

# GOMAS ATTACKS --- / CONT

the patience of the people. Bitter experience had taught the people otherwise. By following a policy of "the lesser evil" in the past, they had got "the worst racial government, and oppression second to none in the world".

## "WHITE" DOMINATION

"Friends" and "comrades" standing as separate representatives were helping in the "degradation of the non-whites" and assisting to "perpetuate white domination".

Progress and democracy he feels, can only be achieved by destroying in the minds of the "non-white people the worship and acceptance of white supremacy".

VOL.3 - NO.4  
4. 3. 1958

## ON THE ELECTIONS

A MOVEMENT WHICH INTENDS TO SURVIVE AND TO GROW MUST OBEY THE FIRST LAWS OF LIFE. IT MUST BE AS INFLEXIBLE ABOUT THE GOAL FOR WHICH IT EXISTS AS IT IS FLEXIBLE ABOUT THE ROUTE TO THIS GOAL. TO PUT THIS INTO POLITICAL LANGUAGE: IT MUST BE STAUNCHLY LOYAL TO ITS PRINCIPLES EVEN WHEN EXERCISING THE GREATEST FLEXIBILITY ABOUT ITS TACTICS. IT IS IN THE LIGHT OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS THAT WE WISH TO ASSESS THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESSES AND ANTI-CAD (N.E.U.M.) TO THE ELECTIONS.

In this assessment we will completely ignore the other political organisations in this country (leaving aside the Liberal Party for a moment) for the question of egalitarianism or equality in South Africa does not even exist for them. Their solution to the problems of South Africa is one or other form of baaskap which is doomed to failure from the start. How consistent their tactics are with their principles cannot interest us as their principles are anti-humanist.

We are not cognisant of the Liberal Party either, not because it favours a Colour Bar — indeed it is the only political organisation opposed to the colour bar which is organised on a non-racial basis — but because it cannot present its demand for equality in terms of the interests of humanity. Its interest as a party are bound up with "progressive" capitalism which is vitally interested in the maintenance of exploitation — even though in a modern industrial South African State — and, therefore, in the maintenance of social inequality though on a class and not a colour basis.

To come back to the Congress and the Anti-Cad movements: Both are in principle opposed to the Colour Bar — not in the interests of this or that section of the South African ruling class

but because they are reflecting the basic minimum demands of the masses of the South African nation.

But before we say a word about the Anti-Cad's boycott of, and the Congresses' participation in, the separate racial elections let us first call things by their proper names. And in this the first is that neither boycott nor participation are questions of principle — they are tactical questions. And the corollary must be understood as well: the utilisation of this or that tactic is not decided by virtue of any intrinsic merit one or other tactic may or may not possess but in relation to whether or not it implements the professed aims, principles and programme of the organisation concerned.

Of the two organisations — Congress and Anti-Cad — it is undoubtedly Congress which played a criminal role in the recent "elections". By putting up candidates for the mock "racial" elections Congress gave the institution of separate representation — and therefore the whole racialist parliament — the sanction of the democratic movement. Remember, the Congress candidates for separate representation stood as "fighters for democracy" opposed to all Apartheid or Segregation; against even the institution of separate representation itself for the free and unrestricted franchise for all adult South Africans!

But it is, precisely, the business of the democratic movement to inspire feelings of the most implacable host-



# ON THE ELECTIONS / CONT

ility and hatred towards all the institutions of Apartheid including all racial elections to the bogus South African parliament. For the day the people refuse to have anything to do, whatsoever, with any of the institutions of Apartheid, that day will spell the end of the system of Apartheid, Segregation, Colour Bar or Racial Status in South Africa.

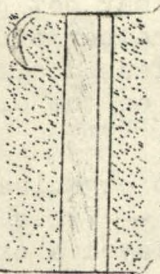
What Congress is doing by putting up "White" comrades as "democratic candidates" for the "Whites only", Separate "Coloured Representatives" seats in the dummy parliament is to show illusions and to create confusion amongst the people: The people are being led to look for salvation to "their" separate representatives in the bogus parliament. But the task at hand is to lead the people to actively reject apartheid and to get down to the task of welding together their organised strength to smash all racialism and racial status.

The Anti-Cad, on the other hand, has called on the "Coloured" people to boycott separate "Coloured Representation". And there can be no doubt about it that this is the first step of an oppressed people towards the achievement of manhood, dignity and self-respect. While, however, one cannot but be sympathetic towards this campaign against self-debasement — the acceptance of the scraps thrown at the people by the racialist rulers — it must, nevertheless, be recognised that so long as the Anti-Cad organises and thinks itself and its followers as "Coloureds" or "Non-Europeans" so long will their campaigns and struggles be vitiated by their acceptance of the premises of segregation.

A democrat who wishes to be consistent in his rejection of apartheid in the parliamentary elections cannot escape the fact that to do so he must identify himself with the call that the whole nation boycott all elections — the "Coloured", "Native" and "White" elections — to the bogus South African Parliament.

