and Coloured staff "should be closed";

- found, in general, that the immediate causes of the "unrest and disturbances stemmed from the activities of SASO";

- found that there was a deadlock over the constitution of the SRC and lack of communication between the university authorities and the students.

Among its other recommendation the Commission stated:

- that it would "be desirable" that attention should be paid to steps to avoid attitudes and practices that create dissatisfaction in the Coloured Community and make the necessary legislative changes from time to time;
- that it would "be desirable" that university personnel should "as far as possible, be Coloureds. The dismissal of white personnel to create vacancies for Coloureds was not recommended – it should take place on a voluntary basis."

On the most important and central demand of the students to end separate ethnic universities, the Commission made two rather dangerous recommendations:

- that the university should, as rapidly as possible, be handed to the Coloured Community "to ultimately gain the same independence as white universities;"
- that the authorities had the choice of either ending the ethnic character of the university or "ensuring continually that those who aimed at closing the university – did not get a foothold there."

Invitation to Repression

The first of the last two recommendations is most undesirable. Handing over to the "Coloured Community" in official jargon means handing over to the discredited Coloured Representative Council, a partially elected but mainly appointed, government institution.

The majority of the Coloured people

want to have nothing to do with such a body.

The second recommendation is an open invitation to repression. It provides the government just the opening it needs to hammer dissident students even harder.

The Vorster regime being what it is, will undoubtedly accept the invitation to exercise its talents for inventing new suppressive legislation.

It will not ponder the deeper causes of the upheavals.

Indeed, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Van der Merwe, in his first comment on the Commission's report, minimised student complaints. It was illuminating, he said, how few real grounds there had been for some of the grievances.

At its best, that is hardly a perceptive comment. However, it is typical: arrogant and callous. Nothing could be less frivolous or uninformed than the basic causes of the unrest, which the Commission found to be dissatisfaction over attitudes and laws that differentiated against Coloureds, frustration over Coloured development and an objection to whites running a Coloured university.

Dismissing all this, the minister, takes up the last recommendation of the Commission and states: "the presence of SASO on the campus is undesirable." An unmistakable intimation that SASO will either be banned outright or that it will be banned from the Black campuses.

Banned . . . Arrested

Even before the Commission's report was made public, Henry Isaacs, the 24 year old President of SASO and of the Western Cape University's SRC was expelled from the university for refusing to pay a fine of R50 imposed on him by the University Authorities. Later he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, restricted to Cape Town and confined daily to his home from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. and on weekends from 1 p. m. on Saturday to 6 a. m. on Monday.

Recently he was charged with contravening his banning order and with possessing prohibited literature. Evidence was led that two letters written by Isaacs were found by "Security" Police in the possession of a SASO courier at the Cape Town airport. The letters were alleged to have been ad-

dressed to members of SASO at its Durban headquarters.

He was found guilty and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, suspended for three years.

* * * * *

More Arrests

● **Mr. Marobel Paile**, a member of SASO, appearing with two others in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on charges of assaulting three Africans, complained to the presiding Magistrate that he had been twice assaulted by the "Security" Police. As usual in such cases, the Magistrate rejected his complaints.

● **Manhala Kuzwayo** and **Sipho Njiyela**, President and Treasurer respectively of the Natal Youth Organisation (NYO), a SASO orientated movement, were charged with attempted murder - found not guilty but guilty of assault - after hitting and kicking **Eric Dhlamini** "on his head and body." Dhlamini who, posing as a SASO delegate, attended the NYO meeting at the Phoenix Settlement in Durban, at the request of Sgt. Venter of the "Security" Police, had to spend a week in hospital.

● **Welile Nhlapo**, a member of SASO, is facing a charge with breaking his banning order.

● **Mr. Munto Myeza**, a third-year student at the University of Zululand, was elected president of SASO. The post was vacant after the banning of Henry Isaacs.

Among the resolutions adopted at the meeting at which Mr. Myeza was elected was one condemning the *banning and harrassment of SASO leaders*, and another accused the press in South Africa of suppressing all legitimate Black opinion and giving "very great and deceitful coverage to the Bantustans and other government-created platforms."

The resolution, among other steps, undertakes to advise the Black people in "this country, the outside world and, in particular, Black Africa that we view any purported representation by the racist and capitalist agents as an outright sell-out of our struggle for liberation."

* * * * *

TIRO'S FUNERAL



The coffin of **Abraham Onkgoposte Tiro**, the SASO leader, who was recently assassinated with a book bomb (See *Sechaba* Vol 8 No. 4 April 1974) being wheeled between rows of students from the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland to a service in Gaborone, Botswana, where Tiro was in exile at the time of his death.

At the time of his death Tiro was energetically active on behalf of the Southern African Students' Movement which covers the whole of Southern Africa.

In an angry statement, the Botswana Government noted that the parcel bore Swiss stamps. But it also noted that "in speaking out against the denial to Black South Africans of their human rights, Onkgoposte Tiro incurred the deep displeasure of certain powerful circles in South Africa.

"Mr. Tiro's sudden and cruel death will in no way detract from the validity of his criticisms of conditions in South Africa," it added.

"The Botswana Government wishes to state unequivocally that this kind of terrorism will not make it change its attitude towards those who seek refuge in Botswana from oppression in their own countries."

ON THE SPORTS FRONT

»Comrades« Marathon

The so-called Comrades Marathon, according to the organisers, is a club event and it will remain for white athletes only. The announcement by the Collegians Harriers Club in Maritzburg, which runs the world's greatest long-distance race, is vicious and arrogant.

The club's president went so far as to say: "I see no reason to explain our standpoint, no matter who may criticise it."

For years, Black runners have competed unofficially in the gruelling run.

* * * * *

Parents Object

Danie Malan, the South African world record holder of the 1000 m was prevented by parents from presenting prizes at a school's athletics meeting. They thought he would have a bad influence on their children because he was paced by a Black athlete when he competed overseas.

The principal of the Hugo Rust Primary School at Wellington, Mr. J. D. Gillomer, had asked Mr. Malan to give a short address when he presented the prizes.

Parents objected because they thought Mr. Malan might have an adverse effect on their children as he had taken part in overseas competition with a Black South African athlete.

* * * * *

A Bloody Shame

Because of anti-demonstrator tactics they were forced to adopt, the 26-man Petone Rugby Club team had to dress in casual clothes for their top-security departure from Wellington for a seven-match tour of South Africa.

"Its a bloody shame we can't march proudly out in our uniforms," club capitan, Andy Leslie, said in an interview.

There was no official farewell at the Wellington airport when the team left

for Sydney in case it attracted attention to the team.

Outside the airport early in the afternoon demonstrators from the National Anti-Apartheid Committee staged a silent protest and carried placards reading "February 22 - Petone's day of shame," and "Petone Rugby Football Club supports apartheid."

* * * * *

ON THE TRADE UNION FRONT

Three statements - one by a Government spokesman and another by a Black trade union and a third by an employer - show more clearly than ever that the British Trades Union Congress's proposals for the establishment of Black trade unions in South Africa and calling, for continued foreign investments in apartheid are all so much nonsense (See Sechaba Vol 8, No. 4, April 1974 for an analysis of the British TUC delegation's report).

● Marais Viljoen, SA's Minister of Labour, said in Bloemfontein in October 1973 that the government would neither abolish job reservation nor recognise Black trade unions.

Job Reservation, by protecting white workers, fulfilled an essential function of preventing race friction and preserving industrial peace, he said.

Black unions were 'totally unnecessary' because Black workers' opportunities to negotiate on wages and conditions were provided for by the 'works councils' machinery set up under the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act.

Mr. Viljoen went on: "To impose the trade union system on the Bantu at his present stage of development simply would not work. It would be in the interests of neither SA nor the Bantu worker.

"It is known that the Trade Union Council of South Africa would like to have Bantu trade unions recognised so as to help it financially to meet its expenditure. As far as that is concerned I wish to say: the interests of SA and therefore also the interests of the Black worker himself weigh much more heavily with us than TUCSA's need for additional revenue from Black membership fees" My! My! The government is really interested in our welfare!

● In a leaflet published in November, the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) claiming several thousand members, mainly on the Reef, says that only fully independent and separate



Armed policeman arrests a striking textile worker: consistent brutality

Black unions can do the job for Black workers and rejected TUCSA's plans to organise Black workers.

* * * * *

A Fool's Paradise

Under this heading, Johannesburg's Financial Mail (21 December, 1973) discussed the belief, especially among British firms in SA, that SA's labour problems can be solved without African trade unions. Extracts from the article follow:

"In this industry there will be no – and you can underline no – negotiations with African trade unions" – Errol Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries' Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA)".

FM's own investigations show that not one of dozen British subsidiaries they questioned was prepared to recognise African unions. Nor, as Drummond's bluntness suggests, is there any reason to suppose many other companies are very different.

Government, Drummond and others happily believe that the works and liaison committees provided for in the 1973 Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act will solve all communication and negotiation problems.

This attitude, taken together with the proposed Affected Organisations Law, dealt with elsewhere in this issue, appears to have written finis to almost every proposal of the British TUC delegation that recently visited South Africa.

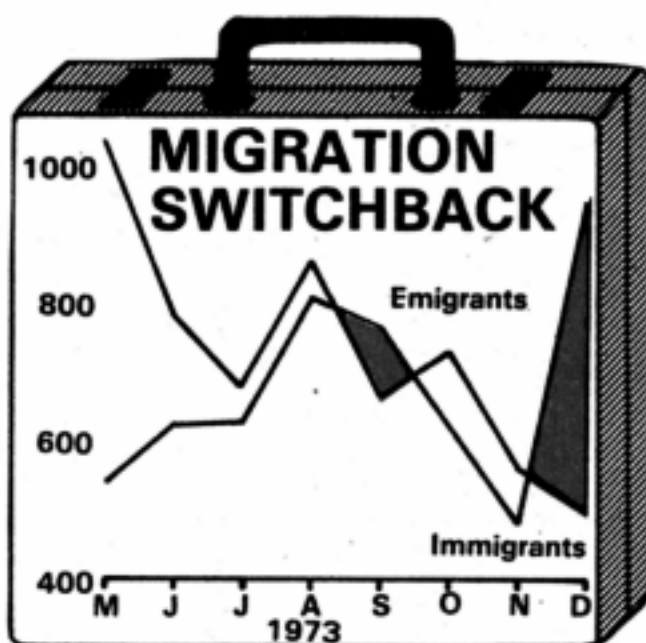
We urge the TUC to think again and to energetically implement the decisions on South Africa, adopted at the International Conference of Trade Unions held in Geneva, last year (See Sechaba. Vol 7, No 9, Sept. 73).

