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J. B. MARKS: Treasurer General ANC (1903-1972)

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J. B. MARKS:

The African National Congress of South Africa regrets to announce the death of its Treasurer-General, Comrade J. B. Marks, on Tuesday, August 1. He died in a sanatorium in Moscow where he was undergoing treatment following a serious illness which developed in Tanzania last year.

Known affectionately to thousands of South Africans of all races as 'J. B.' or 'Uncle J. B.' to the younger generation, he was a legendary figure in the trade union and liberation movements in South Africa.

Born on March 21, 1903, in Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal, Uncle J. B. was the seventh child of mixed parentage (an African father who was a worker on the South African Railways for the better part of his life and a mother of white origin who was a laundress and Midwife.)

He succeeded in finishing primary school and although he wished to continue his studies he was barred from attending a boarding school because of his race. In 1919, however, his parents succeeded in getting him enrolled at the Kilnerton Teachers' Training College in Pretoria. Recalling this, Uncle J. B. often told his friends that relatives and friends who saw him off at the railway station told him: "John, you must become a priest and pray for us so that God will ease our lot".

It was not so easy for a young African to enrol in a Teachers' Training College and still more difficult to study in the atmosphere of drill and violence that was perpetrated by the White wardens and teachers. He found that students were locked up at night like prisoners, and food was extremely bad. Like his fellow students he was punished for every small fault and sometimes for no fault at all.

It was in this situation that J. B. was elected to lead his first strike. Students unable to put up with the harsh discipline decided to boycott lectures and demanded a new deal. Although the strike was not wholly successful, this event was to be the turning point in J. B. 's life. From then onwards he

decided that his path was not that of a clergyman, but to quote him: ". . . the path of active struggle against racial and social oppression."

Almost Murdered

At last he got his teacher's diploma and taught in several schools in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. It was while he was teaching children of African mine workers that he first became involved in politics. The Communist Party of South Africa, which had only recently been formed in 1921, was at that time actively campaigning among the workers and J. B. became involved in these meetings. Four years later he joined the Party.

While still a teacher, he was almost killed by White hooligans while addressing a meeting of workers. The meeting was held on December 16, 1929 to commemorate the anniversary of the bloody war in which the Zulu nation was defeated by the combined Dutch-British army, armed with the most modern weapons of the time.

While he was addressing the meeting, White fascists opened fire and killed eleven Africans. He was pulled off the platform and trampled underfoot. In fact, he was saved from the assassin's bullet by some African women who snatched a pistol out of the hands of a racist who was aiming it at him.

In 1931 he was barred from teaching because of his political activity. From that day onwards he was to devote all his time to trade union and political activity. His dedication and devotion to the cause of the oppressed peoples of South Africa was to make him face many charges in the courts of South Africa. He rose to become Transvaal President of the African National Congress and later its Treasurer-General. In the trade union movement he held several leading positions, but it was as the President of the Mine Workers Union that he was to be best known.

From his early encounter with the children of African miners his burning

A Great South African Patriot

desire was to work for the establishment of an African Mine Workers Union. But because of the strict security arrangements at the mine compounds in which the workers lived it was not until the early 1940's that he was able to begin organising mine workers. Most of the early tasks of preparing the workers to join the Union had to be undertaken clandestinely.

Meetings were then held with the miners in open spaces outside their compounds. And finally in May 1946 a Conference, attended by 1100 delegates representing the majority of the 300,000 miners, put forward a demand for a minimum wage of ten shillings a day and the repeal of mine regulations banning meetings in the mine compounds. They decided that if the demands were not met they would strike on August 12. The mine magnates did not even reply to the workers' letter setting out these demands.

100,000 Miners Strike

On August, 12 over 100,000 miners struck work. They were joined by workers from other industries. Field Marshal Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa, ordered the army out and in the days that followed the workers were bludgeoned back into the mine shafts after they were out on strike for about a week. Hundreds of miners were killed and it is not without significance that the authorities have not to this day given any figures of those who died or were wounded in this struggle.

J. B. Marks and other leaders of the strike were arrested and charged with sedition. Far from cowing the workers by their actions, the government was to find a new spirit among workers all over the land as a result of the magnificent response of the miners. Many national general strikes, making both economic and political demands, were to follow. Notably, the May 1, 1950 strike which brought the country to a halt and the June 26 strike in the same year, in protest against the shooting of strikers on May 1.

Veteran freedom fighter and comrade-in-arms, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Indian Congress with J. B. Marks





Present at the funeral were from right to left, Dr. Dadoo, Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC and comrade Manchka, African Specialist, personal friend of the late JB and representing the CC of the CCCP

Members of Umkhonto we Sizwe carrying a wreath at the Dar Es Salaam meeting. Photo: Eric Mtshali



In Memory of my Uncle – our J. B.

This is for you and yours always
 They said it was death my son,
 And death they repeated.
 "I have no appointment with death", you
 said.
 They did not believe you, I did.

Death is only a phenomenon of cowards
 Who "die many times before their death."
 You did not die, you just left me
 At one o'clock, exactly at one o'clock.
 I will remember that always,
 We will remember that;

The wrath in your spirit,
 The anger in your heart,
 The injustices you fought,
 The message you have just left me,
 Will for centuries be with me
 For us and you, for you are not dead.

We will not die!
 We will live!
 We the nation you with us
 As a guiding light to freedom.

by Vusi Afrika.
 August 5, 1972

However, the mine workers' strike will undoubtedly be one of the great landmarks in the long history of the struggle of the people of South Africa against racial persecution and for full trade union rights.

J. B. was banned early in 1950 but continued working clandestinely in the liberation movements and the trade unions although police surveillance of him made such work extremely hazardous. In 1963, the National Executive of the ANC ordered him to leave the country and join Comrade O. R. Tambo to supplement the leadership in the external mission of the Congress.

Since then he has consistently worked at ANC External Headquarters up to the time of his illness last year.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DIPS ITS BANNER IN MEMORY OF THIS GREAT SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOT AND LEADER!

We pledge to continue the tasks undertaken by Uncle J. B., and others before him, for: **THE LIBERATION OF OUR MOTHERLAND AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FASCISTS WHO RULE OUR COUNTRY TODAY!**



Wreaths from many parts of the world

The funeral procession





John Motsabi addressing the memorial meeting in Dar es Salaam. Others in the photo from the right are: Moses Mabhida, Chairman of the meeting, Mr. Glouchov of the Soviet Embassy and Mr. O. O. Adesola of the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U.

J. B. Marks memorial meeting in India being addressed by the Tanzanian High Commissioner H. E. A Hassan



Memorial Meetings

Memorial meetings in honour of Comrade Marks were held in many parts of the world where South Africans and others participated.

Meetings were held in Dar es Salaam, London, Algiers, India and the German Democratic Republic.

At the meeting in Dar es Salaam, which was chaired by Moses Mabhida, J. B.'s colleague on the National Executive of the ANC speakers included John Motsabi, a colleague of J. B. for many years in the Transvaal, Mr. Glouchkov, First secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Mr. O. O. Adesola, Assistant Executive Secretary of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee and the Chief Representative of Z.A.P.U. who spoke on behalf of the Liberation Movements with offices in Tanzania.

Speaking at the New Delhi meeting, His Excellency, Mr. A. D. Hassan, High Commissioner for the United Republic of Tanzania concluded by saying: "We believe that the greatest homage we can pay to this great revolutionary and freedom fighter is for our people -

the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America - to redouble our efforts and intensify the support given to the freedom movements of our continent.

"J. B. Marks is no longer with us. But let the spirit and determination that guided his entire life inspire us towards the realisation of the ideals for which he so tenaciously fought and strived for. That indeed will be a fitting tribute to the memory of this great man, a revolutionary and an outstanding son of Africa.

Long Live The People OF South Africa!
Long Live the Memory of J. B. Marks!

Funeral

In a moving ceremony at the Novodevichye Cemetery in Moscow on August 11, attended by a large group of South Africans and other friends and sympathisers, Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress, tracing the life of Uncle J. B. said: "We who remain will dedicate ourselves to complete Uncle J.B.'s life-work. We pledge not only to honour his memory but to ensure

J. B. MARKS: an epitaph

He was a mountain of a man,
a Kilimanjaro rampant
in our ceilings furthest reaches.
Forged from burning rock,
that no winter blast
would freeze the ploughed-up brow,
or smooth the craggy buttress of his bones.

Fissures mapped his burnished jaws
like eroded beds, once coursing tears
bled in youth, then crusted
by the lava flow of life.

All men called him uncle,
not in sermon or religious embrocado,
rather awe and easy affection:
an echo to the timbre of his heart,
an accent to the legend of his name.

A kindly philosopher,
a knight of Lenin's table,
a man who wanted all men well.
But now that his rumbling recedes
and his fight of fights is over,
let's look (as he once did) to others among us!

Barry Feinberg

that what he stood and worked for throughout his life will come to pass.

"We will guard, as he did, the unity of our movement.

"We will pursue our national struggle, as he did, in the true spirit of Internationalism.

"We will make even firmer the bridge which he helped to build in our country between national and class forces. Above all, we will live our lives, as he did, in the service of our revolution and we will ever be inspired by his simple words which explained why he became an activist:

"As for me," he said. "I could no longer live without fighting our oppressors".

"Amandla! Matla!"

Other Speakers on the occasion were: Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Comrades I. S. Gustov (candidate member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.), Academician Y. K. Fyodorov (Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee and Hero of the Soviet Union and G. Tarushenko (Deputy Director of the Africa Institute).

THE LAND OF THE OSTRICH

BY TREVOR LYTTLETON

(Mr. Lyttleton, a 36-year old Cambridge graduate, is a composer, music publisher, lawyer and playwright. He wrote "THE DEAL" – produced at this year's Edinburgh Festival – a tragic drama centred upon the moral issues confronting three expatriate white South African liberals who become involved in what appears to be a plot to supply arms to South Africa.

