



MADISON AREA
COMMITTEE ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA

731 State Street
Madison, Wisc.
53703

Number 28 July 1973

DO MORE THAN READ MACSA NEWS -- WORK WITH MACSA

If you are concerned with Southern Africa and would like to do more than read about it, consider working with MACSA. We can use your help. Please call one of these people:

Steve Vogel	Political Education Committee	836-9177
Wandile Kuse	Fundraising Committee	256-1359
Selina Kunene	Corporate Involvement Comm.	238-0503

JULY GENERAL MEETING

The next MACSA General Meeting will be held at 2:30 p.m., Sunday, July 8, in the basement of Pres House, at 731 State Street. The agenda will include committee reports, a summary of the IDAFSA fund raising drive, and a discussion of the fall fundraising campaign.

DEFENSE and AID FUND STILL GROWING

Our Defense and Aid fund for families of political prisoners inside South Africa now totals \$394.01. We are very grateful to those who have contributed to the Defense and Aid campaign during the past few weeks.

If you are still intending to contribute to Defense and Aid, please do so as soon as possible, so we can bring our spring campaign to a close. Use the blank we provide at the end of the newsletter if you find it convenient. Checks should be made payable to MACSA. LET'S BRING THE FUND AT LEAST TO \$500.

We also want to thank those who have contributed a little extra for MACSA operating funds this month. When you write your check for Defense and Aid, please include a little extra for MACSA, so we can meet our bills this summer without borrowing from committed funds.

BALTIMORE DOCKWORKERS REFUSE RHODESIAN CHROME

A picket line organized at the Baltimore docks on June 9 by Washington and Baltimore supporters of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) produced favorable results. As soon as members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were informed that the "African Meteor" was carrying one thousand tons of Rhodesian Chrome, they refused to continue unloading operations. This action marked the second time since trade sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia by the UN that the cooperative efforts of the ALSC's and Black ILA members have succeeded in turning back a Rhodesian chrome shipment..

(Militant, 6/22/73)

SAM's .IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Surface to Air Missiles have now claimed at least five Portuguese aircraft, as well as Portugal's best combat pilot. The Russian missile, called the "Estrela", is extremely well adapted to guerrilla warfare because it is highly mobile. Similar to a bazooka, the 50 lb. device can be fired by only one person. Within a 1/4 mile range, the missile's infrared heat-seeking guidance system homes in on a jet's exhaust to make the kill. The principal strike aircraft in Guinea-Bissau is the Fiat G-91, a jet.

OTHER NOTES FROM THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

Portugal is Africanizing (Vietnamizing) its colonial army in Mozambique. It is now 58 percent African, and sixty percent is the target for the end of the year.....Portuguese forces have for the first time used M-16's. This was in the central plain of Angola.....The colonial army in Guinea-Bissau had for the first time admitted raiding across the border into Senegal.....Russian 122mm rockets have been introduced into Mozambique by FRELIMO.

THE MYTH OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT:

A LOOK AT THE TRANSKEI > PART I <

The Transkei is the largest of the native reserves or Bantustans in the Republic of South Africa. By the 1960 census, the population of this area is set at approximately 1,400,000 people, occupying 214,596 square miles of the Republic and who are designated as the Xhosa National Unit. While these figures show the number of Xhosa living in the Transkei, it is also generally accepted that 40 percent of the Transkeian peoples are living outside the reserve, in the urban centers of White South Africa, mostly in a migratory fashion. What makes the Transkei unique is the fact that in 1963, the people of this territory were given their 'independence'.

The economy of the Transkei is basically subsistence agriculture. There has been a serious failure in adaptation from a tribal, shifting form of farming to that which the Republic has envisioned -- a modern European, surplus-producing type of cultivation.

In the past, the Xhosa were essentially a sedentary farming and pastoral group, growing only enough for their families to eat at any one time, and primarily living off the meat and milk of their cattle. A man's prestige and social status were always tied to the number of cattle he owned, as well as other cultural characteristics which revolved around a pastoral existence. Crop production was left to the women while the men tended livestock and hunted. Given the stability in climate and habitat of Southern Africa, this pattern of existence proved effective for its inhabitants and for the slowly immigrating Bantu of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries who quickly adopted the necessary agricultural and pastoral methods.

