

SECHABABA

official organ
african national congress
south africa



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SEPTEMBER 1969

CHIEF ALBERT JOHN MVUMBI LUTULI
ISITWALANDWE

1894-1967

This is International Human Rights Year – to our people in South Africa it has at present no real meaning. It is our duty to help expose the great injustice and sufferings of our people. We call upon the U.N. to spare no effort in enforcing its resolutions on South Africa especially the one that demands the release of all political prisoners as many of these prisoners are also trade union members and officials of SACTU.

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SECHABA

**OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA**
49 Rathbone Street, London W. I.

SECHABA which means THE NATION is the official organ of the vanguard national liberation organisation in South Africa – the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and is published monthly.

SECHABA is the vehicle of the truth the South African racists will not tell and is the authentic source for the views and aspirations of the victims and opponents of white tyranny in Southern Africa.

SECHABA advocates and defends the armed revolutionary struggle now being waged by our gallant freedom fighters of the African National Congress and its fighting ally, the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

SECHABA unlike other journals, is not an observer, but an active participant in the struggle for freedom and human dignity in South Africa.

SECHABA wishes to ensure informed support for our struggle in all its unfolding phases both in apartheid South Africa and in the whole of Southern Africa.

SECHABA is the mouthpiece of the poor. Unlike the S.A. government who, through the ruthless exploitation of our people, can afford to spend over £1 million per year on pro-apartheid propaganda, Sechaba depends entirely on its many friends for its existence.

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A call to action

Abridged text of a radio message addressed to the people of South Africa, over Tanzania Radio on June 26 by O. R. Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress

For over 50 years the African National Congress has led the people of South Africa in the struggle for freedom. For over 50 years it has been the sword and shield of the people. The African National Congress has now called the people to armed struggle, and now WE ARE AT WAR. Since August 1967, our brave fighters, together with their brothers of Zimbabwe have met the oppressor bullet for bullet in Zimbabwe, and have seen him run. The myth of white superiority has been exploded in the field of armed encounter. The soldiers of Vorster and Smith have been taught a lesson they cannot forget easily. They fear our guerrillas. But this is only the beginning. They shall yet know the wrath of a people who have suffered centuries of white oppression, and are now determined to break the chains of white domination.

We are at war. But not alone. In Mozambique and Angola, our brothers fight to liberate themselves from the terror of the Portuguese colonial rule and Portugal is taking severe blows from the courageous people of Guinea Bissau in West Africa. In Namibia the oppressed people have taken up arms against the foreigners from Pretoria. In Zimbabwe, the Smith regime is living on borrowed time and relying on borrowed white troops from apartheid South Africa. All Southern Africa is in flames – the flames of revolution and freedom.

On this day, June 26, we look back at the record of white rule in our country. The oppressors have stolen our land, driven us out of our homes, enslaved us under their pass laws. They live like lords on the wealth of our country and the sweat of our labour. We toil like slaves and live in poverty. Thousands upon thousands of our babies and our youth die of starvation every year; they drive thousands of our people into their jails every week; our leaders are jailed for life, murdered in jail, hanged; our brave sons and daughters tortured in police cells. The whole story of white oppression is a story for brutal persecution: Chief Albert Lutuli – his brutal death is still unexplained. Caleb Mayekiso – who killed him in jail? Wilson Khayingo, Vuyisile Mini and others – they were hanged. Babla Saloojee, Looksmart Solwandle, Lenkoe and others – they were tortured to death. Simon Mkele, Sindile Ncaphayi, Marks, Florence Matomela and others – they were refused medical treatment in jail and they have since died. Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Motsoaledi, Fischer, Goldberg, Steve Dlamini, Dorothy Nyembe, Lawrence Phokanoka, Lungephi Lengisi and many others are languishing on Robben Island, in Pretoria jail, Baberton, Leeukop and elsewhere – these names fill us with anger and they spell the doom of white rule.

No massacres, no murders, no imprisonment, no torture of our people can save the enemy. Vorster, van den Bergh – Boss of Boss Swanepoel and his special branch will fail. They have already failed to destroy the African National Congress. They have failed to subdue our people or make them accept baaskap. Their soldiers are no match for the soldiers of Umkhonto Wesizwe. Their handful of white supporters cannot resist millions of oppressed people armed with courage in their veins, determination in their hearts, weapons in their hands and a just cause to fight for.

We call on all our oppressed people and all compatriots to rise up and fight the common foe; to punish him for his crimes against the people, to attack him everywhere, to harass him, to give him no rest. We call on you today to rededicate yourselves to this great struggle for freedom in our motherland.

We call on the youth of our nation – our young men and young women, we call on our toiling people – our fathers and mothers; we call on the workers and farm labourers; we call on our Indian and Coloured people, on all right-thinking and far-sighted white South Africans; we call on all of you to seize control of the future and destiny of your own country – your future, your destiny which is defined in the Freedom Charter. Under the banner of the African National Congress the phase of revolutionary armed struggle has begun. You have heard the sound of gunfire from across our borders in Zimbabwe. The day must come when it will be heard throughout the length and breadth of our motherland.

Be prepared. The battle will be long, hard and bitter. But it will end with victory for us and FREEDOM AT LAST!

MAATLA KE ARONA!
AMANDLA NGA WETHU!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

SECHABA

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commentary on a pernicious, vicious and nakedly fascist institution

BOSS

Over a period of years the African National Congress has warned the world that South Africa is a fascist state and is therefore a threat to world peace. Sceptics and some Liberal theoreticians pooh-poohed this conception with the argument that it was still possible for the courts in South Africa to hear evidence on any matter affecting the rights of citizens and to pronounce judgement fairly and that the South African Press was free to publish statements against the government, and that we were therefore wrong in claiming that the Vorster regime was fascist in character. With the powers that have now been conferred on the new Bureau of State Security (BOSS), even these doubting Thomases must have second thoughts.

Among the most blatant and nakedly fascist powers with which BOSS has been invested are:

CLAUSE 10: which makes it an offence to publish or disclose any matter relating to BOSS. For instance, the publication of an Affidavit, say by a political detainee, alleging torture or the publication of widespread arrests which is a recurring feature in South Africa or the publishing of evidence of torture leading to the death of a detainee may leave editors open to arrest and conviction;

CLAUSE 29: which authorises any Cabinet Minister, or the Prime Minister, or his nominee which in practice will mean the boss of BOSS, General van den Bergh, to prohibit the giving of any evidence to any court or other statutory body, if such evidence, in their opinion, was "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security".

This can mean that a person who seeks an injunction from the courts to stop being tortured during detention can be denied the right to call or give evidence showing that he was in fact tortured.

The boss of BOSS it must be pointed out was an old running mate of Vorster. They were interned together during World War II - Vorster because he was a publicly acknowledged leader of the pro-Nazi Ossewa Brandwag, van den Bergh because he was suspected of being one. Like the coward he is he denied the charges at the time. But in 1966, when he was head of the security police and was protected by the powerful arm of Prime Minister Vorster, he publicly gave the Ossewa Brandwag salute at the graveside of the wartime OB chief, H.J. van Rensburg. He described this as a gesture of "friendship".

The history of BOSS actually began on April 26, 1968, when it was announced that Lieut. General H. J. van den Bergh, who was then chief of the Security Police would become the Commissioner of Police. Less than six months later a further announcement said that General van den Bergh would, instead become Vorster's "Security Advisor". At that stage no mention was made that a whole bureau will be established under van den Bergh.

The first hint the South African people had that BOSS was to be established came in April this year when it was disclosed that R4,063,000 (approximately £2,000,000) was being allocated to BOSS through a special account. This brought the total allocation for "security services" to the astronomical figures of R5,320,000 for the current financial year. No real opposition was voiced in Parliament or by the publi., either to the establishment

of BOSS or the allocation of such huge sums to this sinister body.

But, complacent White South Africans, who have been repeatedly warned that totalitarian measures aimed ostensibly against the non-White peoples must eventually envelop White opponents of the government no matter how mild their opposition may be, suddenly awoke to the danger that BOSS presented when on one June 2, (18 days before the end of the parliamentary session), the government gave notice of a General Law Amendment Bill. This ominous, 30-clause Bill sought to amend a variety of Acts such as the Dental, Medical and Pharmacy Act, the Children's Act, the Indecent or Obscene Photographic Act, the Hotels Act and finally the Official Secrets Act. With indecent haste, the Bill, despite widespread opposition inside and outside Parliament was passed with the usual cynical arrogance that the Nats show to any opposition to a Parliament loaded with fascist-racist members. It should be noted that the Bill reached the Senate on the day before Parliament was prorogued, and the Senate had to take it through all its stages on that day!

It must also be noted that special legislation exempts BOSS from the regulations of all other State bodies. Its expenditure is not to be vetted by the Treasury or anyone else. Its personnel is not to be reported to Parliament or the Civil Service Commissioners.

In other words, except for the Annual Budget Debate, the Bureau will generally operate behind a tight curtain of secrecy.

The Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, defended the creation of BOSS with the claim that it was essential in order to inform the government "a few weeks in advance what the movement of 'terrorists' are possibly going to be".

BOSS will be as secret as any subversive conspiracy anywhere. Only more so. It embodies all the worst features of the Nazi S.S. and the C.I.A.

In the light of these measures, we dare anyone now to tell us that South Africa is still not a fascist-police state. Or, to tell us that we can change South Africa through peaceful means.

We have shown in almost every past issues of SECHABA, the contempt with which all opposition, even by Supreme Court judges have been rejected by the Vorster regime. We dedicate this issue to all victims of the fascist South African police - leaders who have been murdered on the gallows, others who were killed while under torture, those who are languishing in prison under the most inhuman conditions, and the thousands in our country who have been banished, banned and house-arrested.

In so doing we repeat as we have done often before: The only way in which the minority fascist regime can be ousted from power in South Africa is through armed revolution. We, who represent the vast masses of our people, and therefore, the only alternative to the fascists now in power, urge all democrats, wherever they may be, to commit themselves to our struggle which aims at destroying fascism in South Africa. We again pledge to intensify our National Democratic Revolution which our armed guerillas have already sparked off in order to establish true democracy, freedom and independence for all in our Motherland.

VORSTER'S SPIES AT HOME AND ABROAD



We have repeatedly written in the columns of *Sechaba* about the rapid rise in the number of South African police, and in police expenditure – mainly, on the Special Branch, South Africa's Gestapo, now going under the title of BOSS – Bureau of State Security. In this article we shall look more closely at some of the methods the political police are using against us.

It was in the early 1960's that it began to dawn on South Africa's rulers that laws alone however oppressive, would never stop the struggle of the people to be free. The African National Congress was banned in 1960 – but it lived on underground, to launch Umkhoto We Sizwe – The Spear of the Nation, its military wing in December 1961. An underground movement is more difficult to keep a watch on than a legal one. The oafs in raincoats, riding around in their Volkswagens and who used to hang about the edges of our political meetings taking copious notes were not going to be of much use now – everyone in the movement could smell one of them a good mile off. Apartheid had to find new methods of dealing with us – learn to attack us from within.

THE BRUNO MTOLOS

There are two main ways of attacking us from within. One is to train your own men or women to infiltrate the movement, to win the trust of its members and spy on them and their activities.

The second is to persuade people already in the movement to turn informers – to betray their comrades to Vorster's police, in return for money, or for their own safety. Perhaps he is caught for some offence. He will be interrogated, and if he seems easily frightened, he will be offered his freedom if he will give the police some piece of information they want – perhaps a small piece of information. But soon he will be asked for more; before he knows it he will be totally in the hands of the Gestapo. He cannot get help from his comrades. He cannot double-cross the police, because they know too much about him. He must go on, spying and betraying, and spying again,

until eventually he cracks up, or is released by having to give public evidence against his former comrades in a political trial. One trial will lead to another, he becomes a professional witness, detested by his comrades, rejected by his people, despised by his new found friends – the S. B. (Special Branch).

Bruno Mtolo, Mr. X of the Rivonia Trial was one such rat. Others included Piet Byleveld, whose main evidence was against Bram Fischer now serving a life sentence at Pretoria Central Prison. Kholisile Mdwai is another whose evidence sent six of his former comrades to the gallows. We shall deal with Bruno later. First, let us deal with the fully-fledged police spy.

