

# SECHABA

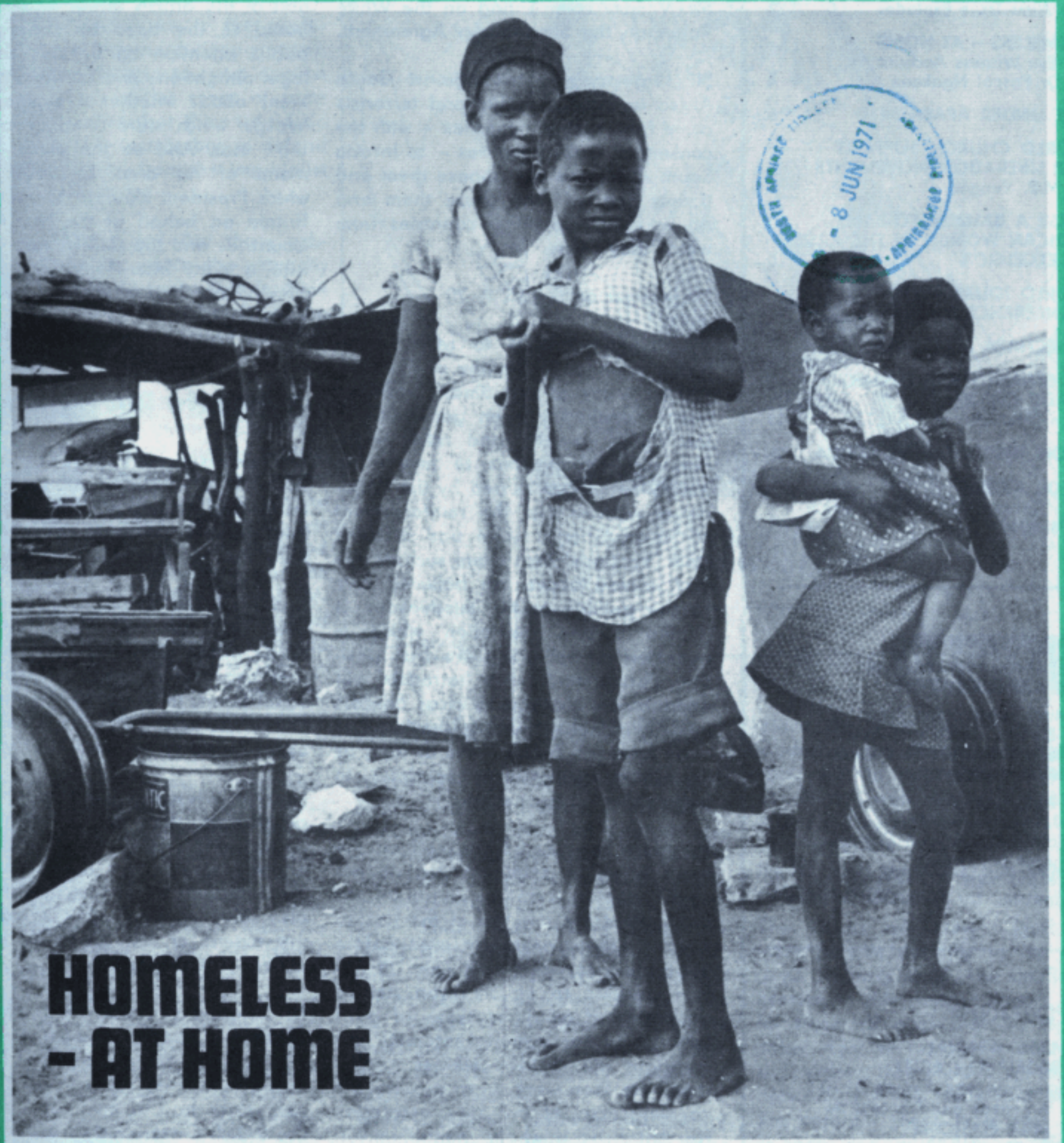
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**HOMELESS  
- AT HOME**



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## SECHABA

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## SPOTLIGHT

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## The Arms Issue Explodes

"South Africa does not want, does not need, arms to fight black people in or outside South Africa. As far as our own blacks are concerned, I cannot visualize a day that it will be necessary to use arms against them."

Mr. Vorster commenting on the White Paper on the Simonstown Agreement.

"If large-scale plans against South Africa become a reality and terrorists come from certain countries - with the consent of those countries - to invade South Africa, we will oppose them and if they flee we shall chase them and do so right into those countries from which they came."

Mr. Vorster on the 15. 9. 70

The supply of arms to racist South Africa promises to be one of the most stormy issues of our times. Sufficient heat has already been generated in the Commonwealth and other international organisations to reveal the deeply felt anger shared by the majority of nations over the reinforcement of South Africa's moral and material stock. Vorster's disclaimers such as the first printed above are believed only by the gullible or the mischievous. It is the second quotation which is accepted as reflecting the true position. Furthermore, since 'terrorists' will undoubtedly continue to cross borders into their mother country, the issue of arms sales will be explosive as long as imperialist governments continue to bolster the Vorster regime.

President Nyerere hit the nail on the head when he said that you do not give a gun to a known murderer. He also nailed the mischief of the limited naval weapons argument even before it was fully launched. He said "If Britain decides to supply even limited quantities of restricted types of arms because of her 'national interests' the embargo will rapidly collapse altogether." He then went on to recount the consequences of an arms escalation for Africa as a whole reminding Mr. Heath that Tanzania (which has a long coastline) had a national interest

which was grievously threatened by the supply of arms, including naval power, to the aggressive racist regime in the South. Much of the comment in the world press during and after the Commonwealth Conference confused this fundamental issue. The publication of the British White Paper contributed to the haze by concentrating public attention on Britain's so-called legal obligations and on the silly argument about whether it was only the Wasps which were binding or more than that. And so the clear cut demand of no arms to South Africa which President Kaunda enunciated in Britain on behalf of the Non-Aligned Countries and the O.A.U. was defused into a petty inter-Party squabble on which Party had committed Britain to what.

## A Bloody Racial War

The real issue, we repeat, is that South Africa is a threat to the peace both inside and outside her borders and all international relations with her must take this as the point of departure. Mr. Trudeau rightly said, "A bloody racial war in Africa could leave nobody unconcerned." And, "We know about urban guerrillas now. We know they can and probably will some day upset peace in South Africa. And if we are on the wrong side, they could also upset peace in our own countries."

Leaving aside the question of who is responsible for the threat to the peace, Mr. Trudeau is perceptive enough to see the repercussions of the race war in Southern Africa. (He also does us the favour of revealing the extent of the solidarity we can expect in Canada).

At Singapore, Britain did everything possible to evade the main issues and minimize the consequences of her proposed measures. As a result the African states had to meet and demolish the British Government's arguments at the level they were raised. The Africans and Asians pointed out that if

anyone was in a position to judge threats to the sea routes it was those states which abutted onto the Indian Ocean and for them there was no threat to be seen. In the event, Mr. Heath was given a bruising. Led by the African states, an Afro-Asian - Carribean bloc was established at the conference which won very real support from the other white states.

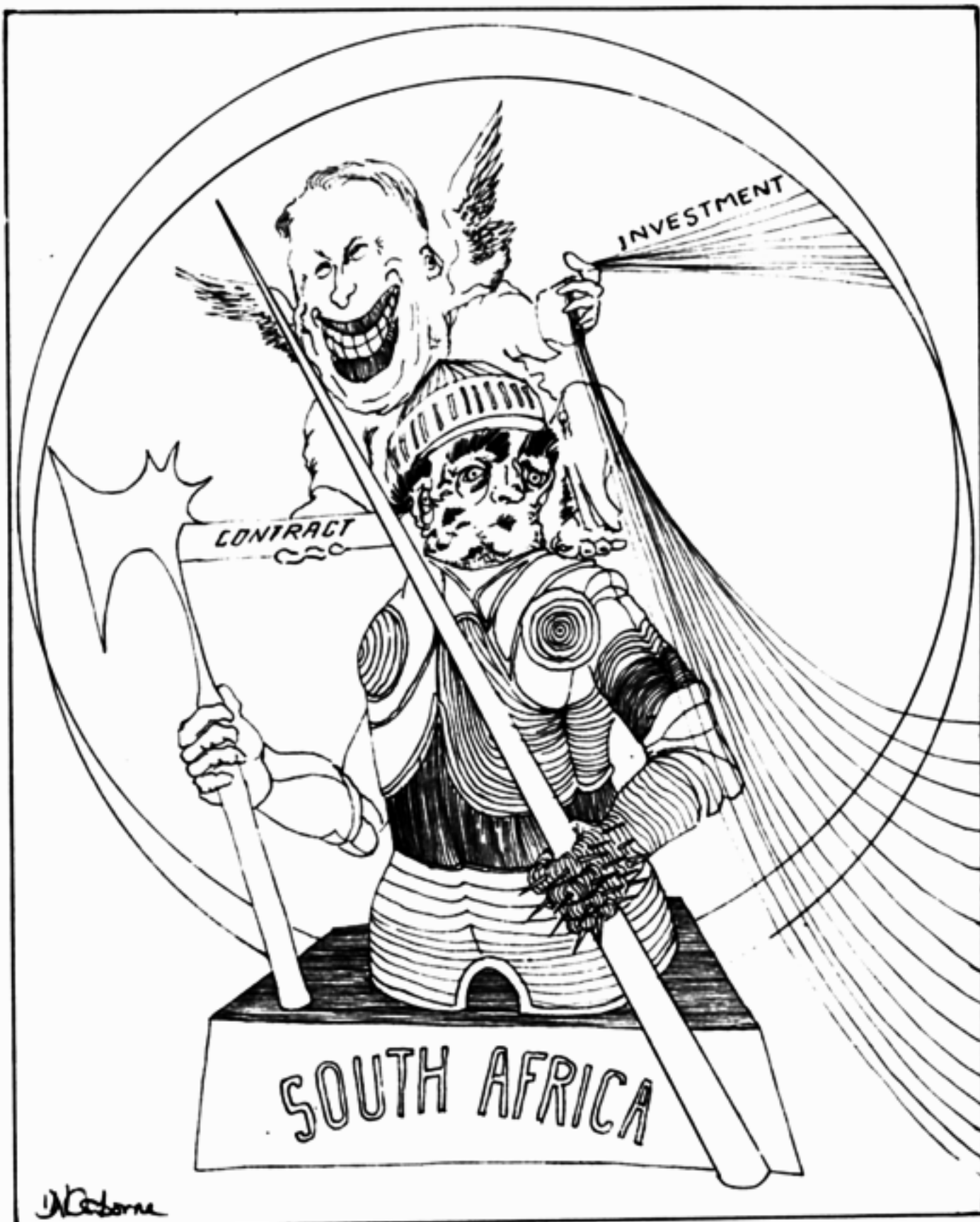
## What Africa Can Do

Of special significance at the conference was the apparent determination of Kenya and Nigeria to react against British interests in the event of arms sales. They stated that they would do so not only on principle but to defend their own interests from the imperialist aims of South Africa.

**What can Africa do? Are there substantial measures within the capacity of African states to make Britain think again? Pressed by the extremity of the situation African states found that they do indeed have teeth.**

Many African states, for instance Zambia and Nigeria, have substantial sterling reserves which can be moved. Trade can be diverted to other eager suppliers. Investment policies can be loaded against Britain, and large government contracts can be awarded to other nations. Restrictions can be imposed on British nationals and British companies can be nationalised with or without compensation. Defence arrangements including the training of African personnel can be altered removing British influence in that sphere for good.

The situation remains precarious. Clearly Britain is anxious to proceed with arms sales. Considered in the context of the Tory east of Suez policy it is intended to strengthen the image of the renewed vigour of British imperialism girding the world with the might of her naval power. Mr. Heath, the cardboard figurine of a previous age also hopes it will bolster the impression of Tory intransigent independence and help swing the country to a more conservative outlook generally. He desperately needs some crutch to give him a greater hold on the British people to facilitate a more reactionary social and economic policy at home.



