

THE FORGOTTEN FAMILIES.

What happens to the wives and children of South Africa's
thousands of political prisoners?

At the southern end of Africa is the Cape - that most fairest of all Capes, as a Portuguese explorer once said - which was first called the Cape of Storms. Then it was renamed the Cape of Good Hope. Today it is known just as 'the Cape', the bottom of a great continent, but a better name for it would be the Cape of Despair.

Two or three miles off the Cape is a small island, Robben Island, a penal colony. Lying on the incomparably beautiful beaches around the Cape, or from one of the homes that trail up the sides of Table Mountain, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ if your eyes can stand the dazzle of sunlight on the sea, you can look at Robben Island and think of the thousands of political prisoners, writers, artists, workers, lawyers, teachers, endlessly breaking stones on this tiny island swept by the seas.

But I am not writing about the men on Robben Island; I am writing about the families of the political prisoners, the wives and parents and children scattered all over the Republic of South Africa. There ~~is~~^{are} an estimated eight to ten thousand political prisoners in South Africa today, and nobody knows how many dependants - forty or fifty thousand, for most have large families.

Two years ago a newspaper in Port Elizabeth - where there has been a political 'purge' with continuous arrests - carried this report: "The most touching aspect of the arrest of three hundred-odd Africans on political charges in the Port Elizabeth area is the great distress and hardship suffered by the mothers and close on 1,000 children . . . As most of these political widows and orphans trudge up and down the city and townships, seeking shelter, food, clothes, medical care and comfort, they wonder at the lack of sympathy and response. The disappearance of their husbands seems to have brought them to the end of the world. Many mothers have no less than 5 minor children, and some have 7 to 9. Some children have nobody to look after them. They fend

for themselves. In one home the young woman was arrested last year; her small children aged 2, 3 and 4 years remained in the custody of her mother. The old woman had to care for her own five children and the 3 grandchildren.

"Then the worst happened. The old woman was arrested. All her children and the 3 grandchildren were stranded; the 17-year-old daughter had to take charge of the family, without money . . .

"Four children have been without their mother for more than a year. She was arrested and after many months charged; then released, and re-arrested . . . "

Since this article was written, two years ago, political arrests and trials have continued in an endless stream. Today there are about 1,000 political prisoners from this area alone, with at least 5,000 dependants, most in desperate need.

Who cares for them? Until March of 1966, some assistance was given through a voluntary organisation, the Defence and Aid Fund. Then the Government declared it an unlawful organisation under the Suppression of Communism Act - in other words, banned it on the accusation that its work 'furthered the aims of communism.' The Defence and Aid Fund had provided money for the legal defence of political prisoners, and had established a Welfare Committee that tried to track down and care for some of their families. It paid rents, provided a little milk and soup powder, and sometimes a few pounds a month. Here is how a journalist, writing in July of 1965, described the plight of these families:

"There is 21 year old Josie Nonyaniso who was left to look after five small brothers and sisters when her parents were jailed (her father for eight years and her mother for 4½,) earlier this year. Josie's own husband died in March, and she has a baby of her own.

"There is Mrs. Philemon Khunge who alone has to care for 11 children. Her mother (sentenced to 4½ years) left her with nine; her husband (nine years jail) left her with two. The only sister who might have been able to help is also in jail for being

a member of the African National Congress.

"The catalogue of hardships, even among people accustomed to hardship, is long. And the tales of tragedy are frequent - such as the one Grandfather Mali told. His son, Freddie, had been sentenced to 8 years last November, and Freddie's wife got 7 years the following April. They had four children aged 11, 9, 7 and 3, whom the grandparents took into their home. But the cost of supporting the children proved too heavy for the ageing grandparents and they fell behind with their rent. They were evicted from their home and had to send the children away to relatives. Soon after, the youngest fell ill and died."

At that time the Defence and Aid Fund was still legal. It paid for a pauper's funeral for the baby, but no one knew if the parents were even informed of their baby's death.

In theory, once a man has been convicted and sent to prison, his family is eligible for State assistance at the rate of £1.10 a month. In practice even this miserable amount is hardly ever paid, and in any case the families are terrified to approach the authorities. Once a man has been convicted and imprisoned, his family may lose the right to live in the townships, and hundreds have already been 'endorsed out' - this means they are forced to leave what home and possessions they have, and go and live in some remote reserve area, where there is little work and no hope of assistance.