With the coming of the Voertrekkers and the Great Trek in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Xhosa were isolated and confined by the whites in the territory now called the Transkei. This confinement necessitated stationary farming and pastures and in a land with violent rainfalls interrupted with severe draughts, erosion was and still is the inevitable result. The Natives Land Act of 1914, enacted by the Union of South Africa parliament, further fragmented the Xhosa as well as prevented them from share cropping on White owned land.

Sedentary farming in a land stricken with such adverse conditions has proved to be the only efficient method to combat the erosion. But the Xhosa, situated in a small, isolated region, have been left to subsist in whatever way possible. It must be said that in a land ravaged with violent land competition, in a land where white settlers, not comprehending the African idea of tribal lands whereby all the inhabitants own communally, confiscated and partitioned the territory to their own satisfaction and personal gain, and in a land where the superior armed might of the Whites easily suppresses the African masses, it follows that forced social and geographic segregation must be maintained by the whites in order to ensure their continued control. There are many other factors which dictate forced segregation, factors which are too numerous to examine, but it must be mentioned that the segregation of the African on 13 percent of the total land mass of the Republic, isolated, educationally, economically and politically deprived, is a most effective device for the nurturing of a White oligarchy.

Thus the failure of the "Bantustans" as witnessed by the Transkei to develop into viable social and economic units can already be deciphered: (1) land segregation has created a desert of eroded

land and individuals made mindless through lack of food, back-breaking manual drudgery and no intellectual or political stimulation. (2) the Republic has deliberately made the reserves uneconomic by not allocating adequate monies to stimulate industrial growth, by dispensing only 13 percent of the land to over 65 percent of the population and by partitioning of the reserves into plots too small to produce enough cash crops for the people to survive. The government has also taken the tribal authority away from the headmen and chiefs, the legitimate and most popular leaders. In their place, they have appointed paid Africans who are either politically or economically dependent on the White Republic or who actively propagandize the government line. (3) contingent upon land segregation and inefficient cultivation practices is the fact 40 percent of the adult male population must seek employment outside the reserves in order to provide adequate income for their families at home.

In order to combat the rising tide of Black workers entering the urban areas seeking work, the Republic appointed a commission to find alternatives to the problem, that would be in accord with the Republic's new policy of 'apartheid'. As expected the commission spelled out the basic assumptions on the philosophy of apartheid (a hierarchy of races and cultures, race preservation etc.) but the Tomlinson Commission pointed out that in order for separate development to be feasible, that is with the African 'homelands' distinct and geographically removed from the White population, these Bantustans would have to be made economically viable. Jobs and industry would have to be created within or along side the borders of the reserves. Hopefully, this would stop the increasing influx of Blacks to the cities. They recommended in 1955, that one-half of the present population be removed and that the remainder grow only cash crops. The Commission also estimated that 50,000 new, non-agricultural jobs would have to be created in the reserves, each year for the next twenty-five years. This would enable the reserves to support 60 percent of the African population in the 1980s.

The Republic of South Africa, paying lip service to the idea of apartheid, accepted the philosophical findings but refused to face the economic realities of the 'Bantustans' scheme. Agricultural production has since, continually declined because soil conservation has not been pursued. The mean cash income in 1954, in the reserves, was \$36.12. It has dropped steadily to the equally astounding figure of \$21.00 in 1970. It must be remembered that an estimated 45-50 percent of that cash income is derived from the earnings of the migrant workers in the cities.

Employment opportunities in and near the reserves have declined proportionately with the number of births. In 1968, there were only 945 Africans employed in secondary industries in the reserves, and to contrast this with the number of Africans slaving in the mines, or factories of the White urban centers, is to prove the fallacy of separate development. The economy of the White oligarchy needs the labor of the African and can not function without it. The reserves remain as a source of cheap labor and because the Republic needs the sweat of the African, the Bantustans must remain unproductive. While the Republic encourages large industries to operate near the borders of the reserves, setting up dormitory complexes to house the laborers while they step outside their homeland, they refuse to give adequate monies to the Africans for the creation of their own businesses within the "Bantustans".

