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Supplement

'The Emergent African Middle Class'

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with acknowledgements to

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VERWOERD'S DAMP SQUIB

WITH A GRAND FLOURISH AND DRAMATIC TREATMENT USUALLY RESERVED FOR NATIONAL CRISES, DR. VERWOERD ANNOUNCED ON THE 23rd JANUARY THE FIRST STEP IN HIS "POSITIVE" PROGRAMME FOR APARTHEID - SELF-RULE FOR THE TRANSKEI.

Radio programmes were interrupted and the news flashed round the country, while over R5,000 was spent on advertisements in the overseas newspapers.

All to no purpose. Verwoerd's desperate attempt to placate international and local hostility to Apartheid has proved a damp squib. The British press has given sparse coverage to the announcement and at home Verwoerd's brand of phoney independence has been rejected by the leaders of the broad mass of the people with the contempt it deserves.

In the Transkei itself, the rejoicing and celebrations normally associated with the gaining of independent nationhood, is conspicuously absent. And little wonder.

Storehouse of Labour.

The Transkei is a "Native Reserve", situated on the East Coast of the Cape Province, near Port St. Johns. Since the development of gold and diamond mining in South Africa at the end of the 19th Century, it has indeed been a reserve - a vast storehouse of cheap labour. The flow of labour to the mines has been ensured by the acute land-hunger and abject poverty of the peasants in the area, which drives every able-bodied man (and many women) to seek work in the cities.

Pondo Revolt.

Pondoland, which occupies the fertile hills of North-East Transkei, has been a part exception to this. Here the peasants have managed to preserve to a considerable extent their independence of the industrial labour market and remain comparatively self-sufficient living off their lush, hilly farmlands.

With the introduction of the despised Bantu Authorities, pass laws and Bantu Education into Pondoland, as well as numerous schemes aimed at "rehabilitating" land and reducing stock, the Nationalist Government found itself confronted with its first major peasant revolt.

The Pondos staunchly withstood these inroads on their rights with such unity and determination that in December, 1960, the Government went over to the use of sheer brute force and a State of Emergency was declared.

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TRANSKEI Continued.

GANYILE'S HOMELAND

It was from this political arena that the renowned Pondo leader Anderson Ganyile was banished to Frenchdale from where he escaped to Basutoland and was subsequently illegally kidnapped by the South African police.

Self-rule at Gunpoint

Conditions of virtual martial law still exist under the State of Emergency in Pondoland today and South Africa and the world is now being treated to the spectacle of Verwoerd granting "self-rule" to the Pondos while holding them at gun-point!

Word-play

There has been a good deal of word-play in Government circles in an effort to dress up the thoroughly undemocratic constitution which is being thrust on the Transkei people. "Eventual independence", "home-rule", "self-administration" are used to describe a system far less autonomous and democratic than a city council constitution.

The Transkei constitution was ostensibly drawn up by a 27-man Recess Committee of the Transkeian Territorial Authority which, protected by armed guards, deliberated in secret, with Government White officials "advising" all through the discussions.

This Government influenced constitution was then presented to Dr. Verwoerd for his approval. This should prove a mere formality since the Chiefs who submitted it had been warned not to go beyond the limits of the Prime Minister's original proposals.

Vital Departments Excluded

The following matters will not fall within the legislative power of the Transkeian people:

- * Defence and External Affairs
- * Internal Security
- * Posts and Telegraphs
- * Transport
- * Immigration
- * Currency, public loans, customs and excise.

There is no clear indication that these vital developments will ever be relinquished by the White Republican Government. All the constitution says on this matter is that "a sub-department of the Legislative assembly

will be set up for each department to train Bantu Personnel".

"Creative Self-withdrawal"?

As for the white officials who run these departments, they will do so "on the basis of "creative self-withdrawal", whatever that may mean.

27 Represent the People

The Legislative body will consist of:

- 68 Transkei Chiefs (Government appointed).
- 27 appointed by 9 Paramount Chiefs
- 9 elected by Urban Councils (which are completely boycotted by Urban Africans and virtually non-existent)
- 27 elected by Africans over 21 years in Transkei

131 TOTAL

Where will the thousands of farm labourers on white farms fit into this electoral system? They just don't!