In the struggle to keep alive, there is no money for extras. That means there is no money to pay for children's school fees, school clothing and textbooks (white children get free schooling and textbooks, but other races must pay.) So many of the children cannot attend school. There is no money to assist the man in jail - large numbers of the prisoners wish to study, but who can pay for their study courses and the books they need? There is no money for the wives to visit their husbands; they are allowed one visit every six months, but some of them live a thousand miles away from Robben Island, and the majority of them cannot afford the fare.

Many of the prisoners who went to jail for long periods had only one wish - 'educate my children.' Vuyisile Mini, a trade union leader sentenced to death, said before his execution: "I don't care about myself. What bothers me is my wife and children. Who will look after them and who is going to educate my children . . . my dearest wish was that they would get educated and have opportunities I never had."

Elias Motsoaledi was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia child. He left a wife and seven children (his wife was also arrested, but after five months in jail without being charged she was released.) He also had only one wish: "educate my children." The last news to come out of Johannesburg was that Mrs. Motsoaledi was destitute and begging for food, unable to support her family.

Those families whose menfolk were sentenced to comparatively short terms of imprisonment - 2, 3 or 4 years - at least lived those years with foreseeable hope. And as the term of sentence came to an end, they began to prepare for the day when the prisoner would return to his home. But now a new and unspeakably cruel act took place. The accused, who have served their sentence, are not released. They are re-arrested and charged with the same crime, and sentenced again to greatly increased terms of imprisonment. For example, a man who has served two years for being a member of the banned African National Congress, is re-charged, this time with 'furthering the aims' of the Congress, collecting subscriptions, and attending a meeting - and he is sentenced to a total of 9 more years, 3 years on each count. Or a man who served 2 years for leaving the country illegally is now charged with leaving the country for the purpose of getting military training - and is re-sentenced, this time for 12 years.

Thus the bitterness of disappointment is added to the bitterness of hunger, poverty and loneliness.

In December 1963 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary General to seek ways and means to assist victims of apartheid in South Africa. In October 1964 the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid asked for

donations to various funds, and four or five Governments have responded with small amounts (the largest, £35,000, being from Sweden.) Money that is given to the Defence and Aid Fund in Britain cannot now be sent direct to Defence and Aid in South Africa, as it no longer exists, but it is being distributed to families through other channels. Hope still lives, because there are still people in South Africa in whom humanity and reason burn, who defy persecution and risk victimisation to assist the families of political prisoners.

Let us not forget them. One day the thousands on penal Robben Island will return at last to their homes. Will they find that people in their own country, and people throughout the world, remembered their families during the long years of suffering and incarceration, and sent them comfort, assistance, hope? Let us not betray them. We must find a way of sending aid to their families until the day comes once again when those approaching the southernmost portion of Africa will say truthfully: "This is the Cape of Good Hope."

ends.

Ceteka
14/9/66

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW STRONG MAN

by Hilda Bernstein.

The man chosen as South Africa's new Prime Minister, Johannes Balthazar Vorster, has described himself as 'the Commander in South Africa's cold war against communism.' The cold war is extended to all 'liberalists and humanists' - in fact to all who publicly oppose apartheid.

Like Verwoerd, Vorster is notorious for supporting the Nazi cause during World War 2. He was a 'General' in a pro-fascist group, the Ossewa-Brandwag, which engaged in acts of sabotage against South Africa's war effort. 'We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism,' declared 'General' Vorster in 1942. 'You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism, and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism.' He exhorted his followers to 'Think with your blood!' and in 1963 as Minister of Justice declared: 'There are times in a nation's history when not only reason must speak but blood as well - and that time is now.'

Vorster was arrested in September 1942 under emergency regulations and detained in an internment camp for fourteen months. Although the conditions of his detention were surprisingly lenient, the experience was for some reason unbearable to him; he refers to it time and again with unrestrained bitterness, using it to justify all the imprisonments without trial that he has inflicted on others. 'It was done to me,' is his attitude, and this is his answer to the torture and brutality his henchmen inflict on prisoners.