Heath - Vorster Arms Deal

## Arms Are Used to Kill

Fortunately there is already a considerable body of public opinion against arms for South Africa and there is also a vehicle for its expression in the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other popular organisations. Prior to the Singapore Conference Anti-Apartheid already had 100,000 protesting signatures, and Secretary Abdul Minty was armed with supporting letters from Vic Feather of the Trade Union Congress and the British Council of Churches, the United Nations Association and other bodies.

What is now important is that the British public must not be allowed to be misled by the kind of technicalities raised by the White Paper. In the first

place the undertakings were not included in the Simonstown Agreement itself but in subsequent letters. Secondly the evaluation of Britain's commitment has been made by law officers who are only political appointments and therefore not immune to political pressure.

The issues are clear. South Africa must receive nothing in the way of arms. Nothing at all. The smallest concession in this respect at this particular stage will open the way for further sales. And let us not be confused by suggestions that there is no difference between ordinary trade and arms. On the contrary there is a world of difference and while we condemn all contacts with South Africa we are particularly sensitive to arms used to kill.



# HOMELESS - AT HOME

**An Eye Witness Account:  
by Dr. Pascal Ngakane**

protest by the people concerned were ruthlessly dealt with. A case in point is that of someone in Northern Natal who took the department to court and whilst away at court the removals took place and his own possessions were burnt. The department concerned allowed no outsiders to come in to see what was happening and they included priests and doctors who had volunteered to give help. Usually these removals took place in a cloak and dagger atmosphere and the outside world got to know little of what was happening.

## The Legal Position

Prior to 1913 there was no legal land policy restricting African land occupation to any specific area but during that year the notorious "land act" was passed which for the first time placed restrictions on land ownership and

Perhaps the most cruel aspect of the Nationalist Party's policy of Apartheid is the systematic and heartless uprooting of old established African communities for no other reason than ideological. For the past generation now there has been massive movement of peoples from one area to another but of recent times these removals have reached new proportions both in terms of numbers and in blatancy.

In order to give a fraudulent appearance of success in geographic race separation, the Nationalists have to do something dramatic to impress the electorate so people have to be sacrificed. It is interesting that during the period preceding election time last year, removals were accelerated more than ever before. This was because the Nationalists were having trouble with their right wing who were clamouring for extremism and, stampeded into action, the Nationalists had to do something to show that their policy was at least taking off.

No prior preparation was made for the reception of people in most cases and, as in the case of Limehill, the first indication that the people had of impending removals were rumours from school children that removals were to begin in two days.

No assistance of any description was provided in most cases, not even such elementary services as water and sanitation.

Haphazard preparations were made, the people provided with some of the fare and wood, but little else. Any





created specific locations for the occupation of Africans. All other land not so proclaimed was for the occupation of Whites. Any land which was occupied by Africans in unproclaimed areas before the Act was passed was regarded as a "Black Spot" - and had to be taken from African ownership. Several acts of parliament and proclamations made this legally possible. But up till 1936 Africans could still acquire land outside the "Reserves" in areas which had been recommended by various Government Commissions. The 1936 Act stopped any African acquiring or legally occupying land anywhere outside the reserves.

This legal demarcation is in practice not very rigid. The Government has the power to lease land from Africans in the reserved area and hand it over to Europeans. This happens frequently when the land is fertile and is coveted by White farmers, as happened in April 1968, when by government pro-

clamation, fertile land in the Herbert, Vryburg and Makeking areas was taken from the Africans who were then removed to an arid area on the edge of the Kalahari desert.

## Extent of Removals

Between 1948 and 1968 the government had displaced Africans from 106 areas they regarded as Black Spots. These consisted of a total area of 77,074 morgen and held a population of some 75,810 persons by government admission. During that year the Minister of Bantu Administration said that Africans still had to be dispossessed of at least 102,233 morgen.

Up till then removals were hamstrung by several legal entanglements. In 1968 the General Law Amendment Act was passed which made it possible for any Bantu Affairs Commissioner to give people notice to vacate land

without any prior negotiations or notice. All he had to do was to inform a family and his word would render them homeless almost over-night.

It is under the General Laws Amendment Act that most or all of the recent removals have taken place. And it is because the vital decision to take such drastic steps is now vested in minor officials that so much hardship has been caused.

Of recent times, there are mass removals in all provinces but most of them are in Natal.

The people are perhaps informed by a headman that the government has proclaimed their land a "Black Spot" and from that date on they should cease ploughing their land get rid of their livestock ready for the great move. It may take many months or even years between the first notification and the actual removal and during that time the people are virtually reduced to starvation. The final notice to move

Desolation





may be as short as 48 hours. And it frequently comes at a time when the able-bodied men are away in the town working to alleviate the poverty in their areas. It therefore devolves on women, children and the elderly to move house.

On arrival at the new area allocated by the Government, more often than not they are dumped in open country with no homes erected, no water laid, no sanitary amenities provided, no schools, clinics or hospitals for miles. In almost all these areas there is no agricultural potential in the land nor are there jobs available locally. **Effects:** Several doctors went into the Limehill complex to do voluntary work. The statistics they kept of the clinics tell a very sad story of the people who got

to Limehill. 73 were dead within 5 months. One in every 12 was suffering from some illness or other. Then there were 337 cases of gastroenterites; 8 cases of typhoid (or Enteric) fever; 9 cases of pneumonia, 5 of Pulmonary Tuberculosis; 29 cases of Eye infection; 43 cases of Cystitis many of which were due to Bilharzia caused by contaminated streams where they had to draw their water; 34 cases of Worm infestations and 112 of Malnutrition, 28 of which were severe Kwashiorkor.

The same sort of results were available from most areas including Kuruman in the North Western Cape.

The consequent accumulation of bitterness for all this suffering has yet to overflow, but it cannot be in vain.



## Simply Theft

Three Indian families in Durban had their land Expropriated in terms of The Group Areas Act. It had been declared 'White'. The Indians got £700 from the Expropriators. The land was then sold to a Mr. Roger Whiteley for £1,125.

The portions of land have now been zoned for 'Industrial Development', and its municipal valuation is £15,500.

Who is this Mr. Roger Whiteley? He is the Opposition Member of the United Party representing Durban South in the Natal Provincial Council. He appears to be connected with a Company Registered as 'Seltank Concrete (Pty) Ltd.,' and his wife Cornelia Whiteley is nominee Director. The Whiteleys appear to have had increasing successes with snatched sales.

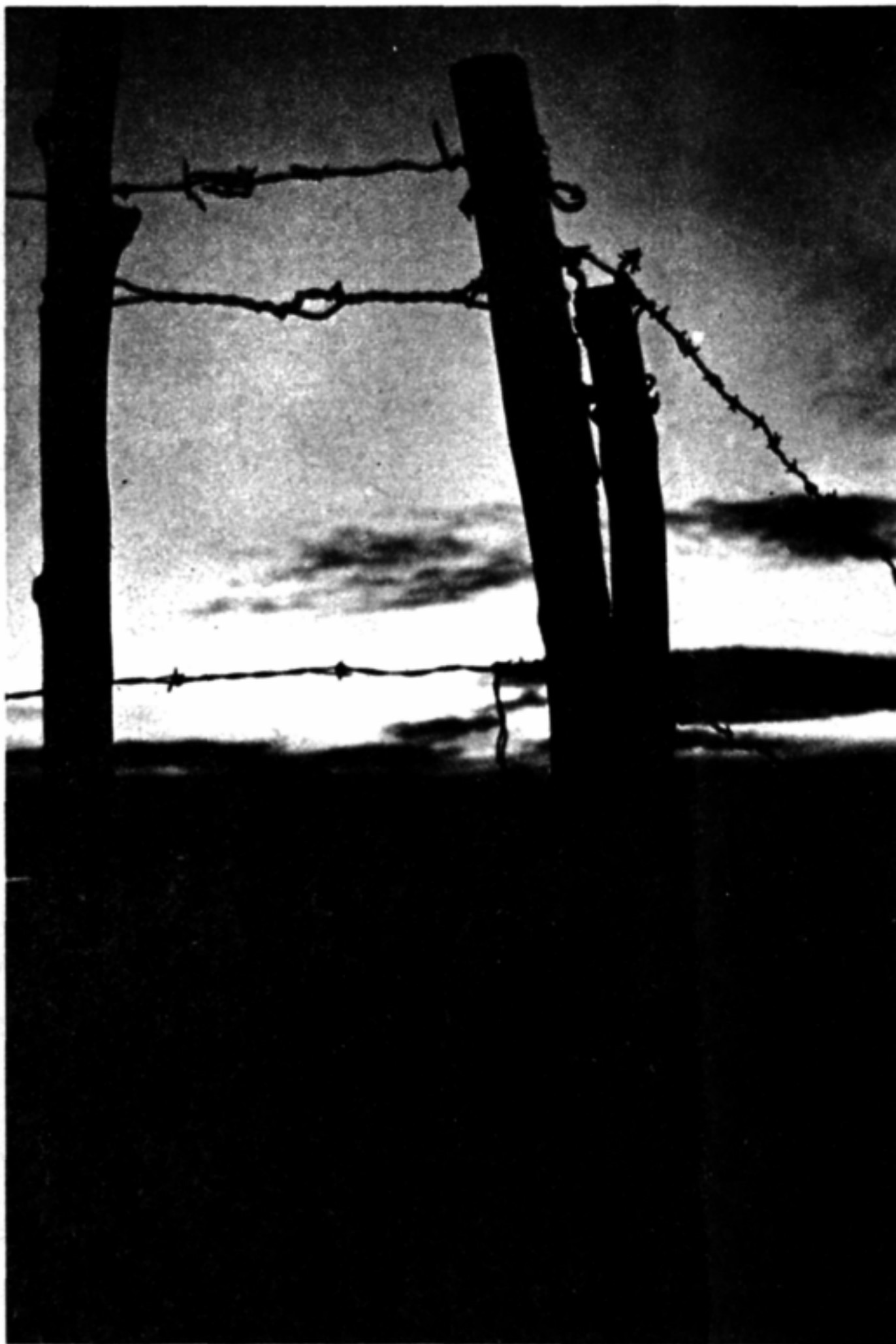
## And Fiddle

From the Sunday Tribune of November 8th 1970, comes another report on Expropriation with a slightly different twist.

A Property in Church Street, Pietermaritzburg, jointly owned by six Indians, was bought by the Department of Community Development for £22,500. The Department sold the property to another set of Indians for £42,500. This transaction was the subject of a Parliamentary Question.

## 20,000 Publications Banned

It is estimated that something like 20,000 Publications have been banned in South Africa over the last twenty





odd years. Recently Mr. Neville Curtis, President of NUSAS (The National Union of South African Students), complained that 130 student publications from the United States have been banned including a copy of his draft speech.

On another occasion a parcel of U.S. Congressional Sub-Committee Reports was pounded by the Postal Authorities for 'a few weeks' and later delivered to NUSAS.

A recent Government Gazette listed the following: Two U.S. publications, the August 22 edition of "Guardian", and the September 15-25 edition of "Quicksilver Times", an American Committee on Africa publication "Would you give South Africa nuclear power? The U.S. did."; and an item "Why NUSAS gets attacked", which Mr. Curtis claimed was a personal draft copy of a speech he made 18 months ago. "The Star's" airmail edition of July 25 was banned in error earlier this month in place of the above American Committee on Africa publication.

## Absent Parents

Kwa Mashu, Durban's sprawling ghetto of 500,000 Africans is being faced with yet another problem.

Each day as thousands of parents make their way in the early hours of the morning to work at the Dock Sides, the plush hotels in the City and on the beach fronts, warehouses and factories, they leave behind some 10,000 children who cannot be placed in schools which are limited and which do not have enough teachers.