Mr. Lyttleton wrote the following article upon his return from a private visit to South Africa. The significance of his findings lies in the fact that he visited South Africa as an impartial and uncommitted outsider with no axe to grind. He has asked us to state that he is neither a member of any political party nor associated with the Anti-Apartheid or any other similar movements).



"Eighty per cent of the world's ostriches are bred here in South Africa" – says the guide at the Oudtshoorn ostrich farm. No claim to fame more aptly describes the attitudes of most White South Africans both for and against Apartheid.

"AGAINST" APARTHEID

The self-professing 'liberals' are also self-deluding:–

"I moved my bed into a position so that I could see Robben Island across the bay – says a Capetown heiress – "Unlike most Whites I like to be reminded that over 900 political prisoners are detained there. I'm well aware of what's going on and I've no wish to turn my back on uncomfortable facts. It's like Haiti here – 'La Dolce Vita' built on rotten foundation!"

A few minutes later she is protesting vehemently: "But I'm damned if I'm going to leave South Africa! No fear! It wouldn't do any good and, besides, why should I leave all my money behind?"

Mr. S., a wealthy professional man, has convinced himself that "This is a good life. The Afrikaner's gradually becoming enlightened as he moves out

of the insularity of rural life into international business and finance".

But the evidence of increasing Government repressions runs counter to this belief, shared by so many White South Africans who like to persuade themselves that South Africa is a land of 'milk and honey' – without taking too much account of who is milking whom. "We are 'punch drunk'!" exclaims a lawyer describing the mounting volume of restrictive legislation which in the last three years has, amongst other things, made it illegal for:–

anyone to belong to a racially-mixed political party;

Coloured people to continue to have any representation whatsoever in Parliament;

the partners to a mixed marriage, contracted outside South Africa to live together as man and wife within the Republic.

In addition the Government has acquired increased powers: –

to detain people under the Terrorism Act for unlimited periods, without access to anyone, including relatives and lawyers;

to override local authorities in deciding which areas, beaches and other amenities shall be declared "White" or "Non-White";

to restrict where Africans may live, to transfer them to the Reserves and to prevent them from being employed in particular kinds of jobs;

to interfere in the rights of Universities to decide who shall teach, who shall be taught and even, in certain cases, what shall be taught.

SIX SHILLINGS A DAY

But still Mr. S. is optimistic. And why not? Has he not made tens of thousands of tax-free pounds on the Stock Exchange whilst paying lip-service to a concern for the plight of the African who has contributed so handsomely to his profits? And yet – for one of his education and ability – he is not lacking in awareness? Why, for example, is he amazed to learn that African miners earn only six shillings a day? Perhaps he prefers not to know where his dividends are coming from.

"We would be deported if we protested. We talk a lot and do nothing" – explains a Johannesburg lawyer who recently called in at the local police station to visit a client only to find him being subjected to electric shock treatment.

The few who protest do so at their peril. Out of 65 solicitors' firms in

Capetown only 2 are prepared to act for Africans in political cases and they have both been 'searched' by the Security Police.

A Jewish businessman makes comparisons with Nazi Germany:

"What did you do during the holocaust! - I feel like asking every German I meet! But if in 20 years' time I'm asked "What did you do?", I'll have to admit that I did nothing".

A young couple showing me the Wynberg and Newlands suburbs of Capetown point proudly at the neat, white terraced houses:-

"Look how beautifully they've been done up to look like Chelsea-style cottages!"

Not a murmur of sympathy for the Coloureds who were ejected from their homes to make way for the White developers who came in and exploited the situation.

PLENTY TROUBLE

"There's going to be plenty trouble" - complains a Coloured taxi-driver in Capetown who no longer thinks twice about driving a cab labelled "WHITES ONLY". "You save for years to buy a house and then they declare your area "White" and you move out to the suburbs!"

This Market area is to be declared White. The Indian traders are to be moved out to their own township 20 miles out of Durban" and

"That beach is now Coloured but it will be declared White within two years!"

Such bald statements of fact from residents or guides show little concern for the Indian tailor who will lose all his customers or for the Coloured children who will have to travel three miles to an inferior beach.

The warmer-hearted who are genuinely disturbed by some of the Government's policies, too often reveal an awareness blunted by a reluctance to probe too deeply and to discuss real issues. But even the few who make a real stand at considerable risk all too frequently admit that they were more indignant 10 or 15 years ago when the situation was considerably less repressive.

"When I met my old friends from University" - says a South African actress

recently returned after several years in London - "I said: 'What's happened to you? You've changed! We used to fight against these things. But now you just accept and say nothing'. They replied: 'Yes, but we're older now with kids to support. Besides, let's face it, it's a marvellous life here if you keep quiet!"

NEUTRAL

"I used to get upset about the way they treat the Blacks" - reveals an Italian barber in Capetown - "But now I'm neutral. There's no point in discussing any more. The Afrikaner's like a brick wall. Nothing will change him! He's been brought up to believe that the Black man is a servant, an object! I believe in civilisation and progress and that, in the long run - say in 20 or 30 years - things will change. Meanwhile, I'll mind my own business!"

"I must admit I'm not as enthusiastic as I used to be" - confesses a former candidate for a Progressive seat in Parliament. "Three factors have changed me: independence in other parts of Africa (which lost us more votes than anything else); the prosperous boom conditions which have induced many Whites to support the Government; and the increasing futility of opposing a more and more autocratic regime."

The Guide at dinner shows us how: "the Coloureds use beer-can openers as slash rings!"

"Heaven knows what they'll do next!" - sighs a charming English-speaking gentleman.

Such fears run very deep and undoubtedly do much to perpetuate a system under which the Government tightens the screw whilst, for the most part, White South Africans stand idly by with their faces in the sun refusing to look at the pain inflicted in the process.

More than anything else they want to hear how much you love their land, climate, food and way of life. The highest compliment you can pay is to say that you would like to live there, for just as every outside 'convert' somehow appeases their conscience, so conversely, every White emigrant stimulates their feelings of guilt.

Your views on the real issues are unwelcome unless they happen to en-

dorse their sense of security and, if by chance you say too much, you are met with the rebuke: "You really have to live here to understand our problems". However, the rosetinted cocoon of unreality by which most White South Africans surround themselves prompts one to suppose that the length of one's stay in South Africa will be in inverse proportion to the amount one is likely to learn.

* * *

STATUS QUO

White women are keen to point out to visitors from abroad how well they treat their servants. "How I wept at my servant's funeral!" or "gave the maid a bedroom suite" - the maid in question was earning £10 a month!

"My servant cried when she read a statement by an African agitator that servants were going to be abolished. I reassured her".

This lady was obviously more reassured than her maid, for nothing comforts the Whites more than to learn of an African who wishes to maintain the 'status quo'!

"Coloured servants are becoming more difficult these days. They don't appreciate what you do for them" - a Capetown housewife complains. It scarcely seems to have occurred to her that perhaps they do not want to be servants at all! Official propaganda would appear to be remarkably effective - to judge from those who profess to oppose the Nationalists whilst deriving comfort from some of their more specious arguments. For instance, time and again people - other than official guides - refer to the low rents (often as little as £1.50 a month) paid by Africans whilst completely ignoring the low pay they receive in return for their contribution to the White-controlled economy.

For those without eyes to see the easy cocktail life on the sunburnt beaches and their own good opinion of the way they treat their servants are sufficient reassurance that everything in the garden is and will continue to be rosy. Although aspiring to vague 'liberal' principles and a belief that the Government should do a little bit more for the Africans - preferably not at their expense - most non-Nationalists:

Whites do not wish to know about Sabotage Trials, detentions, and mass deportations; nor do they like to be reminded that they are responsible for the decline of the United Party into a mere cypher of what an Opposition should be to the extent that, whilst South Africa accounted for 47 per cent of the world's known executions (U.N. figures), the so-called Opposition stood committed only to Television and a State Lottery! They prefer to watch the share prices confident in the belief that their slice of the cake will grow in size whilst 50 per cent of the African children born in the Transkei (which few of them have visited) die of malnutrition before the age of two!

To do otherwise would be to disturb a happy dreamworld.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS

Afrikaners

There is little love lost between Afrikaners and English-speaking Whites – as evidenced by Mr. Hertzog's controversial outburst to the effect that "only Afrikaners true to the spirit of Calvinism were fit to run the country". The Afrikaner's fear of English domination partly explains the delay in allowing television into the richest country in Africa and accounts for the insistence at all times upon the official use of Afrikaans as well as English (even on a 7-day guided tour in a bus whose passengers all spoke English!).

Nevertheless, the Nationalists insist that the Whites are "one nation with a heritage and way of life all their own" – whilst in the same breath proclaiming that the Africans comprise several distinct peoples each with its own language, customs, etc.

Upon these two statements the policy of Separate Development is based.

* * *

"What we're doing is English constitutional history" – a Nationalist M. P. explains to me in the Cape Parliament:—

"We're governing the Bantu from Pretoria just as the British governed us Afrikaners from Whitehall! The Bantu

are essentially tribal and the difference between the tribes are very great. Our system of keeping the tribes apart protects them from slitting each other's throats!"

It is interesting to hear a lawyer-member of Parliament who has travelled abroad supporting the government's past policy with regard to television with the words: "We don't want that tinned filth!"

When confronted with Professor Reid's figures – quoted above – concerning malnutrition in the Transkei his only comment is:

"Some Africans in the Transkei have four or five Cadillacs!"

He justifies the restrictions on free access for White visitors to the Transkei with: "Even I am forbidden to enter the Transkei without a permit" – as though this was a great hardship for him and a privilege for all the Africans! "Besides" – he goes on – as though this somehow knocked the final nail in his argument – "Asians aren't allowed into the U.K. and, anyway, the African must be protected from Communist agitators".

Moments later the ubiquitous shield of Apartheid is being shown to protect the African from predatory capitalists:—

"White capital is not allowed into the Transkei because we want to protect the Africans from exploitation by Jewish businessmen from Johannesburg! By enforcing Apartheid we're protecting the Africans from discrimination!"

"We limit student protest" – says another Nationalist M. P. – "because there are a lot of communists in the Universities. We don't want unrest. This is a peaceful country!"