When he became Minister of Justice in 1961 he made this memorable statement: 'All rights are now getting out of hand.' From that time onwards he took to himself increasingly strong powers to control rights. 'There will be no half-measures. The gloves are off - it is a fight to the finish.' He placed more and more powers in the hands of the police to check 'the forces of destruction.' Month after month the press headlined his statements: VORSTER DEMANDS JAIL WITHOUT TRIAL . . . VORSTER SEEKS GREATER POWERS . . . NEW VORSTER BILL STUNS LAWYERS. This last referred to the Act which

gave him sweeping powers for imprisonment without trial, the 90-day law, later withdrawn to be replaced by the 180-day law. When asked how long he could hold people without trial, Vorster replied: 'This side of eternity.' A South African newspaper described him as one of the world's most powerful men, with unrestrained authority to have any man, woman or child imprisoned indefinitely.

Under Vorster, the Security Branch - the political arm of the police - grew to dramatic size (the staff was trebled in the first six months of 1963). They perfected their methods of interrogation and soon complaints of torture became too insistent to be ignored. Vorster denied them, until affidavits were handed in to Parliament, when he declared 'The mountain has laboured to bring forth a mouse. I shall investigate that mouse.' Later he said not a single incident of torture had been proved - 'we have no shred of evidence.' The following month, in the face of irrefutable evidence, he told Parliament that ONLY 49 complaints of assault or torture on 90-day prisoners had been received. He asked the police to investigate; they did, and declared themselves innocent.

When four policemen were convicted in a criminal case for the death by horrible torture of an African suspected of petty theft, Vorster accused those who brought the matter up of wanting to chop off the hands of ~~the~~ ^{the} police.

While Verwoerd built up an image of himself as a kind but aloof father-figure, divinely motivated and backed, Vorster makes no attempt to conceal his aims. Verwoerd's massive self-assurance never deserted him. He once stated: 'I do not have the nagging doubt of ever wondering whether, perhaps, I am wrong.' Vorster sometimes appears uncertain of what he is doing, but he is a harsh and brutal man who revels in power. As Minister of Justice he destroyed the freedom of the judiciary and turned South Africa completely into a police state.

Why was he chosen as Prime Minister? Each succeeding South African Prime Minister, from 1948 when the Nationalist Party first came to power, has presented an increasingly reactionary and intransigent face to the world. Malan seemed almost liberal when

succeeded by Strijdom; and when Strijdom died, Verwoerd represented the most extreme element in the Nationalist Party. Vorster, in turn, may make Verwoerd seem almost moderate in retrospect.

The truth is that the fundamental flaw in carrying out apartheid policy in South Africa demands ever harsher measures. South Africa can abandon apartheid, but cannot moderate it. The flaw is that it consists of a political superstructure patterned on segregation ~~which~~ which rests on an economic base of integration. This integration, in spite of all policies, in spite of all laws, increases steadily. Not even Dr. Verwoerd, with all his bland assurance and belief in his rightness, could reconcile the contradictions arising from this.

Apartheid is unworkable; and as its inconsistencies assert themselves, new compulsions arise to eliminate them, so that it becomes more extreme, more oppressive. Outwardly the country remains calm because of two factors: economic prosperity, and the massive powers of the Security police.

Vorster comes to power at a time when apartheid, in addition, is changing in significance. It is no longer simply the internal policy of repression of South Africa, but a great issue involving Southern Africa as a white-controlled bloc of nations, posing a common problem for the rest of Africa and the world; and target of its combined hostility. The Rhodesian crisis has revealed the international role of apartheid. Rhodesia is an essential part of the last-ditch stand in defence of colonialism in Africa. With South Africa and Portugal, Rhodesia constitutes a powerful reactionary alliance with aggressive intentions. The tremendous military power of South Africa, built up in the past few years, has changed the nature of this alliance.

White supremacy is enormously profitable. This explains Britain's reluctance to break the illegal Smith regime, and the World Court's extraordinary decision on South-West Africa. Apartheid as an idea is repudiated by the whole world; but as a fact it is expanding - it has already expanded to cover Rhodesia and South-West Africa, and economically it is also embracing Bechuanaland and Basutoland, soon due for ξ 'self-government', for these

countries have no hope of economic viability and will become part of the apartheid economy.