In addition to this parents are expected to contribute to the schooling out of the monthly earnings of £9.10. to £22.

According to Mrs. Albertina Mnguni, President of the Women's Welfare Society in Kwa Mashu, "In nearly every Kwa Mashu home parents are forced out to work and the children are left without supervision until their parents return round about 6.p.m."

Mrs. Mnguni went on to describe how the children were getting out of hand, "they are taking to sniffing Benzine and joining roving bands of preying gangs who rob men, women and children".

## Four Years

A custodian of the law, a white police constable, Andries Smit, (19) of Johannesburg who raped a pregnant African woman under arrest was sentenced in Johannesburg to four years imprisonment. In the normal course an African who rapes a white woman would get the death sentence.

## No Family Life

A Soweto man who has been living in Johannesburg for nearly 20 years has been told any hope of having his family with him in Johannesburg is now completely out of the question.

Mrs. Bennett Matlou has been struggling for the last five years to get her family - of four children - from Pietersburg some 190 miles from Johannesburg to join their father, Mr. Matlou. The first time she managed to stay with an uncle in Soweto but was arrested and endorsed out of Johannesburg. Mrs. Matlou's second attempt two years later ended the same way.

Now back for the third time they went direct to the authorities in their plight and again the law says Mrs. Matlou does not qualify to stay so out she goes. Asked by a reporter from the Rand Daily Mail how the permit system works, the director of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department, Mr. T.W. Koller explained,

"No Bantu female can be introduced into this area whether she is the wife of a 10, (I) (b) or not. The only time she can is when she is a 10, (I), (a) or (b), in another area. She can then come in with the consent of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, and he can say 'yes' or 'no'. We've got no jurisdiction over this matter."

A fat lot that helps. In the meantime the Matlou family are but one of the thousands who cannot lead a family life.

## Not a Word

Mr. Samson Hadebe of Durban who lost his own child last year dashed into the sea and rescued someone else's. As Mr. Hadebe emerged from the sea with the child in his arms it was snatched away from him by its white parents who never even uttered a word of thanks.

Mr. Hadebe's white supervisor was very blunt "It's only because Samson is black" he said, "some of these people can't bring themselves to thank a nonwhite even when their child's life has been saved."

## Race - Other Coloured?

South Africa's 2½ million Coloured community are stumped by another definition of "Coloured". A Coloured man Mr. Morris Fynn who is a prominent member of the Durban Federal Council walked out in protest against the Durban Registration Office when told that his week old daughter will be registered as "Other Coloured".

Mr. Fynn discovered that there are no "Coloureds" in South Africa outside the Cape Province and all those outside the Cape i.e. Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and S.W. Africa

(Namibia) are classified as "Other Coloured". A fellow council member Mr. Rooks said "Durban Coloureds are indignant and perturbed at this proclamation". One woman said that this would imply that she was a prostitute because she had four different kinds of children.

## S. B. Threats

Miss Pearl Jansen, Black South Africa's runner up in the Miss World Contest may get all the laurels but the president of the S.A. Amateur Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation, Mr. N. M. Pather, is getting the boot by the Security Branch.

Since Miss Jansen's entry and success in last year's Miss World contest Mr. Pather has had two visits from the Security Branch who have collected details of Mr. Pather's activities and Mr. Pather has been told that the reports are going to Pretoria and that it is likely banning orders will be imposed on him. Another gentleman and a colleague of Mr. Pather, Mr. R. D. Naidoo, who was connected with the Federation has also been recently roughed up.

Mr. Naidoo is a professional secretary and some 15 years ago was 'Listed as a Communist' which according to the Suppression of Communism Act restricts him from belonging to certain trade union and political bodies.

It recently turned out, after the Miss World Contest, that Mr. Naidoo was a secretary for the Natal Laundry Workers Union. Even though he held no official position and did not take part in any policy matters of the Union, he was arrested, charged and given a suspended sentence.

## Agony of Colour

Mr. Boetie Brighton is a 27 year old man of Charlestown in northern Natal, who is classified 'White'.

Boetie's agonizing life goes back to his school days when he was thrown out because of his dark appearance, so he received an education in a black school. He proceeded to work as a 'White Man', first at The Railway Workshop as a Cabinet Maker, then with a Construction Company and now as a Clerk at one of the Clothing Factories.

Locals started spreading stories and one day, the day his aged parents will never forget, the authorities called on them.

His father said, "We are not ashamed of our son, but we have suffered. It is a burden I will carry until my dying day . . . we will never repudiate our son, but there are a lot of people in this town who openly despise us." It is now questionable how long Boetie will retain his "White Job".





M. B. Yengwa

# WORLD CHURCH SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

by M. B. Yengwa

During the past year world church and religious leaders have moved significantly in their opposition to apartheid and they have taken some far-reaching decisions to assist those who struggle against it. Strong resolutions condemning racism taken at the international level have been followed up by action to help eliminate it, representing a welcome change from the traditional pious condemnation and learned sermonizing of the past.

Of special importance is the decision of the World Council of Churches Central Committee last September to allocate grants to liberation movements including the African National Congress. This step triggered off a world-wide debate on the morality of the use of violence to resist race oppression. The discussion rages yet, and Archbishop Ramsey, who ought to have learnt better on his South African tour has now come out in opposition to the W.C.C. decision. Others have shown a similar faintheartedness, but the W.C.C. has stood firm and we have no doubt that its position will come to be accepted in time by most of its affiliates. There were no hesitations in the ranks of the liberation movements or among the racially oppressed peoples who congratulated the W.C.C. on this courageous, Christian act. It has been doubly welcomed since it is based on a realization that "it is not enough for churches and groups to condemn the sin of racial arrogance and oppression, The struggle for radical change in structures will inevitably bring suffering and will demand costly and bitter engagement."

In its efforts to combat racism the leaders of the church have said that religion will come up against powerful, entrenched forces which have helped to sustain racism, and which derive special economic, political and social benefits from it. It will first have to contend with the member churches themselves, who have branches and institutions in racist regimes of Southern Africa and whose White members help to keep the church rich and powerful. They have no desire to abdicate their position of power and superiority attained purely on the basis of their colour.

The churches in South Africa have already condemned the decision of the World Council of Churches on the ground that it implies support for organisations whose purpose it is to change the social order in South Africa by the use of force. The church in South Africa suffers from the fact that it identifies itself with white South Africans, in many ways it is itself a white institution deriving its power and influence

from a white government. Its effective leaders are white even where the majority of its followers are black. The fault is therefore not with the World Council of Churches but with the Church in South Africa that has identified itself with a Government which resists social change (i.e. racial equality) by the use of force.

## SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH HAS FAILED

The church in South Africa has failed to disassociate itself from the actions of a Government which claims to be Christian but practices the most un-Christian policy of racial and social repression like Adolf Hitler did. It is the Church in South Africa which has given implied support for the equipping of the South African armed forces budget with the tax payers' (Christian and non-Christian) money amounting to over R 271,000,000. This army's task is to defend the status quo in South Africa – the perpetuation of a racist, fascist dictatorship. This same army has previously been used to crush unarmed – non-violent demonstrators protesting against racial oppression.

The South African churches have also done nothing to protest against the supply of arms by Britain and France. They have not opposed the collection of monies for the relief of Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique and Angola. Nor have they acted with any seriousness against the Government's continuing violent suppression of our own freedom struggle. On the contrary their own discriminatory policies in the Church have led to numerous protest actions led by Black clergy who are heartily sick of the hypocritical condescension offered them. There has yet to be seen any deepgoing reassessment of Church practice in South Africa such as would lead to its dissociation from the discriminatory institutions of the system as a whole.

Objections by the South African Churches to the W.C.C. grants have been equalled by the Government which reacted quickly and predictably against the W.C.C. They said, "This was the work of communists and those for whom the downfall of South Africa is more important than the Word of God." If the subtle psychological play on words to mean the exact opposite were not so successful, we would find some amusement in these jokes. But this is no joke at all. Mr. Vorster and his followers do indeed seem to believe that "Communism and the downfall of South



Africa" are more important than the Word of God. Such is the ignorance that is begotten by stupid prejudice and isolation.

## WE REPENT OUR SHARE

Apart from the W.C.C. other religionists are also reexamining the old and outmoded positions they adopted in Colonialist days and they are increasingly challenging the holy citadels in Canterbury and Cape Town.

In a conference of religious leaders from all over the world – held in Kyoto, Japan, in October, last year – a resolution was unanimously passed condemning racism and urging support for those engaged in the struggle against racism. "The World Conference on Religion and Peace bringing together in Kyoto men and women of religious faith from the ends of the earth has concerned itself with the urgency of the explosive situation in Southern Africa.

"It is our judgement that the brutality of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia, and the repressive colonialist exploitation in Angola and Mozambique represents a situation of racial war against the African peoples with all the consequent destruction of human life typical of other wars raging in today's world.

"Therefore, as men and women of religious faith,

1. We repent our own share – directly or indirectly – in the perpetuation of structures that entrench racial discrimination in Southern Africa.

2. We condemn the involvement of our religions and other nations in this system of violence to man's humanity based on racism.

3. We call upon all governments to implement the measures they have already adopted in the United Nations, and to support further mandatory sanctions aimed at creating conditions conducive to justice, liberation and peace in Southern Africa.

4. We plead especially for the fullest implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia and for the extension of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

5. We plead with the allies of Portugal – especially NATO allies to terminate immediately all forms of military assistance that enables Portugal to wage war in her African colonies.

6. We demand an immediate end to all types of military assistance to South Africa, including the sale of arms and condemn all such assistance and collaboration with evil as abhorrent to all the values cherished by humanity.

7. We urge the full support by our religions for the victims of racism and colonialism and for those involved in the struggle to bring justice, liberation and peace in Southern Africa.

8. We address this resolution to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation and urge him to transmit its contents to the member States of that organisation."

Addressing the Kyoto conference Dr. Blake, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, had an answer to those who hid behind the status quo and law and order. He declared that "an unjust social system on national or international levels, however peaceful and orderly it might appear on the surface, is potentially and actually a war situation. Wherever and whenever a group or a nation dominates and exploits other groups or nations, a neatly camouflaged state of war actually exists which may erupt into open war at any time. The exploiting groups or nations maintain the status quo, using either brute force or some subtle means of psychological violence. In the name of law and order they often try by force to prevent the oppressed groups from challenging their position of privilege. Those

who are committed to a dynamic peace recognise the hypocrisy of such a stance. In such situations certain disruptions of superficial calm and peace are inevitable and even necessary in order to establish true and lasting peace. Stable and lasting peace can only be built on social justice."

Another speaker at this conference Archbishop Helder Camara of Brazil said: "The plight of the millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America is as much the result of built-in injustice in the international framework of our present-day world as of the built-in injustice in their own societies".

Soon after the Kyoto conference there was a conference in London of Pax Christi, a Catholic organisation committed to world peace which had delegates from most of the countries of Western Europe. Like the Kyoto conference – the London Pax Christi conference passed a resolution on Southern Africa which condemned racism and pledged support for the organisations fighting against racial oppression. At about the same time the Pope received in audience leaders of the liberation movements in the three Portuguese colonies in Africa, after the conclusion of the successful Rome solidarity conference.

## END INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

The gestures by church leaders throughout the world in support of the just cause of liberation from social oppression have met with violent opposition from vested interests in church circles in South Africa. In opposing the decision of the W.C.C. the South African Council of Churches has stated that its reason is that the decision implies support for violence. The South African Church is the last organisation that should complain of implied support for violence. They are wholly culpable themselves. Have they not been bolstering a regime of violence and thriving on their share of the proceeds?