All Land controlled by Chiefs

An ominous provision is that "all land, in the Transkei at present vested in the Government of South Africa shall be transferred to the Transkei Government". This, together with the fact that in the Transkei land is not privately owned by individuals, but allocated for cultivation to families by the Chiefs, (who are swiftly banished or deposed by the White Government if found un-cooperative) will mean that the Chiefs will be virtually all-powerful. They will be in a position to herd the people off the land into villages, and thus create ideal labour reserves for the White areas.

Least Essential gets Priority

This suspicion is deepened by the economic proposals for African Areas.

The Verwoerd Government has drawn up a 5 year plan to spend R114,432,269 in the development of all rural African areas. Most of this amount has been set aside for building houses and villages.

There is a special reason why expenditure on housing in these most unindustrialised, undeveloped, impoverished areas of South Africa should figure so large.

BRITAIN AND OPPENHEIMER ARM THE NATIONALISTS

A GENERAL WAR PSYCHOSIS IS BEING DEVELOPED IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND A GIGANTIC ARMED FORCE IS BEING BUILT UP.

Last year Defence expenditure in South Africa was R71,500,000 - an increase of R28 million.

10,000 White youths are being called up for 9 months compulsory military training, and the permanent army of 20,000 men should increase to 60,000 by 1966, according to Fouche, Minister of Defence.

The air force is being put on a proper war footing with French Mirage jet fighters and probably Mark II Victor bombers from Britain.

The South African Police of 50,000 is armed with revolvers, machine guns, armoured cars and Saracens.

BRUTALLY FRANK.

Ministers of Defence under the Nationalist Government have always been brutally frank about the enemy against whom this formidable armed force is being built up. Mr. Erasmus, during his term of office as Defence Minister, put it in a nutshell when he explained in Parliament that, "we are not arming ourselves against an external enemy. We are arming against the Black masses."

THE PERSPECTIVE.

It is in the light of this blatant, aggressive attitude towards the unarmed and oppressed millions of South Africans, that the recent arms deal between AFRICAN EXPLOSIVES & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES and the South African Government must be assessed.

This Company has just concluded a R20 million deal with the Republican Government to build three arms factories - two in the Transvaal, and one in the Cape.

An arrangement shrouded in secrecy has been made between AFRICAN EXPLOSIVES and the BRITISH GOVERNMENT for the supplying of technical information and assistance necessary for arms production in South Africa.

TAKING NOTE.

What is being carefully noted by the broad democratic opposition in South Africa is the fact that this Company has, as its Chairman, Mr. HARRY OPPENHEIMER, a man with extensive gold and diamond holdings in South Africa (and copper in Katanga and Rhodesia) who is a much-publicised member of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

(Contd. from page 4). 4. that the conference takes immediate steps to bring about co-ordination of the struggle in the countries of Southern Africa.

THROUGH THIS ARMS DEAL, BOTH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER HAVE ACCEPTED A RELATIONSHIP WITH VERWOERD'S GOVERNMENT WHICH IS COMPLETELY IRRECONCILIABLE WITH THEIR FREQUENTLY PROFESSED OPPOSITION TO AGGRESSIVE APARTHEID.

ALL WHITE PARLIAMENT MEETS.

True to form, the remorseless Verwoerd Government is presenting this year's new session of Parliament with yet another array of repressive legislation. The few civil liberties left in South Africa will be summarily dealt with:

* Press Censorship. The Publications and Entertainments Bill which is being reintroduced, will "prohibit the production and dissemination of publications and objects that are undesirable." It provides for censorship of books, periodicals, paintings, photographs, etc., and for control through the Courts of newspapers.

* National Education. A Bill will be introduced to establish an all-powerful National Education Advisory Council and thus extend Calvinistic, reactionary Christian National Education, particularly to the English-speaking areas which have resisted it so far.

* "White Agitators" and "Saboteurs" will be severely dealt with when Minister of Justice, Mr. B.J. Voster, tables a Bill later this session.

The following extracts are taken from an article by Anderson Ganyile which appeared in "NEW AGE": -

INGLETON WOKE US UP SAYING: "THEY ARE AT THE DOOR AND SAY THEY HAVE JUST ARRIVED."

