

# SECHABABA

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## SECHABA

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## RHODESIA: The Corridor

In a statement to the Rhodesian 'parliament', Ian Smith revealed to what extent his regime is involved with and guided by considerations of the Vorster regime to the South. Justifying the fraudulent deal concluded with the Conservative government of Great Britain, he referred to the liberation movements of Southern Africa as "fellow-travellers" and "extremists", and continued:-

"They resent the fact that Rhodesia, this bastion of freedom, lies in the path of their overall objective in southern Africa. If we could be removed, this would provide them with the key to open the door to one of their most desirable dreams. It is this hard truth which has always been one of the major factors motivating us in our wish for a settlement".

This statement by Smith merely confirms what the liberation movements have known all along: that Rhodesia is to be used by the white racist clique in Southern Africa as a frontier territory. Thus Vorster's South Africa feels safely protected behind a corridor of willing pawns: the anachronistic Portuguese who hold southern Mozambique on the east coast, then Rhodesia, then the Caprivi Strip and Angola, the last of which is further backed up by the territory known as South West Africa which has been shamefully handed over to South Africa.

The returns to the willing Smith regime for acting as a link in the chastity belt are not inconsiderable. Zimbabwe guerillas are active on and within the borders of Rhodesia, and the liberation movement is supported by the silenced majority in Rhodesia. Smith's reward for acting as an outpost is bigger guns. The South African regime supplies arms and men to patrol the northern border of Rhodesia where they are also no doubt a useful control on the activities of the local population. Ben Turok in an article titled 'The Zambesi River - Cockpit of African Freedom' in Sechaba of May 1970, states that ZAPU reconnaissance patrols along the 500 mile frontier found the South Africans based in large camps 5 miles apart, each manned by a platoon of about 30 men. Between these were smaller transit camps and a few miles inland were roads which had been built recently.

### Why the Settlement?

Given that the white Rhodesians, the

white South Africans and also the Portuguese are acting in collusion to maintain a corridor of power across Southern Africa, it may be asked why Smith regards the 'settlement' with Britain as assisting the "major factor" of protecting white overlord interests further south.

The necessity for the appearances of settlement goes wider than the limited horizons of Smith. Unilateral gestures are one thing but there are subtler means of getting what you want as Douglas-Home, graduate of Munich and Suez, would know. A horse-trade is arranged. Behind the camouflage of the much-vaunted but meaningless title of 'settlement', Britain capitulates on its principles, merely obliging Smith to go by devious routes where he would otherwise have ploughed through; Britain puts up £5 million a year for probable misuse by a regime it has previously condemned; and the traders move in to shore up the structure and exploit it now that bits of paper can be waved which justify and legalise such action.

While the South African regime looks gladly to its northern territories and heaves a sigh of relief that the Rhodesian question is now somewhat shifted out of the world arena, thus allowing more stability in international terms, the leaders of the peoples political movements in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) remain incarcerated in prison; the people themselves remain rightless; and the apartheid-style Land Tenure Act is given the green light for further entrenchment of the white minority in positions of geographic and economic domination.

In the light of Smith's statement, the 'settlement' will be seen by Africa as more bare-faced than others of its kind and can only serve in the long run to further discredit the bankrupt political machinery of Britain and other former colonialist powers who talk of honour and democracy but practise neo-colonialism and diplomacy. For Britain's action can be interpreted in no other light than a commitment to maintain the status quo and thereby preserve its capital interests in the south even at the risk of losing any similar 'influence' it may have in the rest of Africa.

While it is understood that the backward political concepts of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia do not allow them to take any but short-term

## of Power

and, in the long run, ineffectual measures of repression, it now becomes increasingly clear to the world at large that the actions of Britain are equally short-term and that this country is as severely limited by its colonial heritage as are its settler communities in the south of Africa.

President Kaunda of Zambia, in his address to the Summit Conference of East and Central African States in January 1970, blamed France, Italy, the United Kingdom and West Germany for "bolstering the South African war machine", and NATO for supplying "the instruments of suppression to an unprincipled and ruthless white minority".

Free Africa will not take kindly to Britain's plastering up of the crumbling corridor of power across southern Africa. The future of Africa lies in the efforts of independent Africa and the just struggles of the liberation movements, who demonstrate far more integrity in their longterm ideals than can be squeezed from the dry pips of the former colonial powers and their proteges Smith and Vorster.

Nor can the fight for liberation be held at arm's length by stringing guns along the Zambezi. The guerillas do not operate in isolation, they are part of an expanding struggle waged within and without the countries of the south. In an article 'War in Southern Africa' in the American quarterly 'Foreign Affairs', Russell Warren Howe states:- "Field reports show that Rhodesian losses are higher than those of the guerillas". He adds that the white troops are not motivated, while the guerillas have massive advantage in that "the bulk of the population, at least in the northeast seems to have thrown in its lot with the resistance".

The conservative British action of support for the Rhodesian regime can harm only Britain itself in years to come. The Vietnams and other mindless excesses of the power groups can only help to discredit these groups in the eyes of their own people. The interests of minority capital and imperial-mindedness should not be confused with the interests of the British people themselves, nor for that matter with the interests of the human race at large which is every day more aware of its situation in a mismanaged world.

# RHODESIA: Let the Facts Speak

## Land.

By the Land Tenure Act of 1970, land is segregated according to the racial group which may own it, as follows:



## Education.

In 1969, per capita expenditure in schools was:

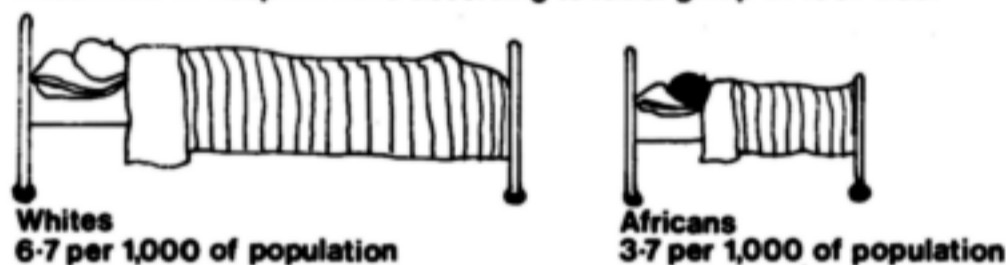


## Legislature.

The Legislative Assembly, according to the Republican constitution approved in 1969, consists of 66 members. Of these, 50 are white, elected by white voters. 8 are Africans elected by a small African élite; and 8 are Africans appointed by the chiefs.

## Health.

Allocation of hospital beds according to racial group in 1967 was:



## Population.

In 1970, Rhodesia's population was approximately 5.2 million. Of these:



## Defence.

In the fiscal year 1968-9:

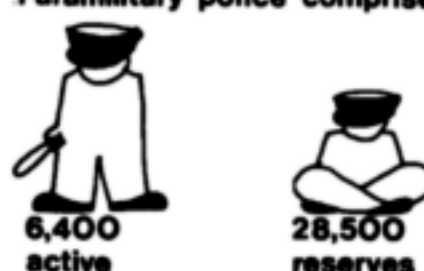


## Armed Forces.

Armed forces consist of:



Paramilitary police comprise:



# SQUALID BETRAYAL

The following is a paper prepared by the Labour Research Department London on the Rhodesian betrayal

Amid an orgy of acclamation from the City of London and the Conservative Party, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, arrived back from Salisbury on November 25 with a series of proposals for a settlement which provides a cloak of legality for the Rhodesian Front's racist police state and effectively condemns Rhodesia's African population to white supremacy for the foreseeable future.

It was, of course, inevitable that any deal reached between the present Tory Government, with its contempt for human rights and the illegal Smith regime, with its determination to preserve white rule at any cost, would be a sell out, particularly as the views of the African people who outnumber Europeans by over twenty to one were totally ignored. The tortuous legalism of the White Paper may serve to obscure the terms of the agreement but it cannot disguise what will go down in history as the squalid betrayal of an entire people.

Douglas-Home based his negotiating position on the five principles which he himself formulated when Prime Minister.