This proves that what South Africa requires is a non-racial, non-sectarian democratic movement resting squarely on the workers of South Africa: A movement which will accept control neither from Washington or Moscow, which will have no "official leaders" and "authorities" above the democratic control of the people and finally, which will make no concession to racialism not even via "non-Europeanism" or "multi-racialism".

Editorial  
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did but prompt the age to quit  
their clogs

By the known rules of ancient  
liberty,

When straight a barbarous noise  
environs me

(Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs;

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But this is got by casting pearls to hogs,  
That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,  
And still revolt when Truth would set them free.....

From: "ON THE DETRACTION WHICH FOLLOWED  
UPON MY WRITING CERTAIN TREATISES"

.....John Milton.



# NKATLO REPLIES

From: Mr. Joseph NKATLO,  
CAPE TOWN.

I owe it to your readers and to Mr. Zollie Malindi himself to reply to a letter signed by him which appeared in the NEW AGE of the 27th March, 1958. The caption to the letter refers to me as an "Africanist". I accept being called an "Africanist" if it means an "African" who refuses to be politically subservient to "European" leadership and who refuses to entrust his destiny to some "European" carcerists who seek to exploit him.

Mr. Z. Malindi has put four questions to me. My answer to the first two questions is that the validity of my argument against the separate representation stands on its merits whether supported by the majority or minority of so-called "Non-Europeans".

Mr. Malindi makes a fundamental mistake in thinking that he can oppose Apartheid and at the same time work its agencies such as the Advisory Boards, segregatory provincial and parliamentary representation. This is a contradictory attitude which can not be explained in terms of logic or political tactics (the section underlined is one of the more important "cuts" made by NEW AGE in the version of my letter published by this paper — they did not state that my letter had been abridged).

In his third question Mr. Malindi wants to know whether I have joined "Swart and Company" by calling those who take part in the elections as traitors. My answer to this question is no. It is Mr. Malindi and his fellow stooges who have joined "Swart and Company" by working Apartheid agencies. In his fourth question Mr. Malindi asks me whether I question the right of the President of the ANC to speak for the Congresses.

His question is absurd. I do not understand how it arises. I have never challenged the right of the President General to speak for the ANC. But I definitely disagree with all those who take part in segregatory elections. These elections only benefit so-called "Europeans" who get elected to the Provincial Council and Parliament without in any way advancing the cause of the liberatory movement. Finally I would like to put a question to Mr. Malindi — Is he perhaps an aspiring parliamentary secretary?

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4. 3. 1958

## THE "AFRICANISTS" IN THE A.N.C.

THE ACTIVITIES OF ALLEGED "AFRICANISTS" IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS RECENTLY CAUSED QUITE A STIR IN THE C.O.D.-CONTROLLED NEWSPAPERS. 'NEW AGE' REPORTS DESCRIBED THE "AFRICANISTS" AS GANGS OF RACIALISTIC HOOLIGANS WHO WERE USING VIOLENCE AT A.N.C. MEETINGS TO CAUSE A SPLIT IN THE ORGANISATION IN ORDER TO INSTAL THEIR OWN LEADERS IN OFFICIAL POSTS. 'FIGHTING TALK' IN OPEN DISCUSSION CARRIED THE VIEWS OF TWO CORRESPONDENTS — ONE DESCRIBES THEM AS "CARBON COPIES OF THE NATIONALISTS", THE OTHER REPLIES "NO! THEY ARE LOYAL CONGRESS MEN OF THE FUTURE."

### NOT THE SAME

The thoughtful and well-reasoned reply of the second correspondent Umlweli, throws much light on the question of "Africanists" in the Congress Movement.

He makes the point that the Nationalism of the "Afrikaner" is not the same as that of the "African" — the first is the

nationalism of an oppressor group whereas the second is that of an oppressed group. Therefore "there is no section of the African National movement which can fairly be compared with this notorious (Nationalist) party.

### "RACIAL ARROGANCE"

He feels that "Afrikaner" Nationalism at one time did play a progressive role in the struggle against Brit-

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# THE "AFRICANISTS" IN THE A.N.C. /CONT.

tish Imperialism, but that today it was "stirring up racial arrogance to extend the selfish privilege of a minority". Its political party, the Nationalist Party, represents the interests of an oppressor group which is "today looked upon with contempt and disgust all over the world". It serves the interests of a "reactionary imperialism" and had the strong smell of Hitler's ideas of a "Herrenvolk".

## FIRST STEP

He regards the Nationalism of the "Africanists" as "basically a hopeful thing" because "it is the first step away from the servile spirit and dumb acceptance of one's lot which are the chief allies of oppression".

The "Africanists" hatred and scorn of so-called "Herrenvolk" is explained as something to be expected from "a people who are humiliated and despised at every turn, who are inculcated in a thousand disgusting ways with the false idea that they are racially inferior". When such a people awaken to political consciousness they "turn naturally, to feelings of national pride and assertiveness".

In his opinion, "however crude and backward the views of some African nationalists may seem to the more advanced section, they nonetheless represent an objectively progressive tendency, which must be educated and brought forward not scorned and driven out".