THE GERARD LUDIS

One of the police spies who infiltrated the movement is Gerard Ludi, chief witness at the trial of Bram Fischer, and the man whose information helped to convict 12 other members of the South African Communist Party in 1965. Q018, the press liked to call him. He was presented as a real James Bond type of man. Loved his job, it seems, winning the confidence of some of our bravest freedom fighters, and then betraying them. He, like Bruno Mtolo, even wrote a book about it afterwards, a nasty, boasting little book, full of crude Special Branch propaganda. But useful. It gives us some insight into how the enemy thinks. Ludi was a political science student at Witwatersrand University and in 1960, he claims in his book, he joined the S. B. of the South African Police. Nothing incredible in that – we know that many young people are employed, even when they are students, as police informers both in White universities and non-White colleges. In Ludi's case, the contacts he made at university led him to join the Congress of Democrats, which had not yet been banned, and he became a branch chairman. In 1962, he attended the World Youth Festival and visited Moscow, and in May 1963, he tells us, he was asked to join the underground Communist Party. It was largely through the information he fed back to his bosses in the police force that all members of his unit including Bram Fischer were later convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act. So he boasts, anyway. Others say that Ludi who was married was blackmailed into joining the S. B. after being confronted by the police with evidence that he was having an affair with a non-White woman. This, of course, is a crime punishable without the option of a fine in South Africa.

We know that he was "recruited" by the police – not in 1960, as he claims in his book, but more probably some time in 1962 or 1963 when he was caught by the police and rather than face the consequences, he agreed to turn informer. It suited the S.B. to let him play the part of apartheid's tinpot hero – it made them look so much cleverer than they are. They have helped him write and publish his book.

What have we learnt from the Ludi story? Mainly, that we cannot afford to underestimate our enemy. He has access to all modern spy devices. He has money – enough to buy anyone who CAN be bought. He has more Ludis – cowards, some of them, young adventurers, mental cases who will do anything to "put the blacks in their place". What is more, in the psychopathic society in which he lives, he loves the power he has over black lives – power to bribe the young out-of-work in the townships, with a family to support or the boy from the country who needs a work permit. He has the power to blackmail – eviction, endorsement out of the city, removal, persecution under the so-

called Immorality Act, anything . . . exemption from carrying the hated pass, in return for information.

South Africa's top security men have already told us that they are depending on informers to hold back the revolutionary tide in our country. Troops and police, they admit, will not be enough to stop our trained men nor to contain the underground organisation that is growing daily, training cadres, preparing revolutionary action.

"We have informers in every village," boasted one Security Chief last year. We know better than to take him at his word. But we are warned. And our people do not like informers. Some have already been dealt with in the manner reserved for traitors to our cause. Others are being watched. And while the people wait to deal with them they will make it their business to know who they are and how they operate.

THE TRAITORS

He was one of our own men, a one-time member of Umkhonto We Sizwe, who gave up home, job and family to live the life of an underground resistance fighter. In 1962 and 1963 he was a member of a unit which performed heroic acts of sabotage against apartheid. He was, with Billy Nair, Curnic Ndhlovu, Ebrahim Ismail and others, (now on Robben Island where he sent them through his treacherous evidence) on the Natal Command of Umkhonto.

He is Mr. X, the star State witness at the Rivonia Trial, the man who sent Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and our other beloved leaders to Robben Island to serve a sentence of life imprisonment. The man who might, but for the massive outcry of the whole world, have sent them to the gallows.

He is Bruno Mtolo, now, it seems a prosperous farmer, a successful author – he wrote a book after it was all over, a despicable book, which ranks in the desreputable lists of South African Police literature.

Political pornography is what it is. He sold himself lock, stock and barrel to the enemy. He is our enemy as are other traitors like him. He has nothing to hope for and everything to fear from day of liberation. He has forfeited the love of fellow men for ever. And he will never know peace for he knows that the people will choose the time to eliminate him.

How did all this happen to a man who was once our trusted comrade?

Mtolo came into the political movement through the trade union movement. He helped to organise the hospital workers in Durban. He then joined the A. N. C. After its launching in 1961, he was recruited into Umkhonto We Sizwe, and together with his unit in Durban, he learnt to use explosives, brought down power pylons, bombed government offices.

After the Rivonia arrests in 1963, he was forced into hiding. Then he was caught too. And all of a sudden the brave freedom fighter gave in. Gave in, according to his own account of it, without a single struggle. As a matter of fact we know that Bruno was arrested on a Sunday afternoon. At dawn the following morning all his contacts were picked up. The Natal Command's hide out was raided. Fortunately, those there knew of his arrest and disappeared before the police could come.

He admits, in his book, that no hand was raised against him. No brutal interrogator, he assures us, and we have no reason to doubt him on this score, kept him sleepless, threatened him with torture, threatened his family, to make

him talk. He just caved in, poured out the whole story about himself, the organisation, his comrades; every minor incident, every movement, every possible detail. He spilled the lot.

Maybe he was tortured, or threatened. Maybe his political training had not been good enough, and the shock of Rivonia left him without hope, and open to pressure. Maybe he was simply bribed – his freedom in return for a confession, security and a farm if he would betray his comrades. Maybe, and this appears to be most likely, he was just a coward. Or maybe, it was a combination of all these or some of these pressures which made him talk.

MAIN STATE WITNESS

Once he had spoken his captors asked more than a statement. Because a confession, however complete, was not the end of the affair. It was just the beginning. He had first to be the main State witness at the Rivonia Trial. He stood there and parroted lies upon lies interspersed with facts exactly as the police had briefed him. The men were all communists. They were men of violence. They wanted nothing but riches for themselves. The A. N. C. was the tool of foreign communists. Vorster or any of Van den Bergh's so-called experts on communism could have written out his evidence. And, Mtolo knew that his one time comrades were on a capital charge, and the police were after the death sentence.

He did that job. But, his task was not over. He was sent to Durban to give similar evidence against his closest comrades in the Natal Command. Then he was sent from trial to trial, a professional police witness, parroting the same old stories at their dictation, sending tens, even hundreds of brave freedom fighters to long periods in jail. And when at last that was over, and he had done his worst, he still had to do something else – he had to write all his lies down in a book, to besmirch the organisation of the people, to smear their great leaders, to call on the African people to co-operate – yes, co-operate – with apartheid, because the "government had the interests of the black people at heart."

LIKE GOLD TO VORSTER

The names of the many heroes who have gone to jail or died rather than betray the revolution – like Vuyisile Mini, Looksmart Solwandle, Babla Saloojee – shall live, and inspire others to fight, for months and years to come. But, the name of Mtolo shall stand only as a warning. Comrades shall remind each other that one step on the slippery road to co-operation with the police – and you too may become our Mtolo.

One Mtolo is like gold to Vorster's gestapo. They will try hard to gain more of them. They will threaten, and torture, and bribe. But we shall be strong. Our comrades are not going to do the job of the political police for them.

It is only the Mtolos who have something to fear from the future. We have only courage, determination and confidence that our Motherland will one day be free and independent.

ESPIONAGE ABROAD

In 1962 a rather interesting person turned up in Maseru, Basutoland. You may remember that Potlako Leballo had set up a PAC headquarters there, after the mass arrests and banning of the A. N. C. and P. A. C. in 1960. Rumours

were flying about South Africa that a secret organisation called Poqo was about to unleash terror and murder all over the country; and that Poqo was in some way connected with PAC. It was at this time that Hans Lombard chose to appear in Maseru, and offer his services to Leballo. Lombard described himself as a "freelance writer, journalist, photographer," and said he had been left a large sum of money by his uncle, to enable him to travel the world and please himself. His publicly known writings were limited to a single article printed in **Peace News**, London, in which he tactfully described Leballo as "Africa's greatest revolutionary since Nkrumah." It says a lot about Mr. Leballo that he was able to accept this statement without a breath of suspicion. And to accept some useful donations to PAC's funds. No check was made on this mysterious Afrikaner, and he was rapidly accepted as a PAC confidante.

That, anyway, is the story recently published by one of Leballo's one-time colleague, Matthew Nkoana. He tells how Lombard was able to penetrate the PAC leadership. It is a tale that should be known to all concerned with the South African freedom struggle, as a warning of how apartheid's agents work; and how disastrous lack of vigilance can be.

Lombard's own story was that he had left South Africa in 1958, out of disgust with apartheid. Years later, he added that he had been in trouble over the Immorality Act – whether or not this was true, we know that the Act provides useful blackmail material to the South African police, and a frequent means of recruiting informers. In fact, he had been working for the nationalist paper *Die Vaderland*, and was known in the African National Congress as a suspicious person. But he didn't mention that. He said he had become a British citizen, and had lived in London for two years, making friends with Fenner Brockway, then a Member of Parliament and a man known the world over for his support of the African freedom struggle. He wormed his way into Brockway's confidence, and arrived in Maseru with a letter of introduction from him.

SHEER MAKE-BELIEVE

The man's career from then on reads like sheer make-believe. He got himself sent – a white man, an Afrikaner, unknown in the struggle – to do political work for the PAC in the Transkei, where he apparently met PAC contacts in secret hideouts. He got himself a permit from the authorities to go there, though normally no white man is allowed such a permit, under the Emergency Regulations. He moved about freely, without police interference, although he was accompanied by another PAC man, Matthew Mgaju. There is no record of how many of the people he visited were later arrested – but Mgaju certainly was, soon after parting with Lombard.

He went abroad, armed with credentials issued first by Mgaju and then, allegedly, by Leballo himself, in which he was described as "a true dedicated fighter for African freedom in the PAC ranks." He seems to have visited Ghana, but the Nkrumah regime became suspicious and threw him out. In late 1962 he was in London; and in early 1963 in Moshi, at a conference of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation, where he made contact with members of SWAPO. He went to Dar-es-Salaam, and through PAC members there learnt something about their military training plans. From there, he actually sent a cable to Leballo, urging him to launch action in South Africa, because without such activity it was "difficult to raise funds abroad." Soon after, he was back in Maseru,

having travelled via Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland, where he had aroused some interest because of his great curiosity about the political refugees who were using that escape route from the Republic. Within a week of Lombard's arrival, Leballo had called that disastrous press conference, in which he claimed that 150,000 Poqo members were about to launch an uprising in South Africa. Then again, it was Lombard, wandering in and out of Johannesburg at will, who warned Leballo that there was to be a police raid on his Maseru office. Leballo fled, leaving behind an office full of papers, which were found by the Basotoland police to contain the names of all his contacts in South Africa. And soon after, as we all know, those lists were in the hands of Verwoerd's security men, and thousands of South Africans were arrested – many of them members and supporters of the African National Congress, taken in with Leballo's boasts for an excuse.

LAVISH PARTIES

This is not the end of the Lombard story, however. He returned to Dar-es-Salaam, where by now the authorities were alerted to him, then to England. He tried to obtain credentials to attend the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, held in London in 1964, but the A. N. C. had already alerted the organisers. He retained enough individual contacts in the P. A. C., however, especially, it seems among young women, to continue collecting names and addresses and plenty of bits of information. He kept travelling in Africa, being received sometimes by senior government officials, still apparently on the basis of his letter signed by Leballo. He threw lavish parties while in London, where he entertained not only South Africans, but diplomats, army officers, from all over the continent of Africa.

Today, the man is political editor of the English language Vorster mouthpiece, the *Financial Gazette*. He is promoting, through his paper, the so-called outward-looking policy towards Africa that his espionage activities must have done much to found.

GOVERNMENT'S DESIGN

That this agent provocateur managed to operate with such spectacular success, is largely thanks to the irresponsibility of one man – Potlako Leballo. But that is not the whole story. Lombard was enabled to operate in the first place because of the nature of PAC as a breakaway movement. The A. N. C. warned, right back in the 1950's, that a breakaway would be exploited by our enemies, and used to hold back the liberation struggle. Lombard's story is a good illustration of how this has happened. He could never have operated as a spy in the ANC, because he was already known there. Nor would he have been able to operate abroad, for the A. N. C. would have exposed him. But once PAC existed, he could claim that A. N. C. suspicions were nothing but political enmity, because he supported PAC. That is how he won PAC support, and that is how he won sympathy for himself and PAC abroad.

We do not know how much he, and other agents like him, helped in those early days to persuade foreign sympathisers to take the PAC seriously, although it had done nothing politically to justify the claims made for it in Lombard's **Peace News** article, for instance. Whatever the importance of Lombard's role, it becomes clear how much projection of PAC as an alternative to ANC was part of the South African government's design, at home and abroad. And how easily some can fall in with that design.



