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## COMMENTARY

# JUNE 26

## ITS SIGNIFICANCE

In the history of the peoples throughout the world, there are days which bear special significance to them. Days of which the national unity, the goals and ideals of the people are manifested. In South Africa such a day falls on the 26th of June. June 26 is widely known as Freedom Day because some of the great campaigns in the fight against apartheid were launched on this day. Over the past 15 years June 26 has seen the growing strength and determination of the oppressed people of South Africa to rid themselves of the evil system of racial discrimination and white domination.

Several International Organisations have called for the observance of June 26 as a day of solidarity with the oppressed and struggling masses of the people of South Africa. The Organisation of African Unity has given its blessing that June 26 should be marked as a day on which Africa re-dedicates herself to the cause of the achievement of national liberation and the final liquidation of colonialism in the southernmost tip of Africa. The workers of free and independent Africa through their co-ordinating centre, the All-Africa Trade Union Federation, have pledged support for the workers of South Africa and observe June 26 as a day of solidarity with them. The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners throughout the world have called for the marking of June 26 as a day on which the progressive forces in the world must demand the release of all political prisoners. The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Movement has also adopted June 26 as a day to be observed in support of the South African liberation struggle. There are numerous other social, political and cultural organisations that have demonstrated their abhorrence of apartheid and colour discrimination by calling upon their supporters to observe June 26.

June 26 first and foremost symbolises **A Day of Rededication** to the cause of freedom, independence and human dignity. On this day the people of South Africa vow that they will continue their struggle for freedom until their ideals set out in the Freedom Charter have been won.

Above all, June 26 is **A Day of Mourning** for the thousands of oppressed people in South Africa who are robbed of their lives in jails and farms and factories. The large numbers who meet their death suddenly when the callous police open fire on mass demonstrations. It is a day to mourn for the children orphaned through the death or exile or imprisonment of their parents – children deprived of youthful pleasures.

In this issue we have a special feature on this important and historical day. June 26 is commemorated throughout the world and we trust that you will spare no effort to organise demonstrations in solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa on June 26 each year.

Send us a report and picture of June 26 demonstrations in your country and join the world-wide battle to eradicate the evil system of apartheid and racial hatred from the face of the earth.

# SECHABA

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# JUNE 26

# SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY!

**South Africans of all races – both black and white – will observe South Africa Freedom Day, June 26, for the 20th time this year. Opponents of Apartheid the world over will also join in protest against racism at public meetings, demonstrations, teach-ins and film shows. The following is as detailed an account as we can give in this short article of how June 26 came about, how it has been observed over the years and how the National Liberation Movement expects to achieve true democracy and freedom for all in South Africa.**

## **1950 – The beginning**

June 26th is South Africa Freedom Day, a day on which we look back over the past in the freedom struggle in South Africa, review what has been done, and then look forward to the future. This year, 1969, we observe the 26th of June for the twentieth time, for it was nineteen years ago, in 1950, that it first became a day of importance.

When we look back to the year 1950, we see a situation very different from the situation in South Africa today; and yet a situation from which the present situation developed. It is now commonplace in South Africa that no African may remain for more than 72 hours in a city where he is not employed. It is well-known nowadays that many Africans in the cities are there illegally; having lost or left one job, they have remained for more than 72 hours to seek another; and should any such man be required to show his pass to a policeman, he will be deported back to the 'homeland' he may not have seen since he was a child. In 1950, this law curbing the freedom of movement of Africans, was being framed. The so-called Coloured people of South Africa (those of mixed race) have long been on a separate voters' roll from the whites; but in 1950, the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was meeting opposition from the Coloured people and from some whites and other non-whites. It is now commonplace in South Africa that people of different races are compelled by law to live in different areas; but in those days, the South African Indian Congress was holding mass rallies in protest against the Group Areas Bill, which Indians knew would force many of them to leave their homes or their businesses or both. The Unlawful Organisations Bill, which was

later to be used against a number of organisations opposed to the policies of the Government, was also about to become law.

## **More Repressive Laws**

The Nationalist Government had been in office for two years, and it was already engaged in its now familiar practice of passing a series of more and more repressive laws; laws designed to make more rigorous the system of racial discrimination already in force in the country, and to safeguard white economic privilege; laws intended to paralyse political opposition. For by that time, political opposition had become a matter in which the mass of the people were concerned.

Then as now, it was only too easy for an all-white Parliament – especially one with a Nationalist majority – to pass laws which were unacceptable to the non-white peoples; for up till then, Coloured males had been the only non-whites on the voters' roll and the Separate Representation of Voters Act was about to remove them. Most of the legislation was directed against the rights and the liberties of the non-white people of the country; and yet it was only the whites who were in any way effectively represented on government bodies. At the same time, the non-white people of the country resented the policies of the Government so deeply that those organisations which expressed non-white protest had gained wide support. The A.N.C., in particular, from its beginning as a small organisation of chiefs in 1912, had become a mass organisation; and the South African Indian Congress had gained wide support among Indians during the Passive Resistance Campaign in 1946, against legislation which further



**ANC volunteers marching to a meeting**

circumscribed the rights of the Indian people. In the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Government was framing legislation against organisations which seemed likely to become a real threat to its security.

### **May Day Strike**

The Defend Free Speech Convention was formed to organise non-white protest against the new legislation of that year of 1950, so that white voters might be made aware of non-white opinion, and it represented a number of organisations. A mass rally held in Durban at this time, under the auspices of the A.N.C., the Natal Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation and the Communist Party, was the first occasion on which all these organisations had come together to make a joint protest against the racial policies of the Government. The Convention made plans for a national stoppage of work on May 1st, 1950, and for meetings and rallies all over the Country.

Then began a pattern of events that has since become familiar to us in South Africa; when faced with a show of hostile opinion, the Government threatened to take "forceful" action against its opponents. The statement made by the Defend Free Speech Convention certainly did not call upon the people to show any violence; it said simply: **"We request all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, to lodge a protest . . . by demonstrating . . . and by demanding freedom of speech."** However, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, J. P. Coetzee, announced that the police would protect those who wished to go to work on 1st May, and said that "force will be met with force where necessary." C.R. Swart, then Minister of Justice and later President of South Africa told the House of Assembly that he had banned the May Day rally arranged for Pretoria, and if he received representations from magistrates on the Rand he would ban the protest meetings there as well.

### **18 People Killed**

White South Africans in the cities first became aware of the stoppage of work on the 1st of May when the milk wasn't delive-

red in the morning. The South African progressive weekly, the **Guardian** of May 4th reported a successful stoppage in most cities and peaceful rallies and demonstrations throughout the country. In the late afternoon, however, there was violence; and on the Rand, eighteen people died.

On the 11th of May, the **Guardian** printed three eye-witness accounts of the killings. One, from Benoni, told the story of how a crowd, told to disperse, had begun to do so when the police moved in with bayonets and guns: **"They slaughtered the people like cattle, stabbing them from behind and shooting them in their backs as they ran. I swear there was no provocation from the people."** Another, from Sophiatown, told of another crowd that had been told to disperse, and of one eighteen-year old boy who had not moved away with the others, but had remained where he was, and was shot dead. **The eye-witness, who ran to pick him up, was struck down with a baton and arrested.** Another account from Alexandra Township described how a woman had thrown a stone at a passing police van. This was evidently enough provocation for the police, who then opened fire with Sten guns, and **"in a few seconds eight people were dead, including one fifteen-year-old schoolgirl."**

### **First Freedom Day Protest**

These events naturally caused deep resentment and indignation among the non-white people; and these feelings called for expression. The A.N.C. therefore, called a **national day of protest and mourning on June 26th**; and this call was supported by the African People's Organisation an organisation of Coloured people (which was later replaced by the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation) and the South African Indian Congress.

The **Guardian** of the 29th June reported another successful stoppage of work, most successful in Port Elizabeth and Durban. The National Day of Protest Co-ordinating Committee issued a statement afterwards in which it spoke of its "intense satisfaction" at the "splendid response" to its call. There had been no incidents.

# Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws

In 1951, the conference of the African National Congress adopted a resolution to rally the people into mass action in defiance of apartheid laws. This resolution had been drawn up by the Joint Planning Council, a body which had previously been appointed at a meeting of the executives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, and representatives of the Cape Franchise Action Council, a body which had been organising protest against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill. The mass action, which was planned for the following year, was intended as a protest against such laws as the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Bantu Authorities Act and the Suppression of Communism Act.

The situation was beginning to harden into the one familiar to us today. The Separate Representation of Voters Bill became law, and the Suppression of Communism Act became harsher as a result of further amendments. In July, the police intensified their persecution of organisations opposed to the Government by raiding the offices of the African National Congress, the Indian Congress, the Iron and Steel Workers' Union, the Bakers' and Confectioners' Union and the Newspaper and Publishing Workers' Union – all African unions.) The *Guardian* of July 12th reported that during such a raid, the Secretary General of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu, had been "removed under the escort of two detectives to Marshall Square police station for questioning," and added that: "Detectives have visited the head office of the African National Congress on several occasions recently, demanding to know the 'race' of Mr. Sisulu and the names of the members of the Congress national executive."

1952 was the year of the Defiance Campaign. At meetings held in April in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth, it was decided that groups of volunteers would defy apartheid, and that this action should spread throughout the country. When arrested, the volunteers would serve sentences rather than pay fines. This action was, as the Congresses emphasised, based on disciplined non-violence. At a press conference, reported in the *Guardian* of the 17th April, Dr. Dadoo, president of the South African Indian Congress, was asked: "Do you think there will be any incidents?" and he replied: "Not from our side. Ours will be a controlled disciplined movement."

Early in 1952, certain leaders of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and of the Trade Union Movement were 'named' under the Suppression of Communism Act:

"The Defiance Campaign is the most humane and legitimate way in which a disenfranchised people can make their political protest. It has been suggested that we use constitutional means but nobody has indicated what constitutional means we may use to gain our freedom."

Chief A. J. Lutuli, late President-General:  
A. N. C. November, 1952.

"Our position has so worsened that today white South Africa has put in office a government which has closed all constitutional channels between itself and my people, and whose barbarous and godless policies have shocked enlightened people all over the world."

Walter Sisulu, before the Court,  
July 1952.

under this law they were forced to resign from their organisations and were forbidden to attend meetings. On the 26th June, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane and others defied this ban by addressing a meeting and were brought to trial.

"It is clearly the duty of every citizen to obey the laws of the State but when certain laws are made in defiance of the rule of law and contrary to the cherished principles of civil liberty, then these laws are bad, unjust and immoral and cannot be tolerated by the people . . . then the people have no alternative but to defy these laws."

Yusuf Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, May, 1952.

## Defiance Begins

The Defiance Campaign began on the 26th June, when the first volunteers including Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress – defied apartheid laws in Johannesburg, other groups in Boksburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Worcester and Durban also courted imprisonment. The movement continued and spread; from June till December, groups of volunteers all over the country defied the law by entering African areas without permits, entering the European sections of post offices and railway stations, defying the nightly curfew for Africans in the cities. One volunteer in Johannesburg was reported as saying: "We are defying unjust laws that have oppressed our people for three hundred years." When brought to Court, the volunteers pleaded not guilty and made statements explaining why they had done what they did. Some parties of volunteers were acquitted – it was found, for example, that those who defied railway apartheid had not, in fact, broken the law at all – but the rest served various terms in prison. As the early volunteers began to come out of gaol, there were stories of political prisoners being maltreated. One prisoner had his ankle broken while he was in Marshall Square. It was said that, as the gaols grew full, the authorities had been trying to force payment of fines by confiscating the money of prisoners. By 9th October, the number of volunteers had passed the 5,000 mark, and magistrates had begun to sentence volunteers to corporal punishment.

Sentences grew harsher, and there were other reprisals as well. The police carried out raids again, on the offices of the organisations concerned and on the homes of leaders.

"I do not plead for mitigation or mercy. I have decided to go to gaol so that my suffering and the suffering of the oppressed people of this land may ultimately bring about conditions which will make South Africa a happy country for all, regardless of race, colour or creed."

Nana Sita, Transvaal President of the  
South African Indian Congress, July 1952.