## "SMELLING OUT"

Mwleli points out that Congress leaders who are criticized for bad leadership by young and enthusiastic Congress members, are only too ready to label such critics as "Africanists" in order to "smear, silence and even expel them". He admits that apart from some of the critics who are loyal Congress men "there is a little intellectual clique which calls itself 'Africanist' and was out to 'capture' the Congress — but ANC was confident that it could deal with them."

He fears, however, that if organisational methods and expulsions were used against "Africanists", "witch-hunting and smelling out would be the order of the day". And "incompetent and unpopular office-bearers, resentful of criticism and anxious to retain their positions, will accuse every critic of disloyalty and 'Africanism' and consequently, "free creative discussion will disappear" and "Congress will dwindle to a narrow sect".

He feels that "patient explanation and persuasion" rather than "harsh and uncomradely methods" should be used to educate and win over those "who, however confusedly, are on our side".

VOL.3 - No.4  
4. 4. 1958

# NKATLO SUPPORTS "AFRICANISTS" STRUGGLE MUST DESTROY COD'S DOMINATION OF A.N.C.

"THE SO-CALLED AFRICANIST MOVEMENT IN THE A.N.C. IS MADE UP OF THOSE IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS' DOMINATION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS," SAID MR. NKATLO IN AN INTERVIEW WITH 'THE CITIZEN'.

## "ESSENTIALLY HEALTHY"

While he did not necessarily agree with many of the ideas current amongst those in the ANC who wish to be rid of COD domination there was no doubt about it in his mind that the existence of

the so-called Africanist movement in ANC reflected a deep going and essentially healthy revolt against outside COD control.

"Far from this movement being made up of an insignificant group

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# NKATLO SUPPORTS "AFRICANISTS" STRUGGLE

continued

of racialists who are assisting the Government to wreck the ANC — as the Coddite journal LIBERATION slanderously declares — it is in the main a movement towards the democratisation of the ANC.

## THE SAME COIN

"True many who are opposed to COD domination are framing their protest in Africanist terms. But their ideas are only the other side of the coin of Coddite baasskap. Having no other ideology than that supplied by the White patrons of COD they have simply turned the ideas of COD baasskap upside down to produce Africanism. Not having been introduced to a truly democratic South African ideology these people could find no other position from which to attack COD domination.

## NO DEMOCRATIC SAY

"COD forces its policies down our throats not only by means of their stooges in ANC but through their newspapers and journals such as NEW AGE, FIGHTING TALK and LIBERATION which COD types exclusively control. These papers parade as Congress papers but the ANC, for example, has no democratic say in the running of these papers, whatever.

## CODDITES HAVE DECLARED WAR

Mr. Nkatlo considered it significant that the Coddite papers have declared war on those whom they describe as "Africanists": "COD is using an old and politically criminal trick, they are trying to completely discredit all those in the ANC who are opposed to their policies and their domination of the Congress movement. We are described as "Africanists, that is as racialists, as enemies of the people and as government agents. Yet they know that there are many people in ANC opposed to their baasskap, who are democrats and, like myself, even socialists.

## LEADERSHIP IMPOSED

"The editorial of the March edition of LIBERATION, for example, declares that those whom they brand as Africanists are crude racialists simply because they want the ANC to be freed of COD domination.

"It demands too that 'members

of Congress give loyal support to the elected leadership' but what must we do when, as in many instances, COD has imposed leaders upon us? The editorial goes further and brands us as a 'contemptible clique of office seekers' who should be thrown out of the ANC. How then should we describe and treat the hired stooges in the ANC who are in the service of COD?

## C.O.D. CHEEK

"Finally the editorial has the cheek to demand that the ANC should no longer tolerate within it groupings with different points of view 'who canvass support for themselves'. In other words we must humbly accept the leadership which COD approves of. What then must we do about the COD members like the Ben Turoks who run around to various ANC members during ANC elections, organise cliques and instruct them as to whom and what to vote for in the ANC?

## "REJECT ALL RACIALISM"

According to Mr. Nkatlo the only way to deal with COD is to reject all racialism and apartheid: "We must completely reject the idea that there should be special organisations of the various so-called racial groups. We cannot accept the apartheid system of Congress in which the bosses in the Congress of Democrats lay down the law for the rest of us in our separate racial kraals. We cannot fight apartheid with apartheid."

## A S.A. ORGANISATION

He was convinced that the ANC as the majority liberatory organisation in Congress and which according to its constitution is open to all South Africans who are opposed to apartheid should reject all racial labels and should demand that all those who accept the basic ideas of the Freedom Charter should join the ANC to build a great liberatory organisation of the whole of the South African people. COD, SACPO and ANC all claim to accept the Freedom Charter. There is no valid reason therefore for their separate existence. I include the Anti-Cad in this demand. Their 10-point programme differs in no important essential from the Freedom Charter. These organisations should be dissolved and their members should be absorbed into the ANC. Those who insist upon being organised into separate racial organisations must be attacked for accepting racialism and apartheid.

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RACIALISM*INFERIOR RACIAL STATUS*

"It does not take much imagination to realise what the feelings are of a man or woman who finds himself or herself demoted to an inferior racial (our emphasis) status... Under ideal circumstances it would not matter whether a man was White, Black, Bronze or Blue, and to change from one to the other would mean little more than changing from an Englishman to an American or a Russian to a Pole. But in South Africa...to be thrust down into the group below (our emphasis) must be almost like losing one's humanity.