CHIEF ALBERT JOHN MVUMBI LUTULI
ISITWALANDWE *

1898-1967

In the course of the South African struggle for national liberation and human dignity many noble and gallant sons and daughters of our beloved motherland have paid the supreme sacrifice. Brave men and women, young and old, have over the years been maimed, executed, tortured to death and reduced to human wrecks

by a brutal system founded on injustice and inequality. This callous disregard for human life and limb continues unabated as the fascist White minority regime persists in implementing the monstrous and abominable policies of race discrimination, oppression and human exploitation.

To honour our fallen heroes and comrades – those who died in the bitter struggles and battles of Sikhukhuniland, Zeerust, Pondoland and lately in Zimbabwe; those who were executed by the fascist hangman; those who died gruesome deaths in detention; those who were brutally mowed down by the oppressor's bullets at peaceful protest marches, demonstrations and strikes; and those who died in banishment for lack of food and medical facilities – the African National Congress of South Africa has chosen July 21, 1969, as an African National Congress heroes day. A day on which ANC members will pay homage to and remember all its many heroes. July 21 has been chosen for it was on that fateful day two years ago that one of the great sons of Africa and the world died a mysterious death. Chief Albert John Mvumbi Lutuli, Nobel Peace Prize Winner and President-General of the ANC of South Africa was tragically killed in a train "accident".

The name of Chief Albert John Lutuli was revered in every household of the African and the other oppressed non-White sections of the population in South Africa and it was held in high respect by all the democratic White people who have revolted against the oppressive policies of the present White minority regime in South Africa.

UNPRECEDENTED UPSURGE

Chief Lutuli richly deserved this respect from all sections of the South African population. His uninterrupted term in the highest office of the African National Congress and in the leadership of the entire national liberation movement in our country (1952–1967) was marked by an unprecedented mass upsurge of the people in their heroic struggle for freedom and human dignity. One of the highlights of this period was the adoption of the Freedom Charter – the revolutionary programme of the liberation movement. This was on June 26th 1955. From this period which was preceded by the historic Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952, the dimensions of the oppressed people's struggles grew in scope and intensity, compelling the horrified apartheid regime of the White minority to cast off all pretences to democratic and civilised government and to drive South Africa into the dark abyss of fascist terror.

TOWERED AS A ROCK

Draconian laws aimed at completely muzzling the voice of the oppressed people were passed by the all-White Parliament and ruthlessly enforced. As the masses of the people rose in militant struggle for freedom, an unprecedented reign of terror was unleashed by the racist regime, in the course of which thousands of political activists and leaders were jailed and the African National Congress itself declared an unlawful organisation.

Chief Lutuli towered as a rock at the head of the national liberation movement during these challenging times and inspired the oppressed people to defy difficulties and forge ahead with their noble struggle. In answer to the brutal excesses of the enemy, the leadership of the liberation movement, headed by Chief Lutuli, took the historic decision to prepare for armed struggle to win political power for the people of South Africa. Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed and it immediately embarked on a well-planned sabotage campaign which was the fore-runner to the present period of Guerrilla warfare. Heroic units of the military wing of the African National Congress in alliance with

the gallant fighters of the Zimbabwe African People's Union engaged the enemy in Zimbabwe within 30 days following the killing of the people's leader near Stanger. The era of armed struggle had started.

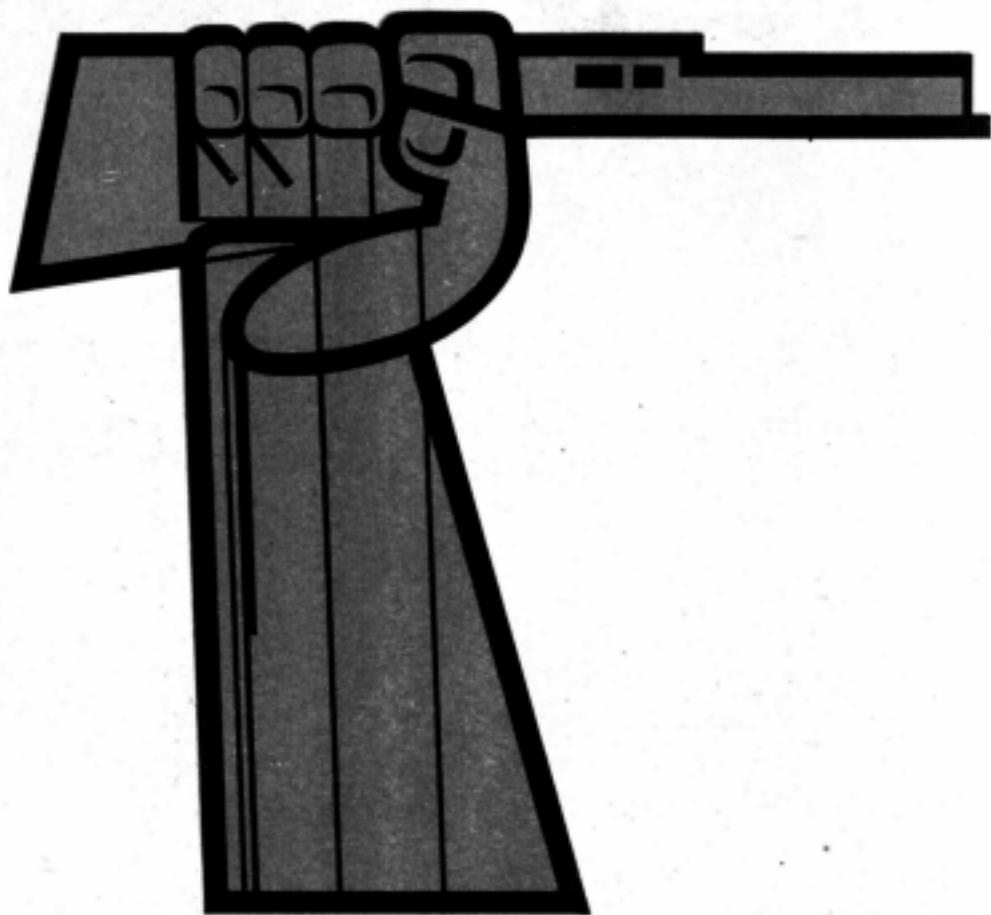
LUTULI BATTALION

It is not without significance that the first unit of Umkhonto – ZAPU forces which acquitted itself so ably in the early Wankie encounters with the Smith-Vorster forces was named the Lutuli Battalion.

By observing July 21, 1969, as a day of homage and remembrance to our fallen heroes and martyrs a fitting tribute is being paid, not only to a great leader and statesman, but to all those who shared his beliefs and convictions that the freedom of South Africa lies in struggle, sacrifice, determination, perseverance and if needs be – death. This is the message of our great ones. Let us cherish it.

Under no circumstances should we allow the White oppressors to denigrate our dead heroes or to wipe their memory from our hearts. For it is necessary that we take strength and courage from those brave and indomitable sons and daughters of our land whose very deaths in the cause of human freedom should be a clarion call to action. Let their courage, heroism and noble lives inspire us to greater heights of achievement.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU! Power to the People!



The wearer of the feather of the rare and almost legendary bird – Indwe. This right was traditionally granted only to the greatest warriors. This title was conferred on Chief Lutuli on June 26, 1955 by the African National Congress.

Family against Apartheid

DEFIANT NAIDOOS



Ramani Dinath with Krishna Menon & Dr. Y. M. Dadoo at Gandhi Centenary Commemoration in London

They are perhaps one of the most outstanding families in South Africa – the Naidoos of Johannesburg. For it is true to say that every member of the immediate family for the past sixty years has been imprisoned for political activity.

This great tradition of courageous resistance to racialism and persecution was started by Mr. T. Naidoo, a disciple of Gandhi, and an acknowledged leader, with Gandhi in the 1906–14 Passive Resistance Campaign.

His son T. N. (Roy) Naidoo, whom Gandhi treated as an adopted son, followed in his father's footsteps. He was a leader in the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign and in the 1952 Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. He was an active trade unionist in the Bakery Workers' Union. In addition, he was Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. He died giving the Afrika salute of the ANC and its allies. T. N. Naidoo and his wife, who was also politically active, reared a magnificent family of children.

His son, Indres, adopted new methods

of struggle, to meet a changed situation in South Africa. Betrayed by a police spy, he was arrested in the course of a daring sabotage operation. He was pursued by members of the Special Branch, he was shot – and then interrogated late into the night. He was taken home for a search of the family premises with the bullet still in his shoulder and his shirt saturated with blood. Tried and convicted, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment which he is currently serving on notorious Robben Island.

Murthi, another son was detained under the 180-day clause and eventually released after gruelling interrogation.

Ramani, a daughter was harassed by the Special Branch from the age of 9 when, while distributing leaflets, she was knocked down and stamped on by a burly constable. She is now in London, married to Issy Dinat, another Indian freedom fighter, who was detained under both the 90 and 180-day clauses and subjected to a great deal of ill-treatment by the police. Ramani's small daughter was so

terrified by the frequent visits of the Special Branch to the family home, that she was terror-stricken every time a car drew up outside and has to receive medical treatment.

Shanti, the oldest daughter of the family, worked for the South African Congress of Trades Unions and the Indian Congress until she was subjected to heavy banning orders. She was constantly harassed by the police. Once when another banned person came up to greet her in court, she raised her fingers to her lips to show that they must not communicate. For this she was charged with breaking her banning order. When she was taken to hospital, on a later occasion, seriously ill, the Special Branch turned up in the hospital ward, threatening her for not having reported this 'change of address'.

Now Shanti has been detained under the hideous and terrifying Terrorism Act. She is being held in solitary confinement without access to any person except the brutal interrogators of the Special Branch. Sechaba salutes Shanti and her whole family – outstanding workers in the South African people's struggle for liberation.

THEY DIED SIN



**On November 6, 1964,
Vuyisile Mini,
Zinakile Mkaba
and Wilson Khayingo
died on the gallows.
Here Ben Turok,
then Secretary
of the
South African Congress
of Democrats,
who was serving
a three-year
term of imprisonment
at
Pretoria Central Prison
for being in possession
of explosives,
gives a personal
account of the week prior
to the execution
of these heroes
of
the South African Revolution**

Vuyisile Mini's laugh was unforgettable. It rolled out in heavy concentric sound-waves riding loud over the lesser noises around him, infecting everyone with his effervescent good humor. His heavy base was unmistakable. It made one aware of his presence in a crowd when even those deep in conversation smiled involuntarily in unconscious response to such healthy mirth.

It was through his laugh that I became aware that Mini had arrived in the condemned section of Pretoria Central Prison. Isolated as I was in a tiny cell in the adjacent segregation section of the Prison, and finely sensitive to the slightest variation in the murmur of life, Mini's laugh burst into my world with shattering certainty. Another peal of incongruous laughter rolled out and it was apparent that Mini and his companions were situated in the 'last week cell' of the condemned section in B 2 on the second floor. I then remembered that Vuyisile Mini and his two comrades, Zinakile Mkhaba and Wilson Khayingo of the Eastern Cape High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe, had been committed for trial for ordering the death of an informer.

DARING

I marvelled at his daring. No one laughed out loud in Central Prison. It was absolutely forbidden. Subdued by the grey half light that filtered through the barred mesh, and ground down by the harsh presence of the warders, it was understood that a prisoner must remain silent: especially in Death Row, where even the collective of 60 odd 'condemned' was insufficient to break through the iron rule of deathly stillness.

But Mini dared. And his comrades joined him in defiant mirth, thrusting aside with unconcealed scorn the atmosphere of crushing gloom that clung to the massive grey walls. And as the three of them settled into their new surroundings, there issued out of the window of the 'last week cell' beautiful melodies of traditional African music rendered in the most perfect unison of long practised harmony.

It was in the early evenings that they enjoyed their singing most. With the harsh clanging of iron gates reduced to a minimum; with only a skeleton prison staff on duty, and the prisoners at rest on thin mats in their cells, Mini and his comrades sensed the appreciation of their audience and gave forth in the subtlest cadences, telling in song the heroic stories of Xhosa history.