They are as follows:

1. The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution would have to be maintained and guaranteed.
2. There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.
3. There would have to be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.
4. There would have to be progress towards ending racial discrimination.
5. The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The Tory Government claims that the proposals fall within the terms of the five principles and should therefore be acceptable. In fact the five principles have never guaranteed a just settlement as they are open to such wide interpretation, and African political leaders in Rhodesia have always insisted upon the principle of No Independence Before Majority Rule as the only real guarantee against white supremacy. Yet Douglas-Home's proposals do not even fall within the terms of his own principles.

## Majority Rule

The first principle was expected to create the most problems in view of the Rhodesian Front's commitment to retaining power in "civilised" hands. In fact of course it sets no time limit. The agreement simply provides for modifications to Smith's 1969 Constitution which barred Africans from ever having more than parity of representation with Europeans in the House of Assembly, and has even less to offer to Africans than the 1961 Constitution from which the five principles take their starting point. Under the 1969 Constitution the Assembly consists of 50 Europeans and 16 Afri-

cans; of the latter eight are directly elected by Africans who attain certain levels of income, property and education and eight are indirectly elected by colleges of chiefs, headmen and councillors, all appointed and paid by the Rhodesian Government. The proportion of African seats in the Assembly was to increase in relation to the amount of income tax paid by the African population. The Senate or upper house consists of ten Europeans, ten African chiefs and three members appointed by the President.

Under the new proposals the Senate will remain the same in composition. The franchise qualifications for the lower roll, from which the eight Africans are directly elected, will be reduced but this will not affect the number of seats. A new African higher roll will be created with the same franchise qualifications as the European roll. When the number of Africans registering on this roll reaches six per cent of the number of registered European voters, two new seats will be created to be filled by direct election among Africans who qualify on the higher roll. When another six per cent are registered another two seats will be created but these will be filled by indirect election from colleges of chiefs, headmen and councillors as with the existing eight indirectly elected African seats. As the percentage of Africans on the higher roll continues, theoretically, to rise, directly and indirectly elected seats, two at a time, will be created until parity with European members is reached and there are 50 African and 50 European seats in the Assembly. The 50 African seats will comprise 24 indirectly elected, 18 directly by the higher roll and eight directly elected by the lower roll. At this point a referendum will be held among enrolled Africans to determine whether the indirectly elected seats should become directly elected. A government appointed commission will then decide whether "the people of Rhodesia" desire the creation of ten Common Roll seats, to be filled by direct election by all those voters registered on the European and higher African rolls. If it is decided that they do, elections to these seats will be held and a theoretical African majority in the Assembly will become possible, but it will always be limited to ten seats. It would be difficult to devise a constitutional solution more calculated to impede progress to majority rule than these proposals. However interpreted they postpone majority rule for a very long time. According to the *Time* (London) it is possible that at present there may be fewer than 2000 Africans eligible for the higher roll. (1) Dr. Claire Palley professor of Politics at Queens University, Belfast probably the foremost Rhodesian constitutional expert, has estimated that on the most favourable assumptions majority rule cannot be achieved before 2035 and she considers 2055 a more likely date. (2) But there are numerous factors likely to impede progress still further. Firstly the amended Constitution will contain an anti-inflation provision ensuring that monetary qualifications will increase relative to the fall in purchasing power of money, thus offsetting much of the possible rise in African salaries. Secondly European immigration will counteract the increase in the number of Africans becoming eligible to register on the



Joshua Nkomo addressing a Conference before his detention

higher roll and Smith has already made it clear that his regime is hoping for a massive influx of white settlers. Thirdly, of course, as the higher roll qualifications depend on African economic and educational advancement, the white regime will be in a position to influence the rate of growth of African representation and it will be the regime that allocates the £50 m British aid that is supposed to help Africans. Finally it is probable that, as in the past, many Africans who qualify to vote will not register under a system that is so manifestly designed to oppress and discriminate against them.

Even if parity was reached in the Assembly there is still no guarantee of majority rule as its desirability would be decided by a government appointed commission, which would almost certainly have a European majority. Apparently, Smith "does not see the agreement as guaranteeing unimpeded progress to majority rule" on account of this clause (3) Not that he need worry in any case, for white Rhodesians seem to be happily contemplating a lifetime of power and privilege. According to Rhodesia's Financial Gazette, majority rule "is so far in the future that it cannot be considered a serious possibility at this stage". (4)

And should there ever be a majority of African members in the Assembly the constitutional proposals ensure that the African population would still not be democratically represented. With the right to vote depending on income, property and education only the African middle class would be able to elect representatives. Power would thus remain in "responsible" hands and British investments would continue to earn lucrative dividends, which is no doubt Douglas Home's real first principle.

### Amendments to the Constitution

The second principle is devoid of meaning as it assumes a

guarantee over a country in which the British Government is powerless to intervene. As real power rests in the hands of the Rhodesian Front regime, which has demonstrated to the world its scant regard for constitutional legality, there can be no guarantee whatsoever that Smith or his successors will abide by the terms of the proposals. As for Douglas-Home's supposed safeguards, there simply is an "assurance" from Smith that none of the specially entrenched provisions will be amended "until the first two African higher roll seats have been created and filled or until three years have elapsed". And after the election of the first two additional African members, amendments will require a two thirds majority in the Assembly and the Senate, and in the Assembly a majority of both Africans and Europeans voting separately. As there will always be roughly equal numbers of directly and indirectly elected African members only one directly elected member need vote with the indirectly elected members in favour of the regime for an amendment to the Constitution to be passed.

If there are no amendments to the Constitution it will only be because the proposals have given the Smith regime all it needs to preserve white domination.

### Political Status of the African Population

Under the 1969 Constitution the political status of the African population could hardly be worse, and so Douglas-Home is unlikely to have had much difficulty in fulfilling the letter of the third principle. The Smith regime's consolidation of white power during the period of illegal independence simply provided it with more cards to play at the negotiating table, thus diminishing the value of the five principles still further.

Under the 1969 Constitution the political status of the African population will be worse than under the 1961 Constitution



Demonstration outside British High Commissioner's office in Salisbury when UDI was declared

which was in force when Douglas-Home formulated his principles. At that time Africans had 15 directly elected seats with the immediate possibility of winning others and a minimum influence of 25 per cent on the remainder through cross voting.

Regarding the suppression of political dissent the Smith regime has agreed to release 31 detainees "as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made" (for their restriction in all probability). The regime has also agreed to review the cases of all detainees and restrictees, but they will only be released "without prejudice to the maintenance of public safety and public order". A "Declaration of Rights" has been drawn up and this is claimed by the Tory Government to be a significant achievement. In fact it is based on Smith's own "Declaration of Rights" contained in the 1969 Constitution and the only major difference is that it will be enforceable in the courts, at least in theory. The Declaration ensures the validity of all existing legislation leaving the regime's armoury of repression intact and even making special provision for preventive detention. It is therefore not worth the paper it is written on. Rhodesia will remain a police state with representative African leaders detained and restricted and African nationalist parties banned.

## Racial Discrimination

An indication of the sincerity with which Douglas-Home regards the fourth principle is the fact that under his proposals racial discrimination will for the first time be written into the Rhodesian electoral system by a British Government.

Interestingly, this principle apparently caused the greatest difficulty of all during the negotiations, despite the fact that it is the most open to interpretation of all the five and does not theoretically affect the holding of political power.

The fact is of course that Smith conceded virtually nothing, least of all political power, by agreeing to the rest of the proposals, but was anxious not to lay himself open to charges from his right wing of having gone back on the Rhodesian Front's apartheid programme. Thus all that Douglas-Home has managed to obtain from Smith is an agreement to the setting up of a commission to review existing legislation and make recommendations to the Rhodesian Government "on ways of making progress towards ending racial discrimination". Whether the regime gives effect to these recommendations is subject "to considerations that any Government would be obliged to regard this as of an overriding character". There is thus no obligation whatsoever for the regime to take any measures towards dismantling the discriminatory apparatus in education, employment and land, which permits the humiliation and exploitation of the African population. The lynching of the Rhodesian Front's apartheid programme, the Land Tenure Act, will remain untouched. Although the regime has given an "assurance" that the eviction of Africans from the Epworth and Chishawasha Missions will be postponed, the Tangwena tribe will not be given their land back, and further evictions are planned.