Extract from CAPE TIMES Editorial

4. 3.1958

*(HORTH) CULTURAL SUPERIORITY*

We reprint below an extract from one of the 'serious' arguments in favour of apartheid which appeared in the November supplement of the DIGEST OF SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS -- a Government publication issued by the State Information Office.

"It should be pointed out that the Bantu does not assimilate the White man's culture in its entirety. Of this phenomenon there are many examples.

"The South African Bantu, for instance has no interest in flower arrangement, (our emphasis), while he generally accepts the White man's dress habits.

".....This phenomenon has important consequences when the more profound values of the Western way of life are involved."

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13. 1.1958

*NKATLO* ... [CONT. FROM PAGE 105

## NON-SECTARIAN

"According to my conception the ANC should not only be transformed into the liberatory organisation of the whole of the South African people but should demand that all the anti-apartheid tendencies around the NEW AGE, THE TORCH and THE CITIZEN should function around and within the ANC irrespective of their political differences. Of course, it must be left to the membership of the ANC to democratically decide, at each turn, which policy it is going to pursue.

## THE TERM "AFRICAN"

"Lastly the term African as accepted by COD and sections of the South African ruling class must be rejected. To them the term African is a polite term for Native. But the term can only be accepted if it means all those who people the continent of Africa. That is, all the citizens of South Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Egypt, Rhodesia etc. In short we South Africans are also Africans because South Africa is part of the African continent.

VOL.3-NO.5

12. 5.1958



# THE GOLD MINES AND MIGRATORY LABOUR

— BY A CORRESPONDENT

IN AN ARTICLE — "MIGRATORY LABOUR" — IN THE 'FORUM' OF APRIL THIS YEAR, PETER DUMINY STATES THAT THE GOLD MINES "HAVE ALWAYS BEEN DOGGED BY THE NEED FOR SUSTAINED RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGNS TO MAINTAIN THEIR UNSKILLED LABOUR FORCE".

## THE "TWO BELIEFS"

Government policy in 1905 was "dominated by two beliefs": wages must be kept low to prevent the "Native" unskilled workers from going home for long periods; the land available to the "African" must be limited because his ability to live off the land was "contributing handsomely" to the scarcity of unskilled labour.

These "two beliefs" were recommendations of the "Inter-Colonial Commission".

## PERFECTED MIGRATORY SYSTEM

Duminy makes it quite clear that it was the gold mines which "perfected the migratory labour system, in terms of which Africans are recruited, housed in compounds during their spell of employment, and then returned to their rural homes". He quotes the Chamber of Mines as having said in 1944 that the mining industry is absolutely dependent on a labour force of "tribal Natives" from the reserves who can be paid wages "adequate for this class of migratory labour". It admitted that "if the mines were compelled to pay for unskilled labour a wage which would be adequate for a Native living permanently on the Rand, the effect would be catastrophic".

## NOT PEASANTS

This policy was justified by declaring that the mine workers "are actually peasants and are able to subsidise mine wages" by work on the land in the reserves. But Duminy points out that according to a 1946 survey of the Keiskamahoe reserve the sale of produce makes up only 9% of the "total purchasing power" of the community there. The vast bulk of its income came from the men who were working on the mines. He makes it clear that the community was able to purchase nothing but "its basic needs" — the absolute necessities to keep body and soul together. And at the time of the survey it was estimated that mine-workers were earning only £3.11.1 per month! In Duminy's opinion

the reserves "have come to resemble well-spread out residential villages where most families make no more out of the land than the average city dweller pottering in his backyard".

## A NATIONAL PROBLEM

He considers the migratory labour system a "national problem" which will have to be "tackled on a national scale". Duminy observes also that despite the fact that "the largest of the mining houses have made provision in the O.F.S. for as many African families as the Government will permit" that the number of mines which could employ "permanent African employees...at family supporting rates...is limited. He concludes, therefore, that it would be "unfair" to "expect much initiative from the mines themselves" in the abolition of the migratory labour system.

## MISERABLE POVERTY

Mr. Duminy correctly says that "the Union's industries" and its prosperity have developed around the gold mines for whom a continual supply of pauperised cheap labour is essential. He understands too that because of the fixed price of gold that gold mining in South Africa means prosperity and wealth for a small minority and miserable poverty and starvation for the vast majority of the South African nation.

However, he fails to grasp that it is the development of South African Industry (which grew up under the wing of mining and which is able to employ a settled working class at a minimum wage of £1 a day) which will solve the migratory labour system. Industry is, today, the largest contributor to the national income.

## APARTHEID

He fails, also, to point out that the Government's policy of Apartheid is simply a system, which in line with Chamber of Mines policy, guarantees to the mines and farms an adequate supply of pauperised cheap labour. This is done via the Apartheid Pass Laws and Urban Areas Act which forces labour away from industry and the towns. It is the collapse of



# THE GOLD MINES... CONT.

this Chamber of Mines political system which the Nationalist Government is enforcing which will put an end to the Migratory Labour System. This will result in the majority of workers in South Africa being completely integrated into industry and into settled industrial towns.