GING

SEVERE TEST

Unknown to me, or to the world outside, Mini and his comrades were at this very time undergoing the severest test of integrity and courage a human being can be made to face. Thirty three days before November 6, the day the death sentence was carried out, the Special Branch visited them in their death cell with an offer "to save themselves from the gallows" by giving information about sabotage activity in their area. In a last testament smuggled out of prison, Mini wrote, "I am presently awaiting execution at Pretoria Central Gaol having been sentenced to death at the beginning of the year. On the 2nd October 1964, Captain Geldenhuys and two other policemen came to see me. They asked me if I had been informed that my appeal had been dismissed. I told them I was not interested to know from them what my advocates said. "They then said that there is still a chance for me to be saved as they knew I was the big boss of the movement in the Eastern Cape. I must just tell them where the detonators and revolvers were, and they would help me. I refused.

"They then asked me about Wilton Mkwayi and whether I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi, whom they had now arrested. I said, 'No, I was not'.

"When they asked would I make the 'AMANDLA NGAWETHU' (POWER TO THE PEOPLE - Ed) salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows, I said 'yes'. After a few more jokes of that nature they left."

THE LAST EVENING

While this drama was being played out, time was moving on. Somewhere in the hierarchy of the Special Branch a decision had been taken and a date set down. When their fate was finally communicated to Mini and his colleagues their defiant response was soon sounding through the corridors of the prison. "AMANDLA - NGAWETHU" they roared triumphantly, defiantly challenging with the most deep conviction the hateful oppressor in the very seat of his power.

The last evening was devastatingly sad as the heroic occupants of the death cell communicated to the prison in gentle melancholy song that their end was near. Even the heavy brooding stone seemed to respond to their mood by dampening the echoes of clashing gates and jarring keys. It was late at night when the singing ceased, and the prison fell into uneasy silence.



Vuyisile Mini

I was already awake when the singing began again in the early morning. Once again the excruciatingly beautiful music floated through the barred windows, echoing round the brick exercise yard, losing itself in the vast prison yards.

And then, unexpectedly, the voice of Vuyisile Mini came roaring down the hushed passages. Evidently standing on a stool, with his face reaching up to a barred vent in his cell, his unmistakable base voice was enunciating his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. In a voice charged with emotion but stubbornly defiant he spoke of the struggle waged by the African National Congress and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come. And then it was Khayingo's turn, followed by Mkhaba, as they too defied all prison rules to shout out their valedictions.

Soon after, I heard the door of their cell being opened. Murmuring voices reached my straining ears, and then the three martyrs broke into a final poignant melody which seemed to fill the whole prison with sound and then gradually faded away into the distant depths of the condemned section.

Three brave men died that day. We are left with their memory and their example as a constant spur to make their conviction a reality.

VUYISILE MINI, WILSON KHAYINGO, ZINAKILE MKHABA. Their deaths shall be avenged in the battlefields of our revolution. LET US NOT FORGET THE DATE OF THEIR EXECUTION - NOVEMBER 6TH 1964.

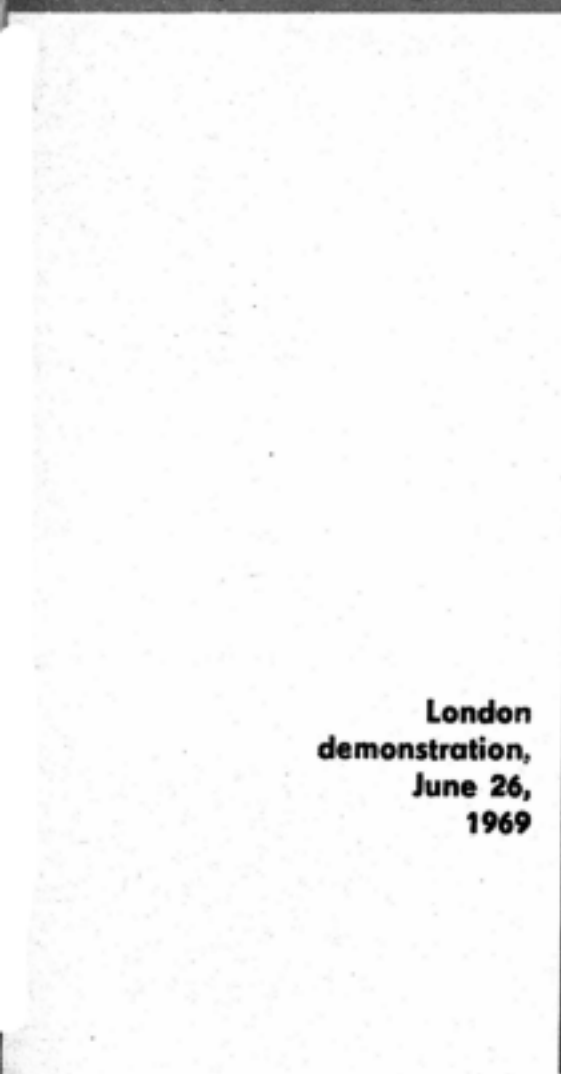
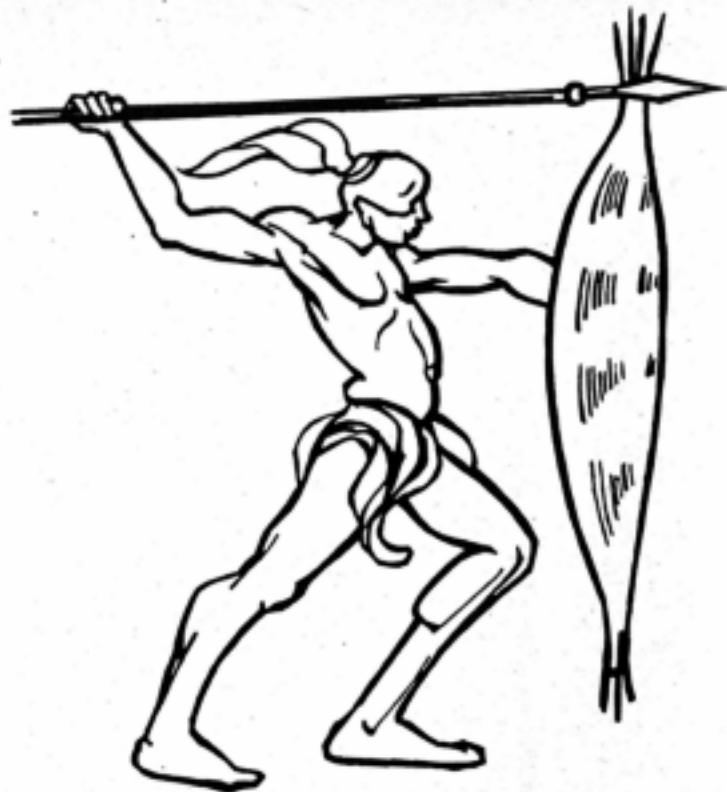
Write to their families: Mrs. Mini, Mrs. Khayingo, Mrs. Mkhaba,

All c/o Mrs. Mini
94 Conacher Street,
McNamee Village,
New Brighton,
Port Elizabeth,
South Africa.



Zambian student addresses June 26 meeting at Kiev

Sechaba Artist Barry Feinberg's drawing which was reproduced by OSPAAL as motif on June 26 poster



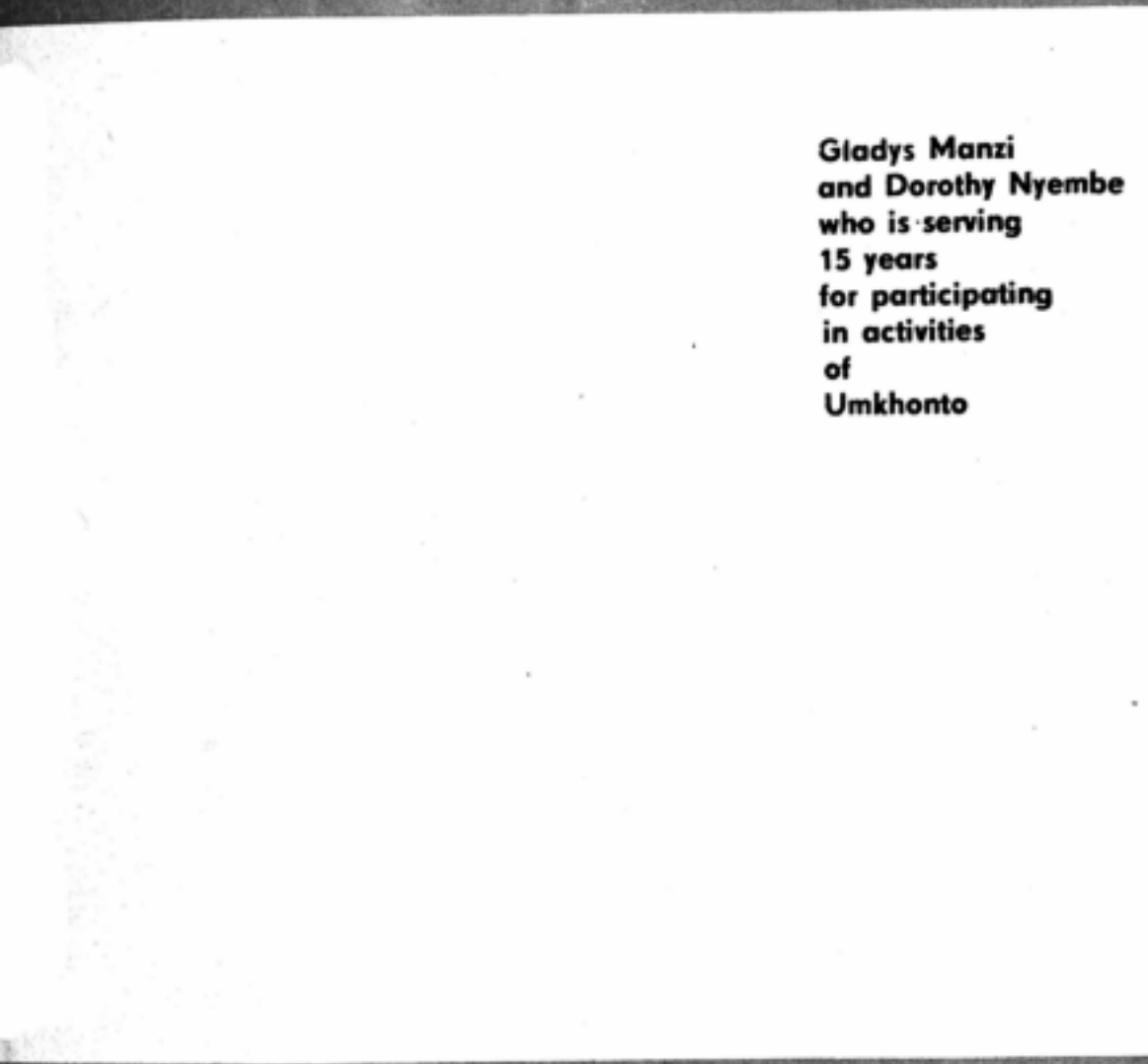
London demonstration, June 26, 1969



Tanzanian student addresses June 26 meeting at Kiev



Lutuli receiving
1960 Nobel Peace
Prize from President
of Peace Prize
Committee Gunnar Jahn,
at Oslo



Gladys Manzi
and Dorothy Nyembe
who is serving
15 years
for participating
in activities
of
Umkhonto



ANC
Representative
at Kiev June 26
meeting reading Pledge
(printed
elsewhere
in this issue)

Armed revolution in Southern Africa

REPORTS ON JUNE 26 COMMEMORATIONS
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

A powerful display of militant unity in Southern Africa was given by an impressive array of speakers at a packed conference of 500 people in London. The conference convened to commemorate June 26th - South Africa Freedom Day, and organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, centred around the title 'Liberation in Southern Africa and Guerrilla Warfare'. Speeches ranged over a wide area dealing in depth with the extensive struggles of the liberation movements and relating them to the new phase of militant action by revolutionaries throughout the world. Speakers representing the A.N.C. (South Africa), Z.A.P.U. (Zimbabwe), M.P.L.A. (Angola), F.R.E.L.I.M.O. (Mocambique) and P.A.I.G.C. (Guinea-Bissau) gave detailed accounts of the massive guerrilla actions taking place in their respective areas while other speakers discussed the theory and strategy of armed struggle and its steadily increasing impact on the world scene.