* * * * *

White Immigration Drops

The international campaign against white immigration to South Africa conducted by the ANC, SACTU and national solidarity movements is beginning to bite.

During last year alone, the number of immigrants has dropped by 30%. According to Alex Ellis, the Secretary



for Immigration, last year about 23 000 immigrants went to South Africa – 10 000 down on the 1972 figure and has than half (25 000) below the 1966 total of 48 000.

British immigrants, South Africa's main source, fell from 15 651 in 1972 to 9 206 last year. West German and Dutch immigrants were also reduced 1938 to 1531 and 581 to 339 respectively.

Warning that a counter offensive to the international campaign must be launched "urgently", The Financial Mail, Johannesburg (Feb. 1, 1974), complaining that too little money was being spent by the government to attract immigrants (1970–1971 : R85 272; 1971–1972 : R101 240 excluding the annual brochures given to prospective immigrants – about R 35 000– urges the Minister to:

- Persuade the Cabinet to appropriate more money for State promotion of immigration;
- Grant subsidies to companies which advertise overseas for staff in the categories SA needs;
- Consider company tax concessions based on the proportion of immigrants employed; and
- Educate the public into accepting immigration as a non-political matter.

We urge all our many supporters throughout the world to intensify the campaign against immigration. The 23 000 that went to South Africa last year, are 23 000 too many. Each one of these immigrants are robbing our people of their legitimate right to work.

With more than 100 000 new Black workers going on to the labour market each year, a really frightening proportion of workers are unable to find work.

If immigrants do not go to South Africa, not only will this force the government to give the jobs they fill to Blacks, it will also force the government to scrap its unjust and undemocratic Job Reservation Law and thereby open up very many more jobs for Blacks.

* * * * *

IN THE BANUSTANS

● The government's widely publicised decision to refuse to allow a Swiss girl to work as a secretary to Chief Buthelezi, is not the only example of official policy on the rights of Bantustan leaders to engage staff of their own choice.

● The government has also refused to allow Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana to invite 20 Black American teachers to help meet the need for teachers. The unofficial reason given: 'They have different eating habits'.

● Following the claim by the government that Bantustan leaders had asked Vorster to ban SASO, the militant Black students organisation, Chief Ministers Matanzima of the Transkei, Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Mr. L. L. Sebe of Ciskei publicly denied that they had asked for such a banning to be imposed.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, head of Gazankulu, said he had asked for 'no action whatsoever' against SASO. "I think that, like all student organisations, they have their own ideas. Students should be able to give their considered opinions without fear of victimisation."

● Mr. Collins Ramusi, Deputy Chief Minister of the Lebowa Homeland, told the Progressive Party annual conference that 'political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu' should be released. They were, he said 'better leaders' than he was himself. Black people should not forget political prisoners and refugees 'who must be allowed to return unconditionally'.

Mr. Ramusi also asked his audience: 'Do you white people actually expect us to resist terrorists when they come? When the terrorists strike in this country, do you know what we are feeling?'

BLACK GOLD

Conditions
of Black miners
in the
South African
Gold Mines.

By Mark Shope,
General Secretary
of the
South African
Congress
of Trade Unions,
who was a miner
in the
South African
gold mines
for 5 years,
1934 to 1939.



Mark Shope

"In a way it is even humiliating to watch . . . miners working. It raises in you a momentary doubt about your own status as an 'intellectual' and a superior person generally. For it is brought home to you, at least while you are watching, that it is only because miners sweat their guts out that superior persons can remain superior. You and I and the editors of the Times Literary Supplement, and the Poets and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Comrade X, author of *Marxism for Infants* – all of us really owe the comparative decency of our lives to poor drudges underground . . . with their throats full of . . . dust, driving their shovels forward with arms and belly muscles of steel." – *Down the Mines*, by George Orwell.

Migrant Labour System

The whole of the South African labour policy – the migrant labour and compound systems, the pass and other labour laws are based on the free flow of cheap labour to the mines. Successive South African Governments have used the gold mining industry as a model when planning labour policies. The mine's labour strategy has exerted a profound influence on the social and economic structure of South Africa. To quote Prof. Houghton, "The migratory labour system can be seen as both a symptom and a cause of the economic, social and political problems which beset our community; and this perpetual mass movement of people is a dramatic illustration of our failure over the past century to create a unified and coherent economy." (1)

It is an indisputable fact that, during the early stages in any country's economic and social development, many people move from the rural areas to new industrial centres and never commit themselves immediately to permanent residence in the new centres. But after a good deal of this movement between the old homes and the new, they gradually begin to settle in their new places of work. In South Africa "the oscillation of African workers backwards and forwards did not gradually diminish, as in other countries, but instead became established by means of the compound system." (2)

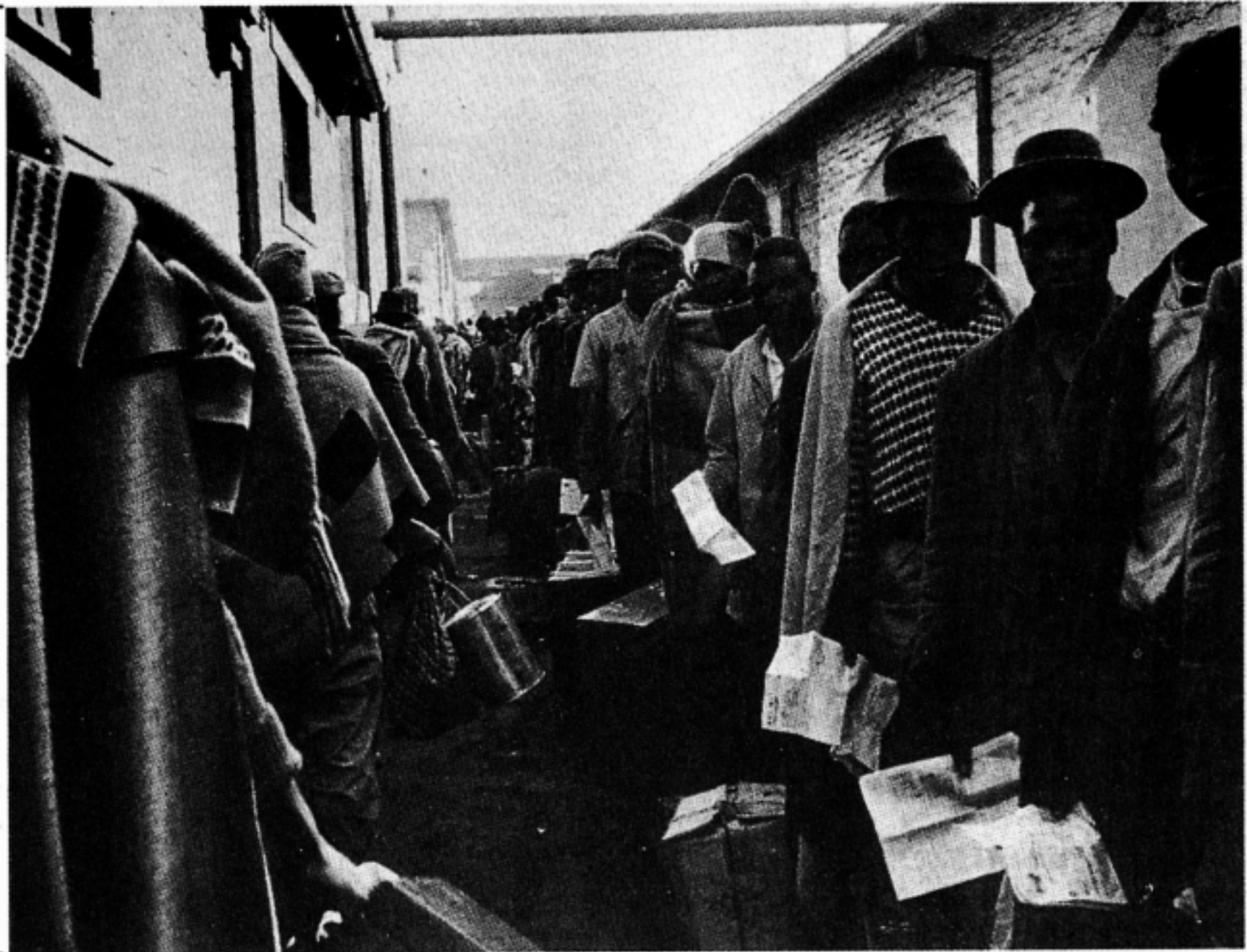
- 1) Professor D. Hobart Houghton, *The South African Economy*.
- 2) Professor Francis Wilson, *Labour in the South African Gold Mines, 1911–1969*, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 5

The true face of apartheid

Gold has been the backbone of the South African economy, its main source of foreign exchange, for years. According to Prof. Ralph Horwitz, the author of *The Political Economy of South Africa*, Wesdenfeld and Nicolson, 1967, cover page, it is estimated that in 75 years, South Africa, a hitherto stagnant society, has produced nearly one-third of all gold mined by men throughout history, and it is also agreed that currently over 70 % of the western world's gold output comes from that country. South Africa has the world's largest known reserves of uranium, she is the world's second largest producer of diamonds, chrome and asbestos, and has vast reserves of iron and coal.