It is unlikely that the W.C.C. will be put off by such spurious opposition. The requests made by the A.N.C. to the W.C.C. were modest enough. We asked for and obtained commitments of support for social welfare, health, educational and legal aid programmes. The requests were not for military aid. Even then the requests must be seen in the context of the present situation. Violence in South Africa is not of the choosing of the African National Congress and other liberation movements, it has been brought about by a system that denies human beings political and economic rights solely on the grounds of their colour and keeps them in subjection by sheer force. The world has come to recognise this and has expressed its recognition of the justness of our cause in many ways.

In the present case, the W.C.C. grants to the liberation movements are only a small part of its programme to combat racism throughout the world and White racism in Southern Africa in particular. It is to be hoped that nothing will deter the W. C. C. from its planned activities.

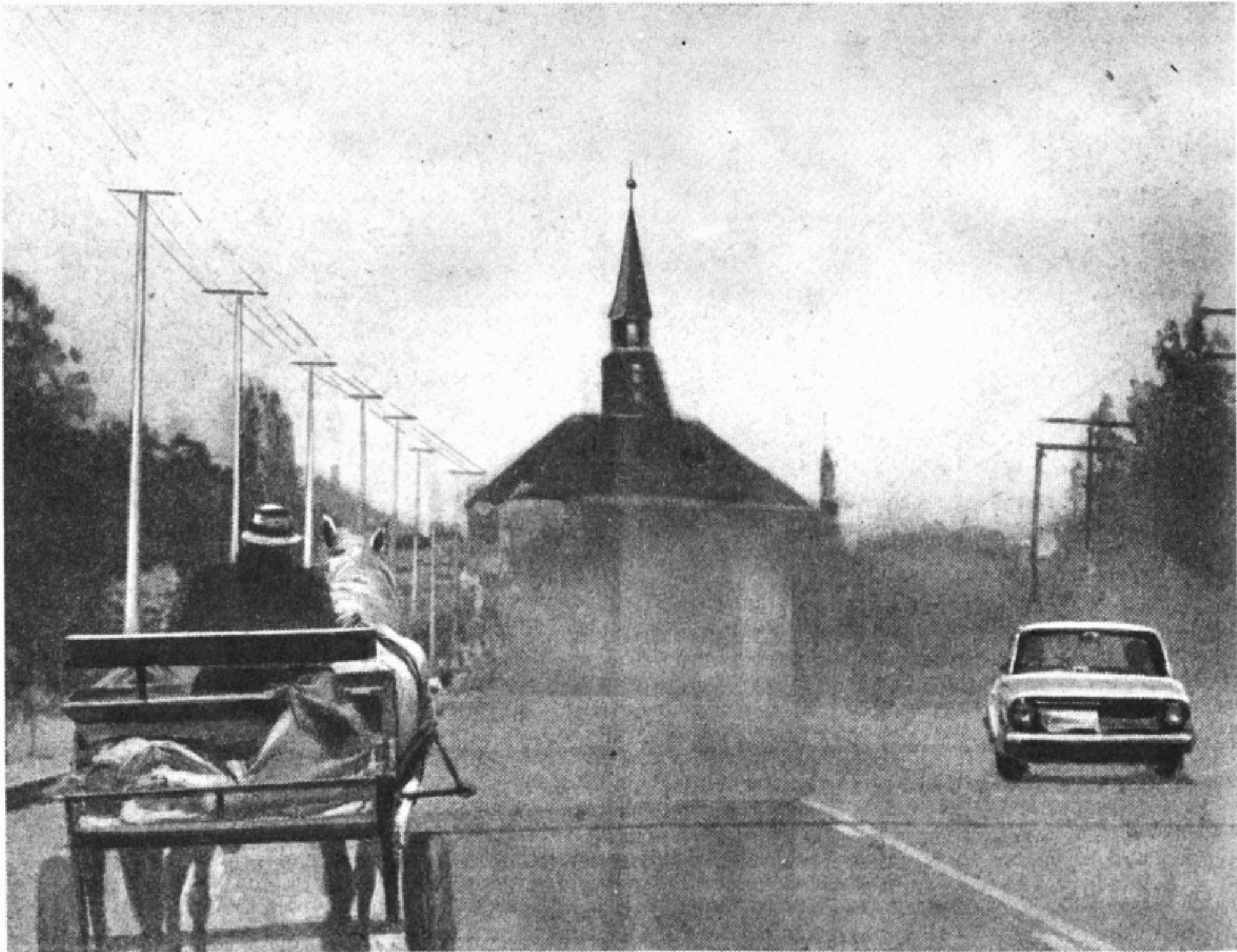
The Church must play its part in a major offensive for the isolation of South Africa. It must influence its membership to take part in a world wide campaign to press Governments and individual firms to stop all arms sales to South Africa, to withdraw investments there, to break off diplomatic relations, and sever all trade, sport and other relations.

The Church can undoubtedly play a major part in bringing an end to all international collaboration with racist South Africa. By turning to this task with energy it will not only contribute to the success of the U.N. sponsored 1971 International Year Against Racism, but it will also contribute magnificently to the downfall of a regime which daily violates the principles of justice and human dignity.



# RAISE A BANNER FOR THE AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE CASE AT EXCELSIOR

Where time has stood still





**When women's liberation supporters are marching behind their placards calling for equal pay and better opportunities let them raise another banner for their sisters in South Africa whose struggle for the first essentials of life is not yet won.**

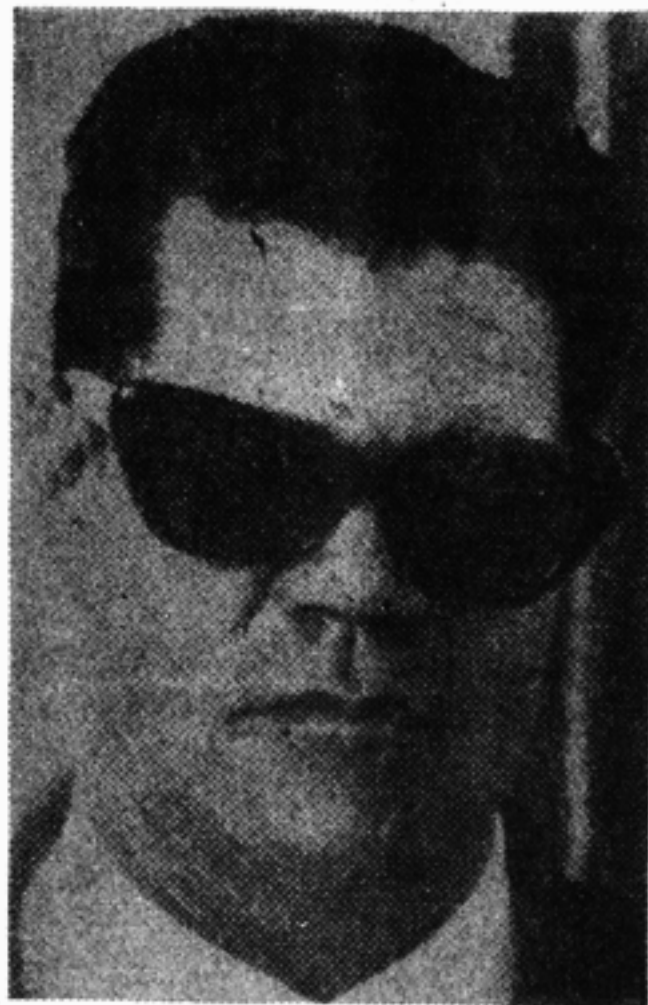
In the small isolated town of Excelsior fourteen African women were recently arrested and imprisoned. Explaining it later to Parliament, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler said that there had been a whispering campaign – rumours had been rife in the white community about the number of African women with "bastard" children (here Mr. Pelsler was referring in customary style, to children of mixed parentage). Complaints had been made to the police and they acted, first arresting one woman and then, on the basis of information extracted from her, thirteen more women and five white farmers. The farmers were immediately released on bail of R50 (£29) each but nobody came forward who could raise this money for the women.

And so, the women had to stay in prison without even legal representation. The police then set about the normal procedure in such cases – beating up and torturing the women to obtain "confessions", persuading them to plead guilty in court and agree to act as witnesses against the reputed fathers of their children.

However, because of the large number of people involved, this case attracted unusual interest and was already receiving considerable attention in the local and overseas press.

Taking advantage of this, one of the farmers' lawyers decided to bail out some of the women and have them

medically examined. He established that they had been badly beaten and made known discreetly that he intended to disclose this in court when the case re-opened. Fearing still more adverse publicity, the Attorney General in



**Local Farmer in the Case**

Pretoria thereupon decided to drop the whole case on the official pretext of "reluctance on the part of state witnesses to give evidence".

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## **One of the Men a Killer**

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Since then the South African press has contained much comment on the case and the flaws in the Immorality Act that gave rise to it. Human interest stories about the farmers and their families abound, the community's reactions to their arrest and release, the torment they suffered as well-known pillars of society, members of the ruling Nationalist Party and upholders of its policy of apartheid. One of them was the local secretary of the Party – "I don't think this will affect my standing with the Party", he is reported as saying after charges were dropped. And he is probably right since a previous convic-

tion for killing an African woman (for which he served 2 years in prison) did not prove an obstacle to his appointment in the first place. But what will become of the women involved in the case, members of the small African community living in the fenced-in location a mile outside Excelsior and dependent on the town and its white inhabitants for their livelihood. The three-year-old child of one of them died while its mother was in prison. Now they are out of prison they must try to find work and they know that this will be difficult. Still worse they may be hounded out of the location altogether and become part of the shifting, rootless thousands without the right to live anywhere.

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## **A Little Beating**

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The lawyer who helped to secure their release from prison showed little interest in their present plight. Although he admitted that one of them had been badly beaten on her legs with a police truncheon, he will not press for a police inquiry into the beatings, "because everybody seemed satisfied and didn't want any more trouble".

Warming to the subject, he went on to claim that "police all over the world beat up people for confessions... Anyway you don't have to beat these Bantu girls very hard to make them talk. You just have to shout at them and push them around a little", a version of what happened could not be verified from the doctor's findings since the lawyer refused to identify the doctor or show pressmen his affidavits. (It should be mentioned that none of the lawyers findings regarding the treatment of the women in prison have been reported in the South African press as this would be a contravention of the Prisons' Act.)

In 1913, in a town not far from Excelsior, thousands of African women marched to prison in defiance of a law which compelled them to take monthly permits to remain in town. And up to today this struggle continues – it is a struggle for the right to a secure home, a settled family life, a job and respect for their fundamental human dignity which is today being violated with such impunity. M.T.



# WORLD JOURNALISTS: AGAINST IMPERIALISM FOR LIBERATION

**Report On the Seventh Congress of the  
International Organisation of Journalists  
by M. P. Naicker**



The Seventh Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists held in Havana, Cuba, from 4 to 11 January 1971, was by far the most representative gathering of journalists held since the end of the second world war. The conference was attended by a total of 326 persons from 84 countries, comprising 187 delegates from affiliated organisations, 71 observers (including representatives of 9 international organisations, among them UNESCO) and 68 invited guests. The third world was well represented as were the socialist countries. Also present were delegates and observers from most other countries, including the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, Spain and France. The most notable absentees were representatives of the People's Republic of China.

Africa was represented by 36 people from 21 countries - 24 delegates and 12 observers and invited guests.

Southern African countries represented were, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Madagascar. The African delegates attempted to unify their outlook on a number of issues, and held several informal meetings for this purpose. These meetings were instrumental in improving African representation on the standing

committees of the Congress, and also served to impress the I. O. J. secretariat the need to take greater account of African opinion and representation in the preparation for future congresses.

The militancy of the delegations of South East Asia, Central and Southern America set the tone for the whole Congress.