## The Test of Acceptability

One of Douglas-Home's last acts as Prime Minister in October 1964 was to insist on a referendum to test the acceptability of a settlement. "The mechanism whereby the feelings of the Rhodesian people is to be ascertained must be fully democratic (5). Instead however he has agreed to the setting up of a commission to test Rhodesian opinion, a commission moreover which has probably made up its mind in advance. The chairman is Lord Pearce, the present chairman of the Press Council. In 1968 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the appeal of an African nationalist Daniel Madzimbamuto, against detention by the Smith regime, and ruled that the regime was acting illegally. Lord Pearce was the only member of the Judicial Committee to dissent from this judgement. He held that "law and order" should be enforced. (6) Two other members of the commission have so far been named, Lord Harlech and Sir Maurice Dorman. Lord Harlech is a former Tory Minister; his brother-in-law is the 5th Marquess of Salisbury, a prominent member of both the Monday Club and the Anglo-Rhodesian Society. Sir Maurice Dorman, former Governor-General of Malta, has been a lifelong colonial servant and is thus unlikely to be particularly sympathetic towards the aspirations of a subjected people. According to Douglas-Home's proposals "normal political activity" will be permitted during the test of acceptability. In fact the State of Emergency will continue to be in force and armed with legislation such as the Emergency Powers Act, the African Affairs Act, the Local Government Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Smith regime will have control over the movement of persons, the holding of meetings and the distribution of information. No political prisoners will be released and the nationalist parties will remain banned. Only parties represented in the Assembly will be allowed to campaign on radio and television. The commission itself will be dependent on assistance from the Smith regime. Under such circumstances the test of acceptability will be a farce, and will obviously not fall within the terms of the fifth principle.

## Excuses

The Tory Government claims that although the settlement is unsatisfactory in many respects it was the best that could have been obtained from Smith and the Rhodesian Front

and will halt the drift towards apartheid. Thus the African population will benefit and the certainty of violent insurrection will be removed.

This is untrue. If as is claimed sanctions were at last having a serious effect on the Rhodesian economy, particularly in terms of foreign exchange, then the Tory Government could have waited for sanctions to bite even harder and thus improve its negotiating position. The drift towards apartheid has gone so far that to halt it at this stage, and there is no real guarantee in the proposals that it will be halted and is unlikely to bring much comfort to the African population. The Rhodesian Front is a party of white supremacy and has made it clear that it sees Rhodesia as part of the "White South", militarily and economically linked to South Africa and Portugal. All that Douglas-Home's proposals do is provide Smith's Rhodesia with the cloak of legality and strengthen white supremacy in Southern Africa. The Tory Government may wash its hands of an international embarrassment but the certainty of violent insurrection still remains. When the African population achieves majority rule, it will not be through Douglas-Home's proposals.

### Profits Galore

The real reasons for the settlement are the strength of the Rhodesia lobby within the Conservative Party, and the desire of the business community to reopen trading links with Rhodesia. Over 180 British manufacturing and trading companies had in 1965 over 290 subsidiaries in Rhodesia worth approximately £50m. And the Conservative Party was well represented on the boards of these companies - for example R. Maudling was a director of both Dunlop Holdings and AEI and J. Amery of the British South Africa Company before it was taken over by the Anglo-American Corporation. Amery has made no secret of his sympathy for the

Smith regime. According to the *Sunday Times* (London) a settlement could boost Turner & Newall's latest pre-tax profits of £12m. by £3½m., apart from the profits that have accumulated within Rhodesia. Since 1965 mining output in Rhodesia has grown 50 per cent to £57 m. a year, and giants like Rio Tinto-Zinc, Anglo-American and Lonrho are going to do very well out of a settlement. No less than 28 per cent of Lonrho's £16m. a year pre-tax profits are made in Rhodesia and these have not been accessible since UDI (7). Douglas-Home's proposals may have sold the Africans down the river but, needless to say, big business stands to make a killing.

### references

(i) Rhodesia - Population (Dec. 1969) African 4,930,000 proportion 95%, European 234,000 proportion 4.5% Asians and Coloureds 24,000 proportion 0.5%

(1) Times 27. 11. 1971

(2) Sunday Times, 28. 11. 1971

(3) Financial Times, 26. 11. 1971

(4) Sunday Times, 28. 11. 1971

(ii) Rhodesia - Education (1969)

Expenditure per head African £10.10.0, European £101.50. Proportion completing secondary school African 2.1% European 82%

Prospects of entering university African 1 in 6,000, European 1 in 125.

(5) Sunday Times 14. 11. 1971

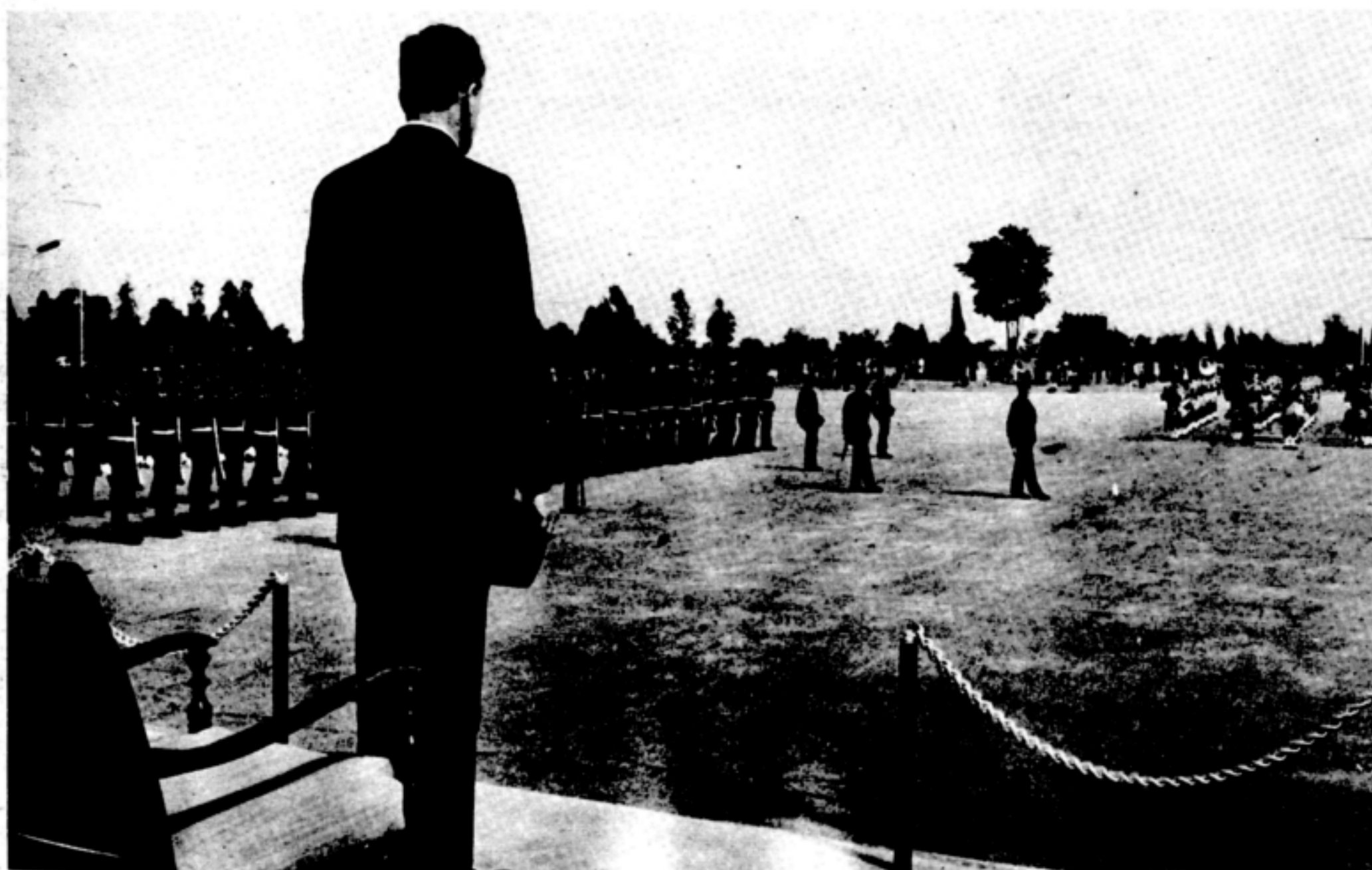
(6) Times 27. 11. 1971

(7) Sunday Times 28. 11. 1971

(iii) Rhodesia - Income (1969)