Miners leaving
at the end
of their
'contract'



So-Called Sojourners

One hundred years ago, a decade before the birth of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry, generations before the evolution of the policy of apartheid, the system whereby African men oscillated between their homes in some rural area and their place of work was already firmly established as part of the South African way of life. During the 1870's and before, farmers in some parts of South Africa, especially in the Western Cape Province, solved the perennial problem of labour shortage – which in previous centuries had been alleviated through the importation of slaves – by recruiting workers from wherever they could be found. Agents were sent to areas such as the Ciskei, the Transkei, Mozambique and Namibia.

The argument used by the white minority in South Africa, that Africans in the towns are sojourners and superfluous appendages, is in fact a crude rationalisation for a policy which squeezes what it can from African Labour, but keeps it completely rightless and voiceless politically and industrially, and dumps it into the wasteland of the so-called "Reserves" when it is too old or sick to be profitable.

The white miners' strike of 1922, historically known as the "Rand Revolt", produced in its wake the introduction

of the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926, in terms of which Africans and Indians in South Africa were specifically barred from jobs as Mine Managers, Mine Overseers, Mine Surveyors, Mechanical Engineers, Engine Drivers, miners entitled to blast, and various other sectors of the industry. The Act remains the basis of the colour bar in the mining industry to this day. This Act influenced and entrenched the colour bar more firmly than ever before, not only in the mines, but in the economy of South Africa as a whole.

Employment in Mining

According to statistics released by the Department of Statistics (South African Statistics, Pretoria 1971 pp H 47, H 48) 372,300 Black miners were employed on the gold mines in 1970 compared with 40,400 whites, a ratio of 9.2 to 1. An analysis of the wages paid to white miners compared with that which is being paid to Black workers show a considerable and continuing gap between white and Black earnings. The Government Mining Engineer's Annual Reports (1911–1961) and the Department of Mines, Mining Statistics (1966–1969) starkly reveal this:

Year	Current Rands		Index of Real Earnings (1936 = 100)		Earnings Gap – Ratio W:B
	White	Black	White	Black	
1911	666	57	102	100	11,7:1
1916	709	59	94	90	12,0:1
1921	992	66	90	69	15,0:1
1926	753	67	85	88	11,2:1
1931	753	66	90	92	11,3:1
1936	786	68	100	100	11,5:1
1941	848	70	94	89	12,1:1
1946	1106	87	99	92	12,7:1
1951	1607	109	113	89	14,7:1
1956	2046	132	119	89	15,5:1
1961	2478	146	129	89	17,0:1
1966	3216	183	149	99	17,6:1
1969	4006	199	172	99	20,1:1

White miners in South Africa, like all white workers in other sectors of the South African economy use their political influence and sectional trade union organisation to maintain and extend their share from the exploitation of African workers.

The latest wage agreement concluded towards the end of last year, the white artisans got an immediate wage rise of R100 per month, in exchange for allowing Africans to do certain artisan tasks under their supervision. This rise alone is 5 times the average monthly earnings of the African miner.

A striking feature of the above table is the fact that "in real terms, using 1936 as the base year, Black cash earnings in 1969 were no higher and possibly even lower than they had been in 1911. (3)

Although it is in general true to say that whites hold skilled and semi-skilled jobs while the Africans do semi-skilled and unskilled work, there are nevertheless many Africans, particularly in the supervisory class, who are considerably more skilled than many whites who rank above them.

Compound System

"By law, the gold mines were until 1969 allowed to provide family housing for not more than 3 % of the Black labour force excluding foreign natives. But as the proportion of South Africans was not more than one-third of the total this meant that effectively only one per cent of the Black labour force was eligible for family housing. "However, the position of even this one per cent has become tenuous since in 1969-1970 an official circular sent out by a local Bantu Commissioner to the mines in the Klerksdorp area instructing them that children might no longer stay in the married quarters . . ." (4)

The compound in South Africa is organised on extremely authoritarian lines. Some officials have suggested quite erroneously that this system maintains the traditional tribal pattern. In control, and with very great authority, is the compound manager, who, through his assistant manager, his indunas (prefects) izibondas (seniors) ensures a ruthlessly regimented and "disciplined" work force.

African miners have no official means of making complaints about conditions in the compounds, conditions at and

in the mines, inadequate wages, whatever. They are virtually kept like slaves or serfs. Any attempt on their part to protest against this situation is always met with ruthless and merciless suppression by the mining authorities and the government. All actions by African miners or African workers in any industry, are regarded by successive governments, including General Smuts a former Prime Minister, as "not caused by legitimate grievances but by agitators," and the general pattern is to hit back at workers with every ruthless and brutal means possible.

African Mine Workers Union

Following a desultory decade of sporadic strikes - the African Mine Workers Union (A. M. W. U.) was formed in 1941, under the leadership of the late J. B. Marks, the Treasurer-General of the ANC.

In 1942, the Government responded to the grievances and demands of the AMWU with a decree which banned all African strikes, declaring them illegal in all circumstances and set up a Commission - The Landsdowne Commission, to investigate African miners wages.

In 1943, the recommendations of the Landsdowne Commission that African miners' wages should be increased was rejected by the Chamber of Mines.

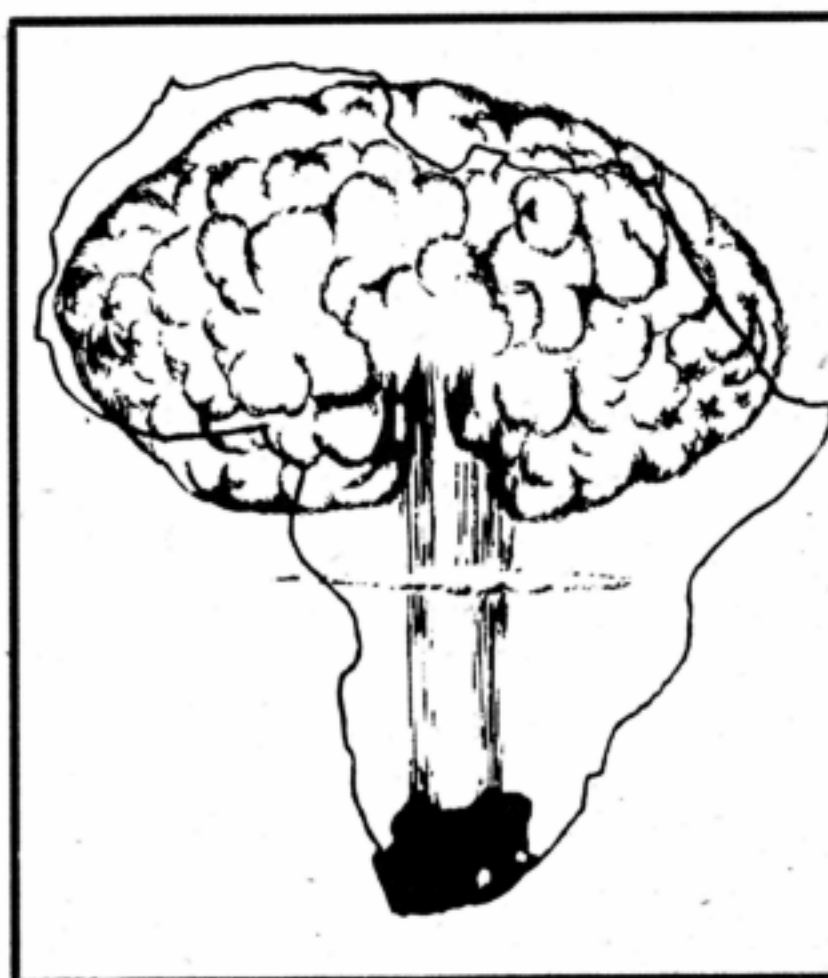
AMWU organised a series of protest meetings, whereupon the Government, under pressure from the Chamber of Mines, prohibited such meetings, and arrested president J. B. Marks of the AMWU, holding him for a few weeks. In May 1945, the union held a huge meeting of its members, which passed

a resolution asking the Government to meet a Union deputation to discuss the implementation of all the recommendations of the Landsdowne Commission for a general increase in wages and the withdrawal of Emergency War Regulation No. 1425, which prohibited meetings of more than 20 persons on mine property without a special permit (a permit which was never granted the AMWU). The government refused to see the deputation.

That year the harvest was a poor one which not only reduced the migrant workers' rural income, but also led the mining authorities, with government permission, to reduce the miners' food rations. This action naturally caused serious dissatisfaction among African miners, and during the months that followed, a number of disturbances and strikes took place. In characteristic fashion, the authorities responded to these actions with brute force. On one mine, for example, a police baton charge killed two miners and seriously wounded over 100 others.

Strike!

In April 1946, the AMWU called a conference, and more than 2000 delegates from many mines attended. At the Conference it was unanimously resolved that the Chamber of Mines and the government be asked to take immediate steps to provide adequate and suitable food for the African miners, and that, in accordance with the new world principle for an improved standard of living subscribed to by the South African Government at the United Nations, the minimum wage for African miners be raised to



Uranium which is extracted from gold mine waste is the principle ingredient in nuclear energy. The Atomic Energy Commission of the United States predicts that US demand for this radio active material should reach 65 000 tons by 1980; increased demands are also expected from all developed countries in the West

3) F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 6

4) F. Wilson, *Migrant Labour in South Africa, Report to the South African Council of Churches*, published jointly by the S.A.C.C. and Spro-Cas. Johannesburg, 1972. pp. 9 & 10.

R1 per day. The Chamber of Mines did not even reply to this request. After a further series of meetings the AMWU called on the workers to strike on August 13, 1946. 74 000 African miners responded to the call. The government ruthlessly and brutally suppressed the strike. Leaders on all the mines involved were arrested, police surrounded the compounds, fired on the miners. On one mine, a baton charge was made, and in another, the miners were driven underground from their compounds at the point of bayonets. Seventy miners were dismissed, officially nine were killed, and more than 1200 seriously injured. After this, the Chamber of Mines issued a statement which reads, *inter alia*,

"The Gold Mining Industry considers that trade unionism as practised by Europeans is still beyond the understanding of the tribal Native; nor can he know how to employ it as a means of promoting his advancement. He has no tradition in that respect and has no experience or proper appreciation of the responsibilities arising from collective representation. No proper conduct of a trade union is possible unless the workers have that tradition and such a sense of responsibility . . . The introduction of trade unionism among tribal Natives at their present stage of development would lead to abuses and irresponsible actions . . . A trade union is outside the comprehension of all but a few of the educated Natives of the urban type; it would not only be useless but detrimental to the ordinary mine Native in his present stage of development." (5)

The attitude of the mines authorities and the South African Government have not changed since. The great African Mine Workers Union never recovered after the strike because the organising of workers on the mines were made even more difficult and new and even more repressive laws were enacted to make any organisation practically impossible.