## **BRITAIN CONDEMNED ON ARMS TO S. A.**

An emergency resolution, submitted by the South African delegation on the sale of arms to South Africa by the British government was unanimously adopted. The resolution which was cabled to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meeting in Singapore stated:

**"This Seventh Congress of the I. O. J. calls on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference in Singapore to condemn the Government of the United Kingdom for proposing to resume the sale of arms to South Africa in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity. Any compromise on this vital issue, which affects not only the democratic forces in South**

**Africa but the whole of Africa presents a serious threat to world peace and must be firmly resisted."**

## **RESOLUTION ON AFRICA**

The main resolution passed by the Congress dealt with the struggle against imperialism in all parts of the world, and paid special attention to the battle-fronts in South East Asia, Latin America, the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, and Southern Africa. The section dealing with Africa states: "The International Organisation of Journalists follows with warm sympathy the heroic struggle of the peoples of Africa fighting against the last strongholds of colonialism on this continent. "The peoples of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique have obtained great victories in their struggle for national liberation and for the construction of new societies. The I.O.J. salutes and fully supports FREL'MO, MPLA and PAIGC who, as a result of their leadership and their actions, have proved to be the real leaders and authentic representatives of their peoples.

"A courageous armed resistance struggle is being carried out in





Journalists in Conference

Southern Africa, led by the African National Congress of South Africa, the South West African Peoples' Organisation of Namibia and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union of Rhodesia, against the racist and minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and against the illegal annexation of Namibia by South Africa.

"The I.O.J. warmly supports the struggle of all peoples subjected to neo-colonialist oppression by regimes which serve the interests of imperialism and fully supports these peoples who have been forced to embark on the road of armed struggle as the method for obtaining their freedom and independence.

"The I.O.J. salutes and fully supports the appearance of the progressive government of Somalia; and expresses its joy at the successes scored by other progressive African states in their struggle for the building of new societies, especially in the Popular Republic of Congo in its struggle to establish a socialist society.

"The I.O.J. greets the progressive change that recently occurred in Lybia and the Sudan and expresses its support for the peoples of the Sudan in their struggle against the manoeuvres and provocation in the South perpetrated by North American

imperialism aided and abetted by West Germany and Israel.

**"The I. O. J. points out that the policy of aggression and expansion of the racist regime of South Africa, in an unholy alliance with racist Rhodesia and fascist Portugal and backed by Western imperialism constitutes a serious threat to peace in Africa and the rest of the world, and supports the**

**world-wide call for the total isolation of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia."**

"The I.O.J. welcomes the decision of the United Nations to declare 1971: 'International Year Against Racism and Genocide' and calls on all democratic journalists to expose racism in Southern Africa and the Portuguese

Fidel Besieged by Delegates





Colonies more energetically during this year.

"The I.O.J. condemns the United States and other imperialist states and the members of NATO for their military support to South Africa and Portugal and further condemns their proposal to establish a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation with the complicity of the South African regime and including the governments of Brazil, Argentine and Uruguay.

"The I.O.J. supports the U.N. resolution proclaiming the right of Namibia to independence and demands the immediate withdrawal of the South African administration from this territory."

## INTERNATIONAL PRIZE FOR GOVAN MBEKI

One of the highlights of the Conference was the presentation of the I.O.J. International Prizes for the year 1970. One of the prize-winners was Govan Mbeki, the well-known South African journalist, author and A.N.C. leader now serving a life sentence on Robben Island after he was captured with others at the military underground headquarters of the African National Congress in South Africa in 1963. (A profile of Comrade Mbeki appears in SECHABA Vol. 4 No. 10).

Other Prize-winners were the Catholic

journalist and freedom fighter, the late Juan Garcia Ellorio of Argentina, mysteriously killed in a car accident in 1970, whose prize was received by his widow; the late journalist and freedom fighter Elmo Catalan, of Chile; the prominent Soviet journalist Yuri Zhukov, author and leading correspondent of "Pravda"; and the members of the collective of the Mongolian daily, "Unen".

## NEW MEMBERS

New admissions to I.O.J. membership included Venezuela, Spain (represented by two journalists who had travelled from Madrid and were returning to work there), Greece, Japan, Jordan, Madagascar, Chile, Laos, Palestine, Sierra Leone, South Yemen, Sudan, a group of 30 progressive journalists in the United States, and journalists of the Peru dailies, "Expresso" and "Extra", now run by its own journalists and workers as co-operatives. The head of the Sudanese delegation issued a formal invitation for the next Congress to be held in Khartoum, stating that this invitation had the backing of his government.

Cuba gave the Congress and its delegates an enormous welcome. Advertising signs, neon lights and a mass of press publicity made the Cuban people fully aware of the activities of the Congress.

Delegates were taken on visits to various places of interest during and after the Conference. They were able to talk freely to the people wherever they went; to voluntary workers gathering coffee beans on a State farm; to dock workers at Havana harbour, which incidentally was full to overflowing with shipping, many ships awaiting berths and lying anchored outside the harbour. They were able to question the workers on the problems confronting the country and the steps being taken to overcome these problems. They were able to speak to the people as freely as they were able to speak with Fidel Castro who entertained them to dinner one evening. The experience was invigorating.

By comparison with previous Congresses, this Congress was extremely well organised and the wide range of political opinion now represented in the ranks of anti-imperialist journalists from all parts of the world, including Roman Catholic priests from Latin America and Christian Democrats from Europe, augurs well for the future of the I.O.J.

IOJ Conference Centre





# A SECHABA INTERVIEW

## WE PROTEST FRENCH ARMS SALES

BY  
M. GILBERT JULIS  
HEAD OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL  
DEPARTMENT  
OF THE C. G. T.

One of the most important activities of the C.G.T. in the international field, M. Julis told *Sechaba*, is to develop the consciousness of the working class. This has been an essential aspect of our work from the beginning and it embraces also the problems of the liberation movements. The C.G.T. has been one of the mass organisations in France which has struggled against French imperialism in its colonialist activities. We have thereby developed international consciousness and solidarity with the colonial peoples in the process of waging mass struggles in solidarity with those dominated and oppressed by French imperialism.

We have kept in close touch with developments in the liberation move-

ments and recognise that these struggles constitute a basic interest for our trade union movement.

We have made great efforts to publicise the activities of the liberation movements and to inform the working class of France about conditions in these countries. The C.G.T. distributes numerous leaflets, publications, journals and carries information in its own newspapers and those of its affiliates on the situation in the liberation movements. As far as newly liberated countries are concerned the C.G.T. gives material support as well as personnel to help train cadres for their trade unions.

Furthermore the C.G.T. initiates international activity in various bodies to denounce the violations of trade union rights and liberties in the oppressed countries of Africa.

### CONCRETE SOLIDARITY

As an instance of some of the concrete demonstrations of solidarity with countries struggling against colonial oppression the C.G.T. can refer to the mass support actions in support of Algerian freedom. In these actions eight comrades from the ranks of the C.G.T. died in battle with the police of the colonialist government of France.

In the case of Vietnam too, we have been active, and we have even had the satisfaction of concluding that the pressure of public opinion and the massive participation of the workers has had some effect on the attitude of the French Government. The C.G.T. hopes to be able in the course of 1971 to organise in France not only protests and declarations against the racist policies of the South African Government, but also to create greater public interest in these issues. We think that the political organisations, democratic organisations and large mass organisations will be able to adopt favourable policy positions and participate in demonstrations to mobilize public opinion which will in turn influence Government policies.

On the occasion of the diplomatic tour of President Kaunda of Zambia in France, the C.G.T. condemned the trade in arms to South Africa and in particular the role of the French Government in this respect. We also met several French organisations, political and trade union, to discuss this matter. We hope that together with other organisations we will develop our agitation, particularly the exposure of the foreign activity of the French Government.

Anti arms demonstrator manhandled by police





# A PEASANT'S SON TURNED TRADE UNIONIST



John  
Gaetsewe

**John Gaetsewe  
of. the S. A. Congress  
of Trade Unions  
(S. A. C. T. U.)**

The first impression remains. Friendly, genial, with a firm hand-shake, John Gaetsewe exudes a genuineness that lasts. As representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions in London, John Gaetsewe has won the confidence of British trade unionists who see in him a worker like themselves. Unruffled, a trifle pedantic even, Gaetsewe's job takes him to the offices of top British trade unionists and to numerous meetings up and down the country. The impression is always of a sturdy, rugged son of the South African soil.

Sechaba spoke to Comrade Gaetsewe about his work in Britain. He pointed out that his task in Britain is to seek the solidarity and support of British workers for the non-white workers struggle in South Africa. He said: "There is only one way to do this and that is to get to the trade unions and to speak to them directly."

He has therefore worked out a programme to see all the major unions and urge them to respond to S.A.C.T.U.'s call. He proposes to tackle the British trade unions over their investment of funds in South African industry. Also on the agenda is an appeal to British unions to discourage immigration to South Africa on the grounds that any immigrant will be regarded not as a brother but as an enemy by the Black masses, and that British immigrants will be forced to defend apartheid as the struggle develops and takes on a violent form.

"It will not be possible", he says "to discriminate between British immigrants and others when the struggle reaches its full intensity."

Sechaba asked John Gaetsewe whether African workers see their economic struggles as part of the general struggle for national liberation and he replied that the non-Whites, in particular the Africans had no choice but to fight for political rights as well as economic rights since the two could not be divorced. Africans were compelled to carry passes without which they could be arrested at any time, and their wages were determined by their colour. His own experiences had borne out this truth.

## Grew up in the Country

"I was born in Kuruman" he said, "a small place in the north-west Cape. I grew up and attended a secondary school there which was run by the London Mission. My parents were ordinary workers - at one time my father worked in a diamond mine in Kimberley."

Comrade Gaetsewe said that he went to work in Kuruman itself as a messenger in the magistrates court. He also did some private study by correspondence. He earned 7/6 per month as a messenger and then graduated to 10/- when he moved to a bakery about 1931.

"My father lived as a peasant and so I grew up in the countryside. He went to work on the mines for about six months and then came back to the African reserve, where he had some cattle, to plough the land. So he was a migrant labourer and his work on the mines gave him the cash earnings that he couldn't get from the land."



The cash was needed to pay tax and to buy other necessities like food and clothes.

"My mother was a good wife. She looked after the cattle while we were young, and the crops as well. So my childhood was really typical of the majority of Africans in our country – the migratory working force."

Comrade Gaetsewe explained that the education he gained at the mission school was narrow and limited, with a heavy concentration on religion although he learned to read and write English as well as Tswana, his own language.

"The religious education was meant to make me accept my fate and to remain a loyal member of the church and to accept the white man's superiority. Mission education was part of the white supremacy structure and if it weren't for that I think the revolution would have started long ago."

The wages were very low in Kuruman and he wanted to leave, but the mines seemed a poor alternative. It was difficult to avoid this choice since the authorities tried to force young men from that area to do a stint in the mines before they could get permission to work elsewhere. At this time conditions in the mines were very bad. Many workers became sick and died.

## Factory Work

"But I wanted to improve myself beyond being a labourer in the mines. So I left my district illegally for Johannesburg where I soon landed in great difficulties. Of course at that time the registration wasn't as thorough-going as it is today – one was obliged to carry a paper pass and not the reference book of today. But it was difficult enough. For the first few months I stayed with a friend waiting for permission to seek work. There were thousands and thousands of young men in this position. Many were hired out as farm labour."

Eventually Comrade Gaetsewe got a job with a wholesale firm as a delivery man and he was paid £2 a week. He soon left and sold patent medicines door-to-door. But he had difficulties with the authorities since he was unable to get a peddlers licence. So he returned to work at a factory, Rand Steam Laundries, as a checker still earning about £2 a week. Of course he had to send some of this home. Most of the workers at the factory were non-white but it was possible to get promotion and an increase after a time. He joined the Laundry Workers trade union – a militant union led by Betty de Toit and later Leslie Masina. He was elected shop steward in the African section of the union which was legal though not registered.

"Some of the whites at the factory were friendly but the majority would have little to do with Africans. Many were Nationalists and kept to themselves in their separate rest rooms. The majority of the white workers didn't like us much although in the union we sometimes worked together. We often attended meetings together with some of the white workers. The union leadership at this time was far more progressive than the white members. I don't think that there was ever a real prospect of solid unity between white and black workers since the whites were thoroughly

indoctrinated with racist propaganda. At the point of production there was specific work to be done by non-whites only and African workers always felt discriminated against. Nevertheless, most of our people concluded that it is wrong to hate a white person merely because he's white. We learnt from politically progressive people that it was the system we had to oppose not individual whites."

Comrade Gaetsewe went on to say that he thought that one of the big problems facing the trade union movement was whether the stress should be on the unity of workers irrespective of colour or the organisational unity of blacks themselves. The African National Congress was certainly very successful in mobilising the African people as such. The union, on the other hand, was fighting for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the workers as a class.

"I myself joined the ANC in the forties. I did so after reading 'The Guardian' which satisfied my thirst as none of the other English papers did and told me about the ANC. Also J.B. Marks used to address meetings in Newclare which I attended. So I became a member of the ANC long before my trade union."

## Constant Insecurity Hampers Organisation

Comrade Gaetsewe subsequently became a trade union organiser and he spoke of the tremendous difficulties since he had no right to enter factories or hold meetings in the vicinity where police could arrest him for not having permission to do so. This was why organising trade unions was so difficult. In addition dismissal by an employer for union activity meant certain endorsement out of the town, losing a job, losing everything. It was this constant insecurity that militated against a feeling of permanence in the towns, a feeling that the Government encouraged by shifting the workers about. This system had profound implications for the revolutionary movement. Although many workers were born in the towns and permanently urbanized, many were migratory and what was required was the co-ordination of the struggle in town and country.

"I was arrested in 1962 and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment which I served in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Robben Island. I was with Nelson Mandela when we were breaking stones together. But I was fortunate to have so short a sentence,

"Life has been harsh for me but no worse than for other Africans. Apartheid degrades you from the cradle to the grave – you have no place of comfort, no sense of confidence and no feeling of security wherever you are – at home, at work or walking anywhere. At any time you can be arrested, searched, anything can happen to you.

"Race hatred has increased tremendously in the last 5 years and our country faces disastrous consequences. Africans, the other non-white minorities and some white friends now know that there is no way out but armed struggle and we have the world on our side. What Vorster's government has today we will have tomorrow."

**Ben Turok**



# FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA



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## AFRICAN CROWD STONES BUSES

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On two consecutive days crowds of Africans stoned buses at Mbopane, a township north of Pretoria. On February 1st thousands of Africans gathered and stoned buses in protest at the poor public transport facilities available to them. The next day the crowd returned once more. Several buses were damaged and a driver was hurt.

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## TRAIN INQUIRY REFUSED

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The 600,000 Africans crowded into the South Western Townships (Soweto) of Johannesburg have always reacted sharply to the fact that a completely inadequate train service is provided so that when an accident occurs the danger of a major tragedy is always on the cards. Recent accidents and the demonstrations which followed have led Dr. Patrick Lewis, chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's management committee, to issue a very stern warning to the authorities. "I must emphasise the restlessness of the people in Soweto over the train accidents" he said. He felt that if these accidents continued very serious incidents would break out in the area. As it was the great majority of Africans who worked in the city chose to catch trains between 4 a.m. and 5 a.m. so as to avoid being crushed and seriously hurt on the trains at a later hour. Many of them found that it was impossible

to board the trains at a reasonable hour because there were not enough trains to cope with the rush and as a result many Africans found that their jobs were at risk when they came late to work.

For many years now, transport has been a bone of contention in this ghetto. Overcrowding, longer distances, higher costs and accidents have led to many incidents. Several white policemen have been killed in the past by infuriated workers harassed at dangerous crossings. Motorists along the Potchefstroom road have been stoned and assaulted. Officials have been attacked in the townships.

"Blackjacks" (African policemen) have been sent fleeing by the anger of the frustrated and tired passengers who are stopped for passes as they pour out of the stations.

And yet the Government refuses to improve and augment the inadequate train services. The answer to demands for an inquiry is typical. Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister, has rejected the Johannesburg City Council's plea for a commission to inquire into the Soweto rail services. He had been advised he said that the number of accidents and the so-called bad services provided on the Soweto line were greatly exaggerated. As a matter of fact, he added, the City Council and certain (English) newspapers could allay the fears and restlessness of the Africans by ceasing to tell them that their rail services were unsafe.

According to the statistics which he had seen, he had come to the conclusion that the Soweto rail services were as safe as those anywhere in the country.

And because of this assurance by Mr. Vorster, thousands of men and women, joyfully leap out of bed every morning before 4 a.m. so as to go gleefully to work where they stand waiting outside the factories and shops of Johannesburg shivering in their ragged clothing

for over 2 or 3 hours before the doors open. This is why, too, thousands of tired men and women suddenly go beserk stoning cars, beating up police and setting fire to apartheid offices; for, according to the Republic's Prime Minister, they have been misled by well meaning but wholly misinformed newspapers and apartheid Councils (English version thereof).

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## "BOSS" INVESTIGATES IF . . .

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The detention of the Dean of Johannesburg, Gonville Aubrey French-Beytagh, on the 20th January under the Terrorism Act is no isolated act by the Security Branch against the church. Only last month a Lutheran clergyman, Dr. Markus Braun, and his African companion were ordered out of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk at Maraisburg after being questioned in the vestry by the local Minister, Dr. P.J.N. Smal.

But it is the little refinements round these incidents which throw one's memory back to the halcyon days of the stormtroopers in another place where Ministers of various denominations suffered the same humiliations — and often death at the hands of their oppressors.

Take the case of the Dean: Last October an incident took place which he felt "was good for the soul". His car was completely wrecked by a mysterious explosion. (Not the first of its kind by any means.) The South African police refused to investigate since they had no doubt that it was "due to some electrical fault".

However, the Special Branch do not always decline to investigate matters concerning the clergy who come under their scrutiny. When Dr. Smal of Maraisburg called them in, they very eagerly set about questioning Dr. Braun about his motives for attending the church service in the company of an African. They were on the ball all right. After all bombs wrecking cars and endangering the lives of the occupants are not half as explosive as Whites fraternising with Blacks in South Africa. Are they?

Let us pursue the Maraisburg affair a bit further.

Brigadier J. F. Van der Merwe, acting chief of the Security Police, when asked if members of the Security Police had interviewed Dr. Markus Braun, the Lutheran minister, replied very cunningly, "Maybe". The Brigadier denied allegations that telephone tapping and bugging devices were used to spy on clergymen but added:



"The fact that a man is a churchman doesn't make him immune from being watched. The idea that a nationwide watch is being kept on churchmen is completely untrue. In isolated cases churchmen may be watched."

Like the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of Johannesburg for instance!

But the "false accusations against the police" does not stop there. And in spite of Brigadier van der Merwe's assurances that these devices are not used against churchmen, two other very prominent theologians, Professor J.A. Lombard of the University of South Africa and a visiting Professor, J. Verbuyle, Professor of missiology at the free University of Amsterdam, are amongst those who said that they had been watched, bugged or questioned by the Special Branch.

The Special Police are anything if not thorough once they get going. Not only had they questioned Professor Lombard prior to and after the visit of the Dutch dignitary, but most of the other theologians involved in discussions during the visit were also questioned, he added.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, when interviewed about these allegations, said: "I have no doubt that police and informers do keep watch over priests and that they attend and monitor services. This is evident from the fact that numbers of priests have had residence permits cancelled because they have offended against Government policy."

Mr. Mike Mitchell, M.P., challenged the Government to say who was telling the truth about telephone-tapping. Mr. Vorster and his Cabinet colleagues who denied it or General Hendrik van der Berg, head of BOSS, who while under oath in the Appeal Court recently had acknowledged that his department indulged in "afluistering" which is defined in the dictionary as "eavesdropping", "line-tapping", "phone-tapping".

But let us end this pleasant saga by quoting the wise words of that great democrat, Brigadier Van der Merwe himself who when speaking about Security Police policy towards the charges, said: "If there is any subversive activity we know of, then of course we investigate in the same way as we would anybody else . . ."

## HAPPINESS IS FOR WHITES ONLY

The South African Government in its propaganda to the outside world is constantly boasting that all is peaceful and orderly in this happy, happy land!

No strikes. No demonstrations. A paradise to live in. If people in Europe were not so emotional and stuck to the facts, they opine, then it would be seen how exaggerated is all this anti-apartheid nonsense.

So let's look at a couple of these facts about Soweto - the conglomeration of African townships on the South Western perimeter of Johannesburg. The main labour force of the greatest industrial city in the Southern Hemisphere is contained in this area. All 650,000 of them who in the burning hot climate are able to boast of having one swimming bath for their joy and comfort.

Well that is a luxury! But what of schools? Schools are a necessity in any civilised society and everywhere throughout the world more and more schools are going up in a desperate effort to stop overcrowding of classes. Schools are the essence of a nation's future. Unless of course the vast majority of the indigenous population are regarded as foreigners in their own birthplace. If such a thesis is accepted, then the position of schools in Soweto becomes intelligible.

Fact No. 1: Dr. H.J. van Zyl, Secretary for Bantu Education, addressed a meeting of the chairmen of Soweto School Boards recently and told them that in the Department's view overcrowded Soweto high schools (both of them!) should not enrol more pupils than they could manage because this led to high failure rates. This in spite of the fact that in the previous year thousands of pupils had been turned away. No new schools have been built.

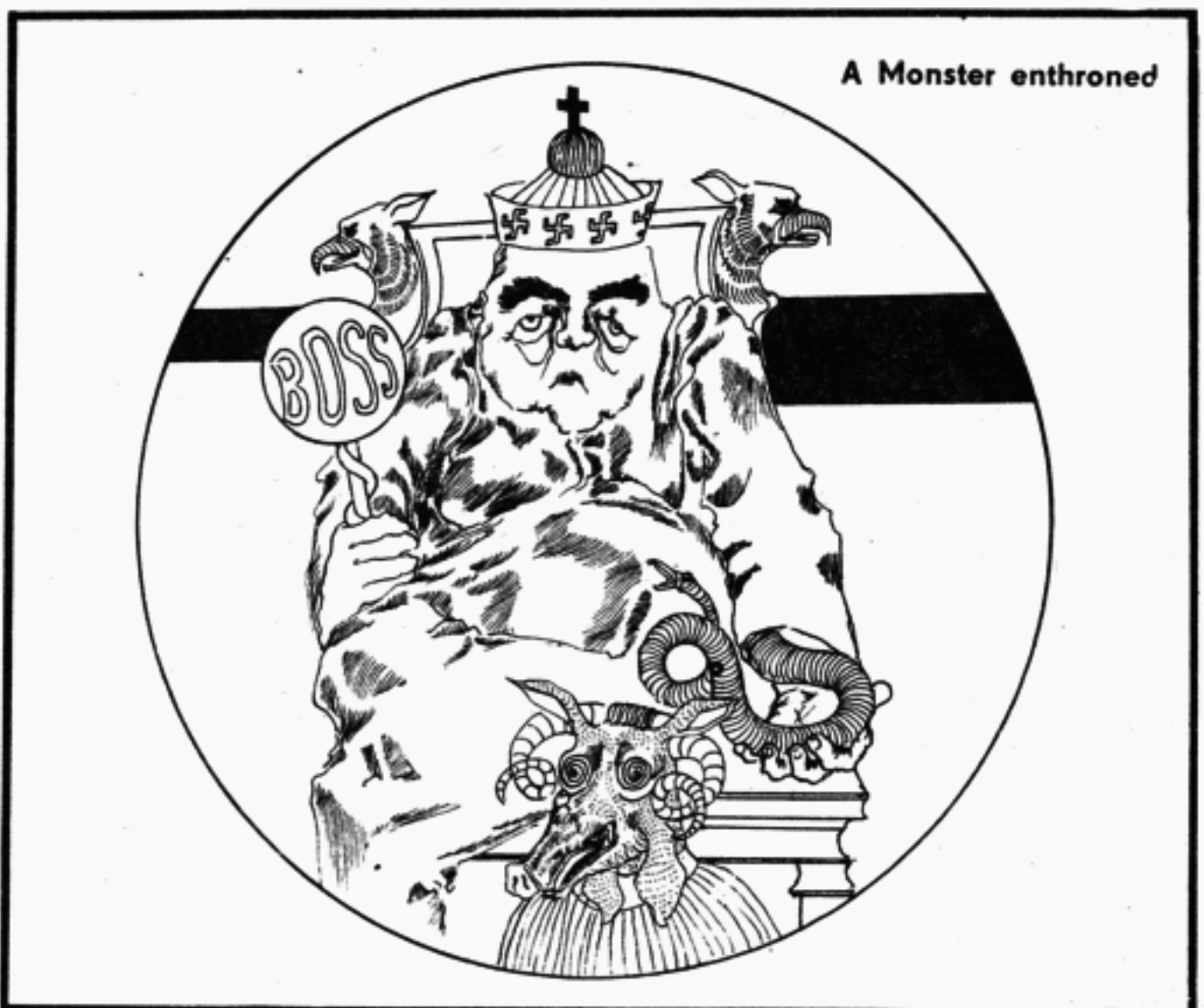
Fact No. 2: The advice proffered by the honourable doctor to those pupils

who were determined to go to secondary schools, "Pack up and go to rural schools". To the so-called homelands, in his view.

So young children, boys and girls, must uproot themselves, break away from their families and go sleeping in digs in the rural areas if they wish to further their studies beyond primary school. A sort of voluntary exodus. No hostels exist in these areas Dr. Van Zyl admitted, "but why not find private boarding"?

Fact No. 3: Double sessions should be continued in the existing schools. Where there were twice the number of children that could be accommodated in a school, two principals could use the same building - one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. But of course this is not original or new. Anxious parents who have to eke out a living working in the white areas, have for years complained about their children going to the "second session" schools. No provision was made to look after them when their parents left home in the early hours of the morning. This led to all sorts of difficulties.

Fact No. 4: So unless church buildings could be obtained for use as extra classrooms, he hoped that primary classes could be pared down to 55 and secondary classes to not more than 50: naturally thousands of children will again be turned away when the 1971 term begins and one can expect a repetition of the picketing by hundreds of children outside the schools as happened at the beginning of last year. It is interesting to note that when a church was used as a classroom, no desks were provided and the children used their knees and the cement floor





instead. Thus the position of our delighted schoolchildren in Soweto.

But what of housing? Here the facts should prove the boast that South Africa has the highest standard of living in the world! This may be true of Helen Suzman's affluent constituency, of Houghton maybe. But what of the other suburbs like Dube and Orlando and so on which go to make up the complex known as Soweto? (which is of course nobody's constituency!)

Let us take only one example to which the Johannesburg City Council has applied its mind lately. This council is landlord of the residents in the thousands upon thousands of breeze blocks lying sprawled over this vast area. Does it provide security of tenure for its tenants? It seems as if this security lasts as long as the man in the family is alive to give of his labour. Should he die - out goes the widow, family and all!

Fact No. 1: Johannesburg City Council have ruled that widows must be evicted from their homes in Soweto.

Fact No. 2: They have refused to allow married women from rural areas to stay with their husbands in the townships. The residents of Soweto have decided to take legal action on these two matters and Mr. P.M. Lengene, a member of the Urban Bantu Council, was applauded when he said: "We are going to take up the cases of all Soweto widows. We men live in fear that when we die our wives and children will be without a home." Another resident, Mr. Alfred Sibisi, added: "What does the City Council want from these widows? They applied for these houses and got them and are paying their rents. Why are they now being raided by the police?" "Does a man not apply for a house so that when he dies his wife and children can have a roof over their heads? I wonder how many white widows are faced with this problem of eviction?" he asked.

And there can be no doubt whatever that every widow with her family who is given a month's notice to vacate her home, is deliriously happy about her future prospects. Or could it be that she does not count when the Government talks about the "high standard of living" in the Republic? Why don't they simply add "For Whites only" and get on with it.

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## BRAZIL KEEPS APARTHEID OUT

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South Africa is more and more becoming the polecat among the nations of the world. This is especially

so in the field of sport. They have already been barred from the Olympic Games; from the cricket pitches of England and now it seems from the territorial waters of Brazil.

A South African naval supply ship, Tafelberg, a guard ship for the 60 yachts from 19 countries competing in the Cape-to-Rio race has apparently been refused permission to anchor at Rio de Janeiro and will have to transfer all the officials and newsmen reporting the race on to a Brazilian vessel 100 miles from the coast of South America and then sail on to Buenos Aires.

The reason put forward by Brazilian officials is that they wanted to keep a "certain distance" between their country and the South African apartheid Government. This disenchantment with the Republic has revealed itself before, for in the past Brazil has strongly resisted approaches to conclude a South Atlantic naval alliance with the Vorster Government. Rather strange that Vorster failed to conclude a pact with Brazil where she had succeeded previously in doing so with Japan. On that earlier occasion when Japanese technicians, workers and businessmen were needed for the iron-ore mines owned by white South Africans in Swaziland, the difficulty was overcome by declaring the Japanese "honorary whites". Maybe it is easier to declare yellow "white" but not so easy to equate black with white. How embarrassing to have to declare Pele an "honourable white"!

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## IRANIANS - A DIFFERENT RACE?

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Over two hundred Iranian technicians came out on strike at the Natref refinery, Sasolburg, recently. Forty-five of them were discharged and flew back to join their families after discussions with Mr. Bill Berry managing director of the company.

It transpires that they had many grievances chief of which related to the low wages which they were earning and to the lack of social contact with women in the area as well as other members of the public in Sasolburg.

Several girls interviewed admitted that these men were good company "but that they would not date them in Sasolburg because their parents and brothers would disapprove. Others were afraid of gossip. In any case said one "I would think differently about marriage. They are a different race." Mr. Ghulamreza Paslar who had been in South Africa for two months seemed

to express the views of many of these embittered and bewildered men when he said: "I think the women are scared of us. I am not a cave man and I know how to treat a lady."

What Mr. Paslar, the dark-skinned Iranian, had not bargained for was the fact that the recruiting agent had not told him about the cave-man behaviour of the whites towards all non-white citizens in the Republic. The social isolation which he felt so strongly in the two months sojourn in Sasolburg will have taught him very sharply what apartheid means to the fifteen million dark-skinned people in the Republic.

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## APARTHEID IS INTOLERABLE-TERRY McLEAN

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Terry McLean, an Auckland author and one of the best known sports journalists in New Zealand, said of the 1970 All Blacks that the real question of the tour was the racial problem of South Africa.

"I am not so simple as to believe there is an easy solution to the problem, but I find it impossible to believe that the subjection of men because they are dark-skinned is tolerable". In his book "Battling the Boks", McLean claims that after visiting several African centres and an African Court in Johannesburg he has no doubt that the iniquities of the pass system were quite unbelievable by normal civilised standards. The main issue as far as the Rugby world was concerned was not whether New Zealand would issue an invitation for the Springboks to tour in 1973 in spite of its fundamental importance to the Rugby bodies of both countries. "What was paramount was the future South African attitude to sport for all interested parties, their racial origin".

By the end of the All Black tour, McLean had become completely disenchanted by aspects of South African life. One came to feel that the Republic was the most wonderful country in the world to live in - if you were white and did not wish to think about frustrations and resentments existing all around.

He warned that unless there were decided changes in South African attitudes, the 1973 Springbok tour of New Zealand would meet with a very mixed reception as a great many of his countrymen were deeply troubled about these engagements.

An interesting sidelight of how much the unpopularity of South Africa has



spread "down under" in the world of sport, is the fact that two South African women lawn tennis players, Laura Rossouw and Brenda Kirk were being kept under guard in a secret hideaway following an anti-apartheid demonstration on the Kooyang courts in Melbourne.

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## SLITHERING OFF THE COLOUR BAR

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An interesting sidelight on twisted politics and social attitudes in South Africa is graphically illustrated by the policies being pursued by the Nationalist - controlled Transvaal Provincial Administration and the United Party - controlled Natal Provincial Administration towards the ambulance services which come directly under their control in these two provinces.

And for those who falsely and naively cherish the hope that the opposition United Party are at all meaningful as an alternative to the racist government, here is a nice twist which should make them begin to have second thoughts about it.

Up to now both Provinces have pursued a policy of sending out a "white" ambulance for Europeans and a "non-white" ambulance for people of darker pigmentation.

But unexpectedly, the Transvaal recently decided to make their ambulance services multi-racial. So in future anyone requiring an ambulance will call one number and the call will be automatically transmitted to the nearest ambulance centre where ambulances normally used for whites will be sent to aid Black casualties. The report does not indicate, however, whether Blacks will service white casualties in the same way. One assumes that this will be so since the Transvaal administrator, Mr. Sybrand van Niekerk, declared these services non-racial. But they are treading warily and on the advice of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the nationalist Johannesburg Sakekamer, this "great" experiment will initially operate in the Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Witbank areas. Should they then find that nobody has been contaminated, this daring scheme will extend to other areas - gradually - in the Transvaal until, with a great sigh of relief, the whole Province will discover that no epidemic has spread via black hands lifting white bodies into Black ambulances - and vice versa. Hallelujah!

But is the so-called, enlightened, English-speaking Province of Natal controlled by the United Party, going to



**A Victim of Kwashiorkor at Nqutu Hospital**

follow suit and perhaps even boldly declare furthermore that blood from black and white donors should now be kept in the same receptacles and not separately as at present? On the contrary they are going to indicate how much more democratic they are by listening to the complaints from whites "who object to being handled by Blacks" and are therefore going to maintain their policy of first ascertaining the patient's race before sending out an ambulance! Midnight madness? Oh no! Just the normal pattern of things inside South Africa. Exaggerated? Well let us look at two other incidents which have taken place recently. Mr. Harry Griffith, a 71-year-old white pensioner and his wife Betty (61) who is coloured were married in 1935 long before mixed marriages were legally prohibited. After marrying, they bought a house in Topham Road, Pietermaritzburg - in what is now a fashionable white area. They lived there happily until the apartheid axe fell and they had to sell the property.

Then in 1964, Mr. Griffith bought a

smallholding just outside the city and hoped to put down permanent roots. But three years later came the second blow with the proclamation of this area as Native Trust land. He has been allowed to remain on the property paying rent to the Native Trust while he looks for somewhere else to go. Several suggestions have been made to the couple as possible ways of overcoming the dilemma. One is that he should seek reclassification as a Coloured and live in a Coloured area but this would mean that his pension would be greatly reduced. Mr. Griffiths has written to the Department of Community Development suggesting that he and his wife live in a Coloured area while he retains his white classification. "When we got married, we never dreamed of anything like this apartheid. It is terribly hard to make a fresh start at our stage in life", he added.

In reply to another suggestion that they should part, the grey-haired Mr. Griffiths said: "But that we will never consider. We love each other."



# BOOK REVIEW

T.O. RANGER:

## The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898 - 1930

(Heinemann £2)

Professor Ranger is well known in African history circles as the principal initiator of a new approach to Central African history. With his colleagues at the University College of Rhodesia, in Salisbury, before UDI and before many of the best teachers were deported or eased out in 1966, Terence Ranger had begun probing deeply and systematically into an aspect of Central African history which had largely been ignored up to that time: the African response to European colonialism.