## Luthuli Dismissed as Chief

The home of Ahmed Kathrada, then an Indian youth leader in Johannesburg, was raided while he was not present, and one detective was reported to have said: "It is our country, we can do what we like." In Durban police who had intended to raid the home of Ismail Meer of the Natal Indian Congress, raided the house of another Meer by mistake; and refused to stop searching when someone pointed out their mistake to them. The

Department of Native Affairs told Chief Luthuli that he must resign either from the A.N.C. (of which he was then Natal president) or from his chieftainship of the AmaKholwa tribe: and he later made a statement, saying, "As a chief I regarded myself as a servant of my people and I therefore decided that I could not withdraw from their struggle for freedom by resigning either from Congress or the chieftainship." The paper *Advance* (successor to the *Guardian* which by then had been banned), reported

"The African people are a voiceless and landless people; they are a people without a place in their fatherland to rest or to lay their heads. Their education and development are hampered and retarded as a matter of State policy. They are a starving people. Through colour bar laws and administrative measures they are prevented from improving their economic conditions. They are paid sub-economic wages and in many cases starvation wages. They are denied freedom of movement in the land of their birth . . . Hunger, lack of opportunities, restrictions, discriminatory laws and regulations have turned hundreds of thousands of my people into criminals. They steal and commit other offences because of hunger; hundreds of thousands of them die every year because of diseases which are the consequence of hunger and shocking living conditions . . . We stand for full and equal justice to all sections of the population. It is the right of the non Europeans, as of any other people, to have freedom, with the full opportunities of development. It is also an established truth that if a Government passes laws which deprive a people of these rights, that that people shall have the further right to seek the abolition of such laws. In the past, representations have failed to achieve this object. Nothing is left now for a person like me but to protest in a way which will make the voters of South Africa realise how great the oppression of my people is and how grave the situation is."

Moses Kotane, Treasurer-General:

A. N. C., before the court, July, 1952.

that "When the tribe was told that Luthuli was dismissed because of his association with the African National Congress, tribal spokesmen asked the Native Commissioner what would happen when the new chief was appointed because all the tribesmen were members and supporters of the African National Congress."

It seemed that this persecution of leaders was intended to intimidate them, and also to find charges to get them out of the way; for the government was, as always, convinced that unrest was merely the work of 'agitators'. Twenty of the non-white leaders were brought to trial in September for their part in the Defiance Campaign. Of the offence they were charged with, the *People's World* said: "The Crown must prove that . . . the campaign aims at bringing about a change in the industrial and social structure of the country through unconstitutional and illegal methods." The report also mentioned "twenty Crown witnesses, chiefly detectives of the Political (Special) Branch of the Police, also professional, shorthand writers commissioned by the police to record speeches at political meetings, and the secretary to the Prime Minister who read in court correspondence between the African and Indian Congresses and Dr. Malan." The twenty accused were eventually sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, suspended. Police action grew more brutal. In Durban they carried out a baton charge against people from the spectator's gallery leaving a Defiance Campaign trial. White personnel of the Defence Force had been put on emergency duty. Clearly, the Government was determined to crush the campaign by use of violence. The Congress then decided that the police and army must be given no excuse to exercise their armed strength against non-whites, who were neither armed nor prepared for armed action. The National Action Committee, of which Chief Luthuli was president, issued a leaflet appealing to the non-white people not to be provoked, to "avoid rioting, follow the lead of the Congress, be peaceful, disciplined, non-violent."



"Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached the stage where we have almost no rights at all."

A. J. Lutuli, October, 1952.

### Early Commemorative Actions

In 1953, Chief Lutuli, who had by then been elected President-General of the African National Congress, called on the African peoples and their allies to mark June 26th as a national day of commemoration and dedication to the cause of freedom; and this call was confirmed by the South African Indian Congress. Each family was asked to commemorate the day by recounting in its own home the story of the struggle for freedom of the non-European people. Each family was asked also to light a bonfire outside its home at nine in the evening, or to place a lighted candle or lantern as "a symbol of the spark of freedom we are determined to keep alive in our hearts, and a sign to other freedom lovers that we are keeping vigil on that night."

"Attacks on non-white leaders and their organisations are proceeding . . . but the silencing of individuals or groups by bans or other orders will not alter the convictions of members of the African National Congress about the essential justice of their cause."

Albert Lutuli, June 1953.

# Congress of the People and the Birth of the Freedom Charter

In 1954, the 26th and 27th of June were marked throughout South Africa by mass meetings and by an anti-apartheid conference in Johannesburg. The meeting in Port Elizabeth called for organisers for the forthcoming Congress of the People; and many in the audience at this meeting wore the African National Congress colours of gold, green and black; or the new African National Congress uniform of khaki shirt and khaki trousers or skirt, with a black or brown beret. A joint statement was issued at the meeting by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and the South African Congress of Democrats (this last organisation had recently been formed for white sympathisers of the other Congress bodies). These four organisations were later to become known as the Congress Movement or the Congress Alliance.

During the year before the Congress of the People preparatory meetings were held all over the country, and people expressed wishes and aspirations that were later to be embodied in the Freedom Charter. The emblem of the whole campaign was a four-spoked wheel, presenting the four organisations in the Congress Alliance; this emblem was chalked on many a wall during late 1954 and early 1955, and was to be seen on a banner over the speakers' table when the Congress of the People took place at Kliptown in the Transvaal on 26th June, 1955. Delegates came from every centre in the country of any size, from the reserves and locations, the farms and the cities.

They came by train, cart, car, lorry and bus, some even on foot . . . Delegates entered the closed strip of veld where the Congress was held, marching and singing, under their banners and African National Congress flags. One delegation was led by a brass band. Many of the women wore beautiful shawls and dresses elaborately embroidered in Congress colours . . . in one way or another, every delegate wore the Congress colours, some the Congress flag flying from their breastpockets, others the tie, yet others the Congress scarf.

. . . One by one, first slowly but later in a deluge, the names poured on the platform of delegates who wanted to speak. Everybody wanted to speak, and only a sprinkling could, but they spoke for all the others from their hearts, about the longings and hopes of the people, their hatred for apartheid and their will for freedom.

**"South Africa urgently needs political changes of a far-reaching character . . . The most important and essential change of all is that the present autocratic system of government should be replaced by a South African democracy. What I mean by this is that the people shall govern. All adult citizens irrespective of race, colour, sex, income, property or educational level, should have an equal share in government, exercised through a sovereign assembly of equals. There can be no substitute for such a political arrangement and nothing less will suffice. If the right to vote were only to be conceived as a gift from a ruling aristocracy, there would not be a nation in the world enjoying democratic government today."**

Walter Sisulu, writing in November 1957.

Special honours were awarded to Albert Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, Yusuf Dadoo, president of the South African Indian Congress, whose banning orders prevented their being present, Trevor Huddleston, C. R., who was then working in Johannesburg and who is now Bishop of Stepney, was also honoured.

The most important business of the Conference was adopting the Freedom Charter. This became the Charter of the Congress

**"We are not interested in what Parliament calls Bantu Education. I speak as a teacher who has been banned from teaching for opposing the Bantu Education Act. I refuse to tell my classes that Moshesh was a cunning fox and that Dingaan was a murderer. I refuse to tell my children that they are inferior."**

E. Mphahlele, at the Congress of the People, June 1955.

A section of the delegates who attended the Congress of the People



Alliance, a programme of its aims and is published elsewhere in this issue. It was impossible that such an event as the Congress of the People should take place without police interference. Hundreds of delegates travelling to Johannesburg from all the Provinces were stopped by the police, and their names and addresses were taken. The police were particularly active at Standerton, where they stopped lorry-loads of delegates and demanded transportation permits and tax receipts from Africans. Indians were told to show their Transvaal entry permits, Indians, not being allowed to go from one Province to another without a permit issued by the State.

On many national roads, police road blocks were established to stop all cars. The main road between Bloemfontein and Johannesburg was blocked at most of the main towns. When two lorries were stopped at Beaufort West, the police said, "We were told to keep a look-out for you".

For two or three days before the Congress opened, police were seen hanging about the offices of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the A.N.C. in Johannesburg. Police photographers took photographs of delegates calling at the offices, and detectives made notes of names and car registration numbers.

Police were present at the conference itself. Their activities were described in **New Age** the successor of **Advance** which had been banned ". . . there were scores of detectives clustered in groups, some taking notes of the speeches, some scanning the faces of delegates and others. They moved in with flashlight and micro-film cameras, binoculars and recording equipment. They photographed hundreds of delegates as they presented themselves at the credentials table. . . . They lined up at the rear of the delegates and seated themselves on empty lemonade boxes . . . They were in time to hear the Rev. Huddleston declare from the platform, "We are meeting openly, not behind closed doors, to plan a Charter which will be the basis of our action in future years."

### Police Act – The People Sing

The conference was in its final stage, when at about 3.30 p.m. on Sunday afternoon, a large force of police was suddenly rushed to the area in trucks . . . The first warning the crowd had of this was an announcement by the Chairman: "Armed police are approaching. We don't know what they want. Please keep your seats." Then he asked the crowd to rise and sing the anthem **Inkosi Sikelele**.

As the voices rose, about fifteen Special Branch detectives, escorted by a group of police armed with sten guns, mounted the platform. Every document in sight was removed, cameras and rolls of film confiscated, and all those on the platform were

**Walter Sisulu, Secretary General of the ANC finds banning orders pinned to his door when he got home one evening**



searched. They announced that treason was suspected, and the name and address of every delegate was to be taken.

Mounted police sealed off the area backed by the railway line, and constables armed with rifles, which they held at fixed position as they moved through the crowd, threw a double cordon round the conference square, taking up positions a few feet apart from one another to prevent anyone from entering or leaving the conference site.

The police came well prepared. Hurricane lamps were standing by so that Special Branch men could continue laboriously to record names, and addresses as darkness fell; and separate tables were set up for whites and non-whites. As each delegate left the conference site he was interrogated at the police table and searched. Documents found on him were retained and sealed in an envelope with his name. Every single white delegate was photographed with a flash camera. Delegates had their pockets searched, and though the police confiscated documents and publications they gave no receipts. The questioning and search went on until about eight p.m.

One African taken to the Kliptown police station was assaulted, and by the time he was released his clothing was covered with blood. The police removed all banners and flags . . . they also confiscated all monies collected from literature sales, and carted away huge quantities of literature . . . Throughout the police questioning the people behaved as though quite unaware of the presence of several hundred armed police. They formed into groups to dance and sing, the brass band played, and the dancing went on until only a tiny group was left within the police cordon . . . The Chairman asked the meeting if it wished to proceed and the crowd roared its assent."

Police were at Kliptown again a year later, on the 26th June, 1956, when two thousand people came to rally at the place where the Congress of the People had been held; and there, at the meeting, they served a five year banning order on Gert Sibande, an African National Congress and farm workers leader from Bethal, who was one of the speakers. Chief Lutuli, Dr. Dadoo and Father Huddleston sent message to be read at this meeting, for they were not able to be there themselves – Chief Lutuli and Dr. Dadoo were both banned from attending meetings, and Father Huddleston had been recalled to England.

**"The Charter produced at Kliptown is, line by line, the direct outcome of conditions which obtain: harsh, oppressive and unjust conditions. It is thus a practical and relevant document. It attempted to give flesh-and-blood meaning, in the South African setting, to such words as democracy, freedom, liberty. If the Charter is examined, it will be seen that freedom means the opening up of opportunity to all South Africans to live full and abundant lives in terms of country, community and individual. It means the end of legalised bullying, the removal of a sub-human outlook."**

**A. J. Luthuli, June, 1956**

### The Abortive Treason Trial

At the end of 1956, the significance of what the police had been doing at the Congress of the People became clear. At five o'clock on the morning of 5th December, over a hundred people – of all races, colours and occupations – were arrested on a charge of **high treason** and flown by military aircraft to Johannesburg, where they were at first refused bail. After further arrests, which took place about a week later, the total number of accused came to a hundred and fifty-six; and when they were called upon to answer to their names in court, each answered in his own language Xosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tamil, Gujerati, Afrikaans, or English.

These arrests and the manner in which they were carried out created some stir, as may be imagined. A fund was set up to provide defence for the accused and money for the families of breadwinners who had been arrested; protest meetings were held in the large cities. Several thousands of people carrying placards on which were printed: "WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS", demonstrated outside the Treason Trial Court. "We Stand by our





Moses Kotane, Treasurer General of the ANC.