Apart from the United States and Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, West Germany and Japan are among the countries that profit most from white supremacy. West Germany plays an important role. Krupp recently invested £12½ million in Angolan iron mines. West Germany and the United States are the biggest suppliers of arms to Portugal. France, Belgium and Italy supply jet planes and other major arms to South Africa, ignoring the arms embargo call of the United Nations.

It is in the light of these facts that the death of Verwoerd and accession of Vorster must be examined. Vorster will pursue the same policy of maintaining white supremacy at all costs and of strengthening South Africa's alliances with Portugal and Rhodesia. But there is too little of the velvet glove over his mailed fist, and this may make it increasingly difficult for those powers that attack apartheid verbally to continue to support it economically. In the event of the appearance of any instability within South Africa - a change in the flourishing economy, for instance, or some civil disturbance - Vorster is less likely to attract confidence from foreign investors. In that case, the isolation of the white supremacists of Southern Africa would become a reality and their downfall a possibility.

Under Vorster, while internal oppression must increase, externally this will become more obvious and difficult to condone. He will face increasing pressures from within his own party to make fewer concessions to world opinion and to spend less on the so-called Bantu 'homelands', on African housing and education.

In the long run, the removal of Verwoerd in so sudden and dramatic a fashion may open the way to large cracks in the granite wall of apartheid policy.

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CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Hilda Bernstein

They are not called 'concentration camps' - that is too emotive a title. The government calls them 'rural settlements' or 'transit camps'. The name is not important. What is important is that the facts about these camps should be uncovered and made known to the world.

In a debate in the South African parliament, the House of Assembly, in February of this year, the Minister of Bantu Administration described the establishment of what he said were 'twenty-four rural African settlements to house families or individuals unable to obtain a livelihood in white areas, e.g. pensioners and families which cannot be accommodated in white areas but whose breadwinners can be employed in such areas'. Behind these few words lies one of the grim processes of the enforcement of apartheid, which involves uprooting people and the removal of tens of thousands from their homes in urban areas to the backward tribal reserves.

Two years ago the South African Institute of Race Relations (which is mainly a research organisation publishing information concerning racial attitudes and policies) collected information about the first 'transit camp' to be established at a place called Mount Coke in the African reserve area of the Ciskei. The report said that Mount Coke and other camps had been set up as a result of pressure from magistrates who were alarmed at the number of homeless elderly Africans appearing before the courts. Most of these old people had been ejected from white farms when they could no longer work, and were then refused permission to live with sons and daughters in the towns - part of the horrifying process of apartheid which denies the rights even of husbands and wives to live together in many circumstances. In despair, these destitute and homeless people built little shacks on commonages until removed by the police.

Mount Coke was established as a camp to house them until some permanent settlement could be built. In a month there were 250 people living in wooden huts and the numbers increased as the old people took in their grandchildren and sometimes sons and daughters.

A few of the aged inhabitants were able to get old age pensions (£1.10.0 a month for Africans over 65 - these pensions are not paid to all, but only those who can prove no other means of support from relatives or other means); most had no income at all. When the dire poverty of these people became known, various charitable organisations collected clothing, blankets and other essentials. Skimmed milk and some protein food was supplied to children under 16.

It then became known that there were many other such camps, and a full list was supplied to parliament in February this year, where something like 50,000 men, women and children are living. But then new information came to light. The International Defence and Aid Fund in London received (by indirect means) letters from a number of former political prisoners, men who had served sentences and been released from jail. The letters described how, after being released from jail the ex-prisoners were 'endorsed out' of the towns (this means their passes were given an endorsement prohibiting them from living in the towns where they were born and had worked all their lives) and sent to camps in remote areas, where as one man said 'there are no factories, no shops and no offices where one could find oneself a job.' 'No one could live a decent life here,' wrote another former prisoner. And a third: 'We have been cut off from streets, from cultural activities, even from proper postal services..there is a scarcity of work...I have an acute shortage of food and no money.'

It now appears there are different categories of people sent to the camps. Some are, as the Minister says, 'displaced persons'; these are Africans who are no longer wanted on the white farms where they have grown old in the service of white masters, and other aged Africans who are being ordered out of the urban areas (This is in pursuance of a policy of ordering elderly and inform Africans out of the towns to rural areas or tribal reserves.)