A voice which I couldn't mistake for any other in the whole world growled: "Open the door or we will set the hut on fire." This was Constable du Toit of the notorious Special Branch.

Yes, fascism was at the door. Bottles and an axe were the only weapons we had to defend ourselves, and we used them to the best of our ability. Had it not been for this, we could not have left any evidence in the hut.

We were overpowered and taken to Mount Fletcher Jail where we were put in a cell with no lights. The jailer was hostile, more especially towards me, as my pyjamas bore large patches of blood. This was no blood of mine.

I was taken to Umtata Jail. Here I was put in a single cell, given one old torn mat and two blankets. I was not given a spoon and I had to use my hand for about a week. My first night was a sleepless one. Never in my life have I seen so many lice or such filthy blankets. I shudder at the recollection.

I was not given time to clean the cell and, what was worse, the bucket was not emptied for about three days. I called the warder to complain but he was not interested. I called him again and reminded him that "I am here for political reasons and it must be understood that I am not going to submit just because you have placed me in this nasty sty. I now ask you to let me write a letter to the Director of Prisons in Pretoria .. I want to lodge a complaint against you." The following morning I was given a spoon, new blankets, time to clean my cell, soap and exercise.

On September 6, I was asked the following questions in Mount Fletcher Jail:

"Have you ever associated with named Communists?" - "I don't know."

"Have you ever sympathised with any Communist front?" - "I don't know."

"During your stay in Basutoland, did you plan any campaign undermining the authority of the government of the Republic of South Africa?" - "What do you mean by a government?"

When I asked this question the Special Branch man turned red. "Look here, you mustn't play the fool," he warned. "What is your answer to the question?" I asked him what his answer was to my question.

"So you are not prepared to answer this question. During your stay in Basutoland, who are the people who paid you visits?" - "You are the only people who paid me visits during awkward hours."

I always asked myself as to why does man struggle and this kept me spirited!

NOW I AM OUT OF JAIL. I HAVE NOT CHANGED. NOT A BIT. I AM LIKE A MAN WHO HAS BEEN TO UNIVERSITY. YES, THE UNIVERSITY OF MAN. MY STAY IN THIS UNIVERSITY HAS NOT TURNED ME TOWARDS THE CAMP OF THE BLACK CHAUVINISTS. YOU MAY BAN A MAN, YOU MAY CONFINED A MAN AND YOU MAY DEPORT A MAN, BUT YOU CANNOT EXTINGUISH THE SPARK OF FREEDOM WHICH IS BURNING IN HIM. I SHALL CONTINUE TO FIGHT UNTIL FREEDOM IS WON.

B R I E F T A S T E O F F R E E D O M. Mr. NELSON MANDELA, WELL-KNOWN AND RESPECTED LEADER OF THE UNDERGROUND AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, has been sent by his organisation to lead their delegation at the Pan African Freedom Movement Conference in Addis Ababa. For the last 10 months the political police in South Africa have searched in vain for this elusive opponent of Apartheid. "AS SOON AS MY MISSION IN AFRICA IS COMPLETED, I SHALL GO BACK", he declared.

Mr. Mandela says he will use all his influence to gain support, not only moral but also material, for the South African struggle. He will ask for 1: immediate sanctions against South Africa; 2. intensification of the boycott against South Africa; 3. the stopping of the supply of all arms and ammunition to South Africa and pressure direct and indirect being brought to bear on all countries supplying munitions to (contd. page 3).

SPEAR OF THE NATION: A new phase in the Struggle.

A new phase in the struggle in South Africa burst upon the political scene last December when 10 explosions occurred overnight in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

The explosions coincided with the announcement of the formation of a new organisation "Umkonto we Sizwe" on posters which appeared on walls in Johannesburg.

The poster of "Umkonto we Sizwe" said:-

"This is a new, independent body formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations. "Umkonto we Sizwe" fully supports the national liberation movement and our members jointly and severally place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement."

TRANSKEI: Continued from page 2.

This is because the only fully worked-out scheme the Government has for the Transkei involves the erection of border industries outside the Reserve, the displacing of half the population of the Transkei from their plots of land, and the concentration of these people in special villages which will serve as pools of labour for the border industries.