Number in Employment and Annual Income. Africans 697,000, £129, Europeans, Asians and Coloureds, 99 500, £1,290 - Africans in Civil Service not attainable, £177, Europeans in Civil Service, not attainable, £1,340

Smith reviewing his troops



# POLOROID: The Struggle Continues

The Poloroid "Experiment" was designed to cover up the fact that Poloroid produces and sells to South Africa the key to its system of genocide. The fact that Poloroid will not get out of South Africa comes as no surprise for it clearly shows how important the ID-2 and other forms of Poloroid's instant photography is to the maintenance of apartheid, so important in fact, that it enjoys a special tax-exempt status. Despite losses totaling more than \$15 million in sales, not including advertising funds spent in a futile attempt to offset Poloroid's complicity in endorsing an insane, immoral and cruel system, Poloroid continues to make passes for the South African government. The company's losses have been so high that it has had to lay off workers, has been unable to give the annual bonuses, has resorted to firing and intimidating its U.S. employees to suppress their support for the war waged by P.R.W.M. While this is going on in the U.S., Poloroid's white "South African" workers received a bonus and a salary increase. The Poloroid Revolutionary Workers Movement will continue the world-wide boycott of all Poloroid products until all de-

mands are met, or until South Africa is liberated in the name of her African people. Since the exposure of Poloroid's role in apartheid, it has refused to admit to the existence and growing power and influence of the liberation fighters in South Africa. The pass system is directly aimed at immobilizing the Black Liberation Army and all guerilla forces. All supporters of apartheid and compulsory identification stand directly in the path of the Liberation Army, and by being co-conspirators in the racist plot to further exploit and oppress Black people, make themselves enemies of the people. The Liberation forces must be encouraged in their un-dying devotion to the liberation of African people and the death of fascism. P.R.W.M. salutes and supports the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and all African freedom fighters. As the forces of fascism expand in a last-ditch attempt to rescue its dying creation, the liberation forces must also expand in order to offset new attacks, disrupt enemy strategies, and strengthen and unify the liberation struggle. P.R.W.M. has already expanded its membership to include not only Black workers at Poloroid, but also Liberationists from other areas who support the revolutionary forces in Africa, the end of minority rule, the end of apartheid and all forms of fascism.

**AFRICA WILL BE SET FREE!**

**All Power to the People**

## APARTHEID IN SPORT

**Text of Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 29 November 1971**

### The General Assembly

**Recalling** that Member States pledged themselves, under Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

**Recalling further** its requests to all States and international and national sports organisations to suspend exchanges of sporting events with South African teams selected under apartheid policies.

**Bearing in mind** that 1971 was designated as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to be observed in the name of the ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and in the name of international solidarity with those struggling against racism.

1. **Declares** its unqualified support of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation;
2. **Affirms** that merit should be the sole criterion for participation in sports activities;
3. **Solemnly calls upon** all national and international sports organisations to uphold the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to discourage and deny support to sporting events organised in violation of this principle;
4. **Calls upon** individual sportsmen to refuse to participate in any sports activity in a country in which there is an official policy of racial discrimination or apartheid in the field of sports;

5. **Urges** all States to promote adherence of the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to encourage their sports organisations to withhold support from sporting events organised in violation of this principle;

6. **Requests** national and international sports organisations and the public to deny any form of recognition to any sports activity from which persons are debarred or subjected to any discrimination on the basis of race, religion or political affiliation;

7. **Condemns** the actions of the Government of South Africa in enforcing racial discrimination and segregation in sports;

8. **Notes** with regret that some national and international sports organisations have continued exchanges with teams from South Africa which have been selected for international competition on the basis of competitions closed to otherwise qualified sportsmen solely on the basis of their race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin;

9. **Commends** those international and national sports organisations which have supported the international campaign against apartheid in sports;

10. **Requests** all States to urge their national sports organisations to act in accordance with the present resolution;

11. **Requests** the Secretary-General:

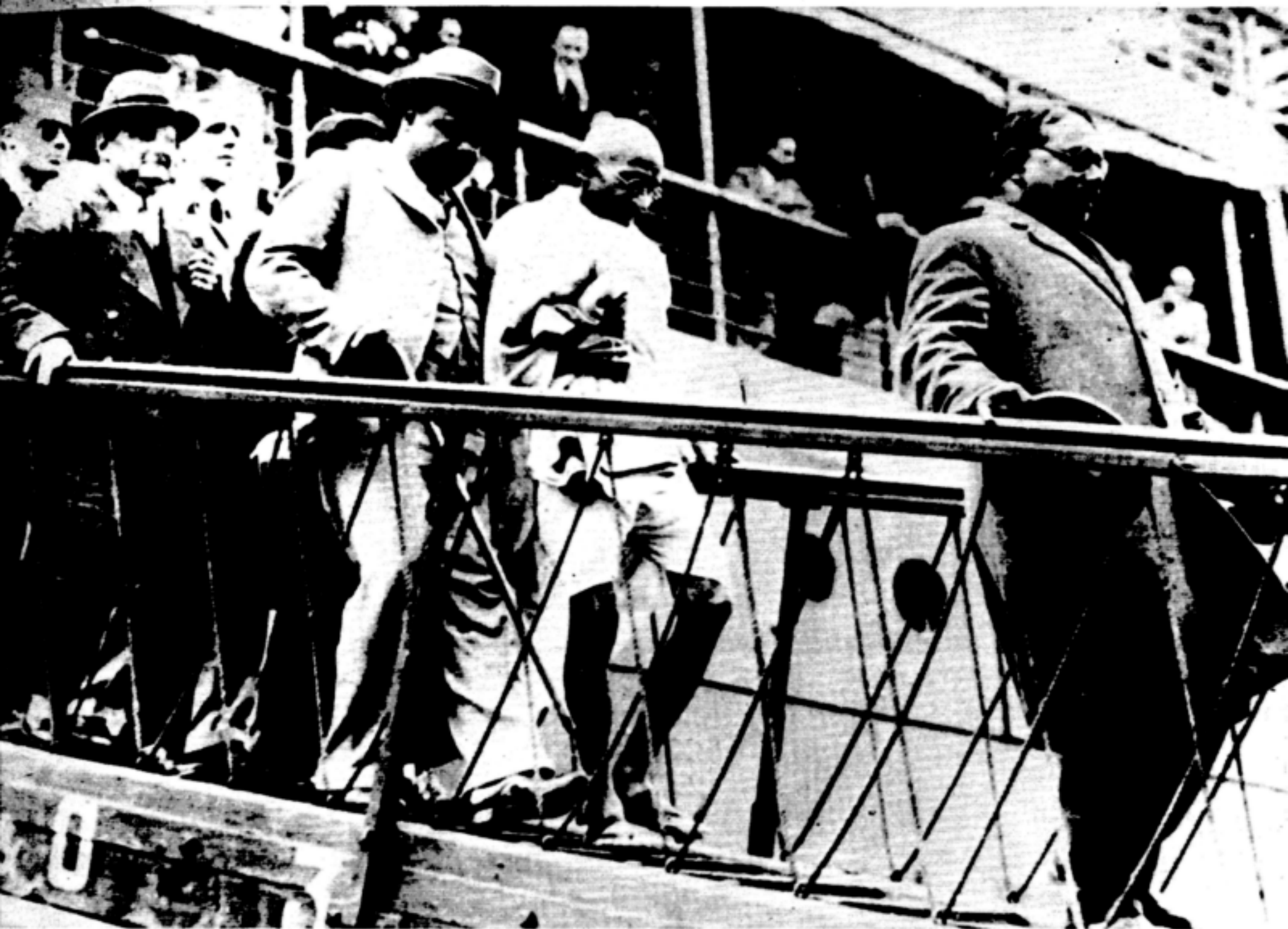
- (a) To bring the present resolution to the attention of international sports organisations;
- (b) To keep the Special Committee on Apartheid informed on the implementation of the present resolution;
- (c) To submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

The vote was 106 in favour. Those voting against and abstaining were as follows:

**Against:** Malawi, South Africa

**Abstaining:** Australia, Central African Republic, Greece, Madagascar, New Zealand, Portugal, Great Britain and Northern Ireland.