This is in line with the government's avowed policy that Africans are tolerated in the towns only as workers, and when they are no longer able to work, they must go. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration stated in April: 'The Bantu (meaning the African people of South Africa) should come to the white areas for no other reason than to convert their labour into cash.' (It should be noted that 'white areas' constitute 87 per cent of all South Africa, including all the urban and industrialised areas, the tribal reserves being less than 13 per cent of the whole country).

As for those born in the 'white areas', that is, in the towns, Dr. Verwoerd laid down the policy in 1957 when he told parliament: 'Our attitude is that when the Native is employed in the white area (that is, the urban area) - even if he has been here for one or two generations - then he is here in the service of the white man whose territory it is. They are there as long as they are employed there.'

In accordance with this policy, the workers whose ability to work is finished are thrown out into the camps.

The next category in the camps are the political prisoners, who having been sentenced and served their sentence, now find themselves in effect sentenced to a living death. As part of the campaign of terror and intimidation against opponents of apartheid, the police and Department of Bantu Administration are inflicting this punishment not only on the men, but on their wives, children and other dependents and even on friends and relations, many of whom are simply 'endorsed out' and sent to the camps.

The largest category of camp-dwellers are men, women and children who have been 'endorsed out' - sent out - of the urban areas because they fail to meet the requirements of the conditions imposed on them. Some have lost a job, or cannot produce proof of how long they have lived in the towns or where they were born. Others are called 'idle or undesirable Africans'. In the definition of 'undesirable' are now included Africans convicted of a variety of political offences, including those known, or thought to have been, members of the banned African National Congress or the Pan Africanist Congress.

In 1965, 86,186 Africans were endorsed out of nine urban areas. Last year, the Minister recently stated, there were no figures as statistics were no longer kept.

The 24 rural transit camps stand as the grim prospect that now awaits tens of thousands of unfortunate people who live under the shadow of the government's ceaseless drive to remove ~~unwanted~~ unwanted Africans from urban areas. The camps are being enlarged to accomodate the steady flow of discarded men and women, the discharged political offenders, their woves and children, and thousands more. Most have no work. There may be a little work on irrigation schemes, or as farm labourers; nothing else. One man wrote: 'In many respects I find prison life better than life in this place.'

The 24 camps are 'out of bounds' to whites, and they are not open to inspection. The Press is excluded from the areas, and no one can make an independent enquiry into the conditions. Only by devious means can those in the camps let anyone outside know what the conditions of their lives are in these remote and scattered places. But it is in the interests of humanity that the South African government should be called upon to disclose complete information about these camps and to allow investigators to visit them. And the truth must be made known and revealed as the outcome of the cruelties of the system of apartheid.

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THE ARUSHA DECLARATION - AN AFRICAN REVOLUTION

by Hilda Bernstein.

In a single week the Government of Tanzania obtained control of the key sections of the country's economy by the nationalisation of all the foreign banks and most vital industries. The banks include Barclays, Standard, National and Grindlays; the take-over includes grain mills, the sisal industry, the Bata shoe company, breweries, the British American Tobacco Company, and a score of others.

The Government has taken a 60 per cent share in the firms affected leaving them to carry on with the same staff and managements, and promising compensation. There has been little disruption.

The nationalisation measures followed the publication of the Arusha Declaration. At the end of January the National Executive of the governing TANU party met in the little northern town of Arusha and adopted a blue-print for reform and for a more rapid and positive implementation of President Nyerere's socialist ideas. Publication of the Arusha Declaration took the form of a mass outdoor meeting in the capital Dar es Salaam, when Nyerere spoke to an audience of more than 100,000. The meeting was covered by Tanzania Radio and simultaneous meetings were held all over the country so that the entire nation could hear the Declaration.

With 24 hours in a series of sweeping decrees the Government took control of the main centres of economic power, finance and trade. This action touched off a series of remarkable mass demonstrations in which for several days the people of Dar es Salaam streamed out into the humid heat of the streets to march to TANU headquarters and declare their support; one day, the youth from schools, colleges, universities and clubs; next day, the women; next, the army; then the workers, the office staffs, the civil servants. President Nyerere received the demonstrators and was visibly moved by their support. "We are going to build a classless nation where everyone is a worker," he told them.