Until the 1960's, the written and taught version of the history of Zimbabwe (always called Rhodesia) was an expression of the colonial practices and racist assumptions of the white minority, and in a broader international setting, of British imperialism's role in Africa. Ranger and his colleagues began to question the exclusive, lop-sided concentration on what whites had been doing, and to show that Africans were not simply objects of "native policy", passive counters in a game played by Rhodes, Selous and the so-called 'pioneers', or simple-minded friends or enemies of the missionaries, traders and political agents of British imperialism (which was a 'good thing') or the dupes of rival Portuguese, Boer and German imperialisms (which were 'bad things'). The struggle of the African people against alien domination, against the seizure of their land, pillage of their homes, theft of their cattle, and later, their post-conquest resistance to exploitation began to be treated no longer as mischievous and treacherous expressions of savagery, but as legitimate responses to the situation. They had their own inner complexities, their heroes and villains, and dates and significant phases.

Professor Ranger would be among the first to recognise that he cannot personally claim all the credit for this. Behind his achievements lay sweeping and dramatic developments which made them possible. The struggle for independence throughout colonial Africa in the fifties had brought in its wake a new concern for the African past, new opportunities to rescue that past from the distortions of colonialist text-books, new scholars, rooted in their own history, or versed in the skills and findings of archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and scientific methods of social research. In Rhodesia itself, the struggle against minority rule entered a new phase of mass militance in the late

fifties and early sixties, inspiring men like Ranger to search for its dynamic and to trace its historical evolution.

### RANGERS INITIATIVE

The first and major result of this initiative was Ranger's study of the great Shona and Ndebele risings of 1896-97, reviewed in detail in the October 1970 issue of *Sechaba*. He has published other pieces, essays and the like, elsewhere, but the follow-up to "Revolt in Southern Rhodesia" has now emerged, and it forms the first in a new series called 'The African Voice', jointly edited by Ranger and Professor B.A. Ogot of University College, Nairobi. The purpose of the series is to document African opposition to colonialism and racism "during the long period between 'primary' resistance and the emergence of modern nationalist movements." (p. ix). The method is to compile a selection of documents introduced and explained by editorial comment. Each volume will have a different editor. In this connection we are entitled to ask why the editor of the volume on South Africa is to be an American academic and former adviser to the US State Department (Professor Gwendolen M. Carter), when there are many South Africans of similar academic capacity and deeper political insight who could edit a selection of documents purporting to be 'the African voice'. The only reason for this anomalous choice - and it is no justification - must be that Miss Carter has for years been collecting documents of the Congress movement and its allies, fore-bears, rivals and critics, aided by liberal out-pourings of money from the Hoover Institute for the study of Peace, War and Revolution and other equally rich, politically suspect foundations. As a result, she is reputed to control the best library of such material (second only perhaps to the collection of Vorster's Special Branch). However, history belongs to those who make it, not to those who collect its documents, and the voices of the oppressed (there are many) will speak in their own time.

Ranger's latest work is different from the others projected in the series insofar as he was obliged to give an outline of the events, organisations etc. in the period covered, since this had not been done before. Also, the government-controlled National Archives of Rhodesia in Salisbury refused permission to him to copy certain documents in full, and withdrew some files from public access - presumably when the racists realised that their version of history would be exposed as a fraud. An additional result of political repression was to force the author to stop the book at 1930 when it should have taken the narration on to the great strike of 1945, at least. Ranger was declared a prohibited immigrant and forced out of Rhodesia in 1963, bringing his study of the archival material to an abrupt end. He points out in the Introduction not only these grave limitations upon his work, but also the unsatisfactory dependence of his work on predominantly white views of African development (official records of Native Commissioners, evidence to commissions such as that headed by Morris Carter in preparation for the notorious Land Apportionment Act, missionary records, and the files of liberal individuals like A.S. Cripps and organisations like the Aborigines Protection Society). African records, whether oral or written, have hardly been tapped yet for filling out



the picture of African politics from the end of the great rising to the post-war growth of the S.R. African National Congress and its successors, especially ZAPU. But Ranger has made a start, and his book should be welcomed on that account.

## NO SINGLE ORGANISATION

The picture he points cannot be summarised briefly because the evidence is still fragmentary, and also because more fundamentally there was in Zimbabwe no single organisation which established at an early stage a national framework and pre-eminent position such as the South African National Congress south of the Limpopo River – (this was the original name of the A.N.C. until 1925). It is impossible therefore to trace the growth of one movement with continuity and stages of development. But other themes emerge which are of considerable interest. A major one is the high degree of mutual assistance, influence and sharing of personnel and ideas of the protest activity in Zimbabwe with that in South Africa. In the earliest stages, roughly until the mid-twenties, the deputations to Britain on land questions organised by the Congress movement in South Africa were mandated to raise also the land demands of their northern brothers. In the mid-twenties, three elitist pressure groups were established, spear-headed by able farmers who wanted to buy land and aspiring middle-class educated leaders. They were by large moderate, accommodationist, and directly or indirectly influenced by the more conservative tendencies in African nationalist politics in South Africa. They were the Rhodesian Bantu Voters Association, which operated effectively in Matabeleland; the (rival) Rhodesian Native Association which in practice did not extend beyond Mashonaland; and the Gwelo Native Welfare Association covering the Midlands.

## IMPORTANT BACKGROUND

In contrast with these organisations was the radical working class character of the ICU which, following on its great upsurge in South Africa in the mid-twenties, enjoyed wide support and made a big impression in Zimbabwe in 1929 and 1930. But the ICU was neither as well organised as a trade union, nor as broad in its appeal as a national liberation movement. Harassed by the authorities, and handicapped by acute financial difficulties (such as the associations mentioned above did not seem to suffer from), the ICU went into decline in the early thirties and only re-emerged in Salisbury in 1946. Different again was the Watchtower and other quasi-religious movements which often provided the organisational sinews and communication network for significant political or industrial action. Too often, even by its friends, the liberation movement in Zimbabwe is credited with having no past worth speaking of beyond 1955 (when the militant Youth League was formed in Salisbury). That past may have been suppressed by the settler authorities but it is there, rich in experience of struggle, filled with parallels of broader significance and lessons for future struggle. Now only the ignorant or the malicious can deny the historical roots of the freedom struggle in Zimbabwe, and the basic unity of the anti-imperialist struggle throughout Southern Africa. **A. B.**

# OBITUARY

## H. A. NAIDOO

H. A. Naidoo was born in Durban in 1915, grandson of a woman who was brought to South Africa from India as an indentured labourer for the sugar fields.

He was 15 when he organised, together with his friend Ponen, the Indian Youth League. A few years later he led the group of young Indians which successfully challenged the established leadership of the Natal Indian Congress and their policy of collaboration with authority.

He joined the S. A. Communist Party – after meeting Eddie Roux, and he was elected chairman of the Durban District Committee. During the succeeding decade he launched an effective campaign to organise the African and Indian workers into trade unions and he was responsible for raising wages in about 20 of the major Natal industries. Perhaps the most dramatic improvements were gained in the Natal sugar industry, where in many cases wages were doubled.

During this upsurge of trade union and political consciousness among the Indians and Africans, there was not a single strike, demonstration, meeting or confrontation, whether it be with the bosses, the police, the municipal or government authorities, in which he was not personally involved; where his leadership was not sought and where his judgement was not decisive.

He worked prodigiously, made do with very little sleep, yet always found time to help comrades with personal problems. He was good humoured, kind and brave.

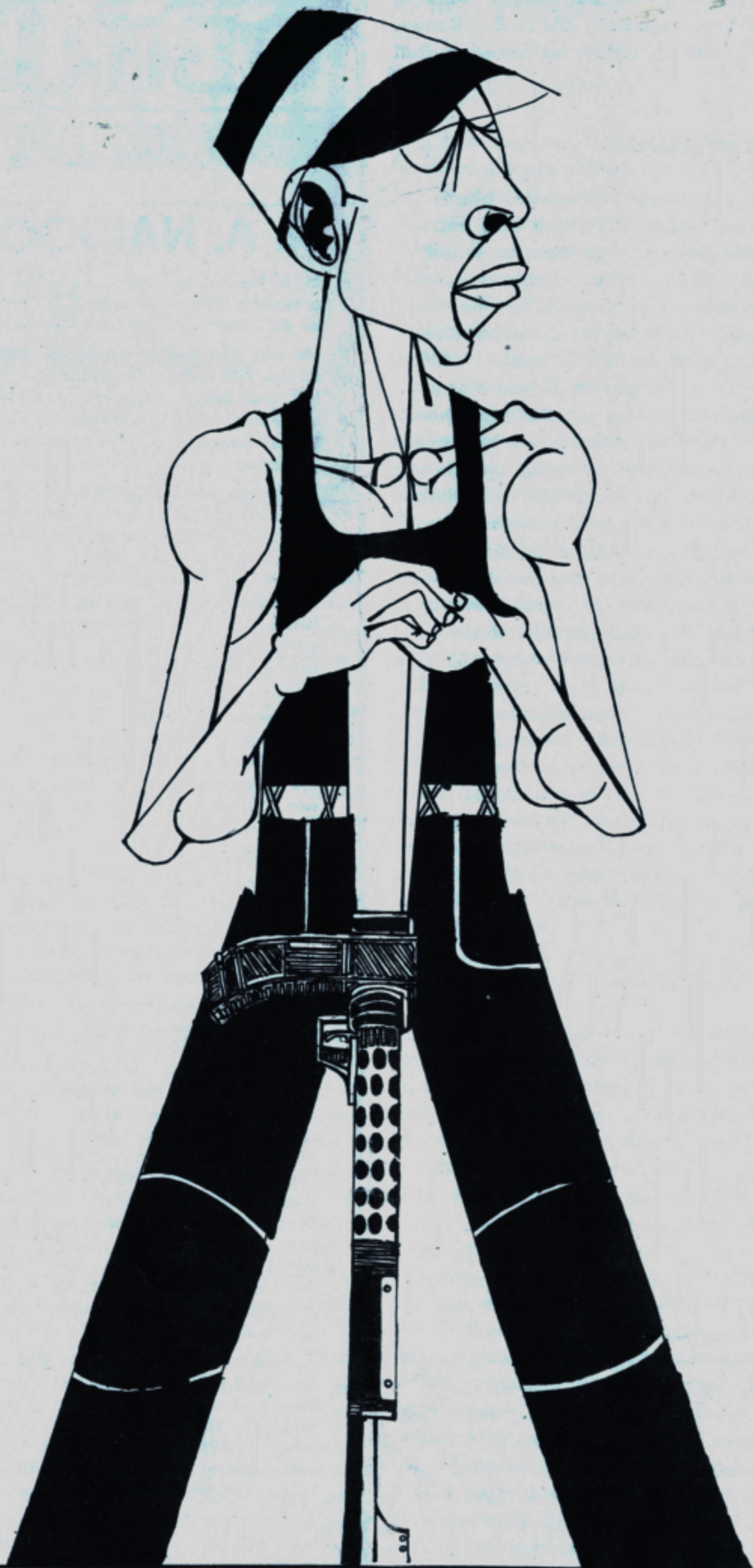
In 1943 he left Durban for Cape Town where he became a member of the Central Committee of the S. A. Communist Party, and joined the staff of the Guardian.

A few years later, when the ugly race riots erupted in Durban between the Africans and Indians, he was sent, together with Moses Kotane, to investigate the causes and to salvage African/Indian unity. His personal standing among the African workers was such that he could move freely and be welcomed, even by those who had participated in the street fighting. H. A. and Moses played no small part in remolding unity between the Africans and Indians of Natal – a unity which stood the test of time. In 1946 the South African Indian Congress appointed him advisor to the Indian Delegation at the first session of UNO where the South African treatment of Indians first came under attack. The same year he represented the Communist Party of South Africa at the Commonwealth Conference of Communist Parties held in London.

In 1951 he left South Africa and six months later was sent by the British Communist Party to Hungary to take charge of the English Language broadcast from Radio Budapest. There he remained for 3½ years returning to Britain in 1955. His experiences in Hungary were bitterly disillusioning to his political ideals and he took no part in political activities after his return.

But right up to the end of his life, when he was a very sick man, he never lost his integrity or his basic belief in the brotherhood of man.





# WORKER - FIGHTER