White Baaskap Continues.

The final blow to any semblance of self-rule is in the provision that "all laws passed by the Transkei Government shall be submitted to the President of South Africa for his assent."

Stripped of all the trimmings, Transkei self-rule is revealed as a thoroughly dishonest attempt to give moral justification for continued White Baaskap in South Africa.

The Granite Cracks.

Yet the fact that Verwoerd has been forced by international and internal pressures into presenting this so-called self-rule to the Transkei, clearly indicates his fundamental weak-

The poster announced that the bomb attacks were directed against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid.

The explosions set off a train of police raids and some arrests.

At present Messrs. Govan Mbeki, Harold Strachan, Joseph Jack and Soyeye are appearing in Port Elizabeth on charges under the Explosives Act. In Johannesburg Mr. Petrus Molefe is being similarly charged.

Meanwhile explosions in Port Elizabeth continue to occur at frequent intervals.

Under the persistent blows of the people of South Africa and the world, the granite is beginning to crack.

And in spite of the manner in which the draft constitution has been rigged, the whole scheme is already back-firing, and the Transkei people are calling Dr. Verwoerd's gigantic bluff. His self-rule plan has already resulted in an open split among the Chiefs - the most conservative force in the countryside on whom the success of this plan depends.

Many, despite the hold the Government has over them because they are all Nationalist-appointed, are demanding 'INDEPENDENCE OR NOTHING.'

Next crisis over the Transkei will be at the end of March. The Transkeian Territorial Authority meets then and the constitution will be discussed officially. Popular opposition to the phoney scheme is growing: a large section of the Chiefs, too, are expected to voice their opposition when the Territorial Authority meets.

Transkei Statistics.

AREA: 15,000 sq. miles. (Total for the Republic is 472,359 sq. miles).
POPULATION: Between 1½ & 2 millions. (Total population of the Republic is 16 million, of whom 3 million are White. The number living outside the reserves is 6,600,000).
INDUSTRIES: Nil.
MINES: Nil. PORTS: Nil.
CITIES: Nil. LAND: Overcrowded.
One-third of the peasants have no land of their own to plough.

THE SECOND PHASE IN THE DRIVE FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION

WORKERS vs. THE STATE !

With the 1962 Parliament in session, there will be a tightening up of policy in both 'camps' -- in the fortress of the Nationalist government and in the ranks of the Liberation Movement.

In conjunction with this, and encouraged by the 7th February International Day of Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, backed by the Congress Alliance, has launched a new and militant campaign to organise workers.

There is tremendous activity in the SACTU offices with telegrams, protesting against apartheid and expressing support for the workers, coming in from all over the world, and trade unionists going all out to make SACTU even better known than it is. Just walking into the offices one feels the tension, excitement and determination in the air. Volunteers are in and out of the offices day and night.

Meetings are taking place, peoples of all races and from many spheres of life are going out chalking slogans on walls, handing out leaflets stressing the need for an organised labour force with SACTU enrolment forms attached; and in the African townships house-to-house canvassing is taking place. Demonstrators with posters drawing attention to the needs and rights of the workers are standing at stations and public places during peak hours. Trade unionists are addressing workers in the factories. Press statements have been issued and workers' rallies will be held on the 25th February throughout South Africa.

Police action has followed swiftly and a number of workers have been arrested while demonstrating and distributing literature.

The demands which SACTU is putting forward are:-

- i. A National Minimum Wage of £1 a Day and higher wages for workers who are earning more than a pound a day.
- ii. Trade Union rights for all workers.
- iii. Abolition of Pass Laws and Influx Control.
- iv. Abolition of Job Reservation.
- v. Freedom of speech, organisation and assembly.

And all factory and public rallies are emphasising and explaining the demand for a National Convention.

NEW AFRICAN STUDENT BODY FORMED

On December 17th, 1961, a representative gathering of African students formally inaugurated the African Students' Association in Durban.

It aims to unite African students, promote their interests and an understanding of their problems; to create a channel through which African students can express their views in an organised manner, and to encourage an interest in educational and cultural advancement of students.

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, National Secretary of the African Students' Association, pointed out that the May, 1961 student strikes would have a definite effect on the character of any new African students' organisation.