**Leaders!**" became a standard slogan among the people throughout the trial.

The preparatory examination (which was held at the Drill Hall, Johannesburg, for no court was large enough to hold all the accused) lasted for nearly a year. The South African Government evidently regarded the Freedom Charter and the Congress of the People as treasonable: for the evidence brought forward against the accused concerned their association with the Congress of the People, and much of this evidence consisted of texts of the speeches made at Kliptown, and documents and publications that the police had confiscated there. The prosecution, however, found it more difficult to prove treason than it must have expected. Towards the end of 1957, charges against nearly a hundred of the accused were withdrawn; and after a protracted trial in Pretoria, the last of the accused were acquitted in 1961.

"I would passionately welcome the opportunity to stand in a South African dock on this charge and say all the things I've been longing to say. I feel this development intensely - and all the more so because so many of those arrested are my personal friends."

Trevor Huddleston, C. R., speaking of the treason arrests, Dec., 1956.

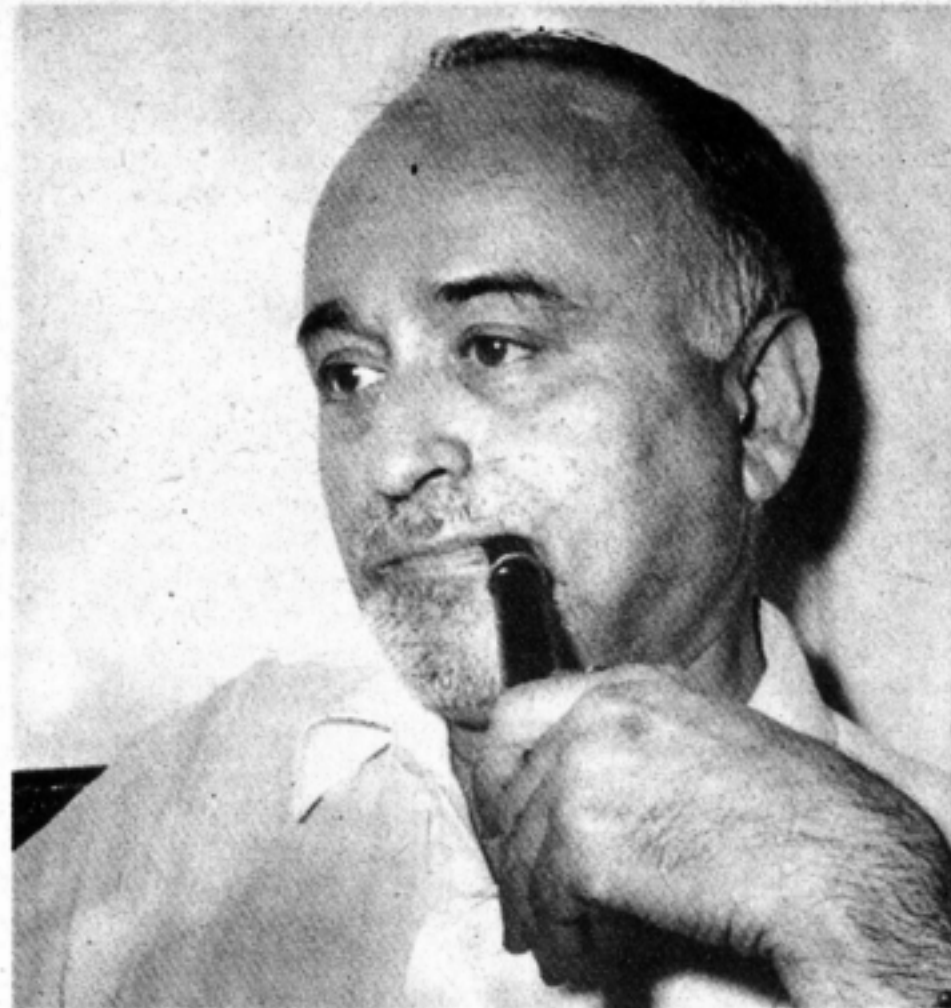
### Another Freedom Day Strike

On the 26th of June, 1957, many African, Coloured and Indian workers stayed away from work, and Indian shops remained closed, because the Indian Congress had declared a day of **hartal**, in protest against the Treason Trial. Prayer and protest meetings were held in African areas of Johannesburg, and the police charged an Indian Congress procession in the evening. Large meetings and demonstrations took place in the Eastern and Western Cape and in Durban. At the Drill Hall in Johannesburg, the accused in the treason trial interrupted the hearing and stood to observe a two minutes' silence. In 1958 and 1959, meetings and rallies were again held in different parts of the country to observe the 26th of June.

1960 was another year of crisis.

### Anti-Pass Campaign

The campaign against passes for African women had been in progress for some years, ever since the Government had first



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the SAIC.

spoken of extending the pass laws to African women as well as men. Between 1955 and 1959, large groups of women all over the country had marched to present petitions to Native Commissioners and, on one occasion, to the Prime Minister's office: one such processions of over six hundred women was arrested in Pietermaritzburg in 1956. In 1960, the Congress alliance extended the campaign into a protest against the whole pass system in general; for it is the pass system that restricts the movements of all Africans and causes arrests and imprisonment of thousands each year for petty infringements. The Congress Alliance planned the culmination of its campaign for June 26th when the people were to have been urged to burn their passes.

However, in March, a total of seventy people were shot dead by the police at anti-pass demonstrations held by the newly formed Pan-Africanist Congress at Sharpeville in the Transvaal. Hundreds were wounded. Most of the wounds at Sharpeville were inflicted from the back, which showed that the police had kept on firing for some time after the demonstrators had turned to flee.

### Burn Passes!

The African National Congress called on the people of the country to stay away from work on Monday, 27th March, and made a call on Africans to begin burning their passes immediately. The stoppage of work was successful, particularly in Johannesburg and Cape Town; Chief Lutuli burned his pass in public, and groups of people began burning their passes in different parts of the country. The African National Congress was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and so was the Pan Africanist Congress. A few days later, hundreds of people from all parts of South Africa were arrested without warrant in the small hours of the morning.

### The Government Declares a State of Emergency

Those arrested were detained under the Emergency regulations. In Cape Town and Durban, many thousands of people marched into the centre of town to demand the release of those arrested. The people of Langa in the Cape stayed away from work for two weeks, and during the whole of that time Langa was surrounded by armed police and armoured cars. In Durban workers stayed away from work on alternate days so as not to starve. Workers in the Northern industrial environs on one day and those working in the South on the next day. The police continued to make arrests for some months, but under the Emergency regulations, the newspapers could not publish news of the arrests, nor report on any of the unrest in the country. **New Age** was banned for the duration of the State of Emergency, which remained in force for five months.

# The Call for a National Convention and a Final Attempt at a Peaceful Solution

In the meantime the struggle against Bantu Authorities which ended in the establishment of a Bantustan in the Transkei had grown in intensity. The people demonstrated their opposition en masse and were told by the Authorities to elect three spokesmen from among themselves to make representation on their behalf to the Chief Magistrate of the area. A meeting was held at which the people duly elected three spokesmen — but before they could interview the Chief Magistrate they were arrested. Still hoping to present their opposition to the Authorities the people convened another meeting. Police armed to the teeth arrived while the meeting was in progress. Without provocation they opened fire on the crowd. Eleven people were killed and fifteen were seriously injured.

**New Age** the only non-racial weekly, commenting on this incident in its issue of September 8, 1960 stated: "Noted for their cheerfulness and hospitality, the Pondos have changed overnight to a grim and determined people."

A wave of police terror followed. Hundreds of people were arrested. Some leaders such as Chief Madikizela, M. Mbodla, Tshangela and others were deported to remote barren areas in the Transvaal. A state of Emergency was declared in the Transkei, which to this day — nine years later — is still in existence.

The people took to the hills. And, the great Pondo Revolt that

**"The Nationalist government must be forced to give way to a government that has respect for human lives, human rights and human values. Pondoland is proving once again that this government is unfit to govern, and must make way for the representatives of the people who can ensure justice and equality of opportunity to all the peoples of this land."**

**Govan Mbeki, writing in Feb., 1961.**

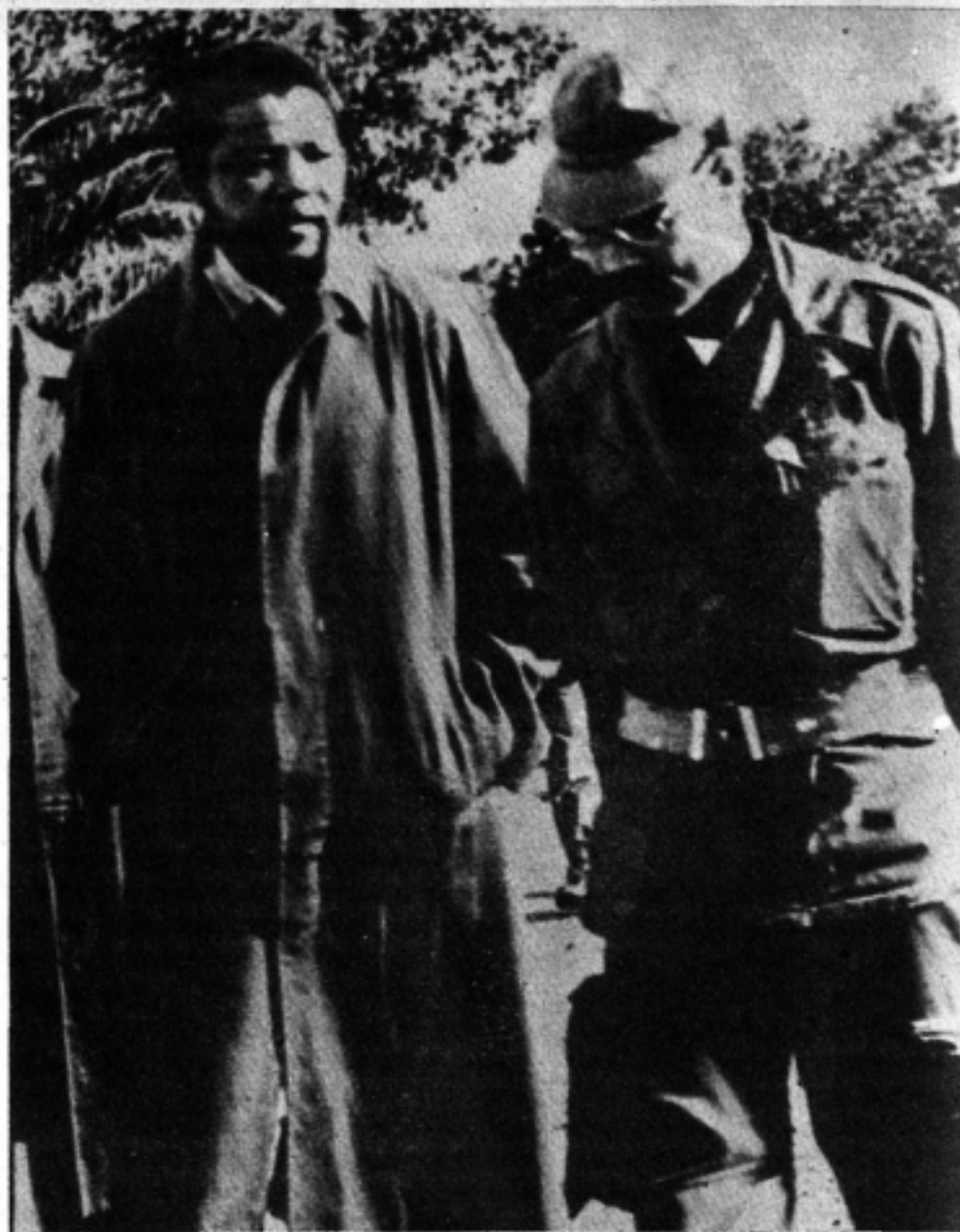
followed is now history, albeit living history. (For an account of this massacre see **Sechaba**, Vol. 1, No. 4)

Another incident at about this time which forced a change of policy on the African National Congress was the Coalbrook disaster and the attitude of the Government towards it. At the beginning of 1960 an entire shift of over four hundred African men died in a collapse of rock down the pit at Coalbrook mine in the Transvaal. At the enquiry which was held later, the mine management was found guilty of negligence and fined a few hundred pounds — something less than a pound for every life that had been lost.