"What about Sharpeville?" I interject "Oh! that was a mere pinprick blown up out of all proportion by the world press".

There is an uncanny resemblance between his parting shot –

"You see we don't kill Africans" – and the self-conscious joke of another M. P. as I leave –

"How many Africans have you killed?" –

he asks the policemen at the gate of the Parliament precinct.

* * *

"They think we're the police!" – says a White taxi driver as six African youths – aged 18 to 25 – get up and run off as fast as they can as we drive slowly past the terrible shacks of East London's Duncan Village. Meanwhile, an infant, wearing only a dirty vest, jumps up and down for joy. He has yet to learn to fear White men in cars!

"Did you get the smell of them?" asks an Afrikaans woman after watching Africans in the Transkei putting on a well-rehearsed tribal performance for our benefit. "Why are you always taking pictures of them?" – she exclaims – "We see too much of them!"

The tribal dances are performed in Umtata by bare-breasted women wearing multiple bangles, bracelets and coloured beads under the direction of a White guide who insists that he is not from the Government. With thinly disguised contempt he describes how:—

"They make their huts with cow manure. The women mix it with their hands. Now – you wouldn't like to do that, would you now, Mrs. Jones? but this is the way they like to live!"

On another "showpiece" tour at the colourful Ndebele village near Johannesburg, I manage to walk behind the gaily-painted huts, with rush-matting on the floor, outside which beaded and bangled "topless" African women posed for photographs at extortionate prices.

Inside one of the houses (concealed from the visitors' view) sits a dignified African mother with her uniformed schoolgirl daughter in a simply furnished modern room. Here is the African's natural desire for self-improvement, outside – the Nationalists' vain attempt to 'put back the clock' on that development; here lies the reality – there the facade of fear and self-delusion.

* * *

ENGLISH-SPEAKING SUPPORTERS

A Cabinet Minister recently accused the Opposition of stirring up trouble when a question was asked in the House concerning three Africans found dead from suffocation in an overcrowded prison van. A Judge considered that it was no offence to keep

¹ According to Professor John Reid of the University of Natal.

one's houseboy in the boot of the car provided that there was no danger from exhaust fumes.

Because of their narrow Calvinistic rural background Afrikaner attitudes such as these, however deplorable and unfathomable to the outsider, are in many ways less reprehensible than those of the English-speaking White supporters of the regime.

"Although I didn't mind being in the same ward as Coloured patients I found it repulsive to use the same eating utensils and insisted on being transferred!" – declares a former prisoner-of-war reminiscing about his experiences.

Another explains at table that: "The waiters wear white gloves for hygienic reasons!"

"How can you expect these 'Nigs' to rule a country when they live like that!" – exclaims an English-speaking lady (who might well have been the wife of a Home Counties vicar) as a group of poor, ragged children suddenly emerge – dancing and waving – from the empty scrublands of the parched Transkei.

The sight of a pathetic cripple in Soweto instantly puts the English-speaking guide on the defensive with:

"Oh, they get disability payments, you know!"

"Bantus prefer to live in squalor" – she comments as we pass a particularly depressing housing section. Moments later as she points to the houses of the handful of Soweto's better-off 'Bantus':–

"See how well-kept their gardens are!" – she now says.

A similar inconsistency is revealed when in one breath she describes Africans as "incapable of abstract calculation" and in another how a hospital has just acquired an African medical specialist who studied overseas before coming back to a top job!

We are shown a charming Nursery School for the children of better-off Africans. That it is a "show piece" is clear from the length of the Visitors Book and the fact that pictures of the same school appear in several propaganda brochures on Bantu education.

I am not allowed into an African house at random but am told that if I go to the Tourist Centre there is a house nearby which can be visited!

The guide – who takes State Guests on conducted tours at the Government's expense – describes how Robert Kennedy, during his visit to South Africa in 1967, took two photographs, the first of 'Bantu' lying in the sun in a park, and the second of a miner stripped to the waist. She insists that Kennedy published these in a German magazine and maliciously wrote under the first the caption:– **"BANTU SHOT DEAD IN PARK"** and under the second: **"AFRIKANER MINER STRIPPED TO THE WAIST AWAITING PUNISHMENT"**!

"Don't you believe all the distorted things you read about us in the Press" – says a chatty Nationalist of English origin.

"I am a Nationalist and my father was a Nat". There is no trace of apology in his voice as he continues – "Nationalist policy is based on fear and inbred hatred going back to the Kaffir wars. I believe that you should treat the Black like a younger brother who needs protection. Now you wouldn't give your younger brother a gun, would you?" – he asks.

"Perhaps not" – I reply – "but I'd give him the same food and shelter". The metaphor is quickly dropped.

One of his wife's most vivid memories of her European trip was seeing a woman in Italy pulling a plough: "What a dreadful job for a White woman!" – she keeps on saying.

* * *

"I think the students protesting at the Universities are immature! They need to be guided by their elders and betters". These words – not from a middle-aged, die-hard Afrikaner, but – sad to relate – from a 28-year old English-speaking Public School type working in the Government Tourist Bureau.

"Although I have voted United Party" – he explains – "I now support the Government. You've got to support them in this job, as tourists to South Africa always discuss politics".

"The main thing is they're happy" – says an English-speaking White woman in the Transkei after watching the native tribal dances.

The ostriches of South Africa are not confined to Oudtshoorn

* * *

FACT AND FICTION

As the sun sets over Table Bay and cocktails transform fact into fiction and fear into fantasy, whilst harsh realities disappear as conveniently as Robben Island into the darkness; as White South Africans remain as falsely reassured by the fact that Africans come to South Africa to work – when the alternative in their own countries is no work – as they are lulled by comparing African wages in the richest country in Africa with those in the poorest; as the White supremacists feel secure in their armed strength – conveniently forgetting that without weapons, Africans could by a single national strike bring the entire economy to a grinding halt; as mounting oppression adds fuel to discontent; as the ostriches at Oudtshoorn and elsewhere bury their heads in the sand – let it not be forgotten that just as there is only one real issue – a rich cake and how to share it – there is also only one question to be answered:

"For how long can it remain divided as at present!"

* * *

RUN WITH BLOOD

"This country will run with blood if they don't stop treating the Africans like this" – says a Congregational Minister living and working with Blacks in a small town near the Transkei.

"The laws are wicked" – he continues – "There's vicious hatred here. They're sent to the Transkei at random to starve. There's nothing there for them – no work and little cultivation. They'll only take so much of this treatment.

One day they'll say "We'd rather die than stand any more of this".

But what of the silent majority?

"There is no work here" – says a middle-aged African in a small, shanty town in the Transkei. "I'm here to recruit Africans for the mines. I have no difficulty in persuading them to leave their families. First they're moved here from the towns, then they have to move on because there's no work. We're all very frustrated. We never see the foreign press but we hear the radio. We know what's going on elsewhere. One day there'll be a great war!"

Transcript of a Tape Recorded Statement by a Recently Released Political Prisoner on the Inhuman Conditions and the Fight Being Waged by . . .

POLITICAL PRISONERS



IN SOUTH AFRICA

Submitted to the Working Group of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, which sat recently in London, by GEORGE MBELE, a former inmate on Robben Island

On behalf of the African National Congress I here present the Working Group with a transcript of a tape-recorded interview made this year in Johannesburg, South Africa on the conditions of South Africa's political prisoners on Robben Island. The material we provide today was supplied by a prisoner who spent a large number of years on the Island, and was only recently released.

We are compelled to withhold his name and certain identifying detail. This is because of the nature of the Prisons Act (Act. No. 8 of 1959) of South Africa which

virtually places prison conditions beyond public scrutiny and under which provisions there have been successive prosecutions and convictions for attempts on the part of former prisoners as well as newspaper to reveal what goes on behind South African prison bars. But the tapes are in our possession, and are available if necessary to be played to the Commission; and the transcript below, though shortened and somewhat rearranged for purposes of clearer presentation to the Commission, uses throughout, the words of the informant.



Nelson Mandela
Life



Govan Mbeki
Life



Walter Sisulu
Life

The first portion describes briefly conditions on the Island in 1963 and 1964 when political prisoners were being systematically beaten up not only by the warders but also by bands of criminals encouraged by the warders; and when some particularly brutal cases of assault occurred, some of which have been recorded in earlier public documents:

See now, we are going to give information about Robben Island . . . in 1963 . . . conditions in Robben Island were very, very bad, in so much that political prisoners in that area, on that place, were treated as slaves . . . Many warders were beating the political prisoners (they also organised criminals to beat up the political prisoners.

25, 26, 27, 28, these are the names of these gangs, and they used to conduct fights . . . and they killed one another; and some of the warders were members of these gangsters. For instance, there's a fellow by the name of Du Plessis. He was a big fighter, that is a whiteman. The position is that among the criminals, criminals are not afraid to kill a white warder, so some of these warders, in order to protect themselves, they moved with the gang . . .

There was a fellow called Mlambo who one day asked a warder to go and pass water. The warders called the criminals to dig a hole. He was put in that hole and he was buried alive, that fellow. Yes. He was not killed, he was buried alive. And again, they just opened the space that he should breathe. They opened his mouth and put urine in his mouth. They said to him, drink the water. However, he was taken up out after a time.¹ One day, a fellow by the name of Henry Masondo, who was a lecturer of Fort Hare, he was beaten up. As a result of that, the left shoulder was broken. He was taken to hospital. Instead of receiving treatment from the doctor . . . a doctor who is named Van Den Bergh said to him, he was not broken, he was just pretending as if it was broken. This fellow, this doctor, he was a cruel somebody. Many people died because of him. When you go to him for the treatment, he is not ashamed to say to you, I wish you can die right now, and this is a fellow supposed to be a medical doctor will say this to the people. We complained several times to the authorities, but our complaints carried no weight. That was 1963, 1964.

UNITY AMONG POLITICALS

At that time there were too many criminals, but from June '63 groups of criminals were taken away out of Robben Island . . .