Mahatma Gandhi arriving in South Africa – 1893

# The South African Indian Congress

The recent death of Ahmed Timol, a young South African teacher of Indian origin, while in detention and under severe torture by the South African Police, apart from raising a whole host of questions surrounding the dark goings-on at John Vorster Square – South Africa's gestapo headquarters in Johannesburg – also raises the question of the political role of South Africans of Indian origin in the country.

The Indian community totalling a little over half-a-million, like their Black brothers the Coloured (mixed race) and African people, suffer under extremely severe restrictions. They are not allowed to live where they choose; they are not allowed to do skilled jobs; they could not move from one Province to another without a special permit; they do not have the vote and, their leaders have been jailed, tortured, banned or forced into exile.

The majority of the Indian people live in the Province of Natal where they were first sent, by the British Indian government, as indentured labourers to work on English-owned sugar plan-

tations in 1860. The Zulus, only recently defeated by the superior arms of the British colonialists, refused to work on the white-owned plantations and the need for a stable labour force became so urgent that the settlers with little difficulty convinced the British government of India to supply their needs.

Although some safeguards as to the future of the indentured Indians were concluded between the British Indian Government and the white settlers in Natal, no provisions were made as to how these illiterate labourers, shipped off to a distant land, were to seek

redress should they have any grievances.

The result was that, although slavery had been abolished by law, in fact, the lot of these labourers, at best was one of semi-slavery.

However, at the end of their period of indenture the Indians began to move out of the plantations, many of them to eke out a living as market gardeners in remote areas. Side by side with this development was the arrival of Indian traders and their servants into the country. The English colonialists did not immediately oppose this new group of arrivals as they (the English) were able to raise very profit-

able crops of sugar cane, coffee and tea, with the exploitation of the indentured labour whose official rate of pay was ten shillings a month and whose working day was from sunrise to sunset seven days of the week.

However, towards the end of the 19th century, the white settlers began to agitate against the "free" Indians: the traders, their servants and those labourers who had completed their indenture and had branched out on their own. The agitators attacked the right of the Indians to vote in local councils as well as for members of the Natal Legislative Assembly.

The white agitation culminated in 1894 with the introduction of the first of a series of racially discriminatory laws against the people: a law disenfranchising all Indians, save those who were "rightly on the voters roll", at the time.

In the meantime "free" Indians were resisting all manner of pressures from the white settlers including being beaten-up, insulted and in some cases hounded out of certain areas, notably the Province of the Orange Free State.

## Mahatma Gandhi

It was in this situation that a young, newly qualified lawyer from India, engaged for a year, to settle a legal dispute that had arisen between two Indian businessmen, arrived in South Africa in May 1893.

The lawyer, later to become one of India's greatest leaders, was Mohan-

das Karamchand Gandhi. At the end of the law-suit in which he was engaged, Mahatma Gandhi, as he later became popularly known, was persuaded by the community to stay on and lead them in their struggle against increasing oppression by the white settler regime.

He agreed and, in May 1894, established the Natal Indian Congress which some years later jointly with the Transvaal and Cape Indian Congresses formed the South African Indian Congress. The early struggles led by the Mahatma, although non-violent were extremely militant. A series of mass civil-disobedience campaigns followed culminating in massive national strikes which began in 1906. Mahatma Gandhi united the so-called free Indians who had hitherto remained aloof from the indentured Indians and other labourers into a single mass force. By the middle of 1914, the South African Government was forced to enact the Indians Relief Bill which abolished a tax of £3 (six months wages) forced on indentured Indians; recognised the right of Indian males to marry, and bring their wives from India; assured the right of domicile and numerous other concessions. Having established a powerful mass movement Mahatma Gandhi left for India. In the period between 1914 and the late thirties, Congress deteriorated. The movement split up into several factions, its mass character was destroyed and all that remained was an organisation representing, in the main, a section of the traders.

## New Leaders

The growth of the trade union movement among the Indian people in the late thirties linked with the growing number of intellectuals in the community, and the corresponding increase in oppressive and discriminatory laws against the people gave rise to a new political upsurge.

New, young, militant leaders, prominent among them Dr. Y. M. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr. G. M. Naicker in Natal, emerged among the people. The old guard were ousted from the leadership of Congress and led by Dadoo and Naicker the Indian people moved into a new, dynamic phase in their long history of struggle against racism in South Africa.

The cornerstone of the new leadership's policy was unity, not only among the community, which in the recent past had been rent by communal and religious differences, but a broader, unity of all the Black oppressed.

This desire for unity was also expressed by the African National Congress and in 1947 a pact of co-operation was signed between the Presidents of the African National Congress and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, Dr. A. B. Xuma, Dr. G. M. Naicker and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo respectively. However, it was not until 1950 that joint activity of a mass character was undertaken by the two Congresses. It was aimed at the Government's proposed Suppression of Communism Act which the Congresses saw as not only a threat to the Communists but aimed also to destroy the liberation movements and other progressive elements in the country. History shows how correct this analysis was for today even the Churches and their leaders are being harassed, hounded and convicted under this notorious legislation.

On May Day 1950, therefore, the Indian and African Congresses together with the Communist Party of South Africa called a most successful general strike in the Transvaal Province. Not deterred by the shootings that followed the ANC and the South African Indian Congress called a national day of mourning and general strike on June 26, the same year to mourn the victims of the May Day Strike. The entire country was brought to a stand still.

By the end of this campaign the co-operation between the Indian Congress and the African National Congress, both of which had grown in stature and had firm mass support amongst their respective communities all over the country, was extended to



Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, former President of the SAIC being greeted by officials of the Indian Congress on his release from prison in 1947



Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the NIC addressing a Conference before his banning. On his left is the late Dr. Arthur Letele former Treasurer of the ANC

include the South African Coloured People's Organisation and later its successor, the South African Coloured Peoples' Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Congress of Democrats, an organisation of progressive whites. This alliance led by the African National Congress was to dominate the political scene (publicly) up to the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the African National Congress in 1960.

However, by now most of the leaders in the Indian Congress including hundreds in local leadership were jailed or banned from participating in any political activity.

By 1962, the Indian Congress although not banned was effectively silenced as new leaders were almost automatically banned immediately they took office.

In the meantime, most Indian Congress militants joined the African National Congress's military wing: Umkhonto we Sizwe, (The Spear of the Nation) which emerged in 1961. Many of them were arrested and are serving sentences ranging from 5 years to life imprisonment on Robben Island,

South Africa's Alcatraz. Prominent among them are youth leaders, Ahmed Kathrada arrested with Nelson Mandela and others at Umkhonto underground headquarters in Rivonia, Johannesburg, George Naicker and Ibrahim Ismail, members of the Natal High Command, Billy Nair, a prominent trade unionist and scores of others.

Others have died. Like Ahmed Timol, youth leader Babla Saloojee is alleged to have jumped to his death from the seventh floor window of Security Police Headquarters in Johannesburg while being interrogated by the notorious Major Swanepoel.

### Indian Congress Today

Today after almost eight years of silence, the Indian Congress is once again voicing the aims and aspirations of the people. Led by Mewa Ramgobin (who is co-incidentally the grandson-in-law of Mahatma Gandhi) and a militant band of young Indians, an ad hoc committee for the re-organising of the Indian Congress was set up recently. Within three months of its establishment, and after scores of

branches had been set up all over the province of Natal, Ramgobin was banned and house-arrested. He was promptly dismissed from his post as district manager of the South African Old Mutual Assurance Company.