Chairman Ronald Segal set the scene for the conference by tracing the events in South Africa immediately before the wave of sabotage in 1961 and the subsequent preparations for guerrilla warfare. Segal showed that in South Africa there were no sanctions among whites against the use of force to oppress the non-whites. The resort to armed struggle was therefore inevitable and necessary, and this development was made even more significant since white South African troops were now heavily engaged throughout the various countries of Southern Africa.

ANGOLA

M.P.L.A.'s spokesman **Dr. Fernando Octavio** said that the Angolan people had four centuries of revolt against Portuguese occupation behind them.

The Portuguese had imposed forced labour on Angola, they maintained a crushing despotism on the people so that there was 98% illiteracy among the African people and a mortality rate of 50%. However M.P.L.A. was leading the people to freedom. They had already liberated a third of Angola, a fact that could be confirmed by the mission of the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. which recently spent 10 days inside Angola. Comrade Octavio illustrated the magnitude of their achievement by stating that the liberated zones of Angola equal in area the whole of Vietnam both North and South, and that the M.P.L.A. headquarters was now safely situated within Angola itself.

GUINEA-BISSAU - MOCAMBIQUE

Basil Davidson whose recent book on Guinea Bissau provided much useful background material to armed struggles in Africa, spoke of both Frelimo and PAIGC. He estimated that there were now some 120,000 Portuguese troops engaged in Africa, which were unable to prevent successes of the liberation movements which "is perhaps on a scale which few of us have realised." Despite the extensive use of fragmentation bombs and napalm on villages in the liberated zones, the liberation movements were making steady progress. He had personally seen the organised strength of Frelimo when he attended their conference in 1968 inside Macambique, and he was cognisant of the village committee structures, clinics and schools which were being created in the liberated zones.

A crucial element of the tactics of these movements was the tremendous concentration on politicisation of the peasantry as an indispensable basis for military success.

ZIMBABWE

Z.A.P.U.'s representative, **Edward Ndlovu**, a member of the Z.A.P.U. Executive, emphasised that the Southern African revolution was unique in that the NATO powers were combining their might to defend their economic interests. Z.A.P.U. regarded the military alliance with the A.N.C. as vital for African Freedom. "Violence can only be ended by violence", he said. Even though there were now 20,000 troops on the alert in Zimbabwe, the struggle was continuing, with special concentration on the North and the East. The peasants were giving full support to the guerrillas and in some areas where the police were attempting to shift villagers they had sent messages to the guerrillas to come to their assistance to resist the police actions. Comrade Ndlovu called for material assistance for the families of those in the front lines and for those in detention. He appealed for clothing and medical supplies as a mark of solidarity with the many destitute families in Zimbabwe.

SOUTH AFRICA

Tennyson Makiwane, representing the A.N.C., spoke of the opening up of guerrilla action in August 1967 in Zimbabwe. He deplored the fact that some of our men had been arrested in Botswana, and he condemned the "road of betrayal" taken by Banda. Comrade Makiwane stated that the liberation movements could well face up to the local reactionary forces, but the intervention of the NATO forces made the task more difficult. He called upon the people of Britain to do their duty in combatting the intervention of the NATO powers and urged that action committees should be formed to this end.

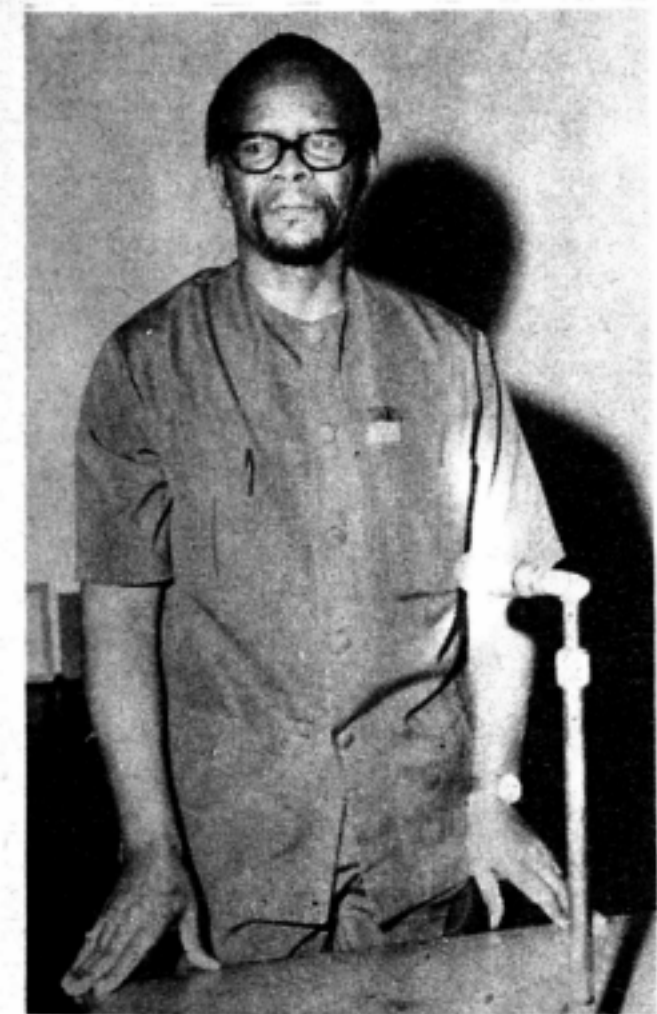
POLITICS AND STRATEGY

In a speech entitled *The Politics and Strategy of Guerrilla Warfare in South Africa*, **Ruth First** emphasised that the need for guerrilla struggle arose from the concrete situations inside these countries. She pointed out that while there had been a great deal of suffering in South Africa, suffering was not enough to bring about a transformation in political and military action. What was needed was a determined leadership prepared to make great sacrifices and face the consequences of armed struggle. In South Africa, sabotage in the urban areas had been an in-between stage in preparation for the guerrilla warfare to follow. Armed struggle was facilitated by the emergence of independent African states which could render vital assistance.

Comrade First pointed to a crucial change which had taken place in South Africa. Whereas the attitude of the Government had been defensive with a strategy of with-drawal inside a laager, it was now moving outwards in an imperialist drive to spread its physical and economic presence deep into the heart of Africa, subverting African governments, and trying to bring under her control an increasing number of African states. She warned that this strategy was long-sighted and the result of joint intelligence planning by the white regimes of Southern Africa. However the extension of the line of battle also made South Africa more vulnerable to guerrilla action from within and she listed the conditions for successful guerrilla action to support her assertions.

THE THIRD WORLD

Stuart Hall enlarged the scope of discussion by analysing what he cal-



led "the shift throughout the Third World" to a "new phase" of armed struggle. He said that there was an alliance of interest of all countries which are against revolution even when their own interests were not directly involved. They sense that revolutionary successes anywhere are a threat to their own security. This was why the revolutionary struggles in the Third World were bound to have a new character reflecting the interdependence of all revolutionary forces everywhere.

Comrade Hall called for a new response in Britain to give appropriate concrete support to the liberation movements and also to reveal the extent of the crisis in Britain itself.

CALL FOR GREATER MILITANCY

After some discussion from the floor which included attempts by some members from dissident Southern African organisations to attack the stand taken by speakers on the platform, **Paul Foot**, a British journalist wound up the wide-ranging meeting with a call for greater militancy within Britain against the establishment and its 'liberal' apologists. He urged that the British working class ought not to be neglected since they constituted the only force big enough to smash capital in its stronghold, Britain. At the same time the British workers as a whole must be brought to an understanding that cheap labour anywhere is of no advantage to them. He praised the militant students of the London School of Economics who had publicly thrust at the board of governors the unpleasant truth that some of them had substantial interests in Southern Africa.

On this note of the importance of awakening the British people to the interrelationship and interdependence of the militant forces in Britain with the revolutionary movements in Southern Africa, the audience filed out of the hall to inscribe their names in the lists of action committees. The struggle goes on.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

SUPPORT FOR ACTION

Solidarity and support for the armed struggle now being waged by guerrillas of Umkhoto We Sizwe were expressed at meetings and in messages from all over the world.

AFRICA

Among scores of meetings held in Africa were one in **Dar-Es-Salaam** and another in **Lusaka**. At both these well-attended meetings resolutions supporting the A.N.C.'s struggle against the South African fascist regime were adopted.

Oliver Tambo
addressing June 26
meeting in Lusaka

In a radio broadcast beamed to South Africa over Radio Tanzania **O. R. Tambo**, Acting President of the African National Congress addressed a **CALL TO ACTION** to the people of South Africa. A full text of his address is published elsewhere in this issue.

ASIA

Reports of meetings held in various parts of Asia are still coming in. In **Singapore** a meeting and photographic exhibition on South Africa was held. In India, meetings were held in **New Delhi** at which Mrs. Violet Alva, Deputy Speaker of the Rajya Sabha (the Upper House of Parliament) was in the chair. Other speakers included the Hon. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Union Minister of Education and His Excellency Mr. Sayed Abdour, Ambassador for the Democratic Republic of Sudan who represented the African Diplomatic Corps.

Meetings were also held in **Madya Pradesh, Jabalpur and Rajasthan**.

Among hundreds of messages of support received from India were one from the Deputy President of India and another from Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

All-India Radio carried a talk on the significance of June 26th in its programme entitled, "Spotlight".

ELSEWHERE:

OSPAAL, the Tricontinental Solidarity Organisation based in **Cuba**, published a special poster on June 26th, and carried a lengthy article on the subject in its monthly journal. The **Anti-Apartheid Movement in Canada** published a special pamphlet on June 26th and several meetings were held in the country.

Meetings were also held in **Berlin, G.D.R., Moscow, and Kiev**. At the meeting in Kiev, South African students unanimously read out the following pledge:

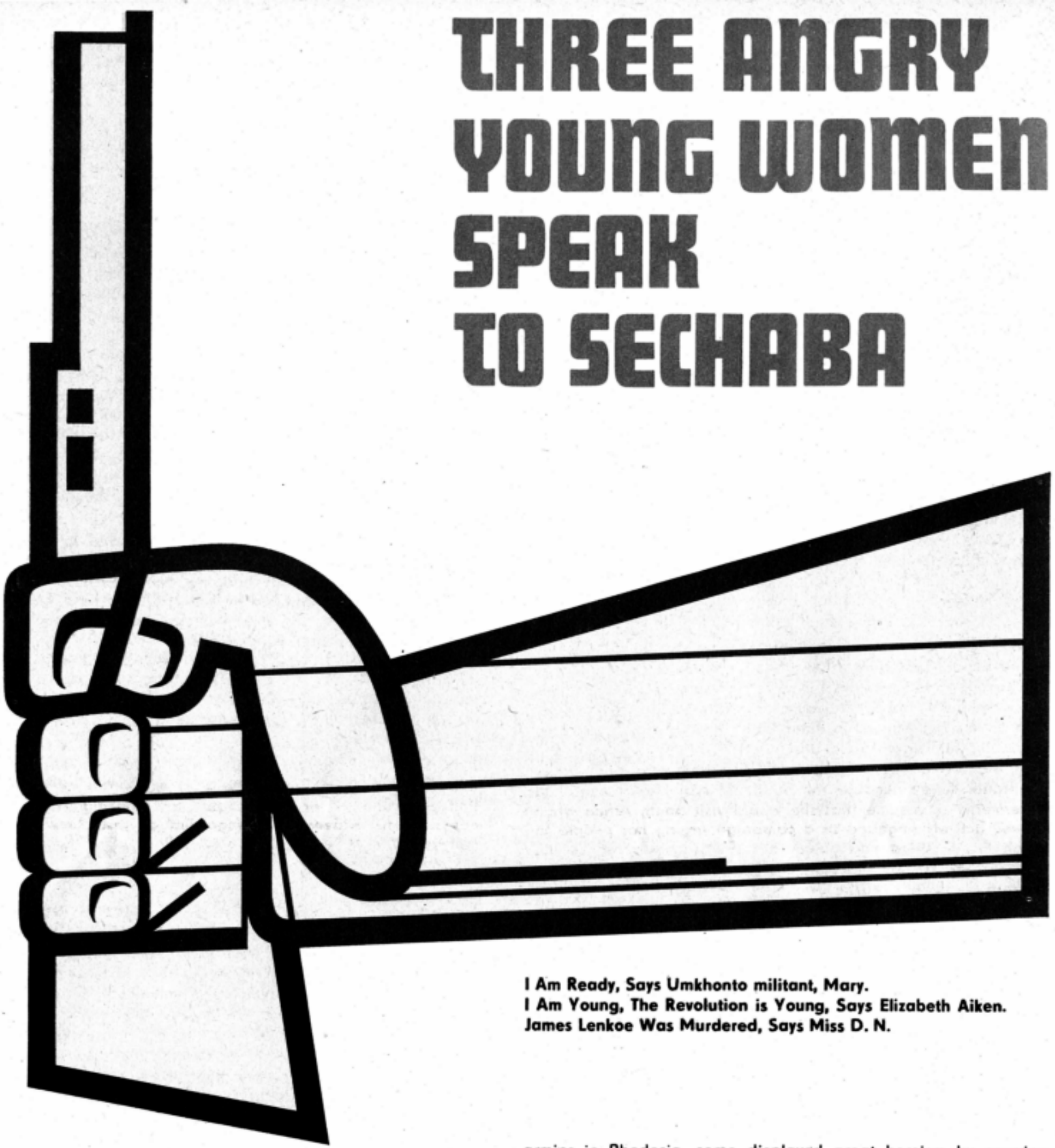
"**WE DECLARE** that we shall strive unceasingly to eradicate the scourge of racial discrimination and oppression in our country;

"**WE PAY TRIBUTE** to our militant freedom fighters who have laid down their lives, those languishing in Vorster's dungeons, the fatherless children, the widows and the desolate families—all of them suffering for the cause of South African Freedom;

"**WE RE-DEDICATE** ourselves that so long as our country remains under the iron heel of white supremacy, we shall devote all our energy, our lives in the determined struggle to liberate our Motherland;

"**WE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS RE-ITERATE** our desire to return home to join the fight against apartheid and only await orders from our organisation, The African National Congress".