It is six years since Tanganyika and Zanzibar, now joined as Tanzania, achieved independence. In 1964 TANU adopted a 5-year development plan, but it relied heavily upon foreign aid and private investment. Such assistance has been going more freely to Tanzania's richer neighbours, Uganda and Kenya, both because the immediate returns for investors are larger, and also because the Governments of those countries are pursuing policies more to the liking of the imperialist powers. After 2½ years, Tanzania's plan lags sadly; the only targets reached are those in which the peasants are involved.

There was increasing impatience within the country at the growth of capitalist tendencies and inequalities in Tanzanian society. The National Union of Tanganyika Workers recently expressed criticism of the lack of socialist development.

Like other African countries, Tanzania had two clear paths before it. One path was to accept the aid-with-strings of the imperial powers, leading to the rapid self-enrichment of ambitious leaders, and the perpetuation of poverty in the countryside - in other words, neo-colonialism. The other path was to move decisively towards a socialist society. This is what TANU, with the demonstrated support of the people of the towns, has chosen to do.

Julius Nyerere has been moved not so much by a study of the theory of socialism as by his practical experience in a poor and under-developed country. Intellectually and emotionally, he is appalled by the sight of luxury living in poor countries, and determined to prevent the emergence of an elite class in Tanzania, divorced from the people. He is worried that Africa may develop along the lines of so many Latin American and Asian countries, with rich predatory groups clashing for power, with corruption at all levels of government, and with untouched, deep-rooted poverty and misery among the people. There is plenty of evidence to justify such a fear.

He has a profound concern both for the conditions of deep poverty in which the mass of his people live, and for the necessity of preventing the creation of an elite divorced from the masses. He has returned to the theme of the corrupting influence of personal wealth and ambition again and again in his speeches. In Parliament, at the beginning of independence in 1960, he stated:

"I believe myself corruption in a country should be treated almost in the same way as you treat treason . . . We have got to have people in local government, in the trade unions, in the cooperative movement, in the political organisations, in the Civil Service, and in the Government itself, in whom our own people have absolute confidence. If we can't have it, then I cannot see how the people of Tanganyika are going to get ~~xy~~ the true benefits of the independence for which they have been struggling."

He has a passionate concern for the multitudes locked in poverty in a world where the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer. He is acutely aware of how small the price of corruption can be in a country where wage rates average £8.16.0 a month. Thus, from the start, he personally has campaigned against corruption.

Now the Anusha Declaration carries this campaign a step further, laying down that not only must corruption be fought, but that the ~~existing party~~ peoples' party, TANU, must forge itself into a new type of party of dedicated, active workers for socialism, free of the denigrating influence of wealth or of stakes in capitalism. The Declaration states:

"Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company . (or) Directorships in any privately-owned enterprise . . . receive two or more salaries . . . own houses which he rents to others." In the definition of leader, it is stated to include TANU National Executive members, Ministers and members of Parliament, senior officials of organisations affiliated to TANU, councillors and civil servants in high and middle cadres. And even more, " in this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband." Neither the leader nor his immediate family must acquire possessions for the type of personal enrichment that inevitably would divorce them from the people. Nyerere has never mentioned what is happening in Kenya, but he must be aware, as everyone knows, that President Kenyatta has acquired three huge new farms in the past few years.

(PART TWO WILL DEAL WITH 'BUILDING A SOCIALIST STATE IN TANZANIA')

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION: BUILDING A SOCIALIST STATE.

by Hilda Bernstein

"The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of Socialism are laid down in the TANU constitution, and they are as follows . . . "

These are the opening words of the 'Creed of TANU' in the Arusha Declaration. Briefly, TANU declares all human beings are equal, entitled to dignity and respect; every citizen has the right to take part in the affairs of the nation and enjoy freedom of movement, religious belief and association; to receive protection of the law and a just return for his labour. "All citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants."

To ensure economic justice, the State must have effective control over the principal means of production; the State must intervene ~~directly~~ actively in economic life to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

The major means of production that must be under the ownership and control of the peasants and workers are defined as "the land; forests; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity; communications; transport, banks, insurance, import and export trade; wholesale businesses; the steel, machine-tool, arms, motorcar, cement and fertiliser factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depends for its living or which provides essential components for other industries; large plantations." This list, in a country like Tanzania, extends to just about all economic activity except for small retail trade, handicraft and small-scale manufacturing and farming.