The Republic of South Africa has, as of 1970, set up a new Five Year Development Plan for the Bantustans. It is intended that 25,000 new jobs be created each year. But with the natural increase in population, the plan still falls 16,000 jobs short of supplying all able-bodied men with employment. There are at present slightly more than 110,000 Africans working in border industries and over two-million males migrating to the cities and mining complexes seeking an income. Just as the Tomlinson Commission fell into disregard so too will this new diversionary tactic of the White regime. The problem now facing the Republic is the myth itself. After twenty years of propagating and using the rationale of separate development, the Republic is just now realizing the inexplicability of its position. But the Republic continues and each day points out more and more the underlying desire for White supremacy and the ends it will go to secure that desire.

(To be continued: Part II: Migrant Labor and its role in the pyramid).

W.J. Thomas

Selected Bibliography

- Carter, Gwendolen M., South Africa's Transkei, 1967.
- Houghton, D.H., The South African Economy 2nd edition, 1967.
- Vigne, Randolph, The Transkei -- A South African Tragedy, 1971.
- Walton, E.M. and Houghton, D.H., The Economy of a Native Reserve 1952.
- Wilson, Monica and Thompson, Leonard, The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. 11, 1971.

MOVEMENT KEEPS GROWING :

MACSA has recently had contact with the following new or organizing Southern Africa groups:

Southern Africa Liberation Committee (SALC)
 c/o U.M.H.E.
 1118 South Harrison,
 East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Afro-Caribbean Liberation Movement
 P.O. Box 493,
 St. John's, Antigua, West Indies

Southern Africa Literature and Information Group
 P.O. Box 408,
 Evanston, Illinois 60202

Penney Morse,
 c/o Center East,
 P.O. Box 1206,
 Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Dave Wells,
 421 Clifton Avenue,
 Lexington, Kentucky 40506

MEETING WITH JOHNSON WAX INC. OFFICIALS

Three MACSA members were among those who visited with officials of the Johnson Wax Company June 21, in an effort to persuade them to withdraw their plant from South Africa. Daniel Kurene, Meg Skinner, and Wandile Kuse from MACSA accompanied Carolyn Jackson and Gerhard Fischer of the Lutheran Human Relations Association -- Wisconsin to Racine for the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to show the Southern Africa Committee's set of slides and taped commentary, entitled "Partners in Apartheid", documenting apartheid and U.S. business involvement in South Africa.

This meeting resulted from a letter which the LHRA-W sent out to fifteen Wisconsin Companies which, according to MACSA's publication, Is Southern Africa Wisconsin's Business? are carrying on business in South Africa either through subsidiaries or by established branches.

The text of the letter, sent by LHRA-W as a result of a May 6 meeting at the Cross Lutheran Church in Milwaukee at which the same slide show was shown, is as follows:

Chairman, Board of Directors:

"As a group of citizens from Milwaukee, Madison, and other nearby cities, we were appalled by the facts presented to us this afternoon in a series of slides on South Africa, entitled "Partners in Apartheid." This visual presentation makes clear the involvement of United States industries, such as _____, in the oppressive system of apartheid and the economic advantage that your firm has in employing cheap African labor.

"We would like to know.

1. The wage scale that your firm pays to South African blacks and the pay scale for whites. Please indicate what opportunities blacks have for advancement upward to managerial positions.
2. What housing and medical care benefits do you provide for your South African workers?
3. What are you doing to convince the South African government of the need to change its oppressive racial policies.

If you would like to see "Partners in Apartheid," we would be happy to show the slides to you.

We await your answer.

Sincerely, (signed by some 30-40 people who attended)"

Nine of the companies contacted by LHRA-W responded, most of them in writing. Johnson Wax responded by telephone. The written replies can be roughly divided into:

- a. those denying categorically that they have any business in South Africa (Domain, Clark Oil and Refining, Manpower One).
- b. Those indicating prior involvement that has since ceased. (Lakeside Laboratories, Inc.).
- c. Those admitting that they have operations in South Africa, and justify their presence by claiming that their presence is of benefit to their black employees (among others) by reason of either the company's programs of training and promotion, or "high" wage scales or benefit programs.

(continued)

¹The Lutheran Human Relations Association -- Wisconsin, is an organization of concerned Lutherans in Wisconsin dealing with interracial and intercultural relations. This organization holds periodic meetings and workshops for the education and sensitization of fellow Lutherans for the purpose of reconciliation.

(Johnson Wax Continued)

It is interesting that none of the companies admitting South African operations gave specific answers to the specific questions raised in the LHRA-W letter. Typical of these was the rambling, painstakingly evasive letter from Ray-O-Vac, quoted in full below.

"This will acknowledge your letter of May 7, posing questions regarding the operations of Willard Africa (Pty.) Ltd., which is a subsidiary of ESB Incorporated.

"As you may be aware, Ray-O-Vac Division which is headquartered here in Madison, has responsibility for the dry battery activities of ESB Incorporated within the United States. Ray-O-Vac Division, as are the other operating groups within ESB, is operating under the Affirmative Action Program and is an equal opportunity employer. In all of our operations in the United States, we have pledged our commitment to affirmative action and feel that we are making significant progress in providing employment opportunities without regard to race, color, creed, sex, age or national origin.

"While not under the direct supervision of the Ray-O-Vac Division headquartered in Madison, we do know that ESB Incorporated has conducted business for many years in South Africa under the name of ESB (Pty.) Our facility in Port Elizabeth manufactures commercial and industrial storage batteries for automobiles, trucks, buses, utilities, telephone and other industrial applications in a competitive market composed of European, English, American and local manufacturers.

"The operation in South Africa is quite small representing less than 1 percent of our gross sales and less than one hundred and eighty employees out of about fourteen thousand in the company. About 60 percent of our employees in South Africa are "natives" or "coloured". Benefit programs (vacations, holidays, medical and hospitalization) are uniform for office and plant employees and compensation programs are based on our universal policy covering this subject.

"We understand your concern about the political-social-economic situation in South Africa but the solution to such a complex problem is not a simple one. If we are to exist, and we must be competitive, for us to pull out of the country would not be the answer. To quote a Black leader of one of nine Black Unions in the country, Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, "I feel if the Americans withdraw, it will lower the general standard of living here and the Africans will be the first to suffer." This seems to be the kind of problem that will only be reconciled from within the nation.

Sincerely,
Owen R. Slauson,
Vice President, ESB Incorporated
General Manager,
Ray-O-Vac Group.

Johnson Wax, on the other hand, showed an interest in seeing the slide show and having a discussion with representatives of the LHRA-W. It was at this point that Carolyn Jackson, seeking to involve others actively interested and if possible with intimate knowledge of the Southern African issue, contacted Daniel Kunene who arranged the MACSA contingent.

Johnson Wax was represented by Paul Cody, Paul Bishop, James E. Bunck, and Thomas Martin, all of whom gave a very sympathetic hearing. The thing that was perhaps most encouraging was that these men did not seek to dispute or refute the evidence presented

(continued on next page)

to them showing the extent to which American business helps to maintain the inhuman system of apartheid. On the contrary, their immediate response was, "What can be done?" "What can Johnson Wax do?" During the dialogue, it became clear that Johnson Wax was involved in social programs in Racine, which, they explained, represented the company's philosophy of an emphasis on people rather than assets and machinery.

In the ensuing discussion, MACSA and LHRA-W indicated that such involvement in social programs would be almost impossible in the South African context. The question was then how does Johnson Wax resolve the contradiction between their philosophy and the legal restrictions impeding its execution for Blacks in South Africa?

Another piece of background information from Johnson Wax was that the company had so far only been a wholly-owned corporation in South Africa for one year. Prior to that, it had shared in a partnership concern as a distributor. The company's South African operation at this time is small, employing only sixty workers. No profits had yet come from this venture.

MACSA and LHRA-W strongly suggested that Johnson Wax would serve the interests of Black Liberation in South Africa by withdrawing their company from that country on a matter of principle. This was proposed on the basis that the time is coming when the liberation movements and the forces of reaction in South Africa will come into a headlong collision. The question was, which side would American businesses, including Johnson Wax, be on in such a confrontation? In his remarks after the slide show, Daniel Kunene had suggested that in fact American business had already allied themselves to the wrong side, namely, the side of the oppressor. He had also referred to the fact that as a result of this American business had intervened in a situation of confrontation during Sharpeville when, as stated in the slide commentary, a consortium of ten American banks had poured millions of dollars into South Africa to revive the seriously weakened stock market from which foreign capital was fleeing.

If Johnson Wax were to withdraw, the group argued, the hurt to South Africa would be more on the psychological level through a public declaration that a company from a major nation of the world was withdrawing from South Africa in protest against its inhuman policies toward its black inhabitants. And simultaneously, the morale of the liberation movements would be significantly elevated by such an act.

The Johnson Wax representatives, who answered us that, even though not themselves at the policy-making level in the company, their recommendations were acted upon positively in policy-making, promised to pursue with the company the points raised by LHRA-W and MACSA. The South African project, and a study of the total area context within which it operates, were continually subjects of active concern by the company, and inputs such as were being given by LHRA-W and MACSA were much appreciated.

Towards the conclusion of the interview, LHRA-W and MACSA offered to make themselves available at any time during the company's discussion of their South African involvement should their services be needed.

(Continued on bottom of page 9)

U.S. to Act Soon on Rhodesian Sanctions

For the past two months MACSA has urged its newsletter readers to contact their U.S. lawmakers and to seek their support on pending legislation that would repeal the 1971 Byrd Amendment which okayed U.S. violations of U.N. sanctions on trade with the white minority-rule regime in Rhodesia. (Zimbabwe).

If you have been following the broadcasts of the Senate Watergate hearings, you have seen the emphasis the committee Senators place on letters from the public. They do have an effect! We must take a vocal stand on this issue now if anything is to be done to change U.S. policy in a positive direction. (In March Presidential assistant Clark MacGregor told a Rhodesian TV audience that the US policy of non-recognition was "unnatural and unpopular," and predicted that it would be changing "sooner than most people realize.")

When writing to legislators, you may wish to use some of the reasons for re-instating sanctions that have been outlined below by U.S. Congressman Charles Diggs Jr.:

Since it took effect on January 1, 1972, Diggs emphasizes that the Byrd amendment "has not accomplished what its proponents claimed it would:

1. It has not reduced chrome imports from the Soviet Union, but rather from Turkey, a NATO ally of the U.S.

2. It has not contributed to national security, since national security was never in jeopardy. For many years, the U.S. has maintained over-abundant stockpiles of "strategic" goods, including chrome. Now the government is trying to get a Congressional OK to sell off 500,000 tons of excess stored chrome per year!

3. It has not saved American jobs. In fact, since the importation of Rhodesian chrome, plans to close two American ferrochrome plants have been announced. This move involves nearly 1000 jobs in Ohio and South Carolina.

4. It has, however, permitted the U.S. to import Rhodesian goods and add \$13,300,000 in much needed foreign exchange to Smith's illegal regime. Without this 20 percent share of Rhodesian trade going to the U.S., Rhodesia's exports would have stagnated.

Key Senators and Congressmen are listed in the June MACSA News. A longer list of swing votes and local office addresses is in the MACSA, which is open most weekday noon-hours. General addresses are:

The Honorable (full name)
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable (full name)
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

(Johnson Wax Continued)

Also, both LHRA-W and MACSA expressed the wish for some feedback from the company concerning what was being done and what had been done towards resolving the matter of Johnson Wax's involvement in the apartheid controlled economy of South Africa. The two groups will communicate with Johnson Wax from time to time to find out what progress has been (or is being) made in the matter.

MACSA would like to thank LHRA-W for inviting them to participate in this matter, and hopes that greater cooperation can be engendered between the two groups in future.

(Daniel Kunene)

SUBSCRIPTION AND CONTRIBUTION FORM

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731 State Street,
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

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I can't spare the two dollars, but intend to be active on Southern Africa issues and want very much to stay on the MACSA News mailing list.

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LIRA would like to thank LIRA-W for inviting them to participate in the matter, and hopes that greater cooperation can be established between the two groups in the future.

(partial names)