THREE ANGRY YOUNG WOMEN SPEAK TO SECHABA



**I Am Ready, Says Umkhonto militant, Mary.
I Am Young, The Revolution is Young, Says Elizabeth Aiken.
James Lenkoe Was Murdered, Says Miss D. N.**

armies in Rhodesia, some displayed great heroism by carrying on their backs essential medicine, food and other supplies to the front bases, as well as participating in other essential activities in the 'rear'.

Here is the story of our speaker:

"My name is Mary and I was born in the Eastern Cape Province in 1936 into a family of three children. Myself, my brother 'Chris' who is on Robben Island serving a prison sentence of 12 years for opposition to the fascist government of Vorster, and my other brother 'John' who is now looking after my widowed mother.

"I joined the African National Congress in 1951 when I was still a student. In 1952, on 26 June, I took part in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. I served 30 days in prison.

"That was my first encounter with the dehumanised South African police force. It was not the last. Over the years my brushes with the 'protectors of Western Civilisation' increased as the struggle of the people of our country gained new levels.

"During the difficult times of 1963-4 when hundreds of our leaders were either in detention - without trial in solitary confinement or in prison, I continued to organise the people through

I AM READY

Mary, an Umkhonto militant speaks to a Sechaba correspondent

"The heroic struggle of our people shall be victorious; about this we have no doubt, whatsoever. It will be hard, yes! costly, yes! but most certainly it will be victorious."

Brave words by a brave young woman who is trained and ready prepared and capable to enter, with arms in her hands, into combat with the forces of oppression, the forces of Vorster and Smith. Although most of our women were in the 'rear' during the Wankie and subsequent operations against the Vorster-Smith

the underground. Later I joined Umkhonto We Sizwe our military wing."

"I was forced to flee South Africa in 1964 to avoid the fate of so many of our country's women who are now spending years of their young lives in those dark prison cells of Vorster's jails." "Now I am fully trained in military science and ready to go into battle with the enemy; ready to avenge the death and imprisonment of so many of our people, ready to do my duty to the cause of freeing our beloved Motherland from the forces of evil that have usurped power and are bludgeoning our people and plundering our land."

"I am ready in the true tradition of such great revolutionary South African leaders as Florence Matomela, who died recently, soon after serving a lengthy term of imprisonment; Lilian Ngoyi who has been banned and restricted to her home for over a decade now; Snini Mxokozeli who died in 1952 after serving a prison sentence in the Defiance Campaign as well as in the tradition of such heroes as Rosa Luxemburg of Germany, Le Thi Rieng of Vietnam and Djamilia of Algeria, to fight for freedom and democracy in our country and, as our Commander-in-Chief, Nelson Mandela said in court when he was sentenced to life imprisonment, **If needs be, I am prepared to die fighting!**

"We, women of Umkhonto, shall forever be loyal to our organisation and our cause. We shall fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk. We only await our orders!"

I AM YOUNG, THE REVOLUTION IS YOUNG ...

Towards the end of June, out of the blue as it were, Mrs. Elizabeth Aiken an Australian citizen and Sechaba representative in the State of Victoria received a registered letter from the Secretary of the Interior of the Republic of South Africa informing her that she was not eligible to enter South Africa under conditions allowed for her fellow Australians.

Being the revolutionary that she is, Elizabeth was both angry and proud. Angry because the South African Government had the temerity to assume that she would visit South Africa when she was actively engaged in a campaign urging her people to boycott South Africa and proud that she is considered by the South African Government to be a threat to their status quo. We print her reply to the Secretary for the Interior with no further comment except to state that her complete committal to the South African revolution is most welcome and appreciated by not only the African National Congress **but by all democrats and revolutionaries.**

"I am in receipt of your registered letter rubber stamped 16th June, 1969, reference number 22081/69, in which you informed me that the Minister of Interior has withdrawn in my case the privileges normally extended to citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies to enter and sojourn in the Republic of South Africa.

"As I have absolutely no intention of visiting South Africa, nor have I ever entertained the slightest wish to do so whilst your oppressive and immoral government is in office, I must admit that I found the arrival of your letter quite irrelevant, highly presumptuous and in an obscure way flattering. That an Australian lady in her early twenties who has never set one foot outside of her country could be deemed a realistic threat to the stability of the apparently powerful South African Government is indeed welcome news to the forces of Justice both within and without the country.

"Of course the time will come when I shall visit South Africa: a time when your decrees are quite useless. Perhaps you would like to know the South Africa I shall see?"

"I shall talk freely with whom I choose, ride upon the 'bus of my choice and make use of the public convenience that happens to be nearest to me. I shall eat where I like and dwell where I like. My friendships will be based upon compatibility, not governed by skin colour. Policemen will be allies of Legality and not a brutal extension of the political machine. People, all people, will live where they can afford and want to live. Never again will Love be raped by the despicable Immorality Act. Education of an equal standard will be open to all as will employment be open to those qualified for the position, regard-

less of race. Medical benefits will be extended to all; ambulances and blood supplies will be neutral and not labelled white and black. Christianity, where practised, will be free from blatant hypocrisy and will recognize Christ for the dark Semite he would have been.

"I am young, the revolution is young; with youth there is vigour, life and hope. Your political actions and policies are gnarled, grotesque, antiquated and repulsive to behold; with such characteristics death can not for long be held at bay."

JAMES LENKOE WAS MURDERED

In the last issue of Sechaba we reported on the death of James Lenkoe who died while in detention. Here Miss D. N. submits further evidence to show that Lenkoe did not take his life as the courts found but that he was murdered.

Magistrate J. J. H. Tukker found that James Lenkoe, detainee under the Terrorism Act, "died as a result of hanging, self-inflicted", and that "no satisfactory proof had been given that Mr. Lenkoe had suffered an electric shock on the day of his death." There is sufficient evidence for the rest of the world to believe otherwise - the affidavits presented at other trials under the Terrorism Act including torture to extract statements, the evidence of the world-renowned pathologist, Dr. A. R. Moritz that Lenkoe sustained injury to his toe caused by electricity, the magistrate's refusal to allow witnesses from Robben Island to testify as to their experience of torture, Dr. H. Shapiro's findings that death was consistent with both hanging and electrical shock. **Mrs. Lenkoe's statement that her husband did not have his belt with him when arrested, and the fact that the magistrate took only two minutes to come to his conclusion.**

But there is history itself: there is a long tradition, going back a century, of torture by South African police to extract the information they require.

William Charles Scully, himself a magistrate for many years in the Eastern Cape, describes police methods 75 years ago. He says that "with regard to the application of torture... the description detailed in this book 1) was often inflicted at the Police Station... for the purpose of inducing confessions in cases where evidence was regarded as insufficient to secure conviction."

VANANDA

He refers to the prevalence of stock thefts at that time: an African would be arrested, and tortured to make a confession and Scully describes the methods used. Vananda, an African about whom the book is written, preferred death by torture to confessing to a crime he had never committed. Due to his wife's ingenuity and courage, he was eventually released on bail, told his story in court, was believed by the magistrate (probably Scully himself) and the whole practice of frame-ups was exposed. 'Stringent Police reforms' were introduced, says Scully.

To-day we can look in vain for magistrates of Scully's calibre. But in any case, torture will not cease until a new society has been created in South Africa. Referring to Hazlitt, Scully prefaces his book with these words:

"No one people is fit to be entrusted with authority over another, and... any relation falling short of equality between two races occupying a given area, leads to what is practically the enslavement of the one by the other. If history teaches anything it is this: that in the final result the enslaver is more accursed than the enslaved."

If torture was the vogue a century ago, how much greater must torture be in use in present-day South Africa where the police are protected by a host of Laws, the Courts and by the government itself.

Can there be any doubt on the evidence led in his case that Lenkoe was murdered. Can we depend on the Courts for redress any more after this blatant display of injustice?

No! Never! The alternative has been spelled-out by the African National Congress: The armed revolutionary overthrow of the fascist state in South Africa. The wheels of retribution have already been set in motion with the first encounters by militants of Umkhonto We Sizwe. It will grow in intensity until the South African fascists are crushed forever.

(1) Daniel Vananda, 1923, Juta & Co. Ltd., Cape Town

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on the South African Police State



BEACH APARTHEID - 1

The District Commandant of the South African Police, Grahamstown, complained to the Port Alfred Town Council, that between six and seven thousand Africans "invaded" beaches at the New Year. The Mayor explained that no beaches had as yet been set aside for Africans, but representations would be made to the Department of Planning as soon as possible.

BEACH APARTHEID - 2

Of the 50 miles of beach at Port Elizabeth only 4% has been earmarked for the Coloured community. The Coloured Management Committee objected to the suggestion of the Port Elizabeth City Council that they give up some of this for the use of Indians who were dissatisfied with their rocky portion.

BEACH APARTHEID - 3

Following complaints by white holidaymakers from the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the Margate, Natal, Town Council decided at an emergency meeting to ban non-whites from the town's main beach, the most popular holiday zone on the South Coast. The Council demanded that the government should find alternative bathing areas for non-white servants who accompanied white families.

BLOOD APARTHEID

Regulations published in the Government Gazette of November 30, 1962, provide that containers of blood to be used for transfusions must be labelled with the racial origin of the blood "which may be indicated by the following code letters - W (for whites) K (for Coloureds), A (for Indians or

Asiatics) and B (for Bantu)." Societies which collect blood from different race groups must have separate white and non-white divisions and the records of donors and their blood donations must be kept separately, according to race.

BRIDGE APARTHEID

A number of non-whites were arrested and prosecuted for using a bridge reserved for "whites only" at New Canada Station, near Johannesburg. After spending one night in jail, 13 Africans were cautioned and discharged; a Coloured man was sent to prison for 10 days; admission of guilt fines of R10 (£5) were paid by 17 Africans and two more were convicted and fined the same amount. In defence, they said they could not read or write.

COUNCIL APARTHEID - 1

Complaints were made at the Nationalist Party congress that a Jewish and a Coloured candidate had been elected to the Cape Town City Council by the voters of Maitland. Delegates appealed for a speed-up in removing the Coloured voters from the Cape municipal rolls and providing Coloured local authorities for Coloured areas. The leaders of the Cape Nationalist Party and Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha, explained that a situation that had existed for 300 years could not be changed overnight.

COUNCIL APARTHEID - 2

Mr. Eben Cuyler, leader of the Nationalist minority, complained at a Johannesburg City Council meeting that Africans were sitting on the public benches of the chamber, in the public gallery and in the press gallery. Six African members of the

Soweto Advisory Board had come, accompanied by white officials to hear the debate on the proposed Urban Bantu Council for Soweto. Mr. Cuyler regarded their presence as "a matter involving the deepest policies of this country". He was particularly disturbed as 50 white girl students were also present in the galleries.