Murder at Carltonville

The latest incident of this kind was that at Western Deep Levels Mines at Carltonville, where on September 11, 1973, twelve African miners were shot dead, and 27 wounded (See Sechaba - Vol 8, No. 1, Jan 1974). According to a report in the New York Times, the police fired into a group of striking miners "indiscriminately into the darkness for nearly three hours." A compound housing 2000 workers was surrounded and fifteen Africans were arrested. The mine, owned by the giant Anglo-

African workers read about their comrades who were murdered at the Carltonville mine recently



American Corporation, is the deepest gold mine in the world, and since its opening in 1962 has broken all records for gold production. By 1968 it was making a profit of more than \$3.8 million a month!

Vorster Defends Police

Not surprisingly, the response of white South Africans - police, mine officials and government officials - was prompt and defensive. Deputy Minister of Police declared that the police were "surrounded" and had no alternative but to shoot . . . Mine manager, von Holdt insisted the police "had no choice." Predictably, Prime Minister Vorster defended his storm troopers. Addressing a Nationalist Party meeting and smarting from adverse criticism from international sources, attacked South Africa's "arm-chair critics" and asserted that the incident had involved "not a strikers demonstration but a looting mob . . ." Vorster went on to pay tribute to the police, who, he said, had acted with "considerable restraint."

The Court Agrees

After a month-long inquest into the deaths, Presiding Magistrate, C. H. Badenhorst exonerated the police from all blame. Although the mine manager testified at the inquest that no pillaging or property damage had occurred before the police arrived and began firing tear gas and that the so-called attacks on mine property resulted in no broken windows as alleged, Badenhorst ruled that the police killings amounted to no more than taking "adequate measures to preserve life and property." Meanwhile warrants of arrest issued against 16 Carltonville miners charging them with public violence following the strike were cancelled when it was found that they had disappeared.

Thousands Die

Another aspect which causes deep-rooted anger among the African miners is their extremely hazardous working conditions. The South African gold mines have one of the highest accident rates in the mining world. For example, between 1936 and 1966, no less than 19 000 men, 93 % of whom were African, died as a result of accidents in the gold mines. This is due to the fact that black jobs are more hazardous than those performed by whites. Over this period, the white death rate averaged 0,97 % per 1000 men per annum in service, whilst the average death rate for blacks was 1,62 % per 1000. During 1968, 491 Africans and 18 whites were killed, whilst 25 000 Africans and 200 whites were disabled for at least 14 days by accidents in the gold mines in the same period. In this situation it is more than likely that we shall see many more Carltonvilles. The refusal of the mine owners and the government to recognise African trade unions and the consistent refusal to deal with the miners complaints will undoubtedly lead to many more confrontations between the workers and the authorities. It is the duty of the international community and, especially the international trade union movement, to rally urgent support for the workers' struggle in South Africa: for full and unfettered trade union rights, higher wages, better working conditions and full freedom. The decisions of the International Trade Union Conference held in Geneva towards the end of last year (See Sechaba Vol 7 No. 9, Sep. 1973) must be implemented as an urgent priority by all genuine trade unionists the world over.

5) Transvaal Chamber of Mines, *Tribal Natives and Trade Unionism* (T.C.M., Johannesburg, 1946).



◀ **Tabejer Fikriat**, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (UdSSR)
 "The existence of the racist regime in South Africa is a danger to peace and security."

▶ **Eric Mtshali**, leader of the ANC delegation addressing the preliminary session of the AAPSO Council

Yousef el Sebai, Secretary General of AAPSO.
 "We have consistently supported the struggle for liberation in South Africa."



AFRO-ASIA



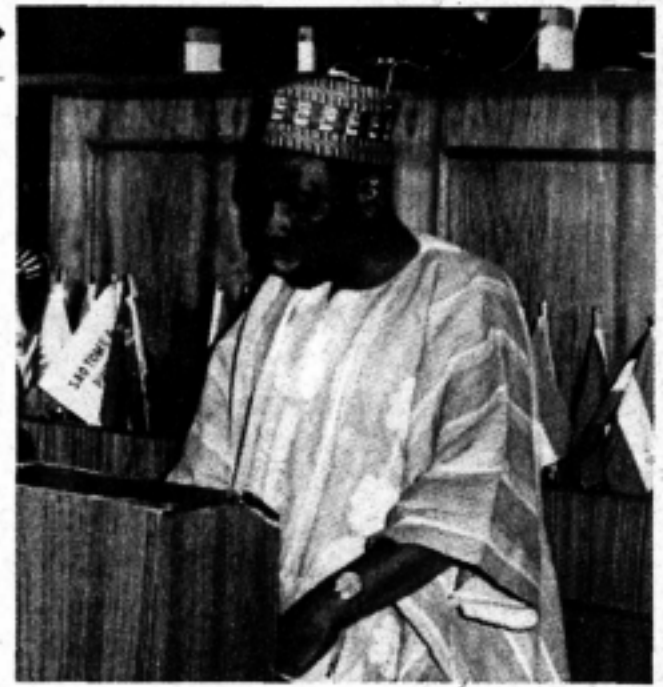
◀ **Delegates stand to the Iraqi national anthem at the end of the opening session**

▶ **The President enjoys a joke during a short break.**
 from the left:
Yousef el Sebai
 AAPSO's Secretary General,
H. E. Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan Albakr,
Aziz Sherif,
 Secretary General of the Iraqi Peace and Solidarity Committee





**El Haj Abdugafar Dabiri
(Nigeria)**
**"SA represents a grave
threat to
independent Africa."**



**Some members of the
AAPSO Women's section
during a break.**
From the left:
**Mrs. R. Smirnova (UdSSR),
Mrs. D T. Nadimid
(Mongolia), M. Michaida
(Poland),
Florence Mposho (ANC)**



PEOPLES' SUPPORT ANC



Report on the XI th. Session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation

The XI th. session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), which met in Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, pledged its unqualified support for the struggle being waged by the African National Congress of South Africa. Attended by representatives from 76 countries, observers from 18 non-Governmental organisations and the Organisation of African Unity, the Council unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by its Africa Commission which stated, in part, that the Council:

- hails the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa — under the leadership of ZAPU, SWAPO and the ANC, and wishes them full success in their political and armed struggle;
- condemns the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa, a policy which constitutes a threat to the security of the independent countries of Africa, and it considers this policy, a crime against humanity;
- supports the demand of the peoples of South Africa,

Zimbabwe and Namibia for the release of all political prisoners. The Council appeals to the committees of solidarity to organize campaigns for the release of these prisoners; ● should adopt practical initiatives to ensure material support for all the genuine movements of national liberation, the sole and legitimate representatives of their people; ● feels the need of launching campaigns so that public opinion in the western countries may adopt measures to isolate Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal on the political, economic, cultural and diplomatic levels and to put an end to arms despatch to these countries.

In these campaigns the formation of settler's recruitment centres in certain western capitals for the benefit of Rhodesia and South Africa with a view to consolidating white minorities should be condemned;

● denounces the support extended by the NATO powers to Portuguese colonialism as well as to the racist and apartheid regimes of Africa;

● condemns the fascist Franco government for the facilities granted to the colonialist regimes of South Africa and Portugal who use the ports and airports of the Canary Islands as transit halts thus hampering the African boycott;

● hails the firm decision of the Arab Heads of State to impose an oil embargo on the white minority regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal;

● condemns all policies of dialogue with South Africa;

● condemns the disgraceful policy of exploitation practised against the African workers in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe as well as in the African territories under Portuguese colonialist domination.

ANC SPEAKS

In a brief address at the opening plenary session, Eric Mtshali, Tanzanian Representative and leader of the ANC delegation to the Council meeting, said that it was a privilege to convey greetings of our Acting President, Oliver Tambo, who unfortunately could not attend the session due to pressure of work.

Stating that he did not think it was necessary to talk about apartheid, as all participants were aware of this evil form of racism, Comrade Mtshali said, what he would talk about is what must be done "to destroy white supremacy, racism and dictatorship."

"We in the ANC," he said, "realise that in the final analysis it is us, the Black people of South Africa and some progressive whites who will destroy this system."

"However, we also know that international public opinion can play a vital role in destroying the system that exists in our country," he added.

Support for Oil Boycott

Dealing with the recent decision of the Arab Heads of State, held in Algiers, to deny oil supplies to South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, Comrade Mtshali said, "On behalf of the ANC (SA) I want to commend this decision. We welcome it. Many liberals and so-called friends of Black South Africans tell us that this decision will affect us - the Black people.

"Brothers, I will tell you, we suffer everyday of our life, - and as Chief Lutuli, our Late President has said: 'A little more suffering is a very small price to pay for a free Africa.'

"However, let me remind all of you who are present here that we have neighbours who are unfortunately land-locked with white South Africa. I refer to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. We trust with the new dynamism which our Arab brothers have shown in the crisis they have caused in the

Mrs. Ingampolo
Ida Victorine
(Peoples' Rep.
of Congo),
member
of the general
secretariat
of the
All African
Women's
Conference.
"We condemn
the racist
regime in SA."



Heinz Schmidt,
President of
the Solidarity
Committee
of the GDR.
"We reiterate
our militant
solidarity with
the peoples ...
of South Africa
who are
fighting the
racists."



Aziz Imam M. P.,
Secretary
of the
ruling All
India Congress
Party.
"The Indian
people will
continue to
support the
struggle of
the people ...
of South Africa."





Iraida Montalvo (Cuba) member of the secretariat of Solidarity Organisation of the Peoples' of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL). "Our organisation firmly supports the liberation struggle."