But "a state is not socialist simply because all or all the major means of production are controlled and owned by the Government. It is necessary for the Government to be elected and led by the peasants and workers." The statement explains that if a racist Government

such as the one in South Africa, were to bring all the major means of production under its control, this would entrench exploitation. "There cannot be true ~~xxxxx~~ Socialism without democracy," the statement adds.

We have here an amalgam of accepted socialist principles together with specifically African needs. Nyerere believes that socialism is a natural form of society for Africans whose traditions, although distorted by colonial rule, rest on the communal ownership of natural resources (through the tribe or enlarged family group.) Socialism is 'natural' and 'right', he says, for African society that had not developed into an era of capitalism, and for whom the private ownership of the land and means of livelihood were unknown. Therefore Africans do not need persuasion or polemic to convince them about socialism. What is required is the modernising and adaptation of traditional tribal patterns to fit the new society.

"A true socialist society is one in which all people are workers," states the Arusha Declaration. "It does not have two classes of people, some who work and others who live by the labour of others." Only the aged, children, cripples, may live on the labour of others. And the Declaration lays down a point of vital importance to a backward country such as Tanzania: Incomes must not differ substantially; material incentives must be strictly curbed. The accumulation of a small measure of wealth can so easily turn an African patriot into a self-seeking careerist. Socialist countries of Europe, well advanced in modern techniques and industrialisation, should appreciate why this 'levelling' of incomes must be observed in a country like Tanzania.

TANU goes on to state that socialism is an ideology and can only be implemented by people who firmly believe in it. The first duty of a TANU member is to live by these principles. True TANU members are socialists who profess this political and economic way of life and fight for the rights of peasants and workers in Africa and the world over.

"We are at war!" the declaration states. It is a war against poverty and oppression and aims at moving the people of Tanzania and of Africa from poverty to prosperity. "We intend to bring about a revolution

which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things (poverty and exploitation.)"

The Arusha Declaration examines the various ways open to Tanzania to develop. It seems to be ^{me} a fault that TANU has not differentiated between aid and loans from capitalist countries and from socialist countries. Gifts, loans and foreign investments, they say, will endanger independence. Tanzania will not reject aid or hard-cash loans, but rejects reliance on foreign aid as a means to development. Foreign aid, in any case, will not be forthcoming in a way that was once expected. TANU also rejects the idea that they must develop capitalism before developing socialism, and is thus wary of foreign investors. Money cannot now be expected in sufficient quantities to make it the main means of development, and must be replaced with hard work. Development will rest on: people, the land, good policies, leadership.

Tanzania is determined to develop from the basis of its own resources. TANU emphasises that the country is large, with more than 362,000 square miles of land, much of it fertile and with sufficient rains; and with the large (for Africa - too many countries are under-populated) population of ten million people. Not only food crops such as maize, rice, wheat, beans and groundnuts could be exported if sufficient were produced, but also cash crops such as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea. There is good grazing land, and rivers, lakes and a coastline wellstocked with fish.

Hard work is the basic requirement. TANU points out that the hardest working people in the country are the women in the villages, who work without rest. But men in the countryside, and many men and women in the towns, do not work hard enough. Unintelligent hard work, they state, wont bring good results. Knowledge and intelligence of the use of crops, seeds, seasons, implements, and self-reliance, must be practised.

A great deal is left undefined in the Delcaration. Land and agriculture are to be the basis of the development of the economy, yet how production in the countryside is to be organised is not described. Perhaps this is because TANU itself does not really know, and is waiting to see what will develop among the people. But it is

clear that leadership must be given.

Here there is an interesting recognition of the essential role of TANU itself. In the past, they state, emphasis was always on the size of TANU, its aim being to have as large a membership as possible. This was correct and justified during the struggle for independence, but now the time has come to shift the emphasis from size to quality, giving consideration to a member's commitment to TANU's beliefs, and to its policy of socialism.

This is, in general, the content of the Arusha Declaration which has been so enthusiastically accepted by the people. And President Nyerere, who in the first place was motivated by a Christian morality together with a deep and genuine love of the people, seems to have arrived at something approximating in many ways to Marxist ideas, even to the recognition that achievement of socialism rests on the leadership of a dedicated and politically educated party.