## A MODERN SOUTH AFRICA

True, gold mining will completely collapse as a major industry in South Africa and farming will have to be mechanised but the development of South African industry, once South Africa has been freed of all Apartheid restrictions, will permit her economy to develop so that she will soon be able to compete in economic prosperity with countries like America, Western Germany and Canada etc.

VOL.3-NO.5  
12. 5.1958

## CHAMBER OF MINES PATRIOTISM

"We South Africans, members of all groups, have all from time to time sinned against the patriotic duty of South Africanism....we have not thought of ourselves primarily as South Africans." (Extract from CAPE TIMES Editorial, "Vote for Sanity", 15.4.1958).

Unfortunately, but inevitably, this admission is not the product of an incipient non-racial tendency in the Chamber of Mines controlled CAPE TIMES but merely a sample of the "South African patriotic" powder with which the editorial liberally dusted the real racial policy of this paper. But the racialism reveals itself: "To the Africans they (the Nationalists) have said: You are members of many tribes, stick to your tribal loyalties. If you are Kosas, leave the Zulus alone. They are not your people. To the Coloured people they have said: You are Coloured; remain Coloured. What are the Malays to you, or the Indians? To the English speaking they have tried to teach the habit of self-conscious Englishness..."

Clearly the editorial's objection is not to the division of the nation into a relatively privileged "White" minority, an oppressed "African" majority and an intermediate "group" of "Christian Coloureds", "Malay Coloureds" and "Indians". It opposes only the Nationalists' "passion for sub-division" (our emphasis): their "splitting" of the three main "groupings" into "new species and sub-species".

The CAPE TIMES must accept and perpetuate racialism because the economic interests of the Chamber of Mines requires the existence of a mass of pauperised cheap labour forced to work in its gold mines for three shillings a day. (This is the essential requirement of the goldmining industry: The low

grade ore yielded by the majority of the mines and the fixed international price of gold would cripple the industry if it were to employ "unskilled" labour at a higher rate of pay).

Only the Colour Bar system with its coercive racialist apparatus can maintain an adequate supply of pauperised labour to the mines and, secondarily, also to the farms. Thus the "South African patriotism" of the CAPE TIMES exists only to screen the real fountainhead of oppression in South Africa — the Chamber of Mines.

It was British Imperialism — through the Chamber of Mines — not Afrikaner Nationalism which constructed the Colour Bar system; Imperialism drove the "Bantu" tribalist off the land to slave in the mines; British Imperialism defeated the "Afrikaners" and trained in them the spirit of vicious racialism — which characterises the Nationalist Party today — to transform them into the Gestapo and press gang men of the Chamber of Mines and, finally, it was British Imperialism which constructed the Colour Bar political machinery, to maintain the migratory labour system and to enforce the Colour Bar generally, so as to enjoy in "peace" the gains of its South African wars — the exploitation of a vast mass of cheap labour in the gold mines.

It was not an accidental "habit of separatist thought" which created Apartheid, as the CAPE TIMES



editorial declares, but British Imperialism's insatiable greed for profit which, as the CAPE TIMES well knows, created the vile "habit of separate thought".

Gold mining, today, has no progressive role whatsoever to play in the further development of the South African economy. It is a completely parasitic industry maintained only at the expense of the development of the viable section of our economy — secondary industry. So effete are its bosses in the Chamber of Mines that they cannot even curb the lunatic racialist extremes of the Nationalists — their agents — who are provocatively goading the nation to the most extremist solutions.

As to the Nationalist Party, although nowadays largely the creatures of the Chamber of Mines, we must not forget that Afrikaner Nationalism has a history of militant struggle against British Imperial domination. And although defeated and corrupted, its anti-Imperialist spirit has never been completely eradicated. A living symbol of this is the existence and amazing development of secondary industry — today the largest contributor to the national income: It was under the aegis of Afrikaner Nationalist policy that industry — despite Chamber of Mines opposition — was developed. And it is this development which is undermining the very basis of the domination of the Chamber of Mines economic interests, as well as the political domination of Afrikaner "Nationalism" and Apartheid.

The objective necessity for the further development of industry is the complete abolition of the Colour Bar and the establishment of a democratic South African republic. However, our industrialist class is too weak-kneed and cowardly to realise such a demand. But industry has created in South Africa a modern industrial working class. The representatives of this class alone will be able to create and disseminate an ideology of South African patriotism in which spirit the nation will march forward to clear away, forever, all the old racial, political and social muck which is blocking the processes of our development. And to achieve this it will be necessary, it seems to us, to wipe off the face of the earth not only the sort of "South African patriotism" propagated by reactionary racialists like the CAPE TIMES but also, in the camp of the oppressed, the emasculating doctrines of "Multi-racialism" and "Non-Europeanism".