Le Tham, Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. "We join all progressive forces in condemning apartheid."



Issa Keita (Mali) "The white regime in SA must be destroyed."

Western world with their raw material – oil – they will make the oil embargo on South Africa leak-proof whilst ensuring that these land-locked states do not suffer," he said.

Expressing appreciation to Iraq and most other oil producing states for their firm stand on the oil embargo, Comrade Mtshali said that he must mention a problem in the Middle East which irritates the South African Black population.

"We find our brothers in Iran", he said, "are given the dubious honour of being whites in South Africa. This we can never tolerate. Iranians who call themselves whites in South Africa are our enemies. This, unfortunately, is the situation in our country. And besides them the only other non Europeans that have been accepted as whites in South Africa are the Japanese.

"So when I speak to you today," he added, "I speak to you as a Black man – who believes that South Africa belongs to all who live in it – both Black and white, but in so far as traitors are concerned, whether they be Black, white or honorary white, we shall fight them to the bitter end."

Apartheid – A Crime

Referring to the number of political prisoners in South Africa, Comrade Mtshali urged AAPSO to intensify its campaign for the release of these prisoners and added: "If Nelson Mandela was here, he would tell you that you in AAPSO have an important role to organise support for the UN Covenant declaring apartheid a crime against humanity.

"We in the ANC demand, as is our right to demand, that every country must underwrite this Covenant and we shall welcome any assistance AAPSO and its members may give us in this regard.

"So therefore," he added, "you delegates from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Middle East and the Western countries, your tasks from now onwards must be – urge your governments – force your governments – fight with your governments to sign the Covenant declaring apartheid a crime against humanity, if they have not already done so."

Dealing with the present situation in South Africa where, he said, Black workers and students in their thousands are expressing their abhorrence to apartheid and the super exploitation they suffer, Comrade Mtshali said: "They face bullets. They face imprisonment. They face massive intimidation from the 'Security' Police. But I must tell you they face it all and come back fighting under the banner of the African National Congress. Anyone who stands in our way whether he is a white supremacist who thinks he rules us or the so-called Bantustan Chiefs who think they also rule us, we say to all of them – you shall never rule us. **The destiny of our country is in the hands of our people.**"

Stating that the intensity of the fascist terror in South Africa against our people is the same as the aggressive and fierce offensive of U.S. imperialism and Zionism against the Arab peoples and that it is also same as that of U.S. imperialism which is threatening peace in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, Comrade Mtshali said, "therefore, the struggles of the peoples of South East Asia is the same as that of Guinea Bissau; the struggle of the Arab peoples is the same as our struggle in Southern Africa."

Calling for continued solidarity and meaningful aid for "our just struggle for freedom, national independence and peace in South Africa," Comrade Mtshali said: "In these and other struggles, we appreciate the role of AAPSO, the OAU, the non-aligned nations, the USSR and other socialist countries. They have given us – the struggling peoples of the world – varying degrees of support. For this we are most grateful."

Analysing the significance of Foreign Investments in South Africa so called „Bridge-Building“ arguments of Foreign Investors, Mohamed Sahnoun former Deputy Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity and now a member of its executive staff, says . . .

THE BRIDGES MUST BE BROKEN



Although the Pretoria regime in South Africa has thus far failed in its diplomatic campaign to launch a 'dialogue' with the independent African states in order to confuse and divide the continent in its opposition to apartheid, and although the oppression of the African people of South Africa and Namibia continues, there remain those who claim that by peaceful co-existence, and by peaceful methods of pressure and change, the apartheid system will eventually wither away.

The Organization of African Unity, and those most concerned, namely the African people of South Africa and Namibia, reject this thesis. The twenty-five years that have passed since the gaining of power by the Nationalist Party in South Africa have not shown an amelioration of the situation, but rather its steady intensification. The 'building of bridges' so beloved as a strategy by those who wish to maintain links with the South African regime, has been proved not to serve the interests of the oppressed African people in the two countries, but rather those of the white rulers. By means of these bridges they have not only been able to develop their internal strength but also move across them to the outside world, increasing trade, political and diplomatic pressure, and breaking down isolation. It is, indeed, a useful exercise to examine those most in favour of bridge-building, and the results that their building has achieved. There is, moreover, no time more suitable than now, when, in the wake of the revelations by the British paper, 'The Guardian', about the starvation wages paid by British companies in South Africa, there is a new pressure on companies to pay more, in the mistaken belief that this will slowly erode the apartheid system.

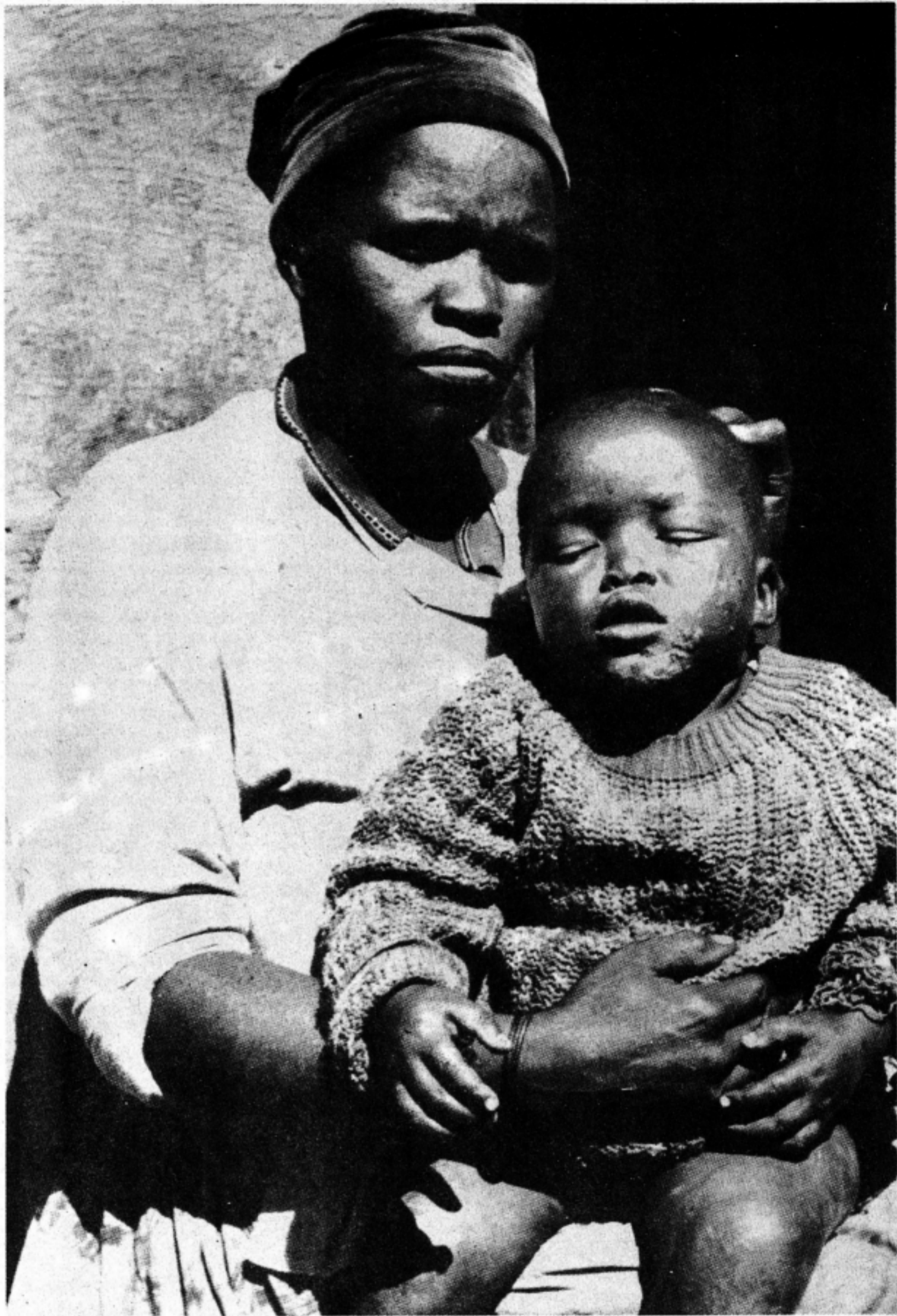
Apart from those who insist, from genuinely pacifist motives, that radical changes must only occur through peaceful means, one finds that those quarters in favour of bridge-building usually benefit from the present system of oppression in South Africa and Namibia. Not necessarily in the everyday brutalities – the pass laws, the torture in prison, the deaths from malnutrition – but in the overall socio-economic structure of the apartheid regime, regardless of the consequences of such a policy. These interests are, in fact, those with large economic investment in the current system. For them, the brutality is an embarrassment – and the huge profits to be gained the incentive. Profits for them override the claims of humanity, freedom and democracy.

It is, therefore, no wonder that these interests continue to repeat, ad nauseam, the argument that 'peaceful pressures by trade and investment' can slowly break down the apartheid system. It is no coincidence that South Africa's most powerful businessman, Harry Oppenheimer, head of the Anglo-American Corporation, is in favour of breaking down the crudities of apartheid – which are holding back the rapid expansion of the economy, and thereby curtailing the profits for shareholders.

Expansion of Manufacturing Sector

An analysis of the development of the South African economy over the past decade reveals a number of important features. Expenditure on armaments both purchased overseas and locally manufactured has soared. The inflow of foreign direct and indirect investment has also soared, while in the middle sixties, the manufacturing sector for the first time overtook the mining industry as a field for foreign capital investment. These factors are intimately connected – and without the second two, the first could not have taken place.

Following the massacre at Sharpeville, the South African regime faced an economic, political, and, it is feared,



Investors are as guilty as the SA racists of malnutrition, kwashiorkor and other diseases due to poverty

military crisis. Internationally, it was condemned and reviled – with even its closest friends, like the Conservative Government in Britain, recoiling temporarily at the killings. As a result of Sharpeville, and the state of emergency that ensued, large amounts of foreign capital began to flow out of the country, with a consequent effect upon the economy. At the same time, with its economy deteriorating, the regime of Hendrik Verwoerd decided that it needed to build up its local arms manufacturing industry,

and to embark on a rapid military expansion, in case any internal or external situation or armed conflict should arise.