Vorster made a statement to the effect that all the criminals are not supposed to be mixed with political prisoners, even though we were not regarded as political prisoners. We were not allowed to get papers. Now criminals they can get papers. Because we were interested to know what is taking place throughout the world, we used to get papers from criminals. Now, the authorities were not happy about that, even though criminals were doing important jobs for the Whites in Robben Island, for instance they were monitors, house monitors, some were driving vans, which we're not supposed to do as political prisoners in Robben Island. So some of the criminals were taken away . . .

HUNGER STRIKES

The plan of the South African government was that as you know that in South Africa there are C camps, B camps, A camps and D camps, that is ultra-multimum camps for the hardened criminals. Now, well of course there were people who were doing short-terms among the political prisoners. Some were doing 6 months, 18 months, 2 years. The camp for A of political prisoners, it was Worcester. The C camp for political prisoners it was Stoffberg, B camp for political prisoners at Viktor-Verster, that is in Paarl; D camp is Robben Island. Then what happened? As - according to the regulations if you are A group, you are allowed to read papers . . . you are entitled to hear the radio, you can buy sweets, you can buy butter, you can buy bread. But because of our political mind, as political prisoners, we were not allowed to enjoy those facilities or privileges. Then there was a hunger strike in Worcester, because political prisoners there demanded these privileges, because of their rations. Because of that they were demoted and transferred to Viktor-Verster in Paarl. And then in Stoffberg again there was a hunger strike of 12 days. The hunger strike was caused by the treatment which political prisoners received, and the man who was the officer commanding there was Prinsloo and this fellow at one stage was the officer commanding in Robben Island; then he left. And the place . . . was closed as a camp of political prisoners. They were taken to Viktor-Verster in Paarl. In the Verster, political prisoners were working there in the fields. Well, of course treatment was not so

¹ The Mlambo incident was placed in affidavit form before the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, See U. N. document A/AC.11/L.73, 11 June 1964



Wilton Mquayi
Life



Hermann Ja Toivo – SWAPO
20 years



Billy Nair
20 years

bad at the time, until somebody was transferred from Robben Island to the Viktor-Verster, that is the Chief Potgieter, who pretends to know the African people because he knows a bit of Xhosa . . . : he thought that he was in a position to control the people. One day these people, I mean the political prisoners, were there at the Viktor-Verster. It was raining, they were made to go out and work. Then there were protests against that. However, they did go out. When they were out they put up a fight, by saying look, how can you make us work in the rain? The explanation was that they didn't know it was raining on that day! The explanation from Chief Potgieter was . . . "look you are in prison, therefore you must do what we are telling you." We refused to work. When we refused to work we were charged . . . What I can say is that we won the case. Because of that we were taken to Robben Island. The explanation from the authorities was that it is too much for them to be controlled by the prisoners. So the political prisoners in South Africa today are having one place, which is Robben Island.

CONDITIONS ON ROBBERN ISLAND

Let me tell you about the living position in Robben Island now, because some of the things are known throughout the world – treatment and other things – but I want to deal (with) what is happening in Robben Island because even

though the members of International Red Cross used to go there, but the information I have now they don't go. I know they used to call us for interrogation. They were not given sufficient time. Time and again they were disturbed by the authorities, because the authorities were not happy about it. In Robben Island now we have five camps . . . there is a place called Z Section. In that Z Section it's where the criminals are staying in a certain portion: The main section's composed of 4 sections – there are four cells in a section . . . When people were still too many, the warders they used to put 74 people in a cell. You can't even breathe. Well, of course, now people are no longer so many – 40, 50 in a cell. But according to the parliamentarians, when they were there they said those cells are fit for 30 people, each cell. You can well imagine a cell which can occupy 30 people, put 74 people.

And again there is a portion of Namibian fellows, that's South West Africa²; there is a portion of Pietermaritzburg people³ . . . ; there is a portion of Benjamin Ramotse⁴.

Ramotse, after the arrest of 1968 in Rhodesia, in Botswana in fact, because he was arrested, as you know, by the Rhodesian soldiers, so he was kept a year in South Africa, for torture, for about 2 years as you know, until he appeared with the group of 21. He is isolated from the other prisoners. He is (in solitary) all the time. For 15 years. He is not supposed to stay with the other people or the other prisoners. He's not, all these groups are not, supposed to communicate with one another. And there is a group of Rivonia.⁵

² Three groups of Namibian prisoners are confined on Robben Island. In February 1968 30 Namibians were convicted under the Terrorism Act; 19 were sentenced to life imprisonment, a number to 20 years imprisonment, and some to periods ranging from 2 to 5 years. In August, 1969 six men were sentenced under the Terrorism Act, five to life imprisonment and the sixth to 18 years' hard labour. One of the accused, Gaus Shikomba, had been shot by the police. A doctor told the court he found a scar 9 inches by 4 caused by a bullet wound. A skin transplant had been made and the wound was very serious but Shikomba 'had the use of his legs'. In a secret trial held in Pretoria 10 men were charged under the Terrorism Act in mid-1970, and convicted.

³ There have been several major Pietermaritzburg trials. In 1964 B. Nair and 17 others were convicted of sabotage and sentenced to periods of from 5 to 20 years imprisonment. But the segregated Pietermaritzburg prisoners probably refer to more recent convictions: In 1969 12 Africans were sentenced to from 5 to 20 years for membership of illegal organisations, namely the African Natio-

nal Congress, Umkonto we Sizwe and the Communist Party. In June 1971, also in Pietermaritzburg, 14 members of the Non-European Unity Movement and the African Peoples Democratic Union (APDUSA) were tried under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 7 years.

⁴ Benjamin Sello Ramotse was charged under the Terrorism Act in July, 1970 (together with 19 others who were acquitted) after having been in police custody for two years before being charged. In his affidavit to court he described how he had been seized by Rhodesian police inside Botswana. He had first been tortured in a Rhodesian prison, then removed to a South African prison and tortured again. His plea that the court had no jurisdiction was rejected. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

⁵ The 7 Rivonia accused on Robben Island are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada. (An eighth accused, Dennis Goldberg, is serving a life sentence in Pretoria Prison).

This group stays in, they said, in single cells they call it, but that is isolation cells, even though we are mixing during the day, at work, but in the evening one by one, a cell of 4 by 9, the size of the cell, each cell. There is a group of NLF,⁶ it's that group of Alexander, Neville Alexander. Also there is Eddie Daniels. Eddie Daniels is serving 15 years. His colleagues, which are white, were released after serving about 2 years, they were released. People who committed the same crime with him but because of his colour – he's a Coloured man – he's serving 15 years.

... There is a fellow by the name of Michael Dingake.⁷ This fellow, he is a citizen of Botswana but 1966 he was picked up in Rhodesia and he was brought back in South Africa because for a long time he was working in South Africa, even though he was no longer a citizen of South Africa. The family is Tswana. Up to now his wife is Motswana . . . He was caught in Rhodesia and brought back to South Africa. And he was given 15 years. He is now in Robben Island. He is a Botswana citizen, this fellow. Now the point I'm making here is that South Africa has got the power of arresting people right in Botswana. (Also) . . . a question of Cameron Madikezela,⁸ who went to Botswana and there he was shut away by Botswana government. He is now on Robben Island.

BRUTAL AGAINST NAMIBIANS

Namibian prisoners – so-called "terrorists" who were tried in Pretoria and now in Robben Island: these people of Namibia, the treatment towards them is very bad, very, very bad. In fact, even though we are treated badly, but compared with them we are better off. . . . I told you that we were not supposed to communicate, but prisoners are prisoners, they have ways of communicating – I don't have to go into details of that. One of them, because during the times of arrest he was shot in his leg, and he didn't get thorough treatment, even in jail. Eventually the doctor instructed that his leg must be cut off. I've just forgotten the name of this fellow now, and I used to know his name because it was very important to us. However, memory, my memory's not so good these days. I suppose it's because of the food we ate there . . . They are working hard, very hard, I must say at one stage we tried by all means to send a message to them – look, take it easy, don't work so hard, you are doing life here. They got the message and they thanked us for that . . .

THE STRUGGLE TO STUDY

The Department at no stage was happy about our studies in jail. But because of the pressure throughout the country, or throughout the world, we were given this privilege of studying in jail; because we were demanding that eventually, we were granted (it). There was a man who was the head of the studies by the name of Visser. Well I'm not afraid to say during his period on Robben Island on the question of studies we had no problems, because the fellow knows the value of studies in human beings, even the question of a library. He used to change books regularly, get new books for us, if a new student comes, facilities there and then. But after this fellow left Robben Island and somebody was put there as the head of studies by the

name of Naude, a stupid somebody, I don't believe that fellow he has passed even JC. You can't imagine a person destroy a book in the way of putting it in the fire . . . burn a book – (he did this) several times.

The Coloured people they used to call him katkop, because you know the fellow was so notorious, there is this bread which is for Indians and Coloureds in jail, that bread called katkop. It's hard thing, very hard, thick, if somebody can be hit with it, you can die. That's why he was called katkop, if he sees you and he wants to punish you, the first thing he's going to do is grab the bread and throw it at you. That is the type of the person who was the head of studies in Robben Island. Well, of course, he was working under Brigadier Aucamp, the most stupid somebody who is in charge of the political prisoners throughout South Africa, idiot somebody, this Aucamp. There is nothing you can discuss with him, especially on the question of studies . . .

Today he's a brigadier. He's from Pretoria. You know, this fellow is controlling the prisons in South Africa because he's running all over; whenever there is a political prisoner he is there, and he is going to give big instructions against that particular prisoner . . . So if, for instance, there's a book, prescribed book or recommended book by the college or university, and we approach him and say "Look, there is a book, I want to get this book", the answer from him is "Look, why didn't you study outside, what were you doing outside? You are interested in studying today because you are here. It's because of the frustration, you didn't care for studies outside." And he used to say "See, I am going to work hard to stop this nonsense. You are giving us problems over this question of studies because you are getting a lot of money from the communist countries. We want to stop that (Money) for books, studies. He was saying, it was before the Defence and Aid was barred, Defence and Aid was giving us money and that this money was from the socialist countries, communist countries as they called it. Communist countries, and that these communist countries are supporting our families, are giving us this money for studying, that is why we want to study, because we don't pay, that is what he used to say. You see that . . . in South Africa, if you are a freedom fighter you are a communist, nothing else, even if you are fighting for your rights.

WARNINGS

The part which I think is not known outside is the period . . . when the (Prisons) Department, it appears, decided to (re-)organise throughout South Africa; why I'm saying this (is because in) '69 many of these warders they used to say to us 'You know we can see that you want to control this Robben Island prison, and we are going to get you next year, don't you worry, we are going to get you next year.' That was in 1969. We used to ask them 'why, why next year', and they said "No, don't you worry, you are going to see." Well, of course, they were right, they were right.

December '70 a new group came in Robben Island. Hey, I'm telling you, things changed, completely changed. There was an officer commanding there, who is still there up to now. You know, you don't have to be told about him you can see the fellow walking alone at the back, this is a gangster . . . Whenever you speak with him there is nothing he can discuss with you except shouting. You will say to

⁶ Dr. Neville Alexander and 10 others were tried in April 1964 for participation in the "National Liberation Front." Six were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment; the others to five years. In November 1964 Eddie Daniels was charged under the Sabotage Act and sentenced to 15 years.

⁷ Michael Dingake was tried in May 1966 together with I. Heymann for membership of the Communist Party and procuring people for training for the African National Congress and Umkonto we Sizwe. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. He was arrested in Rhodesia and handed over to the South African police. He refused

to plead or take part in the proceedings since he was a Botswana national.

⁸ Cameron Mbulelo Madikizela, attorney, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in April 1969 for breaking his banning order and fleeing South Africa.

⁹ Yes – what do you want, hey?

¹⁰ Mandela was enrolled for a Un. of London correspondence course.

him 'Excuse me colonel'; and the first thing 'Ja, wat soek jy, hai?' You are placing your complaint or your request, he is going to say 'No, I don't want; I am not going to give you.' Then you say, 'Look colonel, you see this thing is very important and you are the only one I can discuss it with.' And the next thing he is going to say 'Look, you're wasting my time, you're wasting my time, there's nothing I can discuss with you, you are a prisoner.' Now . . . we were given, you know, so-called regulations . . . As a prisoner you are not allowed to speak with another prisoner; you are not allowed to whistle; if a warder gives instruction to you, you should carry that instruction. Otherwise you are going to be charged . . . And after that . . . we were working at the quarry, that was before lunch this day, we saw a crowd of warders, it was this colonel, captain, I mean, major, lieutenant, chief, head warder. We were working. We don't know what happened, we're all called. When we went nearer them this fellow, the colonel, he issued instructions that we should go back into the yard. Then the lorry was called to take us back. When we arrived . . . we were all called and then we were demoted. We asked why? because some of us were Bs, some As, some Cs. Why? Then we were told, we're not supposed to know . . . The next thing we were told that not a single person can speak on behalf of another prisoner. That was a new thing to us.

DELEGATION

This new group (of staff) came in Robben Island on the 4th December, 1970. As I've said to you, this is a group who were organised by the department in order to deal with the political prisoners in Robben Island. Deal with them in the sense that they used to say that they are going to discipline us because we are no longer prisoners what they used to see, we are now controlling that place. And because we could see that atmosphere was now very tense, we organised ourselves to send (a) delegation to the officer commanding. We sent 4 people, the names of these people, it was Neville Alexander, Eddie Daniels, John Pokela and Walter Sisulu, to explain our position to the Officer Commanding. Now, the fellow who is the chief and also he is a sort of a head of security in Robben Island, Piet Fourie, this fellow is a nasty somebody. You know, he's a bully; everything there must come through him. As a result of that he's not popular among the other warders. So we decided that, look, the best thing is to approach this fellow and he must make an appointment to see the Officer Commanding. That was done, and this Officer Commanding is a sort of a person who is not prepared to discuss anything with a prisoner. A prisoner to him is nothing but a prisoner. He doesn't take a prisoner as a human being . . . One Sunday these four people were called. Instead of sitting down and discussing the problems with this colonel, he said they must stay outside and they should come one by one. The first question he asked: 'who gave you the permission to represent the other prisoners?' They tried to explain our problems to him and what happened in the past . . . He was not prepared to listen from these people.

DIARIES CONFISCATED

. . . The following day, which was Monday, the cells of these people were raided . . . They got some minor things like diaries, they were told that they were not supposed to have diaries, as prisoners, even though these diaries they bought them in Robben Island . . . The next thing which happened to them, they were demoted. Walter and Alexander, they were under group B. They were demoted into D and at the same time their studies were taken away . . . If you are under D group you are not supposed to study. In fact, what we could see is that all this question of de-grad(ing) of the people there was to take away the studies . . . They put up the argument of saying 'Look this

question of taking away our studies because we are Ds, we can't understand it because '63, '64, when we applied for studies we were still under D's and were granted this permission or this privilege of studying. There was no question of saying look you are D's, therefore you are not entitled of study'. Now the explanation which came from this fellow (the Commanding Officer), was: 'It was another officer commanding at that time. This is my period, therefore I am saying you are not going to study if you are D, and . . . this power I was given by the Minister of Justice, Pelser, and Brigadier Aucamp . . . if you remember last week Brigadier Aucamp, Minister of Justice Pelser, they were here. They went to a place where you are working. Even though you didn't see us, you know we were among the bushes, we saw you not working. Then because of what the Minister of Justice said, we should put you under D group and take away the studies.'

BITTEN BY DOGS

On the question of these people like Mandela, Sisulu, let me say . . . The Rivonia group, treatment towards them was not so bad compared to the other people. Now the point I think was that even though there was a sort of respect towards them, at the same time you could see that there was a fear, or there is a fear because of the noise which the world can make about the treatment of these people . . . Only now, when they decided, I mean the authorities, to take (away) their studies, they tried to put some excuses. For instance, they said to Mandela, he was not supposed to study outside the country because of the law of this country.¹⁰ So he was given more or less a period up to June 1971 to complete his studies. Now when he discussed the matter with them, by saying look it isn't possible to finish this year, then they tried to be harder then. (It) is this new group . . .

On 6 March 1971 there was a hunger strike, which took six days. This hunger strike was caused by this boy, Fourie. People going to work, they were made to move fast, sort of running to go to work, and they were not prepared to do this. Then on this particular morning, because there are dogs there, these police dogs, in Robben Island, they let the dogs bite the people. Four people were bitten by dogs . . .

After these people were bitten up by dogs the authorities tried to bribe them by way of giving them staff jobs to work in the reception (in order that) they keep quiet, not to publish this. Two of them agreed and two refused. Again there was a fellow who was beaten up by Fourie and his gang. J. M. from Johannesburg . . . is serving 12 years. He went to the captain at the quarry, at the working place, to put his complaint. He was stopped by these ordinary warders and he forced his way to the captain. Then he put his complaints. Late in the afternoon, when they came back, Fourie watched M. When he entered the gates . . . he was taken down to the reception. He was beaten up there thoroughly and from there he was taken to isolation, was isolated . . .

This Piet Fourie, he would say look I've been given instructions to beat you up by my senior, Brigadier Aucamp, and I think even you, if you were in my position you would do the same thing, if your senior says to you, you must do this, you do it . . .

ANOTHER HUNGER STRIKE

There was a hunger strike which took 5 days, that was the hunger strike of 1966, March '66. And the type of food which people are eating there, even though South African government at one stage make a public statement, deceive the people outside by saying we are eating better food, while we're eating these boiled mealies and porridge, and raw vegetable, most of the time like carrots, beetroot, we just take it and dump it aside, not eat it. Now you see

there, what they are doing, in the morning they are giving prisoners mealie porridge, black coffee, soup, this powder(ed) soup. The Coloureds and Indians are getting two and a half ounces of sugar in the morning. Africans are getting one and a half ounce. And lunchtime non-meat days – when I'm saying non-meat days I mean Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. And lunchtime they put beans with stones in these mealies.

At one time a fellow by the name of (name withheld) went to the authorities to say: 'Look, we don't mind you to cook stones, but those stones must be cooked well.' It's what he said, that was a joke. The food was cooked by prisoners, but at the same time the political prisoners were not allowed to enter the kitchen. People who do the cooking there are criminals, who were fighting with the authorities there to beat up the political prisoners. Coloureds and Indians at lunchtime, (have) mealie rice, beans, a bit of veg. Supper, that's the evening food, Coloureds and Indians are getting two slices of bread with fat or with jam, and black coffee. Africans porridge and soup. And Africans lunchtime, non-meat days, plain boiled mealies, just plain, with nothing except **phuzamaudla**: it's a sort of powder, whitish, mixed with water; I saw this thing for the first time in jail . . . it's to drink . . . they are saying, you know, it's for keeping you healthy . . . On the meat days, two ounces, small pieces, you can't even give your cat, small pieces. Recently, I don't know whether it was because of the surplus of eggs, non-meat days we were given eggs, one boiled egg per person, non-meat days. But we were told that this thing is not going to go on for a long time, it's only that, you know, they can't use eggs. No, we never got anything like fruit or milk, where (are) you going to get milk there? '67 we got oranges, one time, it was on a Saturday, just once, that was the end. The question of changing of diet. Whenever we discussed this question they said yes, next month we are changing this diet. Now it's '71, they were saying this from 1964.

PROVOCATIONS AND ASSAULTS

This fellow Piet Fourie, he is beating up people. Now, his tactic is that he will call a person from his cell into the reception. When you get there he is going to call a few warders and close the door. Then they're going to give you a good hiding in the reception. For no reason, of course. The point is that, see, he will say you are cheeky. If then you said after the beating up look I want to take this case up, I want you to give me paper in order to write to my defence, he will say I'm not prepared to give you paper. Instead he's going to isolate you, you are going to get 6 months isolation. Not only that, take the blankets out during the day, you are inside the cell alone . . . At one stage they were even taking the mats, you can stand on the cement the whole day. We put up arguments: 'Look, we want you to show us these new regulations as you are saying you are (obeying) new regulations which says we can stand on the cement the whole day. We want to see those regulations.' And then they didn't give us those regulations.

Now another thing which they were doing: they will approach a prisoner by way of provoking him, immediately after that they are going to . . . isolate him. Not all of the prisoners in turn receive this treatment, not all of them. The point was that, they used to say that we are going to deal with you by way of disciplining you. Take for instance this fellow van Skalkwyk. He would say some time "Look I want to fill up your cells today by punishing people". Then we said what for? "Because you are in jail, you must feel, that you are in jail."

RAYMOND MHLABA

I may mention a few names of the people, especially in isolation, or single cells as they call it. You know, Raymond Mhlaba¹¹ is sickly and normally he must see a doctor twice a month. So there is a new doctor . . . Poleski. When this

fellow came first he appeared to be a reasonable somebody. Whenever you discussed with him about your illness but you know as the time goes on he changed. So Raymond Mhlaba went to him one day and explained his illness, and this fellow said 'Look man you're just wasting my time, you're not sick, you're playing.' Then Raymond said to him: 'Look do you think I'm here to look at your beautiful face, if you think I'm not sick, do you think I just come here?' Then the warders who are working in hospital decided to charge Raymond. They didn't even go to court. He was called one day from work, the van went to work and fetched him. So he was instructed to take blanket to isolation cell. When he asked why they said 'well we don't know, we've been told to take you to isolation'. So he was isolated. Six months. Everybody there is six months. And many in fact like Pokela, John Pokela¹², (and others) just for nothing.

UNBROKEN MORALE

How did people cope with this kind of treatment which they have had over the years? Well, you know, I would say . . . the freedom fighters, they would not care about this because they used to tell them by saying look you can do anything, we are going to continue with our struggle in this country, you are just wasting your time. They used to foster this question of 'Boss' that we should address them a Boss. And we would say you will never get that from us, you shall never get that. You know, at one stage, if you want to go to the lavatory, you must go to him and say 'Boss, I want to go to the lavatory.' And we refused: we would never say that. The question of boss does not exist in our minds. (On the) question of friendship we had there: in Robben Island there are Coloureds, there are Indians, there are Africans. You know that among the Africans there are so many tribes, Xhosas, Zulus, Tswanas, Shangaans, but if you go there and sit with these people you can find that their friendship, their unity . . . you can't find it anywhere outside Robben Island. Those people they can use one spoon when they are eating. They can sleep together, not in this way which is being practised among the criminals: I'm not referring to that which is known as sodomy, no, not that one. You know, we used to say when we sleep together (in groups) that (is) federation: federation is **maqabane**; **maqabane** means comrades. You'll find that five people sleeping together under that federation. If one is not happy about something which you don't know, it's the duty of another one to ask your comrades look man, . . . **maqabane**, just like that. Then he will tell you. Another thing to show the unity among among these people – if somebody who's got no money to buy soap (as we are allowed to buy soap, tobacco) our duty is to buy those things at the end of the month and select the committee which is going to control this purchasing toilets. You, you are going to donate toothpaste, you toothbrush, you lux, you tobacco, just like that, and these things are going to be collected in one place and divided . . . among these people who have no money. Nobody can claim these by way of saying look this is my money, I want to buy what I want to buy for my money. There is no such a thing. What we are doing there, we are saying to the people – how much do you write down. Just like that, all of us.

So that alone shows the unity and the friendship among the freedom fighters. They even say, these white warders in Robben Island, whenever they want to divide us, they say you must forget about those, there's nothing you can get from them. If you said who did this, all of us are going to say we don't know. We're going to say we don't know and it's finished.

¹¹ Raymond Mhlaba is one of the Rivonia trial prisoners.

¹² John Nyati Pokela, a former acting secretary general of the Pan-Africanist Congress was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment. He said in court that he had been tricked across the Lesotho border to South Africa by a police agent.

Saso Sets Tongues Wagging

When the Black South African Students' Organisation held its third annual conference in Hammanskraal recently, almost every single newspaper in the country carried news of the event. At least four major papers devoted long editorials to it and Radio South Africa made the election of its new president a lead item on its evening news bulletin. Hundreds of column-inches have been given over to political commentators to analyse, criticise or attempt to understand the phenomenal growth of this organisation and its avowed policy of developing Black Consciousness among both students and the Black population as a whole.

What lies behind the flurry of public interest, not seen since the heydays of the Congress campaigns in the decade before the African National Congress was banned in 1960?

In its executive report, SASO itself gives the answer to this question: "SASO has set tongues wagging because of its potential as a political force", states the report.

Formation of SASO

SASO's origins date back to the formation of a Black caucus at a University Christian Movement conference in 1968, and its inaugural conference was held a year later at Turfloop. Almost from the outset SASO adopted Black Consciousness as its philosophy. Most Whites and many Blacks as well, immediately branded this outlook as racist. But the issue is far more complicated.

The leadership of SASO has been at pains to stress that it does not believe in approaching the problems of our people with a negative antagonism to the Whites. In fact, it urges Whites who genuinely believe in full rights for all the peoples of South Africa to work among their own people and convert them to their way of thinking.

At no stage has SASO made an anti-White statement. Specifically its aim is National Consciousness of all the oppressed peoples in the country. Hence it embraces African, Indian and Coloured so as to popularise its slogan: "I am oppressed and therefore Black."

Clearly therefore, this is not a narrow

racist concept; it has the seeds to become a genuinely patriotic concept.

Not Whitdrawn

SASO has made it clear that it has not irrevocably withdrawn from White student organisations; it has withdrawn to recoup and build Black strength as a prelude to a coming together of the two camps of equal strength, each with its own special contribution to make to the greater whole.

An official SASO history traces the birth and death of several previous Black student movements, and lists the strength of the non-racial but largely White controlled National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) as one of the reasons for their failure.

SASO's policy manifesto specifically states that it "accepts the premise that before Black people should join the open society, they should first close their ranks to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism meted out by White society.

"Blacks should work out their direction clearly and bargain from strength."

While SASO concentrates on the Black community, it believes NUSAS should strive to remodel White thinking. Its long term thinking is already meeting with some success.

Soul Searching

NUSAS, in its executive report submitted to its annual conference held soon after SASO's own conference, states: "The emergence of SASO has caused real soul-searching in NUSAS and the events sparked off by the demonstrations at St. George's Cathedral in June are reflective of a new mood to keep preaching to White society.

"It is a difficult task, but it is unfortunately the only one that will determine the future of South Africa." The Rand Daily Mail, whose reporters were barred from covering SASO's Hammanskraal conference, because

its reports of student deliberations used the term "non-White", despite warnings from the students to desist from doing so, has now decided to change and use the term Black instead of non-White as demanded by SASO, when referring to African, Indian and Coloured people. ("non-White" is SASO's label for sell-outs and collaborators).

Broader Social Role

SASO's membership stands at about 4000, mostly made up of students affiliated through their university S.R.C.'s although it includes members of local or non-campus branches in the main towns. Its membership at Teacher Training Colleges and some High Schools is growing. Local Branches are significant: they are evidence of SASO's commitment to the Black community at large. Their voting power in executive elections indicate the importance SASO attaches to them - with 100 members the Reef Branch has three votes, while Turfloop with 1300 has only seven.

To make concrete its allegiance to the community, SASO has organised a series of student-led projects varying from literary programmes to preventive medicine campaigns. The executive report submitted to the conference is a measure of the seriousness with which SASO is taking its work. It is not content with mere paper projects and frankly admits to failures.

"It is to our regret that we report that our field work projects leave much to be desired. As yet we cannot claim one completely satisfactory project," it states.

SASO's impact on the Black population at large has been dramatic. A new national movement - The Black People's Convention was formed in July this year. More on this later. Let us here conclude with the aftermath of the recent student strikes reported in recent issues of *Sechaba*.

● SASO NATIONAL ORGANISER, Harry Nengwekhulu, 26-year old B.A. graduate, was arrested at his office by Security Police and taken to the "Bantu" Commissioner's Court and charged under Section 29 of the "Bantu" (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act as an "idle and undesirable Bantu". At the time of going to press he was out on bail after having spent a night at Gestapo headquarters - John Vorster Square - and most of the following day in Modder B. Prison.

● THE CHAIRMAN of the recently-formed Council of Presidents of Black Students Representative Councils is one of four students suspended by



the (Indian) University of Durban-Westville.

Another student was notified he would not be allowed to write his examinations at the end of this year and was disallowed passes in four papers he wrote in June shortly after the end of the students unrest. He is not allowed on the campus.

Most of the students from the university who took part in the strike returned to the campus only after being persuaded to do so by a Parents' Committee which negotiated with the university authorities.

In a signed settlement at the time it was agreed that all the circumstances which caused the unrest would be examined jointly by the university authorities and the parents committee; that the S.R.C. constitution would be examined and amended and that the university authorities would take no disciplinary action against students who returned to lectures.

The four students are: Mr. Mannie Jacob, Chairman of the Council of Presidents and Mr. Jay Soni (both in their final year), Mr. Allen Jeffries, a third-year Pharmacy student and Mr. B. Marie, a first-year Arts student. Over 200 students protested after the four had been summoned to the rector's office.

At the time of writing a hearing before the disciplinary committee had been set down.

● AN EIGHT-MEMBER commission of inquiry into the recent disturbances at the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape has been established. The commission will comprise of four members of the university council, four of the university advisory council and two students representatives.

The commission's terms of reference are to look into causes of student unrest at the university and to recommend ways by which it could be obviated. The university authorities have decided that no student will be victimised for his participation in the strike.

● 500 STUDENTS at the (Coloured) University of Western Cape unanimously adopted a motion condemning a decision by the authorities not to readmit six students - two females and four males - to the hostel because of hostel disturbances during the recent student unrest. The motion adopted read: "Students at the University of the Western Cape, note with unqualified disgust the expulsion of six students from the hostel without any reasons being given, and the similarity in the pattern employed in the

expulsion of these students and the expulsion of the entire student body at the University of the North and other Black institutions of higher learning."

* * * * *

Black People's Convention

A new South African political movement was born in Maritzburg recently. After a three-day convention at the Edendale Ecumenical Centre, the Black People's Convention came into being. It was attended by more than 100 Africans, Coloured and Indians from all parts of the country.

The mandate for the convention was given at a meeting held at Orlando, Johannesburg, in December last year. The elected public relations officer, Mr. Sath Cooper who is also a leader of SASO, said: "This meeting is motivated by the concern we feel at the lack of any political movement in this country which adequately expresses and works for our needs as Black people.

"The only Black people's parties in existence are those working within the apartheid system in the Homelands or other Government structures such as the Coloured Peoples' Representative Council.

"The existing institutions frustrate the aspirations of the Black man, and misdirect his political energies because they are the creation of a White Government. The object of the convention which is only open to Black members, is to unite South African Blacks into a Black political organisation which would seek to realise their liberation and emancipation from both psychological and physical oppression.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to unforeseen technical difficulties at our Printing Press, we regret to announce that the November issue will not be published. The December issue, however, will be a double number.

"The Convention will operate outside the White Government created systems, structures and institutions and will not seek election into these.

In defending the need to found a new political movement the Convention's preamble to its aims states that:

- * Black people in South Africa have unique needs, aspirations, ideals, difficulties and problems;
- * It is an inalienable birthright of any community to organise itself into a political movement for the effective translation of its needs, aspirations, ideals and goals into reality;
- * It is necessary and essential for Blacks in South Africa to unite themselves into a political movement if their needs, aspirations, ideals and goals are to be realised.

It goes on to state that Black political movements are the only media "through which our liberation and emancipation can be effected and realised."

Mr. Cooper said the principles and aims of the Convention were:

- * To unite and solidify the Black people of South Africa with a view to liberating and emancipating them from both psychological and physical oppression;
- * To preach, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black solidarity;
- * To formulate and implement an educational policy by Blacks for Blacks;
- * To create and maintain an egalitarian society where justice is meted equally to all;
- * to formulate, apply and implement the principles and philosophy of Black communalism - the philosophy of sharing;
- * To create and maintain an equitable economic system based on the principle and philosophy of Black communalism;
- * To co-operate with existing agencies to reorientate the theological system to the needs, aspirations, ideals and goals of the Black people.

The first executive committee of the Convention will be elected at a scheduled congress later this year. In the meantime a six-man interim committee has been set up consisting of: The Rev. Mayatila, President, Mr. M.N. Shezi, Vice-President, Mr. Drake Koko, Secretary-General, all of Johannesburg and, Mr. M.A. Dhlamini, National Organiser and Mr. Saths Cooper, Public Relations Officer from Natal.

News From Inside South Africa Show ...

COLORED PEOPLE IN RENEWED REJECTION OF APARTHEID



You sense it as you stroll through the Coloured areas of Cape Town. Places like District Six, which has been declared White but still has 35,000 Coloureds living there ... Athlone, Windermere. A tension so taut you wonder it doesn't snap.

The Coloureds are fed-up with the Whites. Disenchanted, resentful. Yes even contemptuous. You don't have to be told. You can see it in their eyes; in their facial expressions. They don't have to spit. They don't have to speak. It's all there, in the face.

This is the way a South African newspaperman described the atmosphere when he visited Coloured areas recently. It is by no means the opinion of a single observer. Daily the newspapers of South Africa report the rise of Coloured reaction to white supremacy, which after many generations, has culminated in the extremism of apartheid, in the futility of sham political rights, in forced removals and declining economic status, deteriorating social conditions and the hypocrisy of so-called "moderate" Whites. Gone are the days when the Coloureds, descendants of slaves, local and imported, and ravenous slave-owners, might have been seen as a cut above the rest of the oppressed because they had some White blood and had a few privileges, cast at them like leftovers from the white masters table.

Says a pale-skinned, grey-eyed young Coloured teacher: "The mood of the younger generation is anti-White, not merely anti-Government or anti-Afrikaner".

Against the background of the ruling National Party government's determination to implement apartheid; their blinkered arguments over whether or not Coloured people should have a "homeland" of their own, and the nail-chewing anxiety of the other racist United Party over the impending loss of the two-million-strong mixed-descent population as allies in the front of "Western civilisation" against the indigenous African population and "communism", the growing resentment of the Coloured people to the dictatorship which is today being measured in terms of increased desire for unity and solidarity with their fellows in oppression the Africans and Indians.

SOLIDARITY

When students at the "Coloured" University College of the Western Cape walked out in solidarity with the expelled students of the African University at Turfloop, it was seen by many as a new and significant development in the present-day gathering of forces of Blacks against racist domination.

In truth, demonstrations of solidarity of the Coloured people with Africans is nothing new. The history of the Black people's struggle against oppression is punctuated with numerous examples of united effort on the part of all oppressed groups. It is also significant that many such demonstrations have assumed a significant class character and it has always been Coloured workers in the main

who have demonstrated their solidarity in the fight for national recognition of the Black people, under the leadership of the Congress movement: for example, the widespread strike by Coloured workers in connection with the establishment of the white Republic in 1961 in unity with the African people. Thus today, even in the absence of the Congress alliance in the public protests of the people many of the demands made emerge from its traditions and political influence and leadership of the oppressed.

The reawakened opposition must also be seen against the background of deteriorating social and economic conditions and the continued treatment of Coloureds as second-class citizens.

For example, various South African newspapers report:

Whites are free to gawk at the people living in Coloured areas. No permit is needed to see the slums of Western Coloured Township, the laundry hung tenements of Newclare, the "nice" houses of Bosmont Riverlea, or the nasty blocks in "Zombie-town".

Overcrowding means three families in three bedrooms in Bosmont, four families in three bedrooms in Coronationville and a man in a backyard shed; seven, eight or 10 people in the mostly two-bedroomed sub-economic houses of Riverlea Extension, or Zombie-town because of the dangers of the night.

Mr. S. is a painter earning R48 a week. Home for his family, nine altogether, is a classroom in a squalid disused church-school building. There are 44 people living, rent-free, in the building, with no water and no sanitation - but for a tap and a toilet across the road.

There are still Coloured families in the Cape and in Johannesburg who call a shack made from cardboard cartons "home".

In the factories, large numbers of Coloured workers earn the same low wages as Africans.

At the level of office employment in commerce and industry, there are marked differences between the wages of Coloureds and Whites.

PROTESTS

In present-day political terms reaction to continued humiliation under apartheid appears to range from formal protests within the institutions of apartheid created for the Coloureds to a move towards the embracing of the newly-created Black Peoples Convention.

In the Coloured Representative Council, even the once squarely pro-apart-

heid Federal Party of Tom Swartz has been forced by the situation to growl at its masters.

"The Coloured people were disillusioned with the representative council. It looks as though the Whites want the best of both worlds," he said in April. "They want separation as well as permanent domination over the Coloureds".

A Federal Party resolution attempted to challenge government policy: "... as such, the present policy of parallel development can only be seen as a means towards the achievement of full political, and social rights."

"Without a separate homeland and the possibility of eventual independence, South Africa's Coloureds can only achieve 'full political, civic and social rights' in an integrated society". The other "Party" in the "Coloured Parliament", the Labour Party led by Sonny Leon, has oft-times voiced protest against the government's apartheid policy. Relegated, by arbitrary government decree, to the "opposition" benches in the CRC although they had gained a majority in 1969 "elections", the Labour Party has been attacking apartheid time and again. But apart from the formalities of the CRC "debates" and statements in the press, the Labour Party has also been compelled to "go to the people" with threats of public campaigning against the administration of apartheid, mainly in the economic field.

Mr. Leon said earlier this year: "There is a very sophisticated group of Coloured, Indian and Africans travelling and spending in South Africa. They should be afforded the same facilities as the White public.

"We will make approaches to companies to give them a chance to get things done. If there are no results, we will launch a boycott against them. This will apply to places wherever our people are spending money and proper facilities are not provided."

BANNING

When in May the Vorster government made a tentative move against the Labour Party by banning its leader in the Natal Province, Mr. Dempsey Noel, the party's executive immediately stated, "arbitrary banning by the State denies people the democratic right to defend themselves before the courts of justice. We strongly protest against this system. Not only the Labour Party but all democratic and freedom loving peoples of our country view this iniquitous banning as a further assault on the personal liberty of persons whose only crime, if it is a crime,

is to expose the unjust system of racial discrimination and racial subjection carried out against the voiceless majority of the people." The party confirmed that Mr. Noel had been planning their campaign against "petty apartheid" when he was banned for five years.

Even the smaller parties which had once tried to climb onto the apartheid bandwagon have changed their tone, even though they still tend to cling to the illusion that the CRC will serve as a gangway to the promised land. Preparing for a by-election in June, the National Coloured People's Party said they were "prepared to work within the framework of the government's policy in the past," but they will fight this election on a rejection of apartheid as "impractical, unjust and un-Christian. We want to make it clear that this is our stand," said Mr. MacBain-Charles, party secretary. "We demand full citizenship for all South Africans."

Time was when the Congresses were viewed as "dangerous bedfellows" and Congress slogans "extremist" by those who today lead these parties in the CRC. The arrest and banning of Coloured militants, to say nothing of Africans, went by with hardly a word from this section. So it appears that developing circumstances are now bringing about the acceptance within these ranks that the basis of the democratic struggle demands freedom not only for Coloureds but for all oppressed groups.

In April a call went out from the Labour Party "for the immediate release of all political prisoners and those held under house arrest." The East London conference felt that "these people had not committed any offence but that they spoke up for the rights of the underprivileged."

At "unity talks", first of all involving Coloured CRC groupings, held at Kimberley in June by representatives of these parties, a resolution was adopted reiterating "the view that all citizens should enjoy full citizenship rights and that this meeting, representative of Coloured opinion, stresses the urgency of attainment of full rights for all the oppressed people of South Africa."