Editorial  
VOL. 3 - NO. 5  
12. 5. 1958

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## INDUSTRY ATTACKS COMMERCE ANNOYED AT OPPOSITION TO PROTECTION

"JUST WHERE DOES ORGANISED COMMERCE STAND IN RELATION TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA," ASKS THE EDITORIAL OF THE 'MANUFACTURER' OF FEBRUARY, 1958. IT DECLARES THAT IT IS "PROMPTED TO ASK THIS QUESTION" BECAUSE OF THE "CONFLICT IN THINKING" BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF COMMERCE AND THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF ORGANISED COMMERCE IN REGARD TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Recently E.P. Bradlow, Chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee of the Association of Commerce, spoke for the need to develop industry in South Africa. However, the official policy of the Association of Commerce is against tariff protection for industry.

The editorial also points out that "organised commerce" has advised the Government to "ensure that the cost of labour to agriculture and mining is kept to a minimum" by restricting the development of industry.

Quoting E.P. Bradlow's statement that "South Africa in future shall have to depend to a far greater extent on second industry (than mining or agriculture) for

(Cont. at bot. of Page 110)

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# CONTROL BOARDS KEEP PRICES UP

THERE IS HARDLY A SINGLE ITEM OF FARM PRODUCE WHICH IS NOT COVERED BY A CONTROL BOARD. INCREASING COMPLAINTS ARE BEING MADE THAT THESE CONTROL BOARDS SERVE ONLY TO KEEP UP THE PRICES OF GOODS.

The Control Boards help to keep down competition amongst farmers by buying farm produce in bulk whereas when the farmers take their goods to market themselves all farm produce would tend to fall in price as a result of competition and the consumer would benefit.

There are control boards for citrus fruit, deciduous fruit, grain, wheat, dairy produce, wool, dried fruit etc.

## WAGES, BONUSES, CONCESSIONS

The wage bill for the Meat Control Board alone was £502,000 during the year 1953-4. Staff bonuses amounted to £77,000 and railway concessions to £13,000.

Bills for the cleaning of headquarters, laundry, protective clothing and for maintaining a fleet of motor vehicles came to £9,700.

To keep up prices in South Africa the various boards are prepared to export produce overseas where it is often sold for less than obtained on the South African market.

The Egg Control Board, alone, had lost almost £500,000 on its exports and was £100,000 in debt.

## DUMPING ORANGES

The control boards buy the crops before they are harvested. In fact they decide whether crops should be harvested or not and so prevent "a glut" on the market and a drop in price for the farmer. Under this system fruit which might otherwise have been sold cheaply is left to rot on the trees.

From the Port Elizabeth area it was reported that oranges were thrown to the elephants in the Addo bush while in Durban they were dumped into the sea.

## "A NICE PROFIT"

There has been much criticism of corruption and "speculation" in the operations of the control boards.

Mr. H.C. Warren (Chairman of the Border Farmers League at Stutterheim) accused the control boards of speculating with farmers produce "out of which it made a nice profit".

Many feel that it is a disgrace that the consumers, the majority of whom are earning pauper wages, should be called upon to pay very high prices for food so as to guarantee the farmer a high level of profit and maintain the expensive and parasitic control boards whose job is to rob the public of the benefits of cheap farm produce.

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4. 3.1958

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# INDUSTRY ATTACKS COMMERCE [CONT.]

economic progress" the MANUFACTURER observes that the official policy of Commerce is opposed to this.

It further declared that "industry which represents the largest earning and the largest spending power in the country and which supplies commerce with more than 75% of all goods it sells" has shown "that the development of South Africa and Industry are interdependent."

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# COMMERCE DEMANDS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT WANTS LABOUR FREED TO ENTER ALL SPHERES OF INDUSTRY

IN A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE 55TH CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATIONS OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AT BLOEMFONTEIN, RECENTLY, MR. E.P. BRADLOW, CHAIRMAN OF THE ECONOMIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, CONSIDERED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK FACING SOUTH AFRICA IS TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF ITS "NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION".

He observed that "history demonstrates that poverty is the cause of social unrest and that nations with high living standards tend to enjoy stable political conditions."

## ENLARGING NATIONAL INCOME

"Our real problem, however, is not to redivide but to enlarge our national income and in order to do this we must increase our supplies of capital equipment."

He emphasised that to do this South Africa should obtain capital from advanced countries like America. While he did not say that industrial development in South Africa could not take place without foreign aid, he emphasised that if South Africa had to depend entirely upon her own resources for industrial development, it would have to adopt a policy of producing "machines instead of butter" with considerable "suffering to many people".

## THE U.S.A. AND U.S.S.R.

"If you wish to understand the advantages a developing country gains from foreign loans you have only to contrast the history of the Soviet Union and that of the United States of America. The Soviet Union almost unaided created a great industrial state, but only by imposing on its people such hardships that a ruthless dictatorship was necessary to prevent them from revolting. The United States, on the other hand, by borrowing from abroad was able to maintain high standards whilst transforming itself; in a comparatively short time, from a backward country into the most wealthy nation of the world. If we are to reconcile economic growth with political liberty, we must follow the path of the United States".