From 1959 to 1964, a net outflow of foreign capital continued, although it steadily declined in the later years. Most of this capital, however, was private, and not that of the large institutions, national or multi-national. While the little man took fright and ran, the companies continued to re-invest their locally generated profits, and to send

new capital for investment. Unaffected by the moral outrage that followed Sharpeville, these large international companies from the Western world were a major source of moral as well as economic encouragement to the South African regime.

Arms Build-Up

While foreign corporate capital continued to come to South Africa, the regime moved to expand its arms spending. Defence expenditure in 1960-61 was only £22 million, but it grew rapidly, showing a growth of 1000% by the end of the decade. It is instructive to examine the nature of this expansion, since it shows the growth of South Africa as a military power in her own right, producing arms and equipment herself. By 1965, South African firms had 120 licences granted by overseas firms for the manufacture of weapons, according to the Defence Minister, Fouché (1). In the same year, the Atlas Aircraft Corporation began to build the Impala jet aircraft, based on foreign blueprints which had been sold to South Africa. In 1968, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of South Africa, ARMSCOR, was set up, with £60 million of state capital, but with the help of technological knowledge from the United Kingdom. **Today, South Africa's arms plants produce napalm, guided missiles, naval boats, planes, and a wide range of small arms, from rifles to rockets and grenades. The regime produces uranium, and poison gas. Indeed, as the Minister of Defence boasted in 1971, the regime is now exporting arms.** This rapid, and massive development of the arms industry could not have taken place without the collaboration of overseas capital and know-how, from companies and governments who allowed or actively encouraged the transfer of military knowledge to South Africa.

Interlocking Capital

A good example of this collaboration by western companies in the arms industry is ICI, the British-based multinational chemicals combine. ICI has a 42.5 per cent share in AE & CI, African Explosive and Chemical Industries. Revitalised with an injection of £5 million capital in 1962, AE & CI grew rapidly, and today "the partnership between AE & CI and ICI has become one of the pillars on which the entire industrial structure of South Africa rests" (2). In building this pillar, ICI held back no knowledge, with the result that South Africa has benefitted almost immediately from the research and development carried out by one of the world's largest chemical firms. It is not, however, only chemicals such as fertilisers which have been produced by AE & CI. The chemicals industry in South Africa, one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy, itself rests on two pillars; explosives and chemicals. AE & CI, in partnership with the Pretoria regime, and one other firm, Sentrachem, partly owned by British Petroleum, in which the British Government have a 49 per cent stake, are manufacturing virtually the entire needs of the regime in the explosives field. The interlocking relationship of western industry and the military needs of apartheid are rarely better shown. As a recent book, examining the role of British firms in South Africa, commented: "On the base of the explosives industry, British technology helped to build up a sophisticated chemicals sector, and also moved into food processing and canning, chiefly for the export market" (3).

There have been other less direct aids to the South African regime in its search for military self-sufficiency.

"The Financial Gazette, a South African publication, commented on the massive Ford and General Motors assembly plants: "in times of emergency or war, each plant could be turned over rapidly to the production of weapons and other strategic requirements for the defence of southern Africa" (4).

It is, moreover, not only by directly contributing to the arms industry that western investment has assisted the strengthening of the apartheid regime. The massive inflow of foreign capital have enabled the regime to direct its own capital to those sectors where direct foreign involvement is less easy - such as the development of guided missiles, or, potentially, the nuclear bomb. The inflow has also protected the economy from collapse. Between 1961-1967, the average net capital inflow was £93 million, between 1968-1970, £235 million, with a record figure of £328 million in 1970, and in 1971, a figure of £447 million was reached (5). This inflow, according to the "Financial Mail" of Johannesburg, was 'the only thing that saved the country from bankruptcy' (6).

Profits for Investors

The inflow of capital - with its consequent effect upon the rapid development of the industrial sector of the apartheid economy - has not been solely for political reasons. As the giant British Leyland Motor Corporation tells critics, they sell buses to Cuba also: The real reason is the huge profits to be made in South Africa. The British mining combine, Rio Tinto Zinc, who are exploiting uranium at Rossing, in Namibia, in collaboration with the parastatal Industrial Development Corporation, had 7.7 per cent of their assets in South Africa in 1970. 42 per cent of the group's profits, however, came from South Africa, and between 1966-71, a profit of £96 million came from one mine, the Palabora copper mine in the northern Transvaal. "A major reason for this high profitability", commented a Counter-Report on RTZ produced for a shareholders' meeting, "is the dismal wages RTZ pays its African workers" (7).

It is against the background of these massive profits to be made in South Africa that western investment must be examined. Moreover, the campaign for the improvement of the wages of African workers that has recently evoked interest should also be seen in this light.

Can Afford to Pay

During the past year or so, the tactic of "peaceful pressure of trade and investment" has been adopted by a number of companies operating in South Africa, the most notable being the Polaroid Corporation, of the United States, and Barclays Bank, the largest in the country, which is British controlled. The widespread condemnation of British firms that followed "The Guardian" revelations

1. Abdul Minty, "South Africa's Defence Strategy", Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, 1970
2. A. P. Cartwright, "The Dynamite Company", quoted on p. 26. R. First, J. Steele and C. Gurney "The South African Connection", Temple Smith London, 1972.
3. First, Steele & Gurney, op. cit., p. 26.
4. Ibid.
5. First, Steele & Gurney, op. cit., p. 28.
6. On 1. 10. 1971.
7. "The Rio-Tinto Zinc Corporation Ltd: Anti-Report", p. 5, Counter Information Services, London, 1972.

in March 1973 increased the campaign. A large number of firms have announced small wage increases for African employees – and have launched public relations exercises to show how much they are now committed to helping the African people of South Africa. Little has been done in Namibia, where the companies stiffened their resistance after the heroic general strike of the Namibian workers at the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972.

Yet this new development, which has been seized upon by those who wish to prove that if firms remain in South Africa, they can gradually erode apartheid, is something that the firms can well afford, and which, at the same time, does nothing to destroy the brutalities of the regime. Most of the firms can well afford to devote some of their profits to paying the Africans more, especially if this is seen as a way of defusing international condemnation of their presence, most notably where this comes from their institutional shareholders such as the big churches, which in the United States have for some years been critical on this issue. The tokenness of this wage raising gesture goes beyond this point, however. The advancement of Africans up the ladder towards skilled positions, and the increase of African pay-rates can actually improve profits, although the companies have been unwilling to explain this in their propaganda.

African and white wage rates are so disparate that even if three or four Africans are doing the work previously done by one white, the company can reduce its wage bill for the job. The small increases recently granted, which in many cases do not even take the African workers above the subsistence level, do not wipe out this –hidden new profit for the companies, which is, of course, why they have welcomed the opportunity to do it and gain some public relations credit in the process. Moreover, for companies which are still expanding rapidly, the moving of white workers to management positions is of vital importance, particularly in the present situation, where the shortage of trained white workers is growing as the campaigns by trade unions and others in Europe against the immigration campaigns run by South Africa begin to bite. The continued expansion of the South African economy, as its biggest capitalist, Harry Oppenheimer, has indicated many times, requires the advance of African workers to more responsible positions where they will be paid a little better.

Apartheid Left Intact

This creeping advance, however, does not challenge the fundamental basis of apartheid, and the whole socio-economic structure, however much the companies might like to pretend. The opposite, in fact, is true. No African is allowed to advance to a position where he will be giving orders to whites; the whites just move further up the wage and status scale, with the gap between the two continuing to get wider in cash, and usually in percentage terms. The job reservation laws may be allowed to wither away slowly, but, despite the claims of those foreign companies which have used them in the past as an excuse for doing nothing, they have never applied to the whole of South African industry. Job segregations, on the other hand, with the Africans, regardless of their education and experience, remaining below all whites, will continue. On that the regime will tolerate no erosion, even if the firms were prepared to try. Pass laws, malnutrition in the reserves, and the complete absence of African political and civil rights remain. At the height of the strikes in Durban in February 1973, the Minister of Labour indicated that in



A Living Wage In Dimbaza . . .

Mr. E. M. arrived at Dimbaza in July 1970 with his father, a sickly T. B. patient; his mother and sister, both asthma sufferers; and four other children in the house. Himself unmarried, he went to seek work at the Good Hope Textiles (31/2 miles from King William's Town), and was offered £1.50 per week.

His entire family depends on his earnings. Transport would have cost 54 cents a day (about 3 shillings): so he had to refuse the job. (When he eventually obtained work at Dimbaza for £9.69 per month, he was told he must pay off his three years tax arrears at £1.78 1/2 a year).

On 9 January 1971, he set off with his mother and a sick baby to walk the 12 miles to the nearest available medical attention. Asked why he hadn't borrowed money for the bus fare he said he already had so many debts that no-one would lend him more. The Dimbaza clinic was out of medicines.



The Mothers Who Lost Their Sons . . .

N. arrived at Dimbaza in 1968. Her son went as a migrant to the Transvaal. Months later he sent his first letter home – there was no money in it. Nevertheless her rations were stopped because she was told she 'had someone working for her.'

This is typical of many cases. Often young sons go off for the first time in their lives and take some time to settle down; sometimes they forget those left behind – often because they cannot manage to live in a town on what they earn.

The Family Who Lost Their Home . . .

Mr and Mrs K. lived in Wellington for over 30 years living happily in their own house and paying only fifty pence per month for the plot. They did not want to move, but 'the law' ordered them to go. At Dimbaza they had to pay £1.10 per month for their 2-roomed house. To earn money Mr. K had to return to Wellington – but this time without his wife, as a migrant worker. There he has to pay £1.35 per month for his bachelor quarters.

the regime's opinion, African trade unions would serve neither the interests of 'race relations', nor of African workers.

Insignificant Improvements

Those who advocate the 'peaceful pressure' of trade and investment today are pointing to the small advance in African wage rates that have recently been made. They suggest that here, at last, is the proof that change can slowly come about. As Rio Tinto Zinc put it, they are slowly creating an African middle class that will in the future be a potential governing elite. (And, of course, although it is not so clearly spelt out, an elite that might respond to Rio Tinto's requests to maintain its operations). **But the peaceful change lobby ignore the fact that all of the changes that have been made recently are in no way contravening the legislation of the apartheid regime. All could have been made before, but were not. The professions of shock, of horror, from company headquarters after the wage rates in their South African subsidiaries were disclosed, and the new professions of good faith need to be contrasted with their past actions, when they could have slowly improved African working conditions, and, without the presence of international public opinion, did not do so.**

Far from improving the chances for change, these petty changes in wage rates actually reinforce the apartheid regime. The economy is being strengthened by these moves, as the expansion held back by the shortage of white workers begins to move ahead. This expansion, moreover, is by no means confined to South Africa and Namibia, or even to the white ruled South as a whole, and the neighbouring states in a hostage situation because their colonial past integrated their economies with that of South Africa.

Growing Need to Export

South African companies are now moving into an expansionist mood – exporting goods wherever they can find markets, including a growing number of African states, but also today exporting technological expertise, gained from western investment, and capital. South African firms are gaining construction contracts in Latin America. Consolidated Gold Fields and Charter Consolidated, part of the Anglo-American empire, are trying to break into the offshore oil industry in Britain. South African radios are now being sold to Japan. With the rapid growth of the manufacturing sector of South African industry over the past ten years – so much assisted by foreign investment – South Africa is now changing from an underdeveloped economy, dependent on the export of minerals, such as gold and diamonds, despite the wealth that these bring, to a developed industrial economy, that also exports manufactured goods.

The new trade links being built up, not only in Africa but in the other parts of the world, are strengthening the political position of the apartheid regime. This strengthening owes much to the faith shown by western companies in apartheid over the past ten years. They have provided the capital for the development of the vital manufacturing industry, as well as maintaining their involvement in mining, and through this capital have saved the economy from collapse. They have helped to produce the arms industry that protects the regime, and have helped to establish the new trading links that have strengthened the regime on the international political front. They have

also acted as a powerful pro-South African lobby in their own countries. The experience of the United Kingdom, where the UK-South Africa Trade Association was nearly successful in overturning the Labour Government's commitment to the arms embargo, is an indication of the strength of these companies and their commitment to South Africa. They assist today, as they always have, in the regime's internal and external attempts to increase both its strength and its image.

Fallacy of "Bridge-Building"

Against this background, the deep and growing involvement of western companies in the profits and the fruits of the apartheid system, the importance of the recent wage increases, and the liberal noises that accompanied them, begin to fade away. It is by no means a coincidence that one of the first voices to be raised in South Africa for the improvement of African wage rates was that of the South African Foundation – a public relations front for a group of big companies designed to improving South Africa's image overseas. It is also significant that the regime is permitting such changes. For no-one knows better than Mr. Vorster that the changes now taking place in the industrial sector, with wage increases, and more skilled jobs for Africans, neither challenge the basis of the regime, nor indicate that the foreign companies have been suddenly converted to an anti-apartheid position. The interests of the companies and the regime are today so closely inter-twined for the first to turn suddenly on the second. Indeed, far from drifting apart, both know that their future development depends intimately on each other.

Once recognising the tight connection between foreign capital and the regime, the pressure for peaceful change that the companies claim is their policy can be seen in truth for what it is – an attempt to whitewash the regime, to confuse the world by giving some minor, and effectively irrelevant concessions, while at the same time maintaining their profitability.

In one sense, and in one sense alone, the western companies involved in South Africa and Namibia have built bridges. They have built them between their own governments in the west and the regime in Pretoria, between the economies of Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, the United States and so on, and the apartheid economy. The traffic across the bridges has not been subverting the apartheid regime from inside, as proponents of this theory claim, but has been in the other direction. It has, in fact, enabled apartheid to grow stronger, by trying to defuse, confuse and destroy the actual pressure for change that comes from elements within the African and Asian world, and some of the metropolitan countries.

With a stronger economy, and an ever increasing arsenal of offensive weapons, both built up with the participation of western companies, the trigger happy Pretoria regime has become not only a major obstacle to the attainment of freedom and equality and self determination in the whole of southern Africa, but also more than ever a threat to the independence of those African states committed to support the unconditional and total liberation of southern Africa from the shackles of colonialism and racialism. It is this consequence, and this alone, which has resulted from the activities of the bridge-builders, and it is because of that, as the African people of South Africa and Namibia have long warned, that the bridges must be broken.

ACTION SUCCEEDS

U.S. Bank Pull-Out from S.A. Loan follows Widespread Opposition from Local Groups

"We have adopted a policy of no further involvement in credit to the Republic of South Africa and have refused further participation."

– George Tanselle, president,
Merchants National Bank Indiana

The Merchants National Bank and Trust Company of Indianapolis, Indiana, a \$1 million participant in the European-American Banking Corporation (EABC) loans to South Africa's Finance Ministry, (see *Sechaba*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Jan. 1974) has pulled out of the deal in December last year.

In Indianapolis concentrated pressure was exerted on the Bank by local community and religious groups and the bank acquiesced to the demand to get out of the loan just before a large demonstration and rally was to be held on November 30. Groups involved in the campaign have included the Indianapolis Southern Africa Committee, AME Church, Disciples of Christ, Hoosiers for Peace, Indiana Council of Churches, and others. Although several other banks in Chicago and Detroit have generally indicated that future South African loans will not be granted, the Merchants Bank victory for immediate withdrawal is a clear precedent for the ability of local organizing and the sensitivity of Southern African issues in the U.S.A.

It has been reported that the City National Bank of Detroit (\$5 million) is no longer involved in an outstanding loan to South Africa, and that it has made a policy decision not to invest there in the future for "social reasons." (Corporate Information Center, National Council of Churches, Nov. 9, 1973).

The Wells Fargo Bank (\$2 million to the Finance Ministry) of California has admitted participation in the EABC loan, and is receiving protests from members of the academic community and NAACP. The Maryland National Bank (\$2 million to the Ministry of Finance) claimed that NAACP leader Roy Wilkins supported the bank loans, but a denial was issued in a letter from Mr Wilkins and presented to the bank. Finally, the Episcopal Bishop in the area is trying to set up meetings with the First National Bank of Louisville (Kentucky) to discuss its \$2 million EABC participation. (CIC, Nov. 9 and Nov. 27, 1973).

In sum, the 1973 "Bank Campaign" is moving steadily forward through the response of local activists throughout the country. In the future, smaller bank involvement in loans to apartheid South Africa may be curtailed by public action, or more care will be used in disguising their participation.

POLITICAL PRISONERS ...

S.A.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA—REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTEMENT VAN GEVANGENISSE



PRISONS DEPARTMENT

AANKLAGAKTE — CHARGE-SHEET

Saakno. 19.....
Case No.

In die Offisiershof te

In the Officer's Court at Robben Island Prison

In naam van die Staat word No.
Maharaj, a male Indian sentenced prisoner incarcerated in Robben Island Prison and hereafter called the accused.

In name of the State, No. 9/65 Satyandranath

is hereby ordered to appear personally before the above-mentioned Court on the day of 19..... at o'clock

gelas om in persoon te verskyn voor bogenoemde Hof op die dag van 19....., om

doen voor die Hof en uitspraak af te wag insake die aanklag en inligting van die Staatsaanklaer (wat in naam en ten behoeve van die Staat vervolg) daar voormelde beskuldigde beskuldig word van oortreding van Gevangenisregulasieno.....

a.m./p.m. to answer and abide the judgment of the Court upon the complaint and information of the public prosecutor (prosecuting in the name and on behalf of the State) that the said accused is accused of contravening Prison Regulation No. 99(1)(b)

van die Regulasies vir die beheer van Gevangenis, opgestel kragtens die bepalings van artikel 94 van Wet 8 van 1959, soos gepubliseer in Goewerments-kennisgewingno. soos gewysig, deurdat die genoemde beskuldigde verkeerdelik en wederregtelik

of the Regulations for the control of Prisons framed under section 94 of Act 8 of 1959, as published in Government Notice No. R2030 dd. 31.12.65 as amended, in that the said accused did wrongfully and unlawfully

disobeyed a lawful command given by a member in that the accused refused to sit properly and look in front of him when he was ordered to do so by Head Warder G.J. LeRoux onboard the ferry boat "ISSIE" on 11th December, 1973 at approximately 5.55 pm at Robben Island Prison.

ALTERNATIVE: that the accused is accused of contravening Prison Regulation 99(1)(c) as promulgated in the main charge in that the accused did wrongfully and unlawfully act insolent and disrespectful towards a member in that the accused told Head Warder G.J. LeRoux "you cannot give me an order - you are not in uniform" on board the ferry boat "ISSIE" on 11th December, 1973 at approximately 5.55 pm at Robben Island Prison.

Afskrif van klagslaa ontvang op
Received copy of charge-sheet on

15/12/73

Head of the Prison

Beskuldigde/Accused

... Treated Like Children

● South Africa to add 200 new fighter planes to its air force

Speaking in Parliament recently, the South African Defence Minister Botha warned: "I do not wish to spread alarm, but I must state unambiguously that for a long time already we have been engaged in a war of low intensity, and this situation will probably continue . . . We have had no major clashes with terrorists, but because they find sanctuary beyond our borders, neither have we yet eliminated the threat." He went on to reassure his followers that South Africa had now reached a stage where it was self-sufficient in the field of internal defence, and could no longer be isolated by arms embargoes.

It is true that South Africa has greatly expanded its capacity to manufacture much of the equipment that will be required by the regime for continued internal suppressive operations. Rifles, revolvers, grenades, mortars, most types of ammunition, tear-gas, aircraft rockets, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, bombs, including some filled with napalm, armoured cars and some aircraft are all produced locally. Nevertheless, South Africa is still dependent on foreign sources for much of its more sophisticated war material. Several recent deals illustrate this continued dependency, and highlight the extent to which the South African regime is being supported by its Western allies.