Can TANU become such a party? The answer cannot be given at this stage. Underneath the mass enthusiasm there is a great need for better organisation and understanding, a great need for political education. 95 per cent of the people are peasants, illiterate, slow, reluctant to change. Nyerere himself now has powerful enemies among many capitalist leaders who once admired him because he is a Catholic and they regarded him as a moderate influence in new Africa. Progress in Africa has been too easily brought to an end through coups backed by reactionary forces. Only a politically educated, broadly-based party can help the country survive such possible interference.

But the peoples' instincts are sound. The spartan programme outlined in the Arusha Declaration will unite a country that is pledged to pull itself out of poverty and backwardness by its own, unremitting efforts. And if they win through, they will profoundly influence the whole of Africa. Already Zambia is showing a keen interest in Tanzania's plans.

Not only the poor and illiterate people of Tanzania, but the also the voiceless and struggling masses of Africa, and indeed of all under-developed and oppressed countries of the world, have a vital interest in the success of the Arusha Declaration. The people of

Tanzania have chosen a firm socialist path. The people of the whole world give moral support and wish them success.

ends

24/5/67

A SICK OBSESSION WITH COLOUR.

Hilda Bernstein.

A little girl has become the epitome of one country's obsessional racial policies. She is a pretty, smiling eleven-year-old, Sandra Laing, who may no longer legally live with her own parents because the laws of the Christian Republic of South Africa have assigned her to a different racial group to them; although her parents may circumvent the law by keeping her as their servant (in separate quarters.)

Sandra's mother and father are White, and her two brothers are White, and they hold that precious passport to the good things in South African life - White identity cards. But Sandra in appearance is Coloured (1) and following complaints from parents of other children at the White school she attended, the Secretary of the Interior reclassified her as Coloured. And the Pretoria Supreme Court dismissed her father's appeal after the child had been duly inspected by the Deputy-Secretary of the Interior. The judge, Mr. Justice Galgut, with a certain judicial reluctance, referred to the impossible situation created, adding 'It needs but little reflection to appreciate the difficulties that can arise in a household where all the other children are classified as White and this child only is classified as Coloured'. However, he found the Secretary of the Interior had not acted irregularly in altering her classification.

The problem of defining 'race' has always vexed the Nationalist Government. In 1950 they passed the Population Registration Act which was designed to decide once and for all the racial group of each individual. This was an essential piece of legislation for the strict application of all other apartheid laws, such as the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act (which sets aside certain areas in which people of certain races may reside) and for all the industrial laws which cover racial separation in work, training, job reservation, trade unions and so on.

Although definitions of the various racial groups were incorporated in a number of laws in the past, the system up to 1950 had not been rigid and immutable. People could, and did, pass from one group to another if their physical features allowed. Even if it meant breaking with their families, there was every inducement for Coloured people, for instance, to pass as Whites. Schools, jobs, homes, entertainments, pensions - everything for Whites is on a higher and finer level. For those Africans who could pass as Coloureds the rewards in a way were even greater, because they became free of the whole system of pass laws and similar restrictions.

The practice of passing to the group with the higher privileges was extremely common. In the Cape (where there is the largest concentration of Coloured people) the light-skinned members of Coloured families who had passed into the White group often referred to their own darker relatives as Venster-kykers - 'window-watchers' - because they made a practice of looking studiously into shop windows to avoid greeting, and so embarrassing, those who had become White, when they happened to meet on the streets.

With the Population Registration Act, everyone had to be registered according to their racial classification, and that registration is recorded not only on identity cards, but on birth certificates and all official documents.

The Act caused great misery and distress and its effects on individuals and families was devastating.

Couples wishing to marry learned for the first time that they were not in the same racial classification. (2). White families were 'disgraced' and divided, as were many who considered themselves Coloured and found they had been re-classified as Africans.

There was no absolute yardstick to apply. Officials made up their minds in their own way. 'They just looked at me and said I was a Native,' a young Coloured man said. Here was Mr. W., a Coloured man who served in the Cape Coloured Corps in two World Wars. Both his father and mother had Afrikaans (not African) surnames and he was employed in an occupation where only Coloureds are accepted. It took

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