BLACK AWARENESS

But calling a plague on all these houses, other Coloured opinion is embarking on what newspapers describe as "from slave mentality to Black awareness." This involves the rejection that everything the Whites have set up for the Coloureds, e. g. such institutions as the CRC, and "a new mood in Co-



Eeking out
a living
this
laundress
starves
on a mere
pittance

loured politics," manifested in the slogan of "Black Consciousness."

According to a commentator writing from Cape Town: "The use of the term 'Black' to describe Coloured and Indians is by no means general yet, but until a few years ago it was almost unheard of, for either of these two population groups voluntarily to label themselves as 'Black'. The use of the common term 'Black' implies they are all in the same boat." According to the same commentator, "The philosophy of 'Black Consciousness' is that contact and co-operation with Whites, any Whites, blunts the edge of the black struggle. One manifestation of Black Consciousness was the formation of the Black People's Convention in Natal. It will 'operate outside the white Government-created systems, structures and institutions' and 'preach, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity.'"

Another writer says, "Clearly a similar process of self-realisation is at present at work in the African, Coloured and Indian communities in South Africa."

"What we care about", said the poet-

philosopher Adam Small, a leading coloured intellectual in Cape Town, "is understanding ourselves and in the course of this task helping Whites to understand themselves."

The Johannesburg Sunday Times stated in April:

"The emergence of the Black Power movement among the Coloured people is threatening to destroy the inter-race academic movement started at the Grabouw conference last October by leading Afrikaner and Coloured businessmen ... What is even more significant is that the Coloureds who participated in the original Grabouw venture have been forced to reconsider their own position in this Afrikaner-Coloured dialogue movement. At the Grabouw conference most of them disturbed many of the Afrikaners present with their bitterness, outspokenness, uncompromising attitude and deep suspicion about the motives of the Nationalist Government and its policies. Nonetheless, in spite of their militant attitude, they have been branded by the majority of the Coloured elite in academic circles, the professions and in business as 'sell-outs' to the Whites. These Coloured regard

collaboration with Whites in any form as 'treason'. There is a growing feeling among them that co-operation with Whites is senseless, and that their future lies in themselves. They do not primarily think in terms of 'Brown Power' but align themselves with all 'non-Whites' who suffer from 'White suppression'. . . . Since his return from the United States last year, Mr. Small previously an advocate of White-non-White contact-has been a strong supporter of a 'Black Power Coloured movement,' in close co-operation with the Blacks. He has now rejected any form of co-operation with Whites, and believes that the Coloured people must attain their goals under their own steam. The serious aspect of this Black Power movement is that it is directed primarily against the Afrikaner, who symbolises the Government and its apartheid policies. Among the Coloured elite groups the use of Afrikaans is no longer tolerated. People who have grown up with Afrikaans as their mother tongue are now using English and sending their children to English schools-otherwise they will be completely ostracised by their own friends."

This report goes on to say that, "this rapidly-growing movement among the Coloureds could have important political repercussions. There is no doubt that the leadership of both the Nationalist and United Parties are completely unaware of its extent. Their present outdated Coloured policies clearly reflect the shallowness of their political knowledge of the Coloured community. Furthermore, this development is bound to have a profound effect on the Coloured political parties themselves."

ANC PROGRAMME

It is not possible to judge this attitude among Coloured, African and Indian people without considering the background of increased arrogance on the part of the White racists, the widespread social and economic calamities caused by apartheid in all its forms, the "helplessness" (as a SASO leader put it) of any White opponents of the system, as well as the difficulties of working effectively faced by the illegal underground Congress movement with their far more positive revolutionary programme.

The trend of "Black Consciousness" fills a temporary vacuum left by the outlawing of the militant organisations, but what it claims to involve smacks of pessimism as well. It views South Africa only in terms of Blacks versus Whites in the Republic. Nowhere in the utterances of Black Con-

sciousness does one find any view of the national liberation movement in terms of world-wide considerations, as an element of the world revolutionary process which must inevitably contribute to the situation in South Africa. As the programme of the ANC says: "The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the breakdown of the colonial system as the result of the national liberation and socialist revolutions, and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world.

"While the national character of our struggle dominates our approach, it is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era and in a different context from those which characterised the early struggles against colonialism. It is happening in a new kind of world-a world which is no longer monopolised by the imperialist system and a significant sector of newly liberated areas has altered the balance of forces . . . Thus our nationalism must not be confused with the narrow nationalism or chauvinism of a previous epoch.

"We face what is by and large a united and confident enemy which acts in alliance with, and is strengthened by world imperialism. All significant sections of the White political movement are in broad agreement on the question of defeating our liberation struggle. This confrontation on the lines of colour - at least in the early stages of the conflict - is not of our choosing; it is of the enemy's making . . ." Nevertheless says the ANC programme, "Nor must we ever be slow to take advantages of differences and divisions which our successes will inevitably spark off to isolate the most vociferous, the most uncompromising and the most reactionary elements amongst the Whites. Our policy must continually stress in the future (as it has in the past) that there is room in South Africa for all who live in it but only on the basis of absolute democracy."

But, "the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. To blunt it in the interests of abstract concepts of internationalism is, in the long run, doing neither a service to the revolution nor to internationalism. In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which, by destroying the existing social and economic relationships, will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority" and all oppressed people in South Africa.



Chief Albert John Mvumbi Lutuli
(1898-1967)

A dramatic and turbulent period of recent South African history was evoked in a tiny churchyard in Groutville, Natal, on July 23, the fifth anniversary of the death of Chief Lutuli, President General of the African National Congress.

There, in the graveyard, a memorial tombstone in honour of the man many - both friend and foe - regarded as one of South Africa's greatest leaders, was unveiled by his wife Mrs. Nokukanya Lutuli.

Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 and a vigorous and uncompromising freedom fighter, Chief Lutuli's many messages for South Africans of all races lives on in the memories of countless thousands of South Africans.

(A selection of speeches by Chief Lutuli are published in our South African Studies Series and may be obtained from our offices at a cost of 15P/\$0.50).

There was no standing room in the small church where the Chief had worshipped and in which his body lay in state five years ago after his death. More than 600 people packed the church and more than 7000 others listened to speeches being relayed by loudspeakers outside.

The black, green and gold flag of the ANC which was last used publicly at the funeral of Chief Lutuli was held by men dressed in the khaki uniforms of the banned African National Congress next to the pulpit.

It was brought into the hall by a group of men and women dressed in ANC uniforms singing "Mayibuye - Afrika," (Come Back Africa), a song made famous by Chief Lutuli. There

CHIEF ALBERT JOHN MVUMBI LUTULI

were cries of "Africa!" "Uhuru!" and "Kwacha!" (Freedom!)

The scene was an occasion for the most emotional display of African nationalism since the heyday of the ANC in the 1950's.

People from every walk of life, both Black and White stood shoulder to shoulder to honour, as one speaker put it, the 'Hero of Africa', and women wept bitterly. Born in Rhodesia in 1898 of missionary parents, Chief Lutuli moved to the Stanger district in Natal with his family in 1906.

His political career began in earnest in 1946 when he joined the Natal Branch of the African National Congress.

President General

Six years later, in 1952, he was deposed from his Chieftainship after participating in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign organised by the ANC. Later the same year he was elected President General of the Congress.

As President General, Chief Lutuli became known throughout the world as the champion of the exploited and oppressed in South Africa.

In 1956, he was arrested and charged with 155 other Congressmen and women with high treason. After a marathon four - year trial he and all his colleagues were acquitted. Early in 1959, he was fined £100 for burning his pass at the start of the A.N.C.'s anti-pass campaign. It is this campaign

which led to the dreadful shootings at Sharpeville the following year.

In the same year he made a series of tours of the country, speaking to huge multiracial audiences and receiving tumultuous welcomes wherever he went.

After a march in Cape Town, he was served with a five-year banning order, confining him to his home village, Groutville and prohibiting him from attending any gatherings. The order was renewed in 1964 for another five

years. Until his death, allegedly in a train accident, in 1967, Chief Lutuli lived under the same restrictions that now besets many of his followers.

The World Mourns

Hundreds of messages of sympathy have been received from all over the world by the African National Congress, the Lutuli family and the Lutuli Foundation in London. These vary from Heads of States to ordinary admirers of the Chief.

Meetings to mark the occasion were held in Tanzania, Zambia and London. At the London meeting, organised jointly by the ANC and the Lutuli Foundation, the chief speaker, Mr. George Mbele, who served as Natal organiser under Chief Lutuli from 1952 and only recently released from prison, said: "Like the rest of us South Africans present here, Lutuli was the product of the South African situation, and his greatness as a politician cannot be divorced from the greatness of the ANC of which he was a part or from his colleagues, some of whom have been hanged and others still languishing in the prisons of our enemies; men and women who associated themselves fully with the ANC and assisted Lutuli in building this organisation and making it a truly mass national movement; men and women with whom Lutuli constituted the collective leadership of the ANC."

Volunteers in uniform at the ceremony





**The ANC Receives a Gift
From an Old Stalwart . . .**

MRS. REBECCA BUNTING

The African National Congress gratefully acknowledges a gift of £1000 from the estate of the late Rebecca Bunting, a foundation member of the South African Communist Party and a loyal supporter of the African National Congress.

In a letter enclosing a cheque for this amount to the ANC Mr. Brian Bunting one of the executors of the estate states: "My mother, Rebecca Bunting, expressed the wish in her will that part of her estate should be devoted to some suitable cause connected with the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

"She left the final decision to her executors who, taking all the circumstances into account, have decided that the bequest should be given to the African National Congress. I accordingly enclose a cheque for £1000. The bequest is subject to no conditions . . .

"I would be grateful if in due course you let me have a receipt which I could show to the executors. It may be possible to utilise this sum of money as a start of an appeal to the many people who knew her and would like to honour her memory by adding to the contribution she has made."

The money has been deposited in a trust account pending a decision as to how it should be used.