

June 25 1976

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INSIDE SPECIAL REPORT:  
THE EFFECTIVE OFFICE

# Financial Mail



**"South Africa is unwilling to make any drastic changes to the broad concept of separate development at a time when this policy is coming to fruition."**

**DR HILGARD MULLER**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Bonn  
June 23 1976

"SA is unwilling to make any drastic changes to the broad concept of separate development at a time when the policy is coming to fruition" — Hilgard Muller, Bonn, Monday

# A prescription for disaster

The fruits of the policy of apartheid are frustration, injustice, and hatred. Among its latest consequences are arson, rioting, and slaughter. If it is continued, the end result may well be revolution.

It is a policy which is rejected by the broad mass of the African people. Yet they are being subjected to it with a remorseless insensitivity that can only invite disaster.

The horrifying events in the townships last week were thus not unexpected. Indeed warnings that children detested being made to study mathematics in Afrikaans had been sounded again and again. They were ignored. Now at least 140 people are dead and we face the consequences of another Sharpeville.

Soweto was a riot waiting to happen. The language issue was merely the match to the gunpowder. The rapidity with which the violence spread to the rest of Soweto and then to other parts of the country shows that there were explosive situations there too. One spark, and years of pent-up grievances were aflame.

This is the first point to be noted. The second is that the children had to take to the streets to make themselves heard. The third is that they, and their parents, said they objected to Afrikaans not only because it was difficult but also because it was the language of their oppressors.

The fourth point is that, ugly as it was, the destruction was not mindless. It was in the main purposefully directed at Bantu Administration liquor stores, vehicles, and offices; at Bantu Education schools; and at Putco buses — White property and symbols of White authority. Houses were not destroyed.

Why do the children reject Afrikaans? Why do Blacks set fire to government property? Why should the riots have spread so quickly? The answer does not lie simply in the authorities' insensitive handling of the language issue. It goes to the very heart of how White SA and the government it has elected treats Blacks.

In short, the events of the past 10 days are the inevitable result of apartheid, of

a philosophy which seeks to divide — and polarise — a country rather than unite it.

Blacks no less than Whites have made SA the prosperous country it is today. They have tilled the soil, reaped the maize, paved the roads, built the railways, constructed the cities, dug the gold. But they are denied a fair share of the rewards. The White man has decreed that all but 13% of the country belongs to him, and that Black people are welcome there only as workers.

When unification took place in 1910, Black people had limited voting rights on the common roll. Even these were obliterated. In the early Sixties their two main political organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, were banned. Inevitably, they went underground and turned to violence, which until then they had shunned.

The result is that today Blacks in the cities and towns have no say in the political decisions which affect their lives, their jobs, and their children's education. Since it is the White man who decides, he inevitably puts his own interests first. Because Blacks have no vote to use against it, faceless officialdom has inevitably developed an attitude of mind which expects Blacks meekly to do exactly as they are told. When they do voice objections, they are brushed aside and branded as agitators. So, once again inevitably, when they want to be heard they have sooner or later to take to the streets.

To city Blacks it is the Department of Bantu Administration and its agents, the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards and Bantu Affairs Commissioners, who symbolise this system of rule by decree. It is they who unilaterally push up rents, administer the pass laws, herd people into compounds, and sometimes even set fire to homes, as happened in one of the squatter camps near Cape Town.

And the police, of course, are always at hand to enforce the White authorities'

decisions.

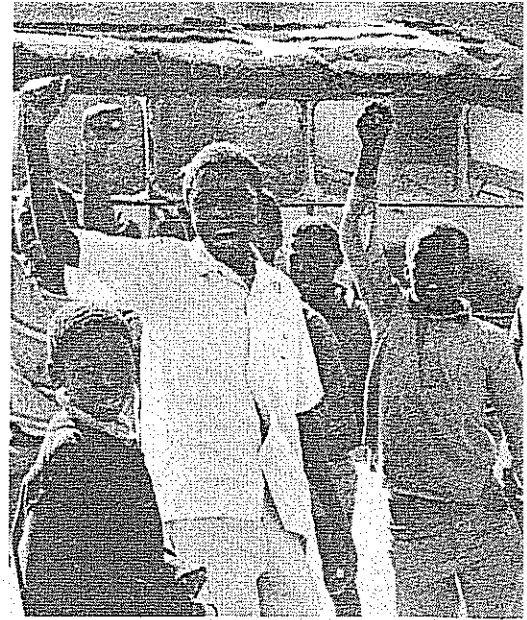
Every day of the year they arrest hundreds upon hundreds of Africans who fall foul of the pass laws. These laws are feared and loathed. Originally they applied only to men; when they were imposed upon women too they provoked violent resistance. Nor should it be forgotten that Sharpeville started with a peaceful protest against passes.

Then there is the migratory labour system, which separates men from their families and compels them to live in compounds — huge heartless places without any of the comforts of home. No smiling wife or chattering kids to greet father on his return home from work; only long bleak evenings, frequently drowned in drink. This system too has sent out warning signals: endemic violence in the mine compounds, which has cost 170 lives in the past two and a half years.

Significantly, many Africans refer to urban townships merely as "locations". Freehold rights once existed, but were stripped away. The leasehold concession recently announced has been virtually nullified by the condition of Bantustan citizenship attached to it.

Instead of having incentives to create real communities with tidy streets and to take pride in homes and gardens which they can own, township Africans are still officially regarded as "temporary sojourners". Most locations are situated far out of town, so that people have to rise before dawn to get to work on time. Commuting is tiring and costly. Here too the warning lights have been flashing, with bus boycotts.

The issue of Bantustan citizenship is another potential flashpoint. The great majority of city Blacks are just that — city people. They work with modern machinery, wear modern dress, listen to Western music, play Western sports, and read Western books. They no more regard themselves as Bantustanians than Afrikaners regard themselves as Hollanders. Government's determination to force them to become Bantustan citizens



and to strip them of their South African citizenship must provoke resentment.

Education has long been a source of frustration. For Africans, the Bantu Education system imposed on them more than 20 years ago was forever stigmatised by Dr Verwoerd's ominous words, that its aim was "to keep the Bantu child a Bantu child."

Again there have been warnings: there has been sporadic unrest in African schools for at least a decade. A few months ago, the Snyman Report revealed the depth of bitterness on the Black campuses against apartheid.

More clearly than anything else, the schools and universities illustrate the degree of Black-White polarisation which apartheid in education has led to.

But polarisation is not confined to the universities. It has also begun to affect Black workers, with the growth of Black trade unions which want nothing to do with their White counterparts. Many Black workers see White unions as collaborating with employers in the exploitation of Blacks: they bargain high wages for themselves, while the Blacks get the crumbs. They refuse to indenture Blacks as apprentices, and practise job reservation against them.

Most Black workers still earn well below the Poverty Datum Line. Job reservation and sheer racial prejudice result all too often in the employment of Blacks in jobs well below their capabilities and at discriminatory pay-rates. Once again, government has acted unilaterally, by imposing a works committee system and ignoring growing demands for trade union rights. Once again, there have been warning signs: strikes.

These are but some of the principal grievances and sources of frustration. Most if not all of them have been raised with the Minister of Bantu Administration and his deputies and with the Prime Minister himself by the Bantustan leaders. For all that has been done to remedy them, their pleas might just as well have fallen on deaf ears.

If government will not listen to the

only Black spokesmen which it officially recognises, will it listen to anyone?

The fundamental problem is that SA's political system, because Blacks have no say in it, has become impervious to their demands and aspirations. It has developed the habit of responding to them not by reasoned argument, nor by meaningful compromise and concession, but by tougher and tougher security laws. These are not designed to redress wrongs, but to make it increasingly difficult to protest against them. A whole generation of Black leaders has thus been silenced in the 16 years since Sharpeville.

But a new generation has now grown up. Unlike many of their parents, who have developed an attitude of fatalistic resignation to second-class citizenship, these younger men and women are impatient, radical, militant, brave and proud. They hold their heads high. They include in their ranks some of our finest intellects. They are not begging for change, they are demanding it.

#### **Promises and cosmetics**

They are not fooled by pious promises to the United Nations or cosmetic changes like desegregating an opera house or arranging a few multi-racial sports fixtures. It is too late for that.

The changes that have swept through Angola and Mozambique and that are even now taking place in Rhodesia and SWA have fired this new generation with expectation and excitement.

But this government is incapable of responding to this new mood in a creative and constructive manner. Its reflexes are now so conditioned that it can only invoke things like the Terrorism Act, BOSS and no doubt in due course Piscom and the new Internal Security Act.

Twenty-eight years of Nationalist rule have brought Black-White relationships to their lowest point ever, and SA to its gravest crisis. The problem is not the manner in which apartheid is implemented by Mr M C Botha and Dr A P Treurnicht and their colleagues, but the policy itself. The very essence of this

policy is that Blacks in the cities and towns must become citizens of the Bantustans. This denies them security, permanence, and civil and political rights. The doctrine of apartheid is the political life-blood of the Nationalists. And they show no signs of change, as Hilgard Muller confirmed on Monday in Bonn.

The summary rejection of even the moderate recommendations of the Theron Commission on Coloured political rights underlines this point.

SA therefore faces the real possibility of the tragic events of the past 10 days repeating themselves. Since the bulk of White voters have put this government into power and opted for this policy, it is they who must now demand fundamental changes, not cosmetics.

For some time now, many organisations — including Afrikaner organisations — have been criticising certain aspects of apartheid. They have done so in a muted, tentative way. But the time for pussy-footing is past. Such bodies, and other leaders of White opinion, should now nail their colours to the mast and generate an unequivocal campaign against apartheid.

They include the FCI, Assocom, the Chamber of Mines, the Handelsinstituut, the Afrikaans churches, all those verligte academics, Afrikaans students, the trade unions, welfare organisations, the SA Foundation and the Afrikaans press. Foreign governments must also hammer home the message at every available opportunity. In particular, they must hammer it home to Hilgard Muller, and to the SA business leaders with whom they come into contact.

Foreign governments have a powerful weapon at their disposal: the coming independence of the Transkei. They should tell Mr Vorster that if he goes ahead with plans unilaterally to take away from those Xhosas living in White areas their South African citizenship, they will not recognise the new state.

Drastic change is needed. Pressure from all sides is needed to ensure it is brought about in time.