The situation in 1961 was very different from that of ten years before. Those organisations which had once expressed non-white opinion were almost gone. The African National Congress was banned and now existed as an underground organisation. The Indian Congress and the South African Coloured People's Organisation (now known as the Coloured People's Congress) were still in existence, but were crippled by the banning of the individuals comprising their entire executive committees both at national and branch level. The activities of the trade unions were circumscribed by the law that forbade Africans to go out on strike.

South Africa had withdrawn from the Commonwealth — after Afro-Asian members had made it clear that they would refuse to tolerate its continuing as a member. The Government had conducted a referendum (among, of course, the white minority electorate alone) to declare the country a Republic.

The Pietermaritzburg all-in African conference of March, 1960, representing a very broad section of the African population rejected this decision and called for a fully representative National Convention, elected by all South Africans, irrespective of colour, to frame a democratic constitution for the country. Nelson Mandela, for the National Action Council elected at the conference, wrote to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, proposing



**Nelson Mandela with Algerian officer during tour of Algerian Army camp during his 1962 visit**

that a Convention be called before May 31st, 1961, the day proposed for the proclamation of the Republic.

"Such a convention", the letter declared, "would discuss our problems in a sane and sober manner and would work out solutions . . . to preserve and safeguard the interests of all sections of the population". It added that failing agreement there would be a general strike to coincide with the declaration of the Republic.

This letter was placed before the Prime Minister. Dr. Verwoerd did not acknowledge it; he referred it to the Department of Justice — that is, the police. The Government made no attempt to meet African leaders and discuss their demands. The army was mobilised and white civilians were armed. Under the pass laws, 10,000 young Africans were arrested. All meetings were banned. The all-white Parliament passed a law that empowered the police to arrest anyone on suspicion and hold him for twelve days without bringing him to court.

The National Action Council called for a one-day stoppage of work on the 31st May, and there was a good response to this call.

Of this period, the A.N.C. has subsequently stated:

"No one reading the record of the African struggle in South Africa can fail to understand and acknowledge that all but super-human patience and restraint have been shown by the people and their leaders, in the face of unendurable conditions. But the endurance of even the most patient, and the restraint of even those most determined not to be provoked, has an end. That end has been reached in South Africa. The African people have indicated that from now on they mean to meet force with force."

**"Those who are voteless cannot be expected to pay taxes to a government which is not responsible to them."**

**Nelson Mandela, June 26th, 1961.**

**"The people's patience is not endless . . . The time comes . . . when there remain only two choices . . . submit or fight."**

**Statement made by Umkonto we Sizwe  
Dec. 1961.**

# Umkhonto we Sizwe - Spear of the Nation

In the middle of the night of 16th December 1961, there were explosions in certain public buildings in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban. Posters stuck up near the sites on which the explosions took place announced they were the work of an organisation known as Umkonto we Sizwe - The Spear of the Nation. "This is a new, independent body," the poster read, "formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races . . . Umkonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organisations." These actions of December 1961 were to become the pattern of protest by the people. Led by Nelson Mandela, Umkhonto organised well-planned acts of sabotage throughout the country. Acts of sabotage in all the main centres of South Africa was a feature of the protests on June 26, 1962. Side by side with these activities meetings and protests called by the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the Indian and Coloured Peoples Congresses (the A.N.C. being banned could not openly participate) were held and at all such meetings former A.N.C. members spoke as Trade Unionists!

1962 was the year of the Sabotage Act, which gave a very wide

definition to sabotage, and at the same time made it punishable by death. The passing of this law created indignation among most sections of the population of South Africa; people of all races and from many walks of life attended large and impressive demonstrations in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. An organisation of white women known as the Black Sash held a series of demonstrations at the City Hall steps in Johannesburg; they were attacked several times by unsympathetic white men, and received little or no protection from the police.

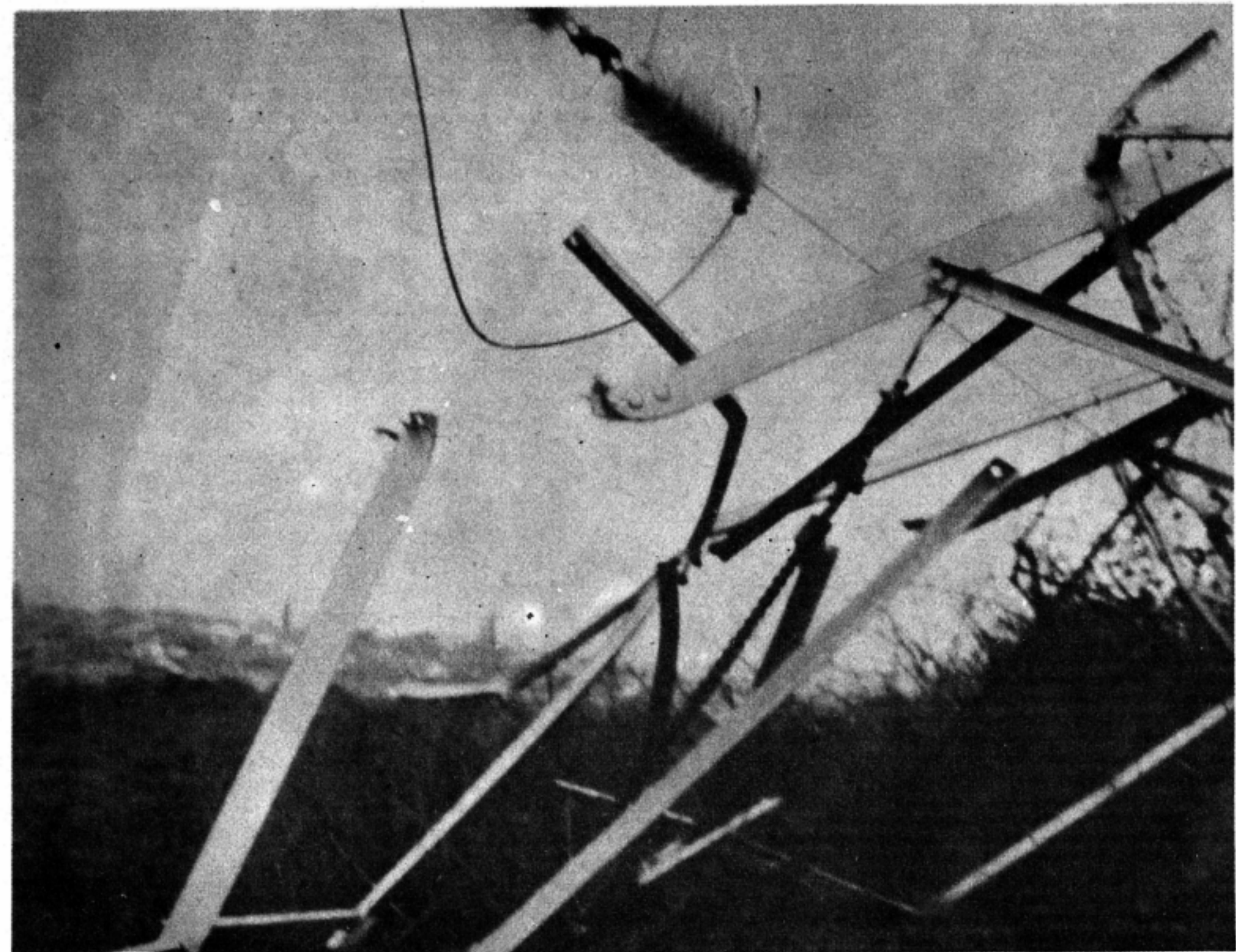
On June 26th in that year, the banned black, green and gold flag of the African National Congress appeared again, flying from buildings, from fencing posts, from trees, in some of the large cities in South Africa.

In the same year Walter Sisulu went into hiding; and on June 26th 1963 he broadcast a call to the people to organise and prepare for the struggles ahead, from a secret underground radio station.

1963 was a year of many arrests and many political trials. The Criminal Laws Amendment Act empowered the police to arrest anyone and hold him for questioning for any period up to ninety days - and at the end of ninety days the prisoner might, and indeed often was, re-arrested for a further term. Prisoners held under this clause were kept in solitary confinement and subjected to rigorous interrogation often accompanied by threats; later on, the police began to use more violent methods of getting prisoners to make statements, such as beatings up and electric shocks. Hundreds of prisoners were brought to court during this year, in a myriad of trials on charges of belonging to unlawful organizations, or of sabotage and given sentences ranging from three to twenty years. Three were sentenced to death.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

An electric pylon blasted by Umkhonto saboteurs on December 16 1961.



**"WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW:**

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthrights without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together – equals, countrymen and brothers – adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

**THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

**ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!**

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, racial or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

**THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!**

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

# THE FREEDOM

**Adopted at the Congress of the People,**

**THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!**

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

**ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!**

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

**ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!**

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;



# CHARTER

**Kliptown, South Africa, on 26 June 1955**

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

## **THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!**

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers, and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

## **THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!**

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

## **THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!**

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

## **THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP**

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation – not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates – Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Swaziland – shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

**Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:**

**'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.'**

# The Rivonia Trial

In July the main national leaders of Umkhoto We Sizwe were arrested at their underground headquarters, a house in Rivonia, an exclusive white suburb of Johannesburg. They were: **WALTER SISULU**, who had taken part in the Defiance Campaign and had been Secretary-General of the African National Congress up to the time when it was banned. He had been one of the accused in the treason trial.

**LIONEL BERNSTEIN**, an architect and political writer, who had also been one of the accused in the treason trial.

**GOVAN MBEKI**, who had for many years been a leading member of the African National Congress and Port Elizabeth editor of *New Age*.

**DENNIS GOLDBERG**, who had once been a member of the South African Congress of Democrats.

**AHMED KATHRADA**, an Indian Congress leader, who had taken part in the Defiance Campaign, and had also been one of the treason accused.

**RAYMOND MHLABA**, a trade unionist and member of the African National Congress from the Eastern Cape.

**ELIAS MOTSOLEDI**, another trade unionist and member of the A.N.C.

**ANDREW MLANGENI**, a member of the A.N.C. who had played a large part in helping to organise the all-in African conference in Pietermaritzburg in 1961.

This trial, which came to be known as the Rivonia trial, lasted until June, 1964. All the leaders faced a maximum penalty of death. Tension mounted to fever pitch throughout the country. The Government indicated through all its actions and statements during this period that "an example" must be set and the men must hang.

The non-White people were restive and all could see that little provocation was needed to set off the most violent reactions. In the meantime one of the greatest international campaigns ever mounted on a South African issue caught on like wild fire. The United Nations passed a resolution calling for the release of the prisoners. Throughout the world at meetings and demonstrations demands poured into the S.A. Government offices demanding the release of the Rivonia Trialists.

Chief Lutuli met representatives of the Governments of Britain and the United States and warned that the South African people will never forgive them if they did not throw their full weight behind the demand for the release of these leaders or, at least, to ensure they did not end up in the gallows.

The prosecution led evidence to show that the accused had organised acts of sabotage, had planned further acts, had planned the training of saboteurs, and had planned armed revolt. All

**Govan Mbeki,**  
Rivonia Trialist



**Ahmed Kathadra,**  
Rivonia Trialist



**Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General: ANC**

were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment, except Lionel Bernstein, who was acquitted and re-arrested on another charge while still in court. Nelson Mandela made a statement to the court explaining why he had done what he did; so moving and impressive was this statement that it was printed in full in the South African papers as well as in papers overseas and has been reprinted many times since, while a tape recording of the speech was taken secretly in court, smuggled out of the court and out of the country, and was later played to a gathering of people in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. After the Rivonia trial, many hundreds of people were arrested under the ninety-day detention clause; during subsequent years, there have been so many political trials in South Africa and so many convictions under the Sabotage Act and the Suppression of Communism Act that there are now said to be over nine thousand political prisoners in different gaols in South Africa. The bulk of these are in the gaol for non-white men on Robben Island in Table Bay; and from time to time, disquieting reports come from this gaol of maltreatment of prisoners, and of prisoners who have died because of inadequate medical attention. June 26th is no longer observed in South Africa, as it once was, by rallies, meetings and processions; for such gatherings have proved to be dangerous in the face of the governmental policy of repression, enforced by armed and vindictive police.

Last year, for instance, the Congress underground in South Africa illegally distributed a leaflet headed "June 26, 1968" and a booklet, the theme of which was to prepare the people for armed struggles. The banned, black, green and gold flags were flown from the tops of some of the tallest buildings in many of the cities. And, perhaps the most audacious act was a street corner broadcast urging the people to mobilise and prepare. (A full report of these and other activities during June 26th last year appear in *Sechaba*, Vol. 2, No. 9.)

The day is, however, openly observed in other countries, in such distant and widely separated places as London, Dar-Es-Salaam, Moscow, New York, Delhi and Tokio; at meetings, rallies and teach-ins, and by people from all over the world who send letters of protest to the South African Government and letters of solidarity to all Congress offices abroad.

# WE SHALL WIN!

"In the face of uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order ultimately to establish peace and racial harmony."

A. J. Lutuli, speaking of the Rivonia Trial, 1964.

June 26 - 1969

Now, in June 26, 1969, what is the situation in South Africa? Non-white dockers have been on strike in Durban; and, also in Durban non-white doctors in the hospitals have also been on strike in protest against the fact that their salaries are lower than those of white doctors, proving that they are prepared to risk unemployment and police persecution to improve their conditions; proving that in spite of the dangers involved they are prepared, when driven, to take militant mass action in the old tradition.

Of other political activity in South Africa today, we can write little, for such activity must of necessity be secret. However, we do know that in March, twelve alleged members of Umkhonto were given sentences from five to twenty years under the Terrorism Act, in Pietermaritzburg. One of them, is Dorothy Nyembe a woman leader only recently released from 5 years imprisonment. They were found guilty of having searched for places to land people from sub-marines, and to establish bases for attacks on South Africa; and to have tried to establish a system of contact with members of underground organisations.

Further north, young militants of Umkhonto We Sizwe are fighting with the guerrillas in Rhodesia. The joint forces of the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union have entered a struggle which taken together with the armed activities in Mocambique led by FRELIMO, Angola under the banner of MPLA and South West Africa under the leadership of

SWAPO, has made the whole of Southern Africa a battleground against the last vestiges of white supremacist rule in Africa. The South African government regards this development as so important that it has sent troops and arms into Rhodesia as reinforcements to the White Rhodesian army in its fight against the guerillas. Today, posters in South African police stations give information as to how a 'terrorist' may be recognised. The white South African press, too, has shown signs of alarm and as time goes on, it more and more frequently prints news and comment about guerrilla activity. The East London Daily Dispatch of South Africa, for example, had this to say as long ago as 1968:

"... there is a growing public feeling that counter-attacks should be launched on the guerilla bases in Zambia to stop incursions before they start. Bitterness and anger is spreading among white Rhodesians, many of whom have young sons and relations, some only seventeen and eighteen, fighting in 'The Valley' ... Hundreds of men are tied up in the drought stricken bush, prey to sickness, insects and snakebite ... And from the United Nations ... it was reported that Zambia's Foreign Minister, Mr. R.C. Kamanga, told delegates Zambia was supporting the terrorists."

There are three forms of struggle going on simultaneously; mass industrial action in the cities of South Africa itself, armed action within the country, and armed action on its borders. We are confident that freedom will come to South Africa because of the fact that these three forms of struggle have now been conjoined. We are confident that through our fight on these three fronts, the Nationalist Government will be removed, and the oppression of the non-white peoples in South Africa, now centuries old, will come to an end for ever.

"We in the African National Congress do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in South Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be longdrawn and bloody. But we are confident of the final outcome. As our forces drive deeper into the south, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of white democrats.

The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa. Towards this victory we will fight to the bitter end. Our battle cry is and shall continue to be:

**VICTORY OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN!**

Oliver Tambo, Acting President, A. N. C. in a New Year message entitled "Call to Revolution" published in the January 1968 issue of *Sechaba*

Photostat of some leaflets issued in South Africa on June 26 last year.

**IVANA BAKHULA BEZIN-  
NEDYHA, USOMI BOMNTU  
ONTSUNDU KWELI LIZWE  
SORENLUPEKO NENTSW-  
ELA NOBUKHOBOKA.  
Se silanga ilizi Isibano  
Zuphanya, kubona Isibano  
Zuphanya, kubona Isibano**

**ONLY BY MEETING  
FORCE WITH FORCE CAN WE  
WIN BACK OUR MOTHERLAND**

**WE ARE AT WAR!**

On December 16th, 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, made it known that we, the oppressed people of South Africa, would fight for our rights...

From August 1961 (together with the South African Communist Party) we have been fighting the Vorster government...

The truth is reported. Our struggle is not "terrorist" and skill. The losses, so also to save the South African people...

The freedom enemy. Apart from the Vorster government, the military transport past three months...

**WE SHALL WIN!**

**FORWARD TO FREEDOM!**

**freedom fighters on the march!**

A message from Dr Y.M. Dadoo to the Indian people

**Brothers and Sisters!**

The struggle against Apartheid and for Freedom has entered a new decisive phase. Freedom-fighters, combat units, well-trained and well-armed, are already going back to the oppressors with great daring, skill and determination in Rhodesia. Countries in total apartheid, they are doing severe blows to the fascist forces of the South and Western...

**WHAT YOU SHOULD DO**

**WE CALL THE COLOURED COMMUNITY**

The South African government has said that it will not be involved in the struggle against the "terrorists" but it is in fact in the way that our people responded to the fight in part of the Cape Corps in the two world wars was called "terrorist" by the government, its...

our South African children. Don't let them be used for the enemy's purposes. Don't let them be used for the enemy's purposes. Don't let them be used for the enemy's purposes.

**TE OP-  
Y HAVE  
RTHEID,  
FOR ALL  
VICTORY**

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and  
comment from apartheid  
South Africa

## POLICE VIOLENCE

"The South African police force enjoys a high reputation – and it deserves it. In many Western countries today, there is acute tension between public and police . . . but in the Republic there is no such issue.

"Here there are good reasons for confidence in our policemen. There is their general professional proficiency: the speed with which they so often track down criminals; their tenacity in the complicated cases; their success in holding down the crime rate while, in many another country today, it is soaring. There is appreciation, also, of the brilliance with which, in recent years, the Police Force has countered subversion, and kept this a peaceful and orderly land."

No, friends, SECHABA has not gone off its rocker. And we are not making a very tasteless attempt at being funny. We are quoting from a recent radio broadcast, in the Current Affairs programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. If it reminds you of the Nazis' Radio Ziessen which spewed its lies over Europe nearly thirty years ago, that is no accident. The South African rulers believe, like Goebbels, that lies, no matter how blatant, will be believed if repeated often enough. And that any lie is justified in the cause of white dictatorship.

### Contempt for Listeners

Their contempt for their listeners takes ones breath away. Do they think that we have all forgotten Sharpeville, Langa, Ngqusa Hill, – 1960, when police guns killed no fewer than 85 men, women and children in a single year? That in another single year, 1965, South African policemen shot and killed 70 so-called fleeing suspects, and wounded 102? Are those reasons for confidence in "our" policemen? Is this a "peaceful and orderly land", when policemen come hammering on our doors in the middle of the night, without a warrant or a warning, dragging us out of bed and demanding passes and papers and tax receipts? When there are over 800,000 arrests among us every year, for pass law and curfew or tax infringements alone?

Who are they trying to bluff?

We are actually called upon to admire the police force for its efficiency, its speed in tracking down criminals. Well, if your methods are unscrupulous enough, criminals in the eyes of apartheid are not hard to find. The South African police use the method of the round-up – they surround our townships at midnight, knock us up door by door, bundle us into their pick-up vans by the hundred. We remember nights in 1966 when over 1,000 arrests were made in a single operation.

But let us go back to our piece of apartheid newspeak – the language in which words mean not what they normally mean, but what you decide they shall mean.

"The personal qualities of the ordinary South African policeman has also won the trust of the citizen: his unobtrusiveness

in the streets of the cities; his helpfulness to all in remote areas; his integrity; and the courage which he regularly displays, against whatever odds, in carrying out his tasks.

"There is also public confidence that the South African policeman understands that it is his duty to apprehend the criminal but that it is the duty of the courts to punish him."

When you have caught your breath again – here are some facts. In 1965 alone, no fewer than 273 policemen were convicted of assault. Nearly 1 for every 100 men in the force. These are extracts from press reports of some of those cases:

### Standard Police Methods

**Rand Daily Mail, May 1st 1965:** "A policeman beat an African so badly that he died . . . The court regarded as callous the conduct he displayed after the assault in leaving the deceased unconscious on the floor of his office while he went for a drink with his wife . . . The accused was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment."

**Rand Daily Mail, June 15th, 1965:** "He is not dead yet. Kick him till he bleeds . . . an African school teacher alleges he heard some policemen say as they beat him up . . . He lost consciousness twice and bled through the mouth and nostrils."

**Rand Daily Mail, October 1st, 1965:** "Two State witnesses told the Regional Court Magistrate . . . yesterday after an African was assaulted by a policeman he was forced to lick his blood off the side of a police van . . . After having been hit with the fist for from 10 to 15 minutes the African had been told to put his head out of a window. . . so as not to make a mess of the van . . . The Magistrate said he would take into account that the assault was not serious . . . But the Government and the whole police administration was against this sort of behaviour . . . The court expressed its strong disapproval and wanted to emphasise that it could not be too severe with this sort of offence. The two policemen concerned were fined £25 & 10 respectively."

These are only the convictions. Judges are notoriously unwilling to accept the evidence of complainants against police denials – only recently Mr. Justice Boshoff dismissed the application of Mr. Marks Monnakgotla for an interdict to prevent the police from assaulting him while in custody, Mr. Monnakgotla described how he had been subjected to electric torture under questioning by the Special Branch. Mr. Boshoff pronounced that "there was no reason to believe that an African held under the Terrorism Act would be assaulted or subjected to unlawful pressures by the police."

We all know, and many of us through personal experience, that electric torture, beatings, "statute" torture are standard police methods in obtaining information from political prisoners. There are lawyers whose filing cabinets are stuffed with affidavits detailing these methods. We also know that public exposure of these facts leads not to investigation of the charges, but prosecution of the journalist involved.

Violence and brutality is a systematic part of police methods, because though confessions proved to have been obtained by means of "undue pressure" are inadmissible in court, evidence discovered as a result of these methods is admissible. The police know therefore that they will be backed up by the authorities.



## Collaboration in Violence

This collaboration in violence between police and political authorities is the crux of the whole matter. Police in South Africa are no longer guardians of law and order, but increasingly a political force in themselves. Lt. Gen. van den Bergh, Security Adviser to the Prime Minister, is Vorster's old buddy in the Ossewabrandwag. And Mr. Vorster himself, when he first became Minister of Justice, publicly invited the police to tell him what powers they wanted, and promised they would get whatever they asked. He kept his promise. His police are his secular arm, the instrument of his policies. They see themselves increasingly not as defenders of social order against crime, but as solidiers in the front line defending white tyranny against the black masses. Apartheid makes of the black man not a citizen, but an enemy in his own country.

Police brutality is not always turned only against nonwhites. White political prisoners know all about it. And last year, the case of an Afrikaner farmer assaulted by police as a suspect during a kidnapping investigation led to the whitewashing operation mounted by the S. A. B. C. It is now a classic fascist situation – political tyranny enforced without scruple by politically motivated police force; a propaganda machine to support them both; sanctions against those who reveal the truth. They will deceive those who want to be deceived, no doubt.

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# VIOLENCE AMONG PEOPLE

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Above we talked about police violence in South Africa. We talked about how brutality has become an institution in the enforcement of minority political power. How it has made the individual member of the police force into a thug and a sadist. Now, we look at violence among ordinary South African citizens.

For a long time, we have known violence as part of the slum life of South African cities. We have known the violence of desperation, of the young who have no schools, no jobs, no hope in the society around them. We know that a society that counts our lives as cheap, produces people who count their own lives as cheap, and treat the lives of others equally. Violence in the townships is a direct product of apartheid.

## Violence in the white suburbs

But recently we have been hearing about violence in quite a different world: the world of the plush white suburbs, where every other home has a swimming pool, and no-one has to worry about where the next meal is coming from.

**Newscheck** magazine recently told the following stories of apparently senseless violence among privileged whites..

Mrs. X of Johannesburg was watering her garden one evening, expecting her husband home from work. His car swung savagely out of the road, and drove straight through the closed garage doors. Striding into the house, Mr. X then smashed the radiogram to splinters with an axe, and threw the contents of the refrigerator on the lawn. His terrified children locked themselves in a room, but his wife tried to plead with her husband. He grabbed her by the hair, threw her on the floor, and stamped on her. While he was still brandishing the axe, she managed to escape to get help.

Donald Lynch was an ex-mercenary. In January 1966 he murdered a woman taxi-driver on the road between Pretoria and Thabazimbi. He admitted at his trial that he got a kick out of bludgeoning his victim to death.

Charles Clarke forced Durban model Pat McKaine and her boy friend to drive out of town at gunpoint, shot them both and then committed suicide.

On Christmas Eve, army Lieutenant Piet Stein of Pretoria killed his wife and two small daughters with a service revolver, before shooting himself.

Earlier this year, Maria Rawbone, said to be driven to despair

by the beatings of her lover Bill Johnson, shot him, on the outskirts of Benoni. She next returned to her home, said good-bye to her small daughters and parcelled out her rings and valuables among them. Then she went back to where she had shot her lover, and her corpse was found lying across his body. These are only a few of the many acts of violence described by **Newscheck** which reports that there have been more violent family tragedies of this type in the first two months of 1969 than in the first 6 months of last year. Johannesburg's Suicide Prevention Centre reports that they have dealt with as many as 10 mothers and fathers threatening to wipe out their families in a single day.

## Staggering Murder Rate

South Africa has a staggering murder rate. 5,000 murders a year in a population of 17 million, compared with only about 200 a year in Britain's population of 56 million, and 9,000 a year in the United States, with a population of over 200 million. Between 1964 and 1967, according to the Social Services Association, the number of people found guilty of murder rose by 55%. In Johannesburg, the suicide rate has risen from 21 to 31 per 100,000 of the white population, in the past five years.

**Newscheck** has its own explanation for this extraordinary situation. It suggests that it is to be blamed in part on the vast expansion of South African cities, and the anonymity and strain of modern city living. And it quotes the opinion of a so-called pastoral psychologist of the Dutch Reformed Church that the root of the trouble is the decline of morality and family life in what he calls an "unrestrained or loose society". The paper mentions South Africa's phenomenal divorce rate which has risen from 5,000 in 1966 to nearly 7,000 in 1968. For economic reasons at least, divorce is mainly a white luxury. More than half of these marriages, it seems, ended in "an atmosphere of violence"; and more and more acts of violence are being committed by women – a fact no doubt related to the fact that two-thirds of the members of the Transvaal pistol clubs are now women.

## Licensed to Kill

But **Newscheck**, of course, is part of the system, and can see no further than its nose. Its analysis does not begin to explain, for instance, why city living and a so-called loose society does not produce similar results in Britain. For the roots of South African violence are in South African society itself – in the violence of oppression, the callousness towards everyday acts of violence against the black man, the glorification of the white policeman and the white soldier who keep the black man in his place with a gun.

The A. N. C. has warned over the years that the oppressor creates for himself a prison by his own oppression. We are now beginning to see the results of life in apartheid's whites-only prison; and it seems that it needs a wing for psychopaths. Oppression produces its own anxieties and neurosis in the oppressor, and it is no accident that one of the murders we mentioned was committed by a former white mercenary, who learnt to kill by the licensed killing of blacks. Nor is it an accident that violent crimes by white women are increasing, when women are being encouraged by government policy to learn to shoot – in order to shoot down blacks.

There is only one way to deal with the public and private violence of South African society – we have to end oppression, defeat apartheid, and implement the Freedom Charter.

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# KEEPING THE FACTS FROM THE PEOPLE

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One of the first needs of a tyrant is to control the channels of information. He must make sure that the broadcasters broadcast

# DOCTORS AND DOCKERS STRIKE IN DURBAN

only the tyrant's propaganda; and that the newspapers do not publish too much news. The apartheid regime already has complete control over broadcasting. One of its early acts was to put a senior Broederbond in charge of the S. A. B. C. And today, apartheid lies infect the air of South Africa every hour of the day; and Radio South Africa has one of the most powerful external transmitters on the continent. The Smith regime has similar control over Rhodesian radio and television.

When it comes to the Press, the apartheid regime has also managed to silence every popular voice in the newspaper field. One after another, the organs of the liberation movement such as **New Age** and **Fighting Talk**, the publications of the Liberal Party, such as **Contact**, and of the progressive labour movement, such as **Forward**, have been crushed. The Smith regime in its turn put the independent **Central African Examiner** out of business.

But having silenced all the voices of real opposition, the Southern African rulers are not content. They are now tightening the muzzles on the mouthpieces of big business, the **Argus** and **Morning** newspapers. The self-censorship imposed by these white-owned and controlled newspapers on themselves, is not enough for the white governments – they want blatant organs of apartheid propaganda. The newspapers offence is simple – it is publication of too many **facts**.

People in South Africa and abroad have often claimed that South Africa is not yet a police State, because of the existence, they say, of a free press. There is no censorship, they say, and so therefore the press is free. These people misunderstand the situation completely. They think of censorship as involving an official censor who passes every issue of every paper before publication. Smith had such a censor for three years. But he found he didn't need one. He has a State of Emergency instead, under which the Government controls publication of all important political facts, on the ground that they affect 'security'. South Africa works in a similar way – the Prisons Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and many others make publication of a whole range of facts illegal; and bans publication of statements by all main opponents of apartheid. When a newspaper breaks the rules, as the **Rand Daily Mail** did in 1965 by exposing conditions in South African Prisons, the paper is persecuted, its journalists prosecuted, and the offences that were exposed remain unpunished.

## New Offensive Against Press

Now, while the **Rand Daily Mail** trial is still going on, it seems that the Southern African governments are launching a new offensive against the Press. Following the expulsion of journalist John Worrall, a new "cold war" is being predicted in Rhodesia. In South Africa, the practice is growing for Senior Police and Defence Officials to plant their own version of "security" stories with newspapers, which is then published as news. But while officials are talking more and more, they are preventing newsmen from covering events for themselves. General Hiemstra, for instance, banned the Press from his visit to the Witwatersrand Command Area at the beginning of this year. Pressmen are also prevented from entering African areas, by a laborious and long-winded process of applying for permits. Even if the permit is granted, the reporter is bound to hand over copy of what he has written to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development before publication!

And if all this is not enough to keep the newspapers bound and gagged, and the public from learning what is really going on in South Africa, we now read a story published in the Nationalist verkrampte magazine **VEG**, that the new bureau for national security, under General van den Bergh, is placing informers in every newspaper and publication in the country. **Veg** claims to have the names of several informers already working on newspapers.

Apartheid is determined to have a stranglehold on all South Africa's organs of information. Nothing is to be published that the government does not approve. Journalists are being watched, spied on, threatened. But the African National Congress will continue to spread the truth, through its radio broadcasts, its leaflets, its publications, which are reaching South Africa in spite of all Vorster's security network can do. Vorster is afraid. It is only a very frightened man who is afraid of **FACTS**.

The mass resignations of non-white doctors and African dock-workers in Natal in April is a move of profound political significance. Over 1000 dockers employed on the Durban docks and over 150 doctors working in Government hospitals of King Edward VIII and Clairwood in Durban and Edendale Hospitals in Pietermaritzburg have resigned.

The resignations are in protest at the regime's refusal to accede to the demand of the dock workers for an increase in wages and in the case of the doctors, its refusal to pay non-white doctors the same salaries as their white colleagues.

There are 6000 dockers employed in the Durban harbour. They have a militant history, starting with a strike for six shillings a day in 1919. Through strength of organisation, and subsequent strikes, they have forced their employers to pay higher wages than those usual for unskilled workers in South Africa.

They cannot strike as any strike by African workers is illegal and the dockers have an added disadvantage as they are housed in barracks owned by the Railways and Harbour Administration and should they strike they can be immediately evicted.

Their basic pay is £3.0.0. per week. They demand £7.0.0. per week. They work a 14 hour shift. When this was refused 1500 of them resigned and went home to their respective reserves. At the time of writing over 50 ships are lying idle in the largest dock in South Africa and this costs the shipowners and the Government £25,000 per day.

The trouble involving the doctors began over a year ago. In April last year the pay of certain categories of white doctors in the Natal Province was raised, thus the scandalous disparity between the earnings of white and non-white interns was further increased. Already the non-white doctors were earning just a little over two-thirds of the salaries of their white counter-parts.

The non-white doctors immediately protested, but when their protests were brushed aside in the usual manner, they launched a go-slow strike in July last year.

The work-to-rule was called off by the doctors after the Public Service Commission promised to look into their grievances and the salaries of certain non-white doctors on the staff of the hospitals. The promises and assurances were dishonoured. It must be noted here that the then Minister of Health, Dr. Hertzog, he was later sacked by Vorster from the Cabinet – shamelessly dismissed the demands made by the doctors.

With their demands rejected and dismissed, the doctors decided in February this year to re-implement the work-to-rule. This decision – as in the first instance – was taken in consideration of the position of the masses of non-white patients at these hospitals, the greater number of whom are children suffering from malnutrition and other illnesses brought about by hunger and starvation.

The doctors have now said; "ENOUGH". They want more pay. They have now resigned after being spurned by the regime. The just demands of the non-white doctors for

### 3 PRISONERS DIE

Three Africans died in prison recently – two held under the Terrorist Act and another detained under the 180-day law. According to Gen. Gideon Joubert, Assistant Commissioner of Police, the body of Mr. James Lenkie, a 180-day detainee was found hanged in a prison cell suspended by a belt. Mr. Nick Kgoathe aged 57 who was arrested on November 7 last year died on February 2. The cause of death stated in the medical certificate was pneumonia or tuberculosis.

Mr. Solomon Modibane aged 50 years was detained under the Terrorism Act on February 25 and died three days after detention.

"The information is that Modibane slipped on a piece of soap and fatally injured himself," General Joubert said.

### 3 MORE DIE

A police vehicle left Modder B complex near Benoni to take 86 remand prisoners to court. The vehicle was built to carry 65 people.

Six Africans were taken to the non-white section of the Johannesburg General Hospital suffering from carbon monoxide poisoning. Three others died and were taken to the Government mortuary.

### HOME VIA JAIL

As part of its policy to speed up the removal of Africans from the proclaimed white areas, the Prisons Department is acquiring prison farms near or adjacent to the "Bantu" homelands, according to Mr. Pelsler the Minister of Justice and Prisons.

Africans arrested and sentenced in areas where they were not permitted to be, would be held there. This was being done in conjunction with the department's policy of rehabilitation of prisoners as well as in execution of the Government's homelands policy.

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## Spotlight on the South African Police State

### SERVANT GETS THE BOOT

A wealthy property owner in Durban, Mr. F. G. Thompson transports his African servant, Mr. Albert Maphulo in the boot of his motor car. Mr. Maphulo earns R8 (£4) a month and buys his own food. Thompson says that he feels the servant's right place was in the boot. "My servant looks after the building materials which I carry in the boot. That's one of his jobs," said Mr. Thompson.

### NO PLACE IN CHURCH

Dominee S. D. van der Merwe, Dutch Reformed Church Minister in East London, refused to permit nine Africans to attend the funeral service of a white fellow-worker.

In Durban a clergyman of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church said he had a special cubicle in his church, not in view of the white congregation, to accommodate non-white servants mourning their employers.

### ABOLISH LAW COURSE DEMAND

A young university lecturer, Mr. Raymond Suttner, wants the African law course at the University of Cape Town abolished because a book vital to the syllabus is by a banned per-

son and therefore cannot be used by students.

Mr. Suttner, a junior Lecturer in Comparative African Government and Law, is to put his case for the abolition of the law course to the head of the Department of African Studies. The book Mr. Suttner maintains is vitally necessary for the proper study of African law is **African Women: Their Legal Status in South Africa**, by Dr. H. Simons. Dr. Simons a former staff member of the University's department of African Studies was banned in 1964.

### STRANGERS AT MEETING

Relationships between white and non-white students at the University of Natal have cooled considerably after an incident in which four white student leaders were forced to leave a mass meeting at the Alan Taylor (non-white) Residence.

The white students were shouted down and were jeeringly addressed as "Ja, Baas" and "Hullo, white Missus". They eventually decided to leave the meeting without addressing the non-whites.

During the meeting which began without antagonism, queries were increasingly made about the "foreigners", "strangers" and "intruders" at the meeting.

**EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK** and the demand of the African dockers for a decent living wage, is the demand of every African, Indian and Coloured worker in South Africa. The following statistics tell the pathetic story of racist discrimination in the matter of wages. The situation is as follows:

#### In the Manufacturing Industry:

225,000 whites earn R45,099,000 (£22,549,500)  
654,000 nonwhites earn R28,777,000 (£14,388,500)

#### In Construction:

33,000 whites earn R6,704,000 (£3,352,000)  
133,000 non-whites earn R5,657,000 (£2,828,500)

#### In the Mining Industry:

66,000 whites earn R15,540,000 (£7,770,000)  
559,000 non-whites earn R7,962,000 (£3,981,000)

Such are the crimes of the white racists in our country. The white population in South Africa enjoys one of the world's highest standards of living directly at the expense of the Black man.

The struggle and the resolute stand of the doctors and the dockers enjoys the support of the people. Their struggle is part of the national struggle for emancipation and must surely triumph.

**Desmond Francis talks on his . . .**

# 421 Days of Horror

**Francis after his release with his wife Mary**



How does it feel to set out one sunny morning to make a few domestic arrangements, and step unwittingly into an infernal political machine which imprisons you without trial for 421 days, mostly in solitary confinement?

Thirty-one year old Desmond Francis, a peaceful Livingstone school-teacher when his ordeal began in January, 1968, knows only too well.

"It is an endless nightmare, a hopeless incarceration in a silent concrete grave, without contact with family or friend, which makes you a nervous wreck," he will tell you. But South African born Mr. Francis feels he was lucky at least that his British wife was with him, when he was arrested after stepping across the Rhodesian border at Livingstone one fatal day to arrange for his visiting mother to return to South Africa.

He knew that she would not rest until she had exhausted every means of getting him freed. But many other political prisoners he met briefly in South African jails were taken suddenly, without witnesses, leaving small children and bewildered wives completely in the dark.

This was particularly so with prisoners snatched from South West Africa, he says, who are still imprisoned without hope and for whom he feels concern.

Desmond Francis and his wife, Mary, crossed with valid passports into Rhodesia at Victoria Falls on January 2, 1968, to inquire about flight times to South Africa — details not easily available in Zambia.

Mr. Francis had no particular reason to fear. In his native South Africa, as an Asian, he had been a natural opponent of the government. As a "non-white", the dehumanised term which that government uses to describe the greater part of its inhabitants, he could hardly be otherwise. He was also married to a white woman, contravening the South African Immorality Act, which decrees that any union between different races is a crime. He was also a general supporter of the African National Congress, a banned organisation in South Africa.

But Francis was not going to South Africa or anywhere near it. He was only going into a British colony — true a colony in revolt against Britain and the Crown.

At the Falls border post the couple were subjected to longer questioning than usual, and Mrs. Francis grew uneasy. "Let's forget it and go back," she said, and her husband agreed, telling the Rhodesian officials they would return to Zambia.

Then the blow fell. "You cannot go. You will come with us for questioning," they told him flatly.

Desmond Francis was not to see Zambia again for a year and two months, after enduring beatings, torture, inter-

rogation, cold, dirt, hunger — and worst of all — total uncertainty as to his fate.

Mrs. Francis was questioned and released and saw her husband briefly on the following day when she returned to collect their car which was held for searching. In it was found a copy of an ANC pamphlet, which did not help.

He became seriously alarmed when he was summarily removed to Bulawayo, without permission to contact his family or being given any information about his destination and fate.

At Bulawayo Central Police Station, Mr. Francis was declared a detainee under rebel Rhodesia's emergency regulations, and his treatment altered drastically.

"I was chained by leg irons to the centre of a filthy, lice infested cell. I had to call out to be unchained to use the toilet. I was allowed no exercise, and no washing facilities. The blankets on the plank bed were dirty and full of bugs, although the food was adequate. No charge was laid, and nobody would tell me what was to happen to me," he recalls.

On January 7, five days after his arrest, Mr. Francis had his first opportunity to wash and his only exercise period while in Rhodesia — five minutes while handcuffed to a policeman. He remained chained by the leg in his cell throughout the rest of his stay in Rhodesia — a country he had never had anything to do with — wondering what they could possibly have against him.

Then he was taken from his cell to an inner office in the regime's PWD workshops for questioning about his connection with the ANC of South Africa. "And by then, I was scared," he says. He took a gamble in talking to African police guard about democracy in Zambia, but was betrayed and hit in the face by a white policeman who accused him of trying to "corrupt" his African detectives.

On the first day of questioning, Mr. Francis says he was handcuffed, hit with a stick on the head and bare feet, had his head ducked in water and was smothered with a canvas bag. On the second day of questioning he was stripped and handcuffed to the wall. His legs were tied to a table with his trousers and a police belt.

"The table was pulled away and I was spread-eagled between it and the wall in a painful position.

"While being questioned I was burned on the left arm with a hot iron, lighted matches and papers were held against my body, and I was beaten on the testicles with a metal fingerprinting pad," he recalls.

For several days he was chained, alone and in pain, in his cell, after being told he was being held "incommunicado under emergency regulations."

On January 18 he was chained hand and leg to another prisoner and driven to South Africa by his police torturer – a Peter Watermeyer, as Francis saw him sign his name in the prison departures book.

Back in Livingstone, Mary Francis had no idea where her husband had been taken and her frantic efforts to find out drew a blank. She took over her husband's teaching job to keep the family going, went to the British High Commissioner, engaged a solicitor, and started writing letters. She wrote to British MPs, to Mrs. Harold Wilson, the Archbishops of Canterbury, Cape Town and Central Africa, to Amnesty International, Christian Action, Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Commonwealth Office and even to the Queen.

Meanwhile, Mr. Francis had been taken from Bulawayo to Pretoria Central Prison for another ordeal of questioning by a Major Swanepoel and three other men. He was repeatedly struck with canes and fists while answering a barrage of questions, and a brick was dropped on his bare toes, smashing the nails.

Then came the electric torture of which so many South African prisoners complained.

"I was handcuffed and blindfolded with a wet cloth and made to sit with a stick under my knees and over my arms. Electric terminals were applied to my ears and the current turned on. It was a terrible experience. My whole body shook and my head felt full of vibrations. My teeth chattered until my tongue was cut to ribbons and my mouth was full of blood. The strength of the current was constantly varied," Mr. Francis recalls.

Thrown back into his cell with the threat that he would be fetched again at any time of day or night, he lived through the week-end in constant panic and fear.

He then endured about a fortnight of question and torture sessions to get a statement out of him, in which a further refinement was to tie a bag over his head and throw firecrackers near him and ignite papers thrust in his pockets, while he could not see.

Then came a respite for a couple of months, while he recovered in his cell from the physical ill-effects of the beatings and shocks.

Alone in the cell and cut off from the outside world. . . . he played chess with chessmen fashioned out of bits of paper – his application to the visiting prison magistrate for a book on chess and the Bible was formally noted, but never heard of again. He planned lessons for his students in his head.

He talked out loud – to the bucket in his cell, to the window, to the bed – anything to hear the sound of a voice. He listened to noises – warders' footsteps, turning keys, sounds from the yard – anything to remind him the world was still going round outside.

"Prison authorities and magistrates constantly reminded Political prisoners that they were not allowed any reading matter, to write or receive visits or to consult a lawyer. The detention was complete and painful," Mr. Francis claims. In these respects, political prisoners are treated worse than convicted murderers, he says, although he did have one tenminute visit from his elderly mother in the presence of warders.

Eventually, Mr. Francis faced another bout of torture and questioning, this time on the subject of the activities of the Indian Congress of South Africa. His interrogators, Du Preez and Sturwig, told him that if he did not answer he would end up on Robben Island (the notorious maximum security prison where political prisoners drag out

life sentences) to "spend the rest of your life practising sodomy."

After recovering from another bout of internal pain and ailments following brutal treatment, Mr. Francis was allowed to write his first letter to his wife. By this time it was June, six months after his arrest by the Rhodesian police.

In July he was told to choose between release under house arrest within South Africa, or to join his wife in Zambia on an exit permit, never to return. He chose the exit permit. But the police suddenly changed their minds and said he could wait – they were not in a hurry to get rid of him, they said. Over the next four months his hopes were sustained by being given three letters from his wife and being told to write her the arrangements she must make for his plane booking and immigration into Zambia.

In January, he was told the Zambian Ministry of Home Affairs had given permission for him to enter Zambia, but in February, when he was counting the days to release, his affairs took a drastically different turn.

Francis was told he would be produced as a witness at the trial of a group of African charged under the 'Terrorism' Act. He was promised release if he gave evidence, and a prison sentence if he did not.

"I was amazed at being expected to appear as a witness in a trial I knew nothing at all about," he recalls – until it became clear that the price of his evidence would be his release.

He was locked up in Pietermaritzburg Central Prison and repeatedly told he would only have to agree to give evidence to be released. But if he wanted "to be a martyr, we know how to handle 'coolies'. You will end up on Robben Island and that will be your own indaba," angry police told him when he objected to being made a witness. When Mr. Francis was finally produced at the Durban Supreme Court trial at the end of February, he grabbed the opportunity to complain of his treatment to the judge. "The judge said that my experiences during my 421 days of solitary confinement were not the concern of his court, but since I had brought them up, he ordered the prosecutor to make the necessary investigations.

"The judge then told me to take a little walk to decide what to do. I returned, took the oath, and gave evidence which the defence said was so irrelevant they would not even cross-examine me," Mr. Francis says . . .

He suddenly found himself released, penniless and in the shabby clothes he had been wearing ever since his arrest 14 months before, on the streets of Durban. "Although magistrates paid detainees regular fortnightly visits and carefully noted all complaints, such as requests for clothing, more food, more exercise, and the Bible, not a single request was ever complied with", he says. (Our emphasis – Ed.)

As for the "prodeo" (poor persons defence) lawyers whose services are offered, they are shunned by political prisoners, who are convinced they have not got their cases at heart and will not do their best for them. Some kind of fund to raise money for paid defence lawyers for political prisoners is one plea Desmond Francis makes to the world for those he left behind him in Pretoria jail. Prisoners also have desperate need for clothing from organisations like the Red Cross. The diet too is poor and meagre and monotonous though he doubts if food parcels would ever be allowed. It would be worth it if the Red Cross could try says Mr. Francis, who lost 20 lbs in jail and suffered from the winter cold.

Mr. Francis is now back in Zambia. (Editor)

From: The TIMES of Zambia

## 6. INEQUALITY

## IN HOUSING

In South Africa, as we might expect, housing policies are formulated not in accordance with the needs of the people, but to suit the requirements of apartheid. As a Nationalist member of parliament crudely said: 'We have had to build houses for Africans in order to remove them from living amongst the whites.'<sup>1)</sup>

It is usual for the State to take responsibility for housing the lowest income group which cannot afford to buy, build or rent houses out of their earnings. Whites qualify for economic houses if their income is less than R 100 (£ 50) per month: Coloured and Asians have to earn less than R 60 (£ 30) before they can qualify, and Africans must pay full economic rent unless their income is less than R 30 (£ 15) per month.<sup>2)</sup>

In future, more is to be spent on housing whites, while government loans for sub-economic houses for Africans have been withdrawn altogether.<sup>3)</sup> White civil servants earning as much as R 7,500 per annum (£ 3,750) can get state help in buying houses,<sup>4)</sup> and Ministers get them free. The house for the Minister of Public Works, with 19 rooms, 3 servants' rooms, a barbeque and a swimming bath, cost the state R 65,000 (£ 32,500).<sup>5)</sup>

Loans for sub-economic houses for Africans were withdrawn after it was found that costs could be reduced to about R 200 (£ 100) per house. In other words houses were built so cheaply that the local authority could recover the cost by forcing the Africans to pay full economic rents. Costs were reduced by using African labour in terms of the Bantu Building Workers' Act, at wages far less than those paid to whites, and by lowering standards. Instead of houses complying with 'minimum standards of health, comfort and welfare', they were mere 'structures which aim to provide shelter without damage to family health'. Ceilings, floors, internal doors were dispensed with altogether, wall 4½" instead of 9" thick, no bath, no electricity, an outside WC, "occasional dampness may be permitted", etc. It was even suggested that the height be reduced from the standard 8'6" to 7'9" because the stature of the non-white in South Africa was smaller than that of the white. This would save £ 9 per house.<sup>6)</sup>

Whites can buy land, build houses, buy houses, rent houses in any part of South Africa except in the reserves, urban locations and Group areas set aside for Asians and Coloureds. They can do what they like with their houses: sell them, let them, lend them, leave them to their children when they die. They can accommodate who they like (provided they are white), any number of family, friends, visitors, or family pets, without supervision or restriction.

Africans, even in "their own areas" have none of these rights.

No African may own land in an urban 'Bantu township', and since 1st January 1968 even the right of occupation of his house has been cancelled. Now he can lease only.<sup>7)</sup>

In the townships in the 'Bantu homelands', an African can acquire land and a house subject to Proclamation 293 of 1962.<sup>8)</sup> 58,976 houses have been built in these townships by the Bantu Trust at a cost of R 30,202,405 (£ 15,101,203), including services. (The figure does not include houses built by Africans themselves.<sup>9)</sup> Houses are usually of burnt brick, 4 roomed, but some with only one prefabricated room on to which burnt brick rooms can be added. Plots vary from 50×50 ft. to 40×70 ft. All are too small to constitute economic farming

units; Africans must seek work in border industries or elsewhere.

Now let us look at Proclamation 293 of 1962.

All African townships are completely under the control of the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, or a Manager whom he appoints. Application by heads of families for a site on which to build a house, or on which the Bantu Trust has erected must be made to the manager, and only if the manager considers the applicant a 'fit and proper person to reside in the township' will a deed of grant be given: the 'owner' cannot sell, let or dispose of his site and house without permission: on death, even his widow or heir cannot inherit the house unless the manager considers her to be a fit and proper person to reside in the township. His deed of grant can be cancelled if at any time he ceases to be a fit and proper person, in the opinion of the manager, or if he does not pay rent or money on due date, or if he is convicted and sentenced to more than six months imprisonment without the option of a fine. He cannot own livestock without permission, and so on. It is clear that he has no security of tenure even in a township in his own 'homeland'.

For the economically inactive, the pensioners, the aged, the women, children, and also released prisoners, (persons not considered fit and proper to dwell in a township) housing is provided in 'settlements', like Sada. Here are prefabricated single rooms 15×12 ft., with one window at the back, icy cold in winter, excruciatingly hot in summer – and hideous.

For 1,646,777 migrant contract labourers, recruited to 'render service to the white man' in urban areas, there are barracks, compounds, hostels, single quarters.<sup>10)</sup> These can be "dark cave-like buildings, with a double row of cement bunks housing 24 men who cook, eat and relax on the stone floor in the centre of the room": or prefabricated huts, each housing 40 migrant men on double metal bunks standing on stone floors, no furniture or cooking facilities whatever. Accommodation for migrant workers varies, but all of it is cold, comfortless, cheerless: there is a lack of cupboard space in which personal possessions can be safely stored, a lack of recreation rooms, and a host of restrictions, including always a bar on women visitors.

Overseas visitors, and even critics of the Nationalist Party's apartheid policies in other respects, are taken in by propaganda when it comes to housing: they are impressed by the numbers of houses built for Africans, by the sight of neat little rows, like chicken runs: let them look a little deeper into the legislation and restrictions, a little further into the miseries of Limehill, and make a little comparison between the assistance given so freely to the whites, and the type of accommodation forced upon the Blacks.

### References:

- 1) Hansard 1969, c. 170
- 2) Hansard 1966, c. 277: R. 721 of 3. 5. 68
- 3) RR Survey 1963, p. 166
- 4) RDM 29. 3. 69
- 5) Hansard 1969, c. 1735
- 6) National Building Research Institute, CSIR, Bulletins
- 7) Hansard 1969 c. 1128
- 8) *ibid.*
- 9) 1969 Hansard, c. 2085
- 10) Hansard 1969, c. 134.

**Should the All Blacks visit South Africa in 1970? Sid Jackson, Maori All-Black trialist in 1961-62-63, and a player for both Wellington and Bay of Plenty provincial teams is firm in his attitude: They should not! He is one of many New Zealanders who have joined together to organize a campaign to stop all sporting contacts with South Africa. Mr. Jackson is at present a graduate student in political studies at the University of Auckland. Below, we print the speech Mr. Jackson recently made at a well attended public meeting in Auckland organized by the Citizen's Association for Racial Equality, held to inaugurate the campaign to stop all sporting contacts with South Africa.**

## **NO MAORI SHOULD GO TO SOUTH AFRICA**

As a Maori, as a Rugby player, and as a New Zealander, I am concerned at the prospect of New Zealand maintaining sports relations with South Africa.

It would be wrong for Maoris as New Zealanders, for Maori as a coloured people, to go to South Africa, for to do so would be to suggest that we condone the repugnant racial policies practised by that country.

Also I do think it equally repugnant that the onus of deciding whether or not a Maori should go should be placed on an individual Maori sportsman which is exactly what the effect of the Rugby Union's decision to accept an invitation to tour South Africa in 1970 would do.

First I should like to say that although it is a pleasure to speak to you, it is also disappointing that, as a Maori, as a member of, or so we are told, such a distinctively privileged minority, I should have to do this at this time because for a Maori to do so is inevitably to lay himself open to the charge of being a racist, a proponent of brown power — or worse.

If all was as sweet in our little paradise as people would have us believe, then this move should initially have come from the European side of the population. It is the voice of New Zealand that I should like to have heard going around the world against these tours rather than the voice of the Maori, as an illustration of the strength of the relations between our people.

I therefore congratulate the Citizen's Association for Racial Equality (CARE) on arranging these talks tonight but express disappointment that the leaders of our political parties have not seen fit to state their views. I congratulate Mr. Rata too on his stand and express disappointment that our other Maori M. P. s. have not seen fit to follow his lead, more especially since it was obvious that this move was not forthcoming from the European side.

No Maori should go to South Africa, for how can we, when seeking equality, when wanting equality ourselves, go to a country which actively denies another coloured people, solely on the grounds of colour, the rights we either enjoy, want extended or are striving to achieve for ourselves.

How could we in all conscience, play segregated teams, while the coloured peoples travel to those grounds from

their segregated houses in their segregated parts of town, in their trams or buses, enter the grounds to their segregated areas while they watch a professed South African national team, chosen from the white minority.

### **We are coloured too**

We too are a coloured people and the difference on the colour spectrum between brown and white is not so very different from black and white. So we are no different, we too have a colour problem and we can certainly claim no innate racial superiority over the South African non-whites either intellectually or physically.

So let's imagine our positions are reversed. I know I would loathe the sight of any coloured person playing before me, were I suffering all the indignities they suffer, and I think it unlikely that I should think what a wonderful example in race relations this was.

Yet this we are told is what will happen in South Africa.

Maoris would travel in a New Zealand team in that country for the entertainment and also for the ego-satisfaction of a white minority, and these Maoris would travel under the fictitious and very temporary guise of having achieved that much sought after status of white skin.

But having enjoyed this wondrous privilege, let that Maori on his return apply for a visa to go back to South Africa. He would then realize the true contradiction of his status. Also, I oppose the proposed tour because I think it unfair that a Maori player should have the responsibility of deciding whether to accept or deny such a decision in the first place. Any Maori player will inevitably be placed under some stress by pressure from both sides and this is completely undesirable. Here again the feelings of the individual Maori have been disregarded by the Rugby Union in its glee to accept such a decision.

But this fear may well prove groundless since many Maoris are saying that Maori players will probably be phased out anyhow by 1970 so that as a matter of coincidence but also as a matter of convenience neither they nor the Rugby Union will be faced with this problem. This view

can be and should be enough to make anyone think twice.

It seems that the main argument used to defend the sending of a team to South Africa is that it would provide a lesson to the white South Africans in race relations. This is nonsense.

Any Maori going there would be said to be different to the coloureds in South Africa just as in New Zealand you will hear people say that Maoris are dirty and lazy but if you should be in the room you're different. But I'm not. The principle is the same.

### **New Zealand racial harmony a myth?**

Anyhow, are we really in a position to hold ourselves up as having ideal race relations? The myth of Maori and Pakeha living side by side was fine years ago when Maoris lived predominantly in the country. But urbanization is showing the complete fallacy of this belief. Can we maintain this fiction overseas when it can be shown for example that 89 %—90 % of all the unemployed in Rotorua and Whangarei are Maoris, when bosses are saying to their underlings to sack those two Maoris and start those two Pakehas who are unemployed now, in a week or so. When Europeans in a street will petition for a reduction in rates because the Maoris there live like pigs and other claims which can't be substantiated in fact.

When Maoris can't even buy properties in some areas of some towns and when local bodies tell the Department of Maori Affairs to stop building houses in their area because there are already enough Maoris living there.

But even if these facts are cosily ignored, it is pointless to argue and as one Maori I'm not sure that we should let such a hypocritical image be hoisted overseas. Even if the image of equality was a true one, it would be blasted were we to send a team to South Africa. Also, the name of the Maori people would suffer as well. And hasn't it been trodden on enough already?

To sum up. Why do I oppose the sending of an All Black team to South Africa? We would be going to the most infamously racist country in the world.

Maori players will be given only artificial and hypocritical equality. Each player selected would be faced with a moral decision that should belong to the community.

Our country should assert its capacity to make moral decisions. It should not, for the sake of expediency, deny the tradition of harmonious race relations that we have built up.

What is morally wrong cannot be politically right.

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# **THE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION'S DILEMMA**

The main object of the Automobile Association of South Africa is "to encourage and develop automobilism in South Africa . . . as . . . a useful and material factor in the general development of the country". Peculiarly enough, the A.A. is a "whites only" organisation and has been fighting a bitter battle against "liberals" who have been pressing for the admission of non-whites.

The matter was originally raised at the A.A.'s Cape Western Area Annual General Meeting in June, 1966, but it was claimed that proper notice had not been given. A motion was drawn up for the 1967 A.G.M. but the area secretary claimed that no resolution could be placed on an area A.G.M. agenda if it recommended amendment to the A. A. constitution. The proposers challenged this claim, but after further correspondence the area secretary stated that the motion was "neither desirable nor appropriate" and would not be accepted for the agenda. At the June 1967 meeting a member attempted to raise the matter, but the Chairman, SENATOR R.D. PILKINGTON JORDAN, ruled him out of order and refused to allow any discussion of the subject. After protest it was pointed out that in constitutional terms a "special general meeting" was the only type of meeting at which members could have any effective discussion.

To convene such a meeting 5 % of the total A. A. membership would have to request this and 5 % would have to be personally present. As the membership is 320,000, — 16,000 signatures would be needed — and this number would form the rather large but constitutionally necessary quorum!

Senator Pilkington-Jordan remarked helpfully that this could doubtless be arranged on a football ground with loud-speakers. Further protests then led to a motion for an adjournment of the meeting, so that the chairman's decision could be tested in court, and this was carried. After legal discussion and protracted correspondence the protesters finally wrote to the A. A. on October 23rd, 1967 saying that they were going to court. Four days later the A.A. authorities replied, denying the validity of the opposition contentions but agreeing to reconvene the meeting and allow the original motion to be put. If the meeting supports it, the recommendation would be conveyed to the National General Committee.

After some months of delay the meeting was held, with Senator Pilkington-Jordan warning that there was "no chance" of the A.A. opening its doors to non-whites.

The Senator put forward his own amendment which suggested that a separate organisation for non-whites be formed, and this was ruled in order in spite of objections that it was not an amendment but a negation of the "admit non-whites" motion.

Nevertheless, a noisy meeting finally saw a majority requesting the A. A. to drop its "whites-only" ruling, after it was pointed out that there need be no "social mixing" and that only road safety interests were involved. No doubt more will be heard of this sad story.

Actually it is a wonder that the Nationalists have never been able to conjure up some effective scheme for introducing apartheid on the roads. Like having white drive on the left and non-white on the right perhaps?

— Dave Shipper