Uncowed and despite the presence of a large body of Security Police over 1000 people of all races gathered at a meeting held in protest against the banning and speakers of the powerful Black students organisation, the South African Students Association (SASO) and the (Coloured) Labour Party, pledged their full support to the new leaders of the Congress revival movement.

In an official statement, S.A.S.O. warned white South Africa that such an unrepresentative government can only succeed in provoking untold retaliation from the Black people.

"S.A.S.O.", the statement adds: "is certain that despite the banning of this courageous Black leader, the Congress ad hoc committee and the entire Indian community would continue working with renewed vigour towards the creation of the Indian Congress - the only legitimate voice

*In the shadow of Blake's tablet,  
and with ancient bones underfoot  
we remember the dead and dying:*

*O let not our resolves moulder  
nor let our fires of revolt grow cold:  
nor let timidity reproach me  
ever again, as it does now.*

*Dec. 17, 1971,  
Memorial Service for  
those dying in detention  
in South Africa  
Crypt: St Paul's Cathedral  
London, D.B.*

Poem by Dennis Brutus

Ahmed Kathrada - serving life imprisonment



Indres Naidoo - sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for sabotage in 1963



of the people. "We also know that the rest of the Black community will close ranks behind Mr. Ramgobin and that more leaders of this stature will emerge", the statement ends.

"Jail him or free him", demanded the fiery leader of the Anti-Apartheid (Coloured) Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon. "This type of measure" he added; "is designed to silence leaders who want nothing else but justice for the people; it also convinces me that the white society is mentally ill".

The seeds sown by the Xuma-Dadoo-Naidoo pact continue to bear fruit and will do so in spite of all repression until the people of South Africa are rid of the racist monsters who rule us.

We do not doubt that the struggle will be long and bitter. We are aware that legal forms of struggle in a neo-fascist country like South Africa, may not be wholly successful. But we also realise that in order to defeat a powerful enemy, armed, to the teeth, every form of struggle is vital and that each form - legal, semi-legal and illegal - is complementary to each other. And, as the struggle sharpens, the freedom fighters, whether they belong to the Indian Congress, the Labour Party, the South African Students Organisation or to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, will be joined not by a few, but the whole African nation and their oppressed brothers, the Coloured and Indian people in the final and bitter confrontation, the result of which leaves us in no doubt.

**WE SHALL WIN!**

Billy Nair - SACTU regional secretary - sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for sabotage in 1964



# 60th ANNIVERSARY:

## WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT FOR ANC



Messages and reports of meetings on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the African National Congress are pouring in from many parts of the world. Hereunder are some reports. Others will be published in future issues of SECHABA.

In the German Democratic Republic, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee organised a month-long photographic exhibition on the struggle against racism in South Africa.

Opening the exhibition at a cocktail party held on the evening of January 7, the Secretary General of the A.A.S.C. welcoming South African guests, members of the diplomatic corps and the press, assured the African National Congress that in all their "struggles for national independence and social progress, we in the German Democratic Republic stand four-square on your side . . ."

Speaking to the ANC representatives who were present, he said: "your struggles, and your victories strengthen the cause of anti-imperialist solidarity and we wish you every success in your desire to destroy racism and establish a truly democratic South Africa . . ."

Replying, Mr. Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC tracing the history of the struggle in South Africa said, "In the international sphere the African National Congress was, and continues to be firmly committed to fight against imperialism and all manifestations of colonialism and for world peace. We have repeatedly joined the world progressive movements and in particular with the bastion of anti-imperialism, the Socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union in condemning imperialist aggression whenever such aggression has taken place.

"We are particularly pleased to note the progress being made by the governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union to find a lasting solution to the problems of West Berlin.

"The agreement between the Ambassadors of the four powers, USA, Britain, France and USSR regarding West Berlin is a significant advance for the forces of socialism and progress and towards the preservation of peace and the relaxation of tension in Europe.

"Equally significant is that the Agreement has expressed unequivocally that the GDR is a sovereign state. This is now binding in International Law and the aspirations of the peoples of the GDR in the international sphere

Alfred Nzo - Secretary General of the ANC speaking at a reception in Berlin organised by the AASC of the GDR on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary



Congress old-timers at the reception – Mr. and Mrs. Vic Syret and Moses Mabhidu member of the ANC Nat. Executive



have been immeasurably strengthened".

Dealing with the support from the GDR to the South African movement, Mr. Nzo said, "The GDR has a special place in the hearts of all oppressed South Africans. Their unstinting support for the African National Congress and the Black masses of South Africa is too well-known for us to repeat here, in detail.

"We have received medicines for our guerrilla cadres, schooling facilities for our students, most of our printed propoganda material is undertaken here and there are a host of other ways in which the GDR assists our movement.

"Let me take this opportunity of placing on record our very sincere gratitude to the people, the government and to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee for these actions of solidarity.

"We for our part wish to assure you that your support is not wasted. We shall continue our struggle, especially within our country until all the peoples of South Africa enjoy full freedom and democracy!

Long Live the Solidarity of the peoples of the GDR and South Africa!

"Long Live the anti-imperialist alliance of Socialist and Progressive forces the world over!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!"

Among the guests at the reception were Messrs. Ahmed Ali Amr of the Egyptian Embassy and H. Eggebrecht of AASC

A section of the guests that responded to the invitation of the AASC seen at the reception





Comrade Edmond Röhner – Secretary General of the AASC welcoming guests to the reception. Others in the pic from left to right are A. Nzo, interpreter, Ewaldt Moldt – deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR and H. H Schmidt – chairman of the AASC

ANC choir at the opening of the photo exhibition in Berlin

Among several messages of solidarity received was one from the GDR Peace Committee and another from the Lutuli Brigade, consisting of a group of workers employed at the U.P.F. Pharmaceutical industry in Berlin which states:

"We assure you that we, as a solidarity movement, will do everything to support you in the just fight of the African people for freedom and independence. We are opposed to the brutal fascism imposed on the people of Africa by the imperialist powers, and we shall do everything to undermine their oppressive methods . . .  
"Only by uniting together with the so-



Dr. Cheddie Jagan – leader of the Progressive Peoples' Party – Guyana

cialist states and the liberation movements in our struggle can victory over imperialism be realised . . .

"In this fight we wish you and the African people many successes. Long live the African National Congress. Long live the just liberation struggle".

The Peoples Progressive Party of Guyana observed the occasion with a public lecture and photographic exhibition.

Fuller reports and messages received will be published in our forthcoming issues as these were received after our deadline for this issue.

Anniversary pics by Albert Ndindah and Eric Singh



# LAND OWNERSHIP IN SOUTH AFRICA



The physical basis of the Bantustans lies in the system of restricting African land ownership to the reserves. Although it is the declared policy of the South African Government to develop these reserves into areas of self-government and economic development for the African people, the reserves are in fact crippled from the start by a critical land shortage.

This paper, prepared by the United Nations Unit on Apartheid traces the historical background to the present inequitable partition of land with only 13% of the total land surface of South Africa set aside for the Africans who constitute over two-thirds of the population of the country.

The essence of apartheid is the desire of the leaders of the white minority in South Africa to perpetuate their privileged position by confining African rights to a small fraction of the country. They wish to consolidate the unequal division of land resulting from the wars of the nineteenth century and the laws of successive white governments, while ignoring the contribution made by the African people to the development of the mines, factories and farms in the whole country during the past century.

By restricting African rights to land ownership and occupation, the white governments have caused the African people to live in poverty and obliged them to offer their labour to minister to the needs of the whites. The country has been developed on the basis of grossly discriminatory wage levels enforced by the denial of trade union rights and a mass of repressive laws.

Apartheid or "separate development" means the denial of a just share to the African people in the national economy and the enforcement of "separation" on the basis of present land ownership. This paper explains the iniquitous division of land in South Africa which is a crucial element in the oppression and deprivation of the African people.

<sup>1</sup> A morgen is equivalent to 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>19</sub> acres.

## Land ownership in 1905

The South African Native Affairs Commission was appointed in 1903 to study and make recommendations to the colonial governments in South Africa "with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of Native Policy", in view of the moves towards a federation of these colonies.