## MORE LABOUR FOR INDUSTRY

He felt that if capital was not coming to South Africa it was because "we are not able to maintain here for any length of time that atmosphere of dynamic progress which always attracts money." He was critical of restrictions on credit in South Africa and was confident "that we cannot make

continuous economic progress unless we increase our labour force. He pointed out that without "adequate supplies of labour" even if adequate supplies of overseas capital were to become available to us "industry would not be able to advance very far."

In regard to this he observed that the "non-European" population was, today, the only source of additional manpower for industry. He quoted figures showing that "non-Europeans" employed in secondary industry increased from approximately 476,000 in 1950 to approximately 600,000 in 1955. "Non-Europeans should be admitted to every sphere in which European labour is not available... If Africans are now to be prevented by legal restrictions from entering certain industries, no expansion of our economy will be possible in the immediate future."

"The choice before us is whether to remain a semi-colonial country or to develop into a great industrial state. The advanced nations of the world do not squander a large proportion of their labour resources in domestic service. In the United States of America a servant is an anachronism."

While he did not explicitly say that a large proportion of our labour resources was being wasted on the gold mines and farming he did observe that "in the past a considerable part of our development has taken place in the sphere of mining and agriculture, but in the future, we shall have to depend to a far greater extent on secondary industry for economic progress... In finding the hands to make refrigerators we will also find the feet to wear the shoes produced by our shoe manufacturers."

He ended his speech with these words: "This is not a time for hesitancy and fear. We are at that tide in our affairs which taken at the flood will lead us to fortune. If we can solve the labour problem we will secure for all the inhabitants of this country a long period of peace and prosperity."



# THE SUGAR CANE WORKERS OF NATAL

BY OUR NATAL CORRESPONDENT

WORKERS ON THE SUGAR CANE PLANTATIONS OF NATAL ARE WORSE OFF THAN FARM LABOURERS ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE UNION. A THREE MONTHS TOUR OF THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS OF NATAL CONVINCED ME OF THIS. I HAVE TRAVELLED THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THE UNION BUT ON NO OTHER FARM HAVE I SEEN SUCH MISERY, SUCH SQUALOR, SUCH DEGRADATION AND SUCH POVERTY.

## £3 A MONTH

Even the bad conditions on the farms of "Afrikaner Nationalists" in the Free State and Transvaal were better than those on the sugar cane farms of the "liberal English" of Natal. Transvaal and Free State farmers provide their workers with some sort of nourishment — workers on the sugar cane plantations starve.

The average wage of sugar cane workers is £3 per month plus a half sugar bag of mealie-meal which the farmer expects should last the labourer and his family for two weeks. This is the only 'food' with which he is provided — not even salt or sugar is given to go with the mealie-meal.

After the first week the mealie-meal ration is used up and the workers family is now expected to make ends meet on his starvation wages.

At one of the farms I visited where sugar-cane farming was combined with pig-keeping and dairying, the farmer thought more of his pigs than of his workers. The pigs were fed on skimmed milk but the workers had to pay for every drop they drank.

## "NOT A FARTHING EXTRA"

A foreman who holds a very responsible position on the farm gets £10 per month in wages — and then the owner of the farm complains that his money is "being wasted on high wages"!

On their starvation wages it is impossible for workers to buy clothes. These have to be made from old sugar bags.

When Liberal Party organisers started a campaign for better wages for farm workers, angry sugar-cane farmers held meetings at which they declared that "the trouble-makers will not get us to pay our workers a farthing extra".

## BEATEN BY POLICE

Working conditions are terrible. In the blazing hot sun workers toil from sunrise to sunset. Working hours are supposed to be from 7 a.m. to 5 a.m. but at 6.30 a.m. the bell is rung for the working day to begin and as no one dare ask the farmer whether it is time to stop, work usually continues long after 5.

The farm worker is treated like a beast of burden and a potential criminal. In one district where a farmer's bicycle had been stolen, all the workers were rounded up by the police, taken to the local police station and beaten up to get information and "confessions". Some were kept locked up for two and three days before being released. They were not paid for the days when they were locked up.

Under such degraded and inhuman conditions it is no wonder that these workers are without any spirit. Many have lost the will to live — recently there were a number of cases in which whole families have committed suicide rather than live through such terrible con-

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# N.A.D. AGENTS FOR CHEAP FARM LABOUR

## POLICE ACT AS PRESS GANG

"IT HAS NOW BEEN ADMITTED IN COURT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE COLLABORATE WITH THE NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO ENSURE THAT WHITE FARMERS GET THEIR CHEAP LABOUR," WRITES JAMES FAIRBAIRN IN THE 'NEW STATESMAN' (16th Nov. 1957).

His article, "The Case of Nelson Langa" is a further startling exposure of the forced labour system in the Bethal farming area attacked by Michael Scott 10 years ago.

### COLLABORATION KNOWN

Lawyers who opposed the mass of oppressive laws directed at the majority of South Africans had "known of this collaboration since General Smuts's day, but have hitherto been unable to prove it in court".

NELSON LANGA, a Johannesburg street cleaner was stopped by "ghost squad" police for his pass while still carrying his cleaner's broom. He was arrested despite his explanation that street cleaners did not carry their passes for fear of losing or dirtying them. He produced his municipal disc instead.