Major Air-Power

The South African Air Force has arranged the purchase of 48 French Mirage F1 fighters, latest and deadliest of the Mirage range. The first 16 of these, to be delivered in 1974 will be of the F1CZ all-weather interceptor type, similar to those presently being delivered to the French Air Force. They will be built entirely in France and will be equipped with fire-control radar. These will be followed by 32 F1AZ ground-attack fighters with Aida 11 radar range-finders. South Africa's state-run Atlas Air-craft Corporation will contribute components to these aircraft and

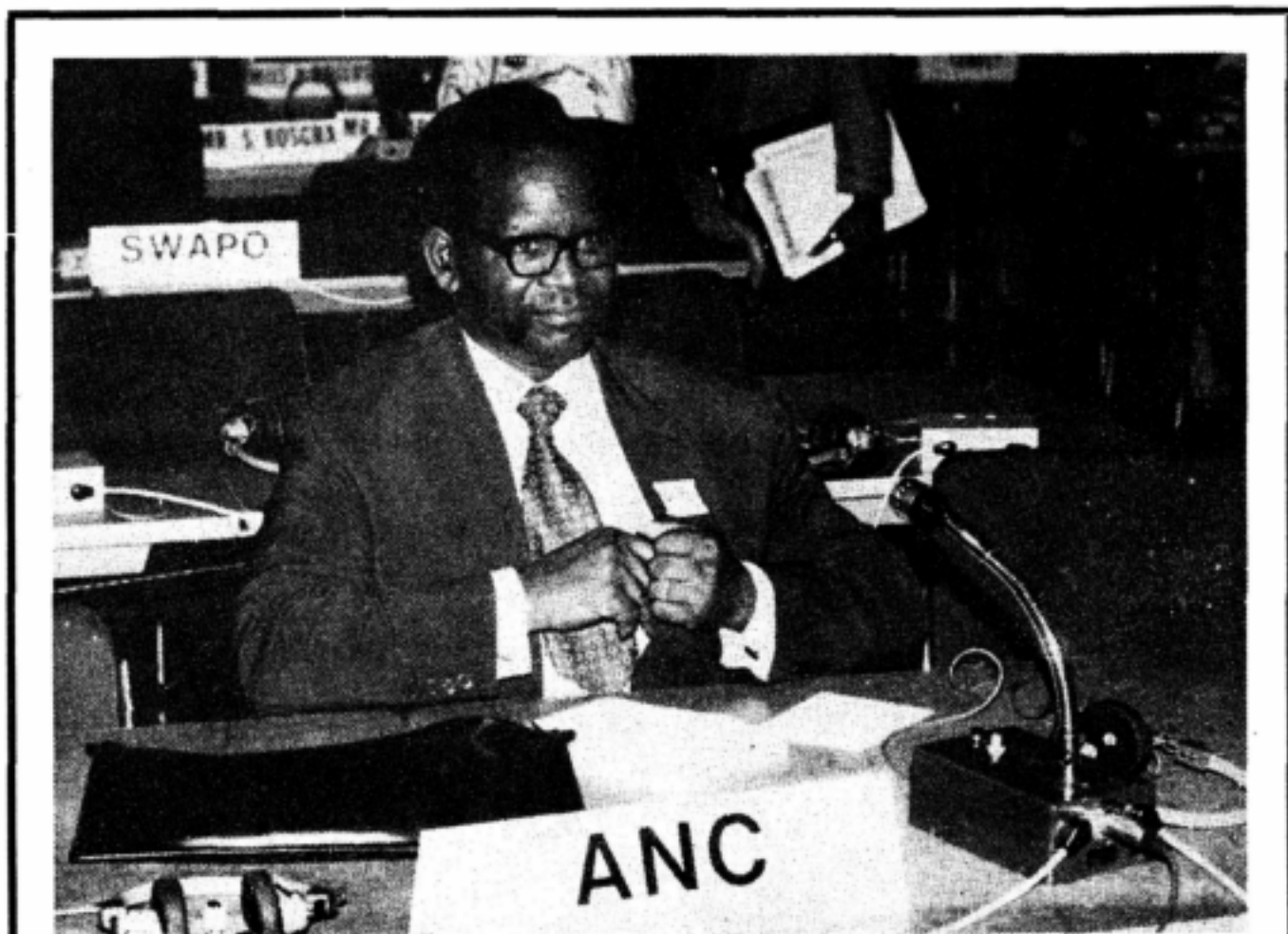
will probably undertake final assembly of some of the Mirages as pattern aircraft for subsequent production. The first licence-built Mirage F1 is expected to roll off the Atlas assembly line in 1977.

South Africa is also to get 100 Italian Aermacchi MB326K - these are planes fitted with Rolls-Royce Viper 632 turbo-jet engines, made under licence in Italy by a Fiat controlled company called Piaggio. The planes have been described as single-seat, close support and operational trainers, and Italy, which has undertaken to observe the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa, will apparently allow the sale of these aircrafts because they are technically 'only trainers'. The first 20 will reportedly be made entirely in Italy, while Atlas makes the necessary preparations to

phase this model on to its Impala assembly line.

There have also been recent reports that the South African Defence Force's Army Air Corps is to get 40 Aermacchi AM3C reconnaissance aircraft.

Thus South Africa will add 200 new planes to its airforce in the next few years, making it a major air-power - the largest air-force by far in all of Sub-Saharan Africa. This becomes particularly ominous when Botha's words about independent African nations "harbouring terrorists" are recalled. South Africa is already actively engaged in the military struggles being waged in Mozambique and Zimbabwe between the liberation movements and the minority colonial regimes. She has frequently defended her right of "hot pursuit". As the military confrontation escalates in Southern Africa and pressures inside South Africa continue to grow, as they have dramatically in the past 12 months, the South African Air Force is likely to be aimed at targets which lie not only inside the country but far beyond her borders.



The ANC has been advised that it now has permanent observer status at the United Nations. Above, Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress during a recent appearance before the United Nations Unit on Apartheid

Boycott Rothman's Cigarettes!

Many people, including some progressive governments who give their unqualified support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa, are unaware that Rothman's Cigarettes are produced by a South African Company.

One can easily find these cigarettes and another equally popular brand: Peter Stuyvesant at international airports and elsewhere in friendly countries. The reason for this is really simple. Anton Rupert, Vorster's most ardent supporter (see *Sechaba* Vol. 7 No. 5 May 1973 for profile of Rupert), South African financier and tobacco Tsar, who controls Rothman's International, has created an international institution primarily to expand South African capital investments throughout the African continent and to camouflage his operations so as to overcome the international boycott campaign against South Africa.

Because of the growing international campaign to boycott trade and financial links with Pretoria especially by the OAU, Rupert has devised an elaborate method to play down the role of South African financial interests in a multi-national development bank: The Economic Development for Equatorial and Southern Africa (EDESA).

West German, US, and UK Baking

He has appointed Prof. Karl Schiller, the former Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs of West Germany,

the bank's new president. The company is registered in Luxembourg and its headquarters is in Zurich. His African headquarters, is not, as one would expect, in Pretoria. It is in Mbabane, capital of Swaziland, where its general manager is Wyand van Graan, who was recently dismissed as manager of the Lesotho Development Corporation by Chief Leabua Jonathan. Finally, he has invited a number of non-South African banks and companies to participate in EDESA's authorised capital of \$20 million.

The enlistment of the services of Prof. Schiller, one of Western Europe's most "prestigious" economists has already paid off.

Recently, the Professor announced that the following companies were committed to participating in EDESA:

- Daimler-Benz, Bosch and Deutsche Dresdner Banks (West Germany);
- General Motors, IBM, and Universal Leaf (United States);
- Barclays Bank (U. K.);
- The Luxembourg Credit Bank;
- The Swiss Banking Company; and
- Anglo-American Corporation and ROTHMANS (S.A.).

Only One Aspect

The operations of EDESA are only one aspect of the efforts of the South African financiers and exporters to get around the boycott especially in independent Africa. Through the Yaonde associates they are endeavou-

ring to get manufactured industrial exports into the European Economic Community (EEC).

At a recent export workshop in Johannesburg, a French international management consultant, Mr. G. Le Pan de Ligny, outlined a plan to open the export market in West Africa to South African manufacturers through the Ivory Coast, Zaire and Gabon.

He said these three countries "have the money to carry out a healthy trading operation; they already trade with South Africa; the States are associated members of the EEC with French as the commercial language; and, their market characteristics are similar."

Another advantage he said, was that South Africa has direct air and sea links with these three countries.

Meanwhile, reports from Mbabane indicate considerable anxiety among Ministers of the Swazi Government about the choice of Swaziland as the African headquarters of EDESA. King Sobhuza has been asked to find out why Rupert chose Mbabane rather than Pretoria as the African headquarters of EDESA.

Tentacles Spread

Side by side with these operations, Anton Rupert's Rothmans' International, has increased its shares in the American tobacco manufacturing company, Liggett and Myers - makers of L. M., Chesterfield and Lark.

The two firms jointly own a cigarette company in Brazil, and Rothman's subsidiaries are licensed to manufacture L.M. brands in many countries. The South African Rembrandt group, the parent company of Rothman's dominates the tobacco market in South Africa and many other African states. The Johannesburg Sunday Times (January 31, 1973) has called Rupert's company "a unique multi-national group in which the residents of a country hold the majority of the shares in the operations within their borders."

We hope that readers, especially in Africa and in countries where their governments support the boycott of South Africa but where Rothman's cigarettes are sold will bring the contents of this article to the attention of the responsible minister.

We appreciate that it is difficult to keep track of all the many nefarious tricks that South African companies use to hide their identity. However, whenever we or anyone else finds out about such practices our supporters should quickly pass on such information to the relevant authorities.

In countries where governments do not support the international call for the boycott of South Africa, we urge solidarity groups to use the material contained herein in their campaigns in support of our struggle against apartheid and racism and for a free, democratic South Africa.