WHITE DIVORCE RATE

The Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr. W. A. Maree, has instructed the National Welfare Board to investigate the reasons for the high rate of divorce among whites, and to recommend measures for combating marriage disintegration. Some statistics show that of 30,000 marriages solemnised annually about 40 per cent are dissolved within the first year, the two major grounds for divorce being desertion and adultery. The Commission will concern itself with whites only; the divorce rate among non-whites is considerably lower. One sociologist has suggested that whites feel insecure because of the race problem and this has affected the security of their family life. DAGBREEK EN LANDSTEM conducted a nationwide investigation into divorce and reported that in every Province figures were the highest ever. It commented: "White Southern Africa is held up as the world's greatest bulwark against communism . . . but its divorce rate is the world's highest and experts say that the powerful white bulwark is steering towards spiritual bankruptcy unless a halt is called".

DOCTOR TRAINING

White doctors are being trained at the rate of one for every 10,000 of the white population, compared with one African for every 1,140,000 of the African population.

DOCTORS BARRED

Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act regulations have been amended to bar doctors qualifying at five medical schools in India from registering and practising in South Africa after 1974. This had been done on the recommendation of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

SPECIALIST BARRED

Dr. I. M. Mphahlele, a highly qualified gynaecological specialist, employed part-time as an ordinary practitioner at Baragwanath hospital for non-whites in Johannesburg, is not allowed to practice as a specialist there because then his status would be superior to some of the white doctors.

REMOVE PATIENTS DEMAND

The government M. P. for Maitland asked the Cape Town City Council to convert the Brooklyn Chest Hospital into a white institution by removing all Coloured patients and staff to a Coloured area. He said the presence of a racially mixed hospital (albeit with segregated wards etc.) "is a source of irritation and offence to the white residents . . . on visiting days there is a stream of coloured people through this white area . . ."

GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS!

When he was asked by a delegate to the Transvaal Nationalist congress why Sir Seretse Khama had been admitted to the Johannesburg white General Hospital, Mr. Vorster said Sir Seretse needed specialist treatment which could only be given there and "as a Christian" he had invited the Botswana government to bring the sick man to Johannesburg. DAGBREEK said the admission of a black Prime Minister to a white hospital proved South Africa's "good-neighbourliness" and that the policy of apartheid was not based on discrimination, but the necessity of separating peoples at different stages of development.

HOSPITALS CLOSED

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development has decided to close down all recuperative hospitals for Africans in "white areas" leaving only casualty hospitals. The reason given is that hospitals in "white areas" attract Africans who are not wanted in urban areas in terms of the policy of separate development.

HOTEL ADMISSION

The Minister of Community Development, Mr. W. A. Maree, ruled that hotel owners could decide themselves whether to admit Chinese, Japanese or Asiatics into their white hotels. The Group Areas Act provided for permits to be granted to allow such categories of persons to own residential property in white areas.

LAWYERS FORCED OUT

African lawyers are being forced out of their offices in the vicinity of Johannesburg courts by the government's refusal to renew their permits under the Group Areas Act. The government wants them to take accommodation 12 miles away in an office block for non-white professional men. One of the problems created by the move is that the Magistrates Courts Act prohibits attorneys from processing or ser-

ving documents from an office outside a radius of three miles from a magistrate's court or five miles from a supreme court.

PLAY BANNED

The Department of Community Development, the Minister of Community Development and the Prime Minister each in turn rejected an appeal from the three actors in the play "The Promise" to allow an all non-white audience to see it at the Labia Theatre, Cape Town. When the actors signed the contract to perform the play, against the advice of Equity, they had hoped that they might act before a Coloured, though not a mixed, audience.

WHITES ALLOWED AND BANNED

The government allowed whites to occupy 238 seats at the non-white Luxurama theatre, Cape, when a concert was held there in honour of the visiting Lions. But an all-white variety show cast was barred from performing before a non-white audience at the same theatre.

DANNY WILLIAMS BANNED

Port Elizabeth-born Coloured pop singer, Danny Williams, was refused permission to perform before white audiences at the Three Arts Theatre, Cape Town. Similar refusals caused the cancellation of shows at Port Elizabeth, Durban and Pretoria.

SHOWS FOR WHITES ONLY

Non-whites were permitted to attend the Rand Easter Show on only four of its 14 days. And the 1968 East London Hobbies Exhibition was reserved exclusively for whites.

AFRICANS AND COLOURED SEPARATED

At a Rugby test match between the South African Coloured Federation and South African Bantu team, held in Port Elizabeth, segregation was enforced on instructions from the government. Coloured and African spectators entered through separate gates and occupied separate sections of the grounds.

MEDAL FOR VORSTER

The South African Sports Foundation awarded its 1968 gold medal to Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister. The Chairman of the Foundation said the medal was awarded to those who gave "exceptional services to a specific sport, or to sport in general".

APARTHEID IN COURTS

With one exception all courtrooms in South Africa are segregated along racial lines. Apart from the

Supreme Court of Cape Town, where apartheid notices have reached the surrounds but have not been allowed into the courtrooms themselves, every court has separate seating areas for white and non-white spectators, separate docks for white and non-white accused, separate witness boxes for white and non-white witnesses, separate Bibles on which white and non-white witnesses swear their oath.

Awaiting trial prisoners are kept in separate cells before being carried off in separate vans to separate prisons. Most of the courts have separate entrances, some even have separate passages, and all, have separate counters for paying fines and admissions of guilt.

By law all juries are restricted to white men only, while every judge in the country is white. All regional court magistrates are white, as are all assessors in Supreme Court trials. In 1960 there were 436 magistrates and 2,423 other ranks in the magisterial division: not one of these persons was non-white. Now the total figure is over 3,000 and there are only half a dozen African magistrates and assistant magistrates among them, and not a single Coloured or Indian. The few Africans who have recently been appointed to magisterial office are not allowed to try cases in which white persons are litigants or accused. Similarly the legal profession is almost entirely white. Out of approximately 4,000 attorneys and advocates (solicitors and barristers) in practice, less than 200 are non-white.



THE NAKED FACE OF SOUTH AFRICAN 'JUSTICE'



An inquest reveals how South Africa's magistrates and prosecutors are willing tools of the Government – and of the Security Police. This case, like others taking place in South African courts every day, shows that the claim that 'independent courts' is more than just exaggeration: it is a wholly infamous lie.



In the last issue of *Sechaba*, we reported the initial proceedings in the inquest on James Lenkoe, the Basuto national reported to have hanged himself while in detention in Pretoria. We quoted the testimony of Dr. Alan Moritz, an American expert called by counsel representing Mr. Lenkoe's widow. This testimony showed that Mr. Lenkoe had received an electric shock on the day he died – an electric shock which could have been responsible for his death. On that same day, Mr. Lenkoe – as was proved in court – had been interrogated by the notorious Captain Swanepoel at his 'torture' headquarters, Pretoria's Compol Buildings. At that stage the proceedings were adjourned. *Sechaba* reports on their resumption.

Panic was the mood among the stooge court officials on that day – June 20th, 1969. Magistrate and prosecutor, watched by a gallery packed with members of the Special Branch, were determined to wind up the inquest just as soon as they possibly could. The resulting proceedings would have been a farce if they had not concerned a brutal tragedy.

The magistrate ruled that the hearing must take place even though Mr. Soggot (Mrs. Lenkoe's counsel) could not be present that morning. Mr. W. Oshry, (an eminent QC) took Mr. Soggot's place at short notice. He stated that Dr. Gluckman, the pathologist who had conducted the post-mortem for Mrs. Lenkoe, had consulted a biochemist that week.

But the biochemist refused to allow his name to be disclosed in the case and would not be associated with it because of the 'possible political implications'. The biochemist had consulted a lawyer who had advised him to wash his hands off the case.

So intensive is the reign of police terror in South Africa today that a professional man dare not give technical evidence in court – or even allow his name to be mentioned in connection with a political case. But what is a 'political' case. In this instance, an ordinary inquest?

After a repeated request from Mr. Oshry, the Magistrate agreed to hold the case over until Mr. Soggot could appear at 3 p.m. Mr. Oshry said Mr. Soggot wished to make an application. The Magistrate replied that he had heard enough applications.

Mr. Oshry then said that it appeared to him that 'bulldozing' was being attempted and the Magistrate threateningly told him to 'count his words'.

When Mr. Soggot appeared, he said that as he was being allowed no adjournment to prepare further technical questioning, he would continue with the evidence of Mrs. Julia Lenkoe, Mr. Lenkoe's widow.

Mrs. Lenkoe described what had happened when her husband was arrested. An African constable struck her husband and then a white constable struck him three times, very hard. Major Swanepoel was present. While Mr. Lenkoe was assaulted, he watched, and said her husband would have to tell the truth.

Shown the belt with which her husband was said to have hanged himself, Mrs. Lenkoe said she had never seen it. Her husband had not been wearing a belt when he was arrested. She had been visited by the police the day after her husband's death but had not been told about it until the day after that.

After Mrs. Lenkoe had given her evidence, the Magistrate refused an application by Mr. Soggot to address the court and apply for further witnesses to be heard, saying: 'I don't want you to address the court'. But he reluctantly allowed Mr. Soggot to do so when Mr. Soggot insisted it was his legal right.

Mr. Soggot said the legal representatives were in possession of six affidavits by prisoners on Robben Island, all of

whom alleged they had been electrically tortured. It was clear that this evidence was highly relevant to the inquest proceedings.

A legal representative had been refused permission to see the prisoners who were not able to say whether they would give evidence or not. However, the Magistrate could order that they be seen.

The Magistrate said he had heard all the evidence he intended to.

Finally Mr. Soggot applied to make submissions on the evidence led at the inquest but the Magistrate refused to hear any evidence.

This is a typical cover-up operation on the part of so-called legal officials. What really happened? It seems likely that after Mr. Lenkoe had been killed by electric torture, a fake suicide was staged with his body and a belt, under the management of his interrogator, Major Swanepoel. The whole conduct of the inquest shows that the Magistrate and Prosecutor were aware of such a state of affairs – and were determined to conceal it.

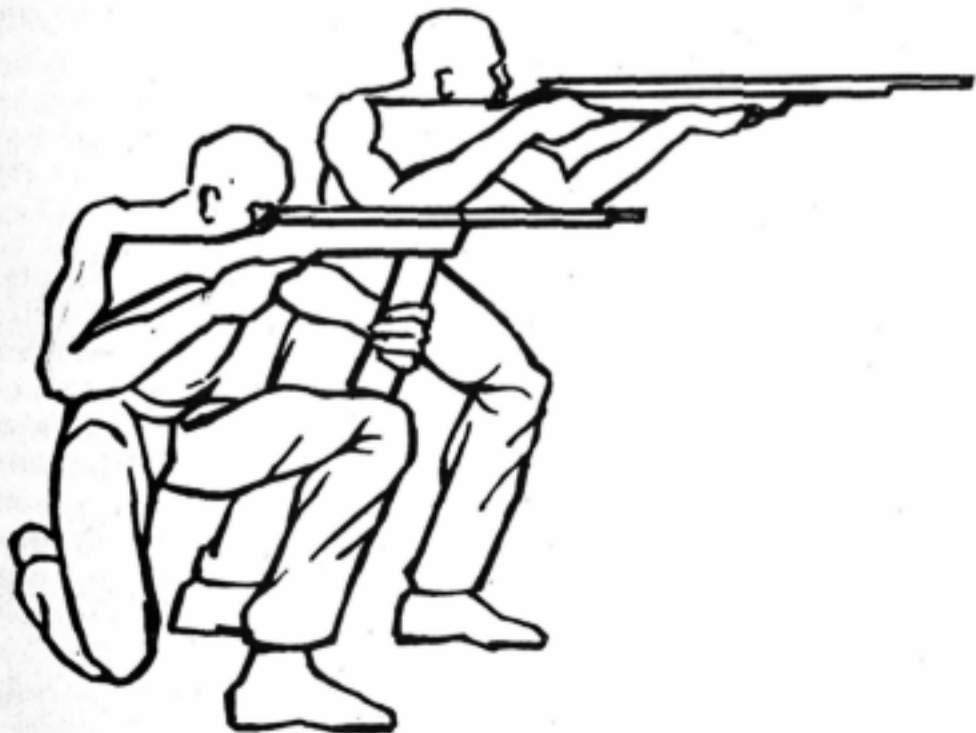
The Magistrate, J. J. Tukker and the Prosecutor, C. G. Jordaan (who insultingly declared that Mr. Soggot, in referring to electric torture was telling 'an infamous lie' – for which insult, of course, he was not rebuked by the Magistrate) are accomplices in torture and most probably in murder as well. Their names are on record. They will not be forgotten. These men, like Hitler's stooge lawyers, will be brought to justice in the future when the true facts about the Lenkoe case are revealed in a court representing the African people, not their brutal oppressors. Meanwhile, bravely, Mrs. Julia Lenkoe, resisting all the intimidation of police terror, is bringing a civil action.