According to Langa's sworn statement, "the police had hitherto always accepted such discs as proof of legitimate employment".

His protests were ignored at several police stations. Finally he ended up in the private jail of a large farm in Bethal.

### NO POLICE RECORD

Nelson's cousin consulted a lawyer, but no police record could be found of Nelson's arrest and charge. It was privately discovered where he was.

"An application for habeas corpus against the farmer was made" and at the judge's request, "a writ was also served on the Native Affairs Department, who claimed in court that Nelson had come to them to volunteer for farm work. The judge listened to both sides then freed Nelson".

## THE CANE WORKERS

continued  
tions.

In my conversation with many farm workers, it became quite clear that the people in the country-side are looking to the cities for help - for knowledgeable men and women to assist in organising them to struggle for better wages and working conditions. VOL.3-NO.1 (13.1.1958)

He was released only because his cousin was in possession of his pass, "thus enabling his attorney to prove that Nelson was already in legal employment".

### N.A.D. CIRCULAR

The hearing for costs revealed that Langa's forced labour contract with the Bethal farmer was signed by a Native Affairs Department official who had in fact also acted as the employer's agent.

"In defence of this procedure the Native Affairs Department produced in court an extraordinary administrative circular of 1954." This circular from the Secretary for Native Affairs revealed that there was an agreement between him, the Department of Justice and the Commissioner of the South African Police, under which those arrested for not having passes are not charged at the police station but passed on to the Native Affairs Department.

It stated;

"The Natives must be offered such employment as is available in rural areas. Priority should be given to farm labour in this connection. Natives who on account of their declining to accept employment are not realised but returned to the South African Police for prosecution."

The case of Nelson Langa proved the correctness of a statement on the Pass Laws in the Union made by Mr. Julius Lewin (an authority on Native Law), in 1954, that "if any African walking down an urban street were arrested a capable prosecutor could convict on some charge".

According to Fairbairn "more than 600,000 Africans spent at least one night in jail on pass offence charges during last year", this figure did not include "the tens of thousands who accepted farm labour". VOL.3-NO.1 (13.1.58)



# INTELLECTUAL REVOLT THREATENS IN U.S.S.R.

"RUSSIA'S PRESENT LEADERS MAY FIND THE SPREAD OF EDUCATION A MIXED BLESSING," STATES AN ARTICLE ON SOVIET EDUCATION WHICH APPEARED IN THE 'ECONOMIST'.

The article declares that, with the rapidly growing numbers of the educated people in the Soviet Union, there are increasing signs that intellectuals in Russia are becoming more reluctant to accept the mental straight-jacketing imposed by the Khrushchev regime.

## STUDENT UNREST

This first showed itself after the death of Stalin when the government was compelled to refine his (Stalin's) crude methods of propaganda and control, because "these were no longer suitable for the more sophisticated tastes of the new educated classes".

But the worst indication of dissatisfaction was a year ago "when a wave of restlessness among the Soviet students coincided with the Hungarian insurrection".

Khrushchev threatened to have the 'agitators' expelled and warned them that, "many people in industry would be only too glad to inherit their privileged position".

## A THREAT TO THE REGIME

The article considers that the revolt of the intellectuals is only a question of time — "the methods of threats and rewards will not hold them forever". How long would it be possible for "the ever swelling ranks of the educated" to "accept barrackroom discipline and the canons of political conformity?"

The growing restlessness in the ranks of the educated did not appear to justify Khrushchev's "apparent confidence" in the future of his regime. For "Russia's cultural revolution is a threat to the regime itself".

VOL.3 - NO.1  
13. 1.1958

# KHRUSCHEV'S SHOOTING TRICK

EARLY LAST SUMMER RUSSIAN WRITERS WERE REPORTED TO HAVE GIVEN THEIR RULERS QUITE A HEADACHE BY REFUSING TO TOE THE PARTY LINE. PARTY SECRETARY KHRUSCHEV IS SAID, HOWEVER, TO HAVE FOUND THE ANSWER TO THIS PROBLEM.

## WOULD NOT TREMBLE

Addressing a gathering of troublesome writers, Khrushchev announced: "If the Hungarian Government had shot a few of the Hungarian writers they wouldn't have run into that trouble. I might remark that in a case like that my hand would not tremble."

According to the report in the OBSERVER he had got the writers together on two occasions before that to bring them to heel by persuasion and exhortation. But it was only the reference to shooting that finally did the trick.

## "BUTCHER OF HUNGARY"

In Stalin's life-time Khrushchev was called the "Butcher of the Ukraine" because of the bloody part he had played in the massacre of the Ukrainians. He is also reported to have been personally responsible for the execution of one of his most dangerous rivals, Beria, chief of the Secret Police, after Stalin's death. Beria is said to have been shot through the back of his neck in Khrushchev's office.

Since the bloody suppression of the Hungarian uprising by the U.S.S.R. he has earned himself a new title: the "Butcher of Hungary".

VOL.3 - NO.5  
12. 5.1958



**Collection Number: AD1715**

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation*

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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