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218th October, 71

ATTENTION MR. RANDRIANIHASINORO

Dear Friend,

With reference to your letter of September 20 and to our subsequent cable to you, we now have pleasure to forward you herewith Brief Notes Concerning some problems of the South African situation.

We trust that these will amply meet your requirements and we should be pleased if you would kindly favour us with a copy of your draft resolution to UNESCO in due course.

Yours fraternally,

M. MSIMANG.
Executive Secretary.

Encl/1

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BRIEF NOTES SUBMITTED TO THE WORLD PEACE
COUNCIL CONCERNING SOME PROBLEMS OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION.

18th October, 71.

1. "INFORMATION RELEVANT CONCERNING THE STRUGGLE":
We would suggest that our booklet, entitled "GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY" and the one by Abdul S. Minty, "SOUTH AFRICA'S DEFENCE STRATEGY" might serve as a suitable introduction to a general appraisal of the situation confronting the national liberation struggle in South Africa and the world-wide anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist forces. Abdul S. Minty's "South Africa's Defence Strategy" is obtainable from Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1 price 2/6. This booklet gives an exhaustive account of the foreign military links which the imperialist countries maintain with South Africa.
2. "ASPECTS OF APARTHEID AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS":

The Land Question:

The theory and practice of apartheid embodies the race segregation applied against the Black majority since the European colonisation of South Africa - and which, after the coming into power of the present Government of South Africa in 1948 has now become a cardinal element of State policy governing every aspect of race relations in South Africa. Apartheid or race segregation as a state system is the instrument of maintaining the colonial power of the White minority; it is the basis of the exploitation of cheap African labour by the entire ruling class.

All the White minority racist governments of South Africa have ruled on the basis of race discrimination called by various names according to the whims and fancies of successive governing White political parties. The underlying principle has remained White supremacy whether the policy was called "race segregation", "Christian trusteeship", or "apartheid" or "separate development."

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, the basis of White domination found its continued legal expression in the Land Act of 1913. That law allocated 13% of the land to the Africans who constitute 4/5ths of the population and the remaining 87% to the Whites. The 13% of the surface area of South Africa into which the Africans are crowded has been known officially as "Native Reserves", "Native Areas" and

now "Bantu Homelands" and "Bantustans". There has been no change in the carrying capacity of this land nor has there been any economic, agricultural or industrial development of these areas where to-day all Africans are supposed to exercise their rights.

In spite of the Land Act, 1913 and other discriminatory laws dealing with land occupation, the socio-economic structure of South African society is a mingling of all races in the day-to-day life of the country.

Thus race segregation applies effectively only in the sphere of the denial of fundamental political rights to the Black majority.

The meagre political rights which the Africans enjoyed in the Cape Province only, were ultimately abolished under the Native Representation Acts of 1936. Under these laws the Africans were promised more land in return for the loss of franchise rights. The sham representation of Africans by 3 White politicians in Parliament was finally abolished by the Verwoerd Government which dreamed up the obnoxious Bantustan scheme.

Bantustans:

We have already made the point that the statutory land area to which African occupation is limited is defined in the Land Act 1913 and the Natives Representation Acts, 1936. None of the additional land promised in 1936 has been acquired by the government for African habitation and use. This is to a large extent the basis for the growing demand for more land by the government - appointed Tribal Authorities, namely, Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, and Kaiser Matanzima in Zululand and the Transkei, respectively. This has made the land question explosive in the present South African scene. It is a burning issue to-day as it was in 1913 and 1936. Around it is concentrated the continued existence or collapse of White supremacy rule of the entire country.

The Bantustan policy allows for no new territorial land adjustments in favour of the African majority but only seeks to uproot and redirect the urban African population to the overcrowded, overstocked and soil-eroded tribal reserves called "Bantu homelands" and "Bantustans" whose surface area and geographical location is exactly the same as that laid down in the 1913 Land Act.

The Bantustan policy only serves to accentuate the fundamental issue of the forceful expropriation of the African land by White colonial invaders. The tribal system of land tenure and the limitation by legislation of African peasant holdings to plots of land uneconomic in size coupled with livestock restrictions are all factors which ruthlessly undermine any Government Plan for the development of the "Native Areas". In 1925 the Holloway Economic Commission, came to this same conclusion and so also did the Fagan Commission (1948) and, to a large extent the Tomlinson Commission Report (October 1945), contains an implicit acceptance of this premise, hence, its recommendation that the Government should invest £104 million in the "Native Areas" in 10 years to make them economically viable.

As stated by its advocates, the aim and purpose of the Bantustan policy is to remove Africans from the urban industrial and agricultural areas which constitute 87% of the land surface of South Africa and to reserve that area for the Whites. In the Bantustans the Africans are supposed to exercise and enjoy full political rights in the distant future. They are therefore now regarded (to use the late Dr. Verwoerd's phrase) as "temporary sojourners". But has this policy of returning the Africans to the "Bantustans" succeeded? What about the future of the Indian and Coloured communities for whom no Bantustans have been set aside?

All the statistical data published by the government of South Africa and other interested bodies clearly show the emergence of a demographic pattern contrary to the illusory Bantustan scheme. There are more Africans living in the urban areas today than there were in 1946 - that is, two years before the present Afrikaner Nationalist Government came to power. The Tomlinson Report itself gives the following projection of population growth:

	1951 CENSUS	2,000 AD.
EUROPEAN	2,643,000 (20.9%)	4,588,000 (14.7%)
Bantu (READ AFRICAN)	8,535,000 (67.5%)	21,361,000 (68.4%)
COLOURED	1,103,000 (8.7%)	3,917,000 (12.5%)
ASIATIC	367,000 (2.9%)	1,382,000 (4.4%)
TOTAL	12,646,000 (100%)	31,248,000 (100%)

In the 14 (fourteen) years that lie between 1946 and 1960, these population trends which show acceleration growth of the urban African population continue unabated. This is largely due to the shortage of skilled manpower in the urban areas which compels the capitalists to draw on cheap African labour which is abundant. This trend is also evident in the forced relaxation of labour laws such as the Job Reservation Act to allow the Blacks to do labour which is normally reserved for Whites only. The June 1969 Bulletin of Statistics issued by the Government of South Africa gives the following data that again shows urban African population growth:

Census Year	WHITES		AFRICANS	
	TOTAL	URBAN	TOTAL	URBAN
1946	2,372,044	1,768,546	7,830,559	1,856,028
1960	3,080,159	2,574,651	10,927,922	3,471,233

This shows that the urban African population grew by almost 90%. The same June 1969 issue of the South African Bulletin of Statistics shows that the African population of the principal urban areas that is Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Germiston, Bloemfontain, Springs, Benoni, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Welkom continued to grow at a phenomenal rate. Taking Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth as examples at random, the 1951 and 1960 censuses show the urban African increase in these two cities having been about 32% and 75% respectively:

	1960 CENSUS		1951 CENSUS	
JOHANNESBURG	AFRICANS	WHITES	AFRICANS	WHITES
	650,912	413,153	491,818	365,657
PORT ELIZABETH	123,183	94,931	70,082	79,328

These demographic studies of population trends are alluded to by us in order to show that the politics of Bantustan ideology are intended to conceal a fundamental and glaring injustice suffered by the African people who are denied land and also elementary human rights. Furthermore, the economic development of the entire country runs counter to the false and fraudulent propaganda that the Africans are more and more being concentrated in the "Bantustans" or "Bantu Homelands" to develop separately.

Dialogue:

On the question of dialogue with South Africa, we shall not be very exhaustive as much has already been written and spoken on this subject. We shall only refer to the "Prohibition of Political Interference Act, No. 51 of 1968 and to the Balance of Payments Deficit which the South African economy now has to battle with. It is of course, a well-known fact that the buoyancy of South Africa's economic development is limited by the race legislation which excludes Africans from a fuller participation in the economic life of the country. This has resulted in the narrow domestic market which the South African economy depends for the realisation of its own production. Markets have to be found elsewhere, hence, the "outward-looking" or imperialist expansionist policies of the South African Government epitomised in the "DIALOGUE" policy.

South Africa is today passing through serious economic problems. South African imports exceed her exports. The gap varies from R300 million to R600 million a year, but in 1970 it rose to a record of R1,008 million, and according to the Department of Customs and Excise in January 1971, imports during 1970 amounted to R2,542.5 million while exports totalled only R1,534.5 million. These figures indicate that South Africa is facing an economic crisis. Normally South Africa bridges her trade gap with gold exports. Her production of gold is at present worth about R800 million a year but in view of the international monetary crisis, the very future of gold as backing to international reserve currencies is a controversial subject.

The "Prohibition of Political Interference Act, No. 51 of 1968" simply made political contact between Africans and Whites a punishable offence. It disallowed these two race groups from belonging to the same political party. And so the South African Liberal Party disbanded itself rather than abandon its African members and its principles. The Progressive Party had to exclude its African members from the ranks of that Party. What is the purpose of advocating a policy of "dialogue" then if the South African Government itself makes it a punishable offence inside South Africa?

3. "FOREIGN INVESTMENTS" - Please refer to U.N. document ST/PSCA/SER.A/6 New York 1968.
4. Our most pressing need is a severe shortage of funds, etc.
5. "Our proposals and suggestions"
 - a.) Fight for the recognition of the African National Congress as alternative South African Government.
 - b.) Fight for ANC representation in all international bodies and U.N. agencies on a full and /or consultative membership basis.
 - c.) Oppose the South African Dialogue policy.
 - d.) Support our armed struggle.

ANC SECRETARIAT.