The Commission found in 1905 that Africans occupied 8.25 million morgen.<sup>1</sup> It recommended that the land owned by Africans should be limited by law.

It declared (in paragraph 207 of its report) that:

"... the time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves or otherwise, should be defined, delimited, and reserved for Natives by legislative enactment."

Further it recommended that this should be done "with a view to finality" and thereafter no more land should be set aside for African occupation. As a slight concession, it suggested that there should not be a prohibition on "deserving and progressive individuals among the Natives requiring land". However, the purchase of land by Africans should be limited in the future, to certain areas defined by legislation: tribal, collective or communal possession should be prohibited.

In 1910, a Parliamentary Select Committee on Native Affairs published a preliminary Bill which embodied the conclusions of the Commission, specifically referring to the above-mentioned paragraph 207. Although the Bill itself did not become law, the fundamental principle of territorial segregation which was contained in it became the policy of the Government.

## The "Natives" Land Act of 1913

This Act was designed as an interim measure to maintain *inter alia* the status quo as regards land ownership until the passing of a comprehensive and final measure: a



# AFRICA



Commission was appointed to recommend the permanent lines of territorial segregation.

The Act stipulated that no African could acquire from a person other than an African (or vice versa) any land or interest in any land outside of the scheduled African areas without the consent of the Governor-General. Nor could any person other than an African acquire any land or interest in any land in a scheduled African area without the approval of the Governor-General.

The scheduled African areas consisted of the existing African reserves and locations in the rural areas of the Union, as well as (rural) land privately owned by Africans – a total of 10.7 million morgen. Tenure and occupation of the land in the townships was not covered by the Act.

The scheduled areas where Africans would be free to settle amounted to 10.7 million morgen, or a mere 7.3 per cent of the total land area of the country. A further 5.7 per cent of the area was to constitute "released" areas in which Africans would be freed from the general prohibition on buying land.

White farmers raised an outcry against "released" areas on the grounds that whites would be prevented from obtaining more farms and that Africans would settle in these areas and cease to provide labour for white farmers.

White politicians began to reassure them that the actual release of the "released" areas would be contingent on the abolition of the limited voting rights held by Africans in the Cape. But the Act of Union (1910) and the promises not to betray the Africans were still too recent to trample on, and voting rights were not immediately abolished. Neither were the released areas actually released.

The result was that Africans, who were already land-starved, were deprived of the right to freely purchase and acquire land as a prelude to an indefinite promise of land concessions. It was not until 1936 that legislation attempted to set aside the lands which were vaguely promised 23 years before.

People are being constantly moved from one area to another



African reaction to the 1913 Act was vehement and articulate. The South African Native National Congress<sup>2</sup> organised numerous protests in South Africa and sent a delegation to the British Government in London in a vain protest against the betrayal of past promises.

### The "Native" Trust and Land Act of 1936

Moving the Native Trust and Land Bill in 1936, the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. G. Grobler, acknowledged that the matter which "agitated" the African mind more than anything else was the land question. He claimed that the Bill aimed at providing further areas where Africans could "maintain a reasonable standard of life and develop their own institutions". For this purpose, the Bill would provide for "released areas", in which it would be possible for Africans to acquire land. These would substantially increase the land available to Africans as follows:

Province	Reserved under Schedules of 1913	Released for acquisition under the 1936 Act
	morgen	
Cape	6,107,000	1,616,000
Natal	2,997,000	526,000
Transvaal	1,232,000	5,028,000
Orange Free State	74,290	80,000
Total	10,410,290	7,250,000

The Minister estimated that the cost to the Government for acquiring these "released areas" would be between £10 and £15 million.<sup>3</sup> When these were acquired, the land available for African settlement would constitute over 12 per cent of the country.

Under the terms of the Act, a Native Trust (later renamed "Bantu Trust") was established to acquire and develop the additional "released" land, and to promote the well-being of Africans residing on the land allocated to them.

Prime Minister Hertzog solemnly assured the Parliament that the purchase of the land would commence as soon as possible; that funds amounting to £10 million would be voted within the next five years and that any further sums which may be necessary would be immediately made available.

As companion measure to the Native Trust and Land Act, the Government enacted the Representation of Natives Act, 1936, which abolished the right of qualified Africans to vote in the common roll in the Parliamentary election.<sup>4</sup> The African people strongly protested against both these Acts, and the disreputal transactions among white politicians which led to them.

### Implementation of the 1936 Act

By November 1938, Parliament had voted £5 million for the purchase of land under the 1936 Act and the Trust had spent (or committed) £4,219,988 on a total of 1,257,739 morgen. Soon after, however, the Government decided to suspend all further land purchases due to the war.

Councillor Thema of the Natives Representative Council angered the Government in 1939 by deploring the Government's refusal to continue making monies available for the purpose of acquiring land, and criticizing the operation of the Trust.

He noted that:

a) tribes were not allowed to acquire land outright from the Trust, but were compelled to pay rent in perpetuity to the Trust;

b) most of the farms purchased by the Trust were in areas already populated by Africans, so that the problem of overcrowding was not being alleviated;

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1912. Later became "African National Congress".

<sup>3</sup> It was assumed that this expenditure would eventually be re-couped out of the payments Africans would themselves make for the occupation of their new lands.

<sup>4</sup> The African voters were placed on a separate roll and entitled to elect three white members to Parliament. This token representation was abolished in 1959.

c) because of the inadequacy of the land made available, only 5 morgen and 10 head of cattle were allotted to each head of family, an amount insufficient to allow life on a civilized standard in most cases;

d) large numbers of Europeans were being appointed in various capacities on the Trust farms instead of Africans. He declared:

"It has been said that the Trust is building up a huge Native estate. And it has been said to us that we are the Trust and the Government is the Trustee. That implies, if we are the ward, and the Government the Trustee, that one day we shall grow up and we shall take possession of our estate. But we are not told when we shall ever reach our majority in this connexion. We are only told that we are the ward, and it seems as though we shall remain the ward for ever and anon. For ever and ever we are to remain the ward of the white race, and for ever and a day they will remain the Trustees; and at the same time we are told that we can develop along the lines of our race. But you cannot tell the people 'We shall look after you, and you must develop along your own lines'. You cannot tell a people that forever. No one knows - not even the Europeans - along which lines we shall develop. If we are to develop along our own lines, then it must be a natural development, and we must not be controlled by some Trust - we must not be controlled by someone else".<sup>5</sup>

In 1945, the Council called the Government's refusal to continue to make funds available for purchase of land "a breach of faith". Councilman Z. K. Matthews stated:

"(The African people) expected that the scheduled areas were to be increased at the expense of the people who introduced the policy of segregation, not at the expense of the people upon whom it was being forced because you must remember that throughout we have not subscribed to this policy of segregation."<sup>6</sup>

In 1946, the Council adopted a resolution condemning the policy of segregation embodied in legislation as being unjust and oppressive in that it had hopelessly failed to separate Africans and Europeans equitably.

The Council's criticism of the Government's policy was ignored and the Council itself was abolished after the National Party came to power in 1948.

### National Party Policy

The National Party's Election Manifesto of 1948 proposed an end to what it called the present "wholesale buying of land" by the State for the Africans. It stated that more land in terms of the 1936 Act would only be granted after "judicious consideration". The National Party Government, in power since 1948, has shown more energy in removing "Black spots" (African-owned land outside reserves), involving the uprooting of thousands of African families, than in providing more land to Africans as promised. By the end of 1968, "scheduled" and "released" areas in fact totalled only 11.98 per cent of the total land mass of the Republic. This was 1,620,917 morgen short of the quota set aside under the 1936 legislation.

The Africans who constitute 70 per cent of the population of South Africa are legally confined to these scattered areas, called "homelands", even though less than half of them actually live there. They are legally prevented from acquiring freehold land anywhere in the Republic and the Government has stated that it does not ever intend to grant them that right. Even within their "reserves", ownership is in most cases by tribal tenure and not by private title. Every year, thousands of Africans are classified as "surplus labour" and are ordered back to their "homelands" which have already proved incapable of economically supporting their numbers. The homelands have become, in fact, little more than reservoirs of cheap labour and a dumping ground for Africans whose labour is no longer required by the white labour market.