She is suing the Prime Minister, the Minister of Police and Major Swanepoel.

But her evidence may never be heard.

Dagbreek, the Nat newspaper, suggests that clause 29 of the notorious BOSS Act (See Commentary, this issue of **Sechaba**) may be used for the first time to prevent Mrs. Lenkoe and victims of electric torture from giving evidence. **The judge involved would then have to give judgement on the action without hearing the evidence for it.**

Dagbreek quotes a (unnamed) judge as saying that in such circumstances he would resign from the bench. Will this happen? **Sechaba**, with some scepticism, waits to see.



WHERE INNOCENCE MAY NOT HELP

In the latest swoop by police in Pretoria between 30 and 40 people are being held. Their relatives have no right to know. Parliament has no right to know. When questioned on the figures the Minister said "it is not in the public interest". When asked if all detainees were visited once a fortnight as is their right, he replied "Yes except in exceptional circumstances where the cases did not permit such visits".

FOUR PEOPLE have died this year while under detention.

THIRTY-TWO PEOPLE were detained during 1968 under Proclamation 400 of 1960 in the Transkei. Seven people had already been detained this year under this Proclamation.

TWENTY SEVEN PEOPLE were detained under 180 days in 1968. Eleven people had already been detained this year under this clause by May.

BANNED WITHOUT TRIAL : on August 30, 1968, 490 people were living under banning orders. Others have been banned since this date.

BANISHED WITHOUT TRIAL : 39 people are at present subject to removal orders in terms of the Bantu Administration Act.

PASSPORTS REFUSED : 322 people were refused passports or travel documents in 1968. Sixty-nine people left the Republic on exit permits during 1968. They can never return.

HOUSE ARREST : forty-two people are at present subject to house arrest. Eleven house arrest orders have been renewed for a further five years. Nine people have to report daily to the police station.

If this happened to you, your certainty of your innocence would avail you nothing.

PEACE AT ANY PRICE ? . . . "we can live in the year 1969 in South Africa which is calm . . ." the Prime Minister.

Trade union rights violated

The following testimony was submitted
by M. M. MIYA, on behalf of the South African Congress
of Trade Unions (SACTU) to the U.N.
Ad-Hoc Working Group of Experts – Commission
on Human Rights

The violations of trade union rights by the Republic of South Africa have been fully documented by the International Labour Organisation, United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid; the International Trade Union Organisations and other bodies. These violations are set out in legislation on the statute books in South Africa and by administrative operations.

We who lived and worked in South Africa know the meaning of these violations and propose to discuss them under the following headings:

Pass Laws – Native (Urban Areas) Act,
Convict Labour,
Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act as amended,
Industrial Conciliation Act 1956 as amended,
Suppression of Communism Act 1950 as amended.

Pass Laws:

We have in South Africa about a half-a-million a year pass law prosecutions. These pass offenders are fined or if they cannot pay a fine, are offered the choice of going to prison for months or working for a farmer for 6 months. They are in fact slave labour as correctly assessed by the ILO (ILO, First and Second Special Report of the Director General on the application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of 'Apartheid' of the Republic of South Africa 1965 and 1966). These are the simple facts:

(a)

All Africans over 16 years of age are registered and issued with reference books (passes) which must be produced on demand, and no African

may remain lawfully in any urban area, not even in a town situated in a "Bantu Homeland", for more than 72 hours unless he has been given permission. This is to impress upon all Africans that the towns are White man's country and Africans in towns are aliens serving the White man's needs and interests.

Those who have no permits are arrested by the police, finger-printed, taken to the Bantu Affairs Dept. Labour Bureau and there offered farm work. Those who refuse are returned to the police for prosecution in court. There have been cases where these "offenders" have not even been given the opportunity to refuse: they have been forced to take up farm work. For those Africans who have accepted farm work rather than face prosecution the contract usually provides for about 90 days. The farmer bails out the African worker, who then works for them from morning to night without pay.

In addition to this system there are "farm jails" built and kept up by farmers jointly with the Department of Prisons. The farmers pay the prison authorities 1 s. per day. In 1951 there were 28,000 prison farm labourers; by 1954-5 there were 100,000. Today the figure is much greater.

On August 12 and 28, the Minister of Justice admitted that during the first six months of 1966 in nine (only) main areas 48,188 African men and women were arrested for not being in possession of proper identity documents (passes), and 38,947 for being in the area for more than 72 hours without permission – a total of 87,135.

(b)

The convicts on the farms work from sunrise to sunset under armed guards and are locked up at night and over

week-ends often in primitive conditions without adequate sanitary arrangements, often without water. Many of these convict labourers have been beaten to death by brutal overseers. The White farmers of the rich potato belt of the Eastern Transvaal are notorious for their treatment of convict labour.

In all areas, groups of White farmers combine together to build gaols on their farms. This system ensures that farmers, always the worst paying group of employers, do not have to compete with commerce and industry in the open labour market. The pass laws and pass arrests solve their labour problems for them.

It must be remembered that pass offenders are not guilty of any offence against the State; their offence is "technical" – they could not produce an up-to-date tax receipt; a document showing their right to be in an urban area; and so on. What is not generally known is that any White South African can hire a convict to dig his garden. All public and provincial buildings in South Africa are maintained by convict labour.

Strike Action Illegal

Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes Act) Section 18, 1953 makes strike action by African workers a criminal offence, punishable by up to three years' imprisonment and/or a fine of £500. Under this Act the African workers are prohibited from striking, from collective bargaining or to have a recognised trade union. Their only "protection" is a White government official representing the Native Labour Board consisting of Whites only. Many thousands of African workers

have been gaoled and fined for strike action during the past 14 years. Apart from direct persecution through this Act, African workers and especially trade union members, are exposed to further persecution once they have been convicted of striking. They are often deemed to be 'undesirable' under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act and 'endorsed out' of the urban area where they have lived and worked all their lives, and sent to impoverished rural areas where there are no opportunities of employment whatsoever, or to the new Resettlement camps.

In 1960, the African National Congress was declared an illegal organisation. Workers who have taken strike action since that date, have been arrested and charged with having furthered the aims of the banned organisation, the African National Congress.

The most flagrant example of this is the case of the 10 workers of the Bay Passenger Transport Company, Port Elizabeth, (it has been fully documented in the United Nations Economic and Social Council Report, Nr. E/4305 of 7 March, 1967).

In 1961, these workers, together with 183 fellow African bus drivers and conductors, went on strike for improved pay and conditions. In support of these workers, the non-White people of Port Elizabeth carried out a boycott of the Bay Transport buses. The workers were fined £7.10.0 each for an 'illegal' strike and the dispute was settled first by the calling together of representatives of the workers, members of the boards of commerce and industry by the Mayor of Port Elizabeth. An independent tribunal was then set up, with Ex-Chief Justice A van der Sandt Centlivres as Chairman and the workers gained increased pay and better conditions. Three years later these ten workers were arrested and charged with 'having furthered the aims of the banned African National Congress' by their strike of 1961. After a year in gaol, awaiting trial, they were sentenced to 4½ years imprisonment, reduced to one year on appeal.

These ten Bay Transport workers who have now served their prison sentences, however, are still being persecuted for their 1961 strike. One of them Mr. Alfred Qungani, has been ordered to live in the Transit Camp of Welcome Valley and two others have been endorsed out of East London.

The Industrial Conciliation Act 1956 as amended:

African workers are excluded from this Act by the definition of employee.

This Act came into force 1st January, 1957. In terms of Section 77 of the Act the Labour Minister appoints an industrial tribunal of five members all of them White. Its function is :

- (a) to hear appeals from the Industrial Registrar,
- (b) to act in compulsory arbitration,
- (c) its main job is to operate job reservation, i.e. to reserve certain jobs for members of a particular race or to specify the percentage of workers of a particular race to be employed. For purposes of job reservation Africans fall within the definition of 'employee' although excluded from registered trade unions and the provisions for collective bargaining.

When making its inquiries the tribunal considers the views submitted by interested parties, and consults the industrial councils, employers and trade unions concerned. For Africans the Central Native Labour Board (White Government officials) are consulted.

The tribunal may recommend that work of any kind covered by its investigation should be reserved by persons of a specified race, and that no one else should be allowed to do such work.

In all the official notices published in the government gazette on the Minister's instruction to the tribunal to investigate it states :

"it appears to me that measures should be taken in order to safeguard the economic welfare of European employees in the industry."

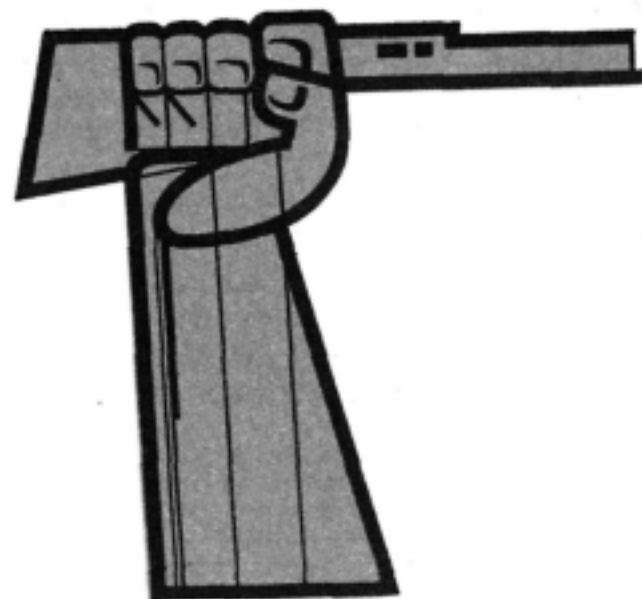
Up to now there have been 18 investigations and determinations. In all these determinations all non-Whites, particularly African workers are the sufferers. Only hard, unpleasant and badly paid jobs, that few Whites could want are reserved for non-White workers.

Job reservation means job security to the White workers at the expense of the African, Coloured and Indian workers who have to take the whole burden of unemployment, insecurity and low wages.

Non-White workers being in constant fear of losing their jobs do not press for higher wages and better conditions of work, they fear to make their jobs attractive to White workers.

Section 77 of the Act violates the principle of collective bargaining, and the ILO Convention and Recommendations on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) adopted unanimously at the 42nd Session of the International Labour Conference held in June 1958.

Splitting of Trade Unions. Sections 14, 15 & 82 of the Act enforce racial separation, it distinguishes between White and Coloured persons. The term Coloured includes Indians - (Africans



are excluded). The Act restricts membership to either Whites or Coloureds when an open constitution is retained, separate branches for White and Coloured members respectively and an Executive of Whites only. The whole principle of White Baaskap like in the South African Parliament has been extended to the Trade Unions. The above mentioned Section and others such as the definitions of "strikes" and "essential services" are a negation of the accepted rights adopted by the ILO Constitution Philadelphia Declaration and Conventions of Freedom of Association, Protection for Trade Union Organisation and Collective Negotiations to arrive at agreements.

Suppression of Communism Act 1950 as amended

Under this Act the Government banned many trade union leaders from being members or holding official positions in unions. The result of these banning orders issued since 1952 has been devastating. Trade Union leaders with many years of experience of organising workers, negotiating agreements have been removed from the unions. With this law - General Laws Amendment Act of 1963 - and other subsequent oppressive and discriminatory laws, the government of South Africa has taken savage retribution on the men and women African, Indian, Coloured and Whites who organised African, Coloured, Indian Unions and SACTU in particular. We could mention hundreds of our best sons and daughters who were banned, detained, banished, tortured, imprisoned, restricted ; we lost noble sons who were tortured to death and hanged for the crime of organising their fellow workers for human rights, higher wages, better conditions of work - for a life worth living.