<sup>5</sup> Verbatim Report of the proceedings of the Natives Representatives Council, Third session, November-December 1939, p. 242, as quoted in C. M. Tatz, *Shadow and Substance in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1962), p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104



# LIBRARY IN MEMORY OF PROF. MATTHEWS

The late Prof. Z. K. Matthews

The new library at Moeding College Botswana named in memory of the late Professor Z. K. Matthews – "a great teacher, a great family man, a great international figure", in the words of Mr. M.L.A. Kgasa, chairman of the occasion of the opening of the library.

Several speakers told of the full life of Professor Matthews who was Botswana's Representative to the United Nations when he died. He had formerly been a Professor at Fort Hare University College.

The Rev. Derek Jones spoke of the reason for naming the library after Professor Matthews. He said it was while he was Secretary of Inter-Church Aid that the Professor had said he would do all he could to help Botswana. One of the projects which was put forward to him had been for a building scheme at Moeding. He had kept his word and money was channeled through Inter-Church aid for it.

Main speaker at the occasion was the Minister of Education, the Hon. D. C. Thema, who outlined the life of "Z. K." as he became popularly known. At the age of 22, he became the first African to be awarded the degree of B. A. of the university of South Africa, and then followed a string of "firsts" in education.

He was practically the first African law graduate of the University of South Africa and the first African from Southern Africa to be awarded the M. A. degree of the University of Yale.

His adherence to principles was shown in the late fifties when he resigned over the decision to turn Fort Hare into an ethnic college. He had been at the college for nearly 25 years and had a great deal to lose. He was then Acting Principal.

The Minister ended by expressing the hope that students of Moeding

who use the library would always try to keep clear before their eyes the picture of the great man after whom it had been named. He hoped also that they would feel inspired by his academic and professional record and would try to emulate his calm and moderation, his humility, and sincerity and his courage.

As lecturer in Social Anthropology, Native Law and Administration at Fort Hare, he was among the first intellectuals to identify himself with the ANC and in 1943 he was elected to the ANC National Executive. In 1942 he was elected to the Native Representative Council, from which he resigned in protest against the Government's refusal to accept proposals for African betterment made by the Council. When he left South Africa as representative of the World Council of Churches he was based in Geneva when his former student, Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana, honoured him as his country's first Ambassador to the United States and United Nations.

Born in Kimberley in 1901, "Z. K" died after an illness on 12th May, 1968, in Georgetown University Hospital, Washington, at the age of 67.

# SECHABA INTERVIEWS

## CONGRESSMAN DIGGS IN LONDON



Rev. Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

Congressman Charles Diggs, Chairman of the Black Caucus in the American Congress, passed through London in early January, en route to Lusaka. While in London, he announced that he had been refused permission by the Smith regime to enter Zimbabwe, and by South Africa to enter either South Africa or Namibia, despite the fact he held a valid visa for the Republic.

Diggs is Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Africa of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives, and following his visit to South Africa late in 1971, adopted a strongly anti-apartheid line, calling for the withdrawal of all American investment in South Africa and Namibia. He recently resigned from the United States delegation to the United Nations because of the Azores agreement concluded between Portugal and the United States for the supply of finance to support the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa.

In London, Congressman Diggs said he could not understand why the British Government anticipated success in the Pearce Commission's visit to Rhodesia to test the 'acceptability' of the Settlement Proposals. There was, he said, mounting evidence that the African people of Zimbabwe rejected the proposals. He quoted the statement of the African National Council

that the Proposals were 'an effort to legalise the treason of UDI with African support'.

The Smith regime's statement that he was 'unwanted' in Rhodesia was, he said, a racist action. He had been informed that three other black Congressmen who were willing to go were also unwanted, while two white Congressmen who had originally intended to go to Rhodesia to observe the Pearce Commission would be welcome. They subsequently cancelled their visits.

Referring to the massive strike by workers in Namibia during December and January, which crippled the economy of the settler community in the country, and destroyed, at least publicly, the contract labour system, Congressman Diggs said that he considered the strike to be 'an amazingly courageous action'. The strike, he said, vindicated the position of his Sub-Committee on Africa concerning American investment in Namibia. He would, he said, be pressing for the US Congress and Executive to implement the proposals made by his Committee. The American policy, he said, had caused him considerable distress. The legislation to permit the importation of sanctions-busting Rhodesian chrome, the decision by the United States to take over the British role in patrolling the Indian Ocean against the so-called 'Communist menace', and other actions had disturbed him greatly. What had upset him most, he said, was the Azores agreement - which he described as 'a watershed in the regression of US policy towards Africa'.

It was, however, evident from Congressman Diggs statements that his previously tough line on the presence of American investment has changed. While he stated that he would still like American firms to withdraw, he understood, he said, that some firms, such as General Motors, which had been in South Africa for a long time, would find difficulties in a complete withdrawal. In such cases, he said, the firms concerned should follow a policy of attempting to introduce equity between African and white workers.

Referring to the Polaroid agreement, he said 'I'm not prepared to say that the Polaroid experiment is wholly satisfactory, but you have to give them credit for taking the initiative'. He appeared not to be aware of the fact that the South African regime welcomes such token acts, as Polaroid have initiated, since they improve apartheid's foreign image, and pre-

serve the foreign investment in apartheid.

This alteration in line on the question of foreign investment has already come under fire from militant black groups in the United States, and, as Congressman Diggs said, he expects the involvement of black and radical white American groups in the Southern African situation to increase over the next year. P. H.

## PRISONER E 6311/71: WIVI GULSRUD

Late last year, an attractive woman free-lance journalist from Norway, was arrested one morning at Medowlands African township in Johannesburg and charged with entering the township without a permit.

Miss Wivi Gulsrud, who had been in South Africa for about two months at the time of her arrest, was found guilty and fined 15 rand or 15 days imprisonment.

She told the court she would not pay the fine. She saw no reason for doing so as she had merely gone to the township to visit friends.

Miss Gulsrud whose application for an extension of her visa to remain in South Africa was rejected, arrived in London recently and in an interview with SECHABA said that she was "absolutely appalled by the neo-fascist conditions that exist in the country".

This is her statement:

During my two-months long stay in South Africa, I got the feeling of fear and frustration all around me. Towards the end of my stay I was called in to John Vorster Square (South Africa's Security Police Headquarters - Ed) on no less than eight occasions.

Each time I spent between 3 to 5 hours in their grilling room on the 10th floor - the room from which Ahmed Timol is alleged to have jumped to his death. I was asked some very strange and sometimes personal and embarrassing questions. They asked me if I would mind having sexual relations with Blacks; What Norway's policy was towards South Africa; if I would co-operate and give them names and information of my Black friends; have I been to China or the Soviet Union; where my parents were; who financed my trip; which South Africans abroad I had contact with and so on. Twice they raided the house where I stayed. On one such raid they searched everywhere from 11.30 p.m. to 3.30 a.m. They confiscated all my papers and notes. They still have over 50 items belonging to me. On several occasions I was threatened with detention under the 180-days law.

When I was sentenced to fifteen days imprisonment, someone mysteriously paid my fine. I suspect it was the Special Branch.

On my release, I was taken by the police and put on a plane to Norway.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the views of the African National Congress

## THE ROAD TO POWER

Conversations with Allende by R. Debray. New Left Books. Price £1.05 pages 190

Regis Debray has brought us an enormously important and stimulating book in this penetrating though somewhat aggressive interview with the President of Chile. Debray is sometimes irritatingly persistent but he does manage to bring out in some depth the essential point about the Chile scene — how a mass based Party managed to gain power by electoral means. Debray, theoretical and preoccupied with situating the Chilean experience in a wide-ranging analytical frame — work, finds a skilful respondent in the immensely experienced President who has been in the forefront of Chilean politics for forty years.

The crucial questions under examination are: whether the electoral victory of the Popular Unity Coalition set into motion a revolutionary force of workers and peasants and whether this alliance will be able to maintain itself in power when the somewhat disorganised bourgeois opposition recovers its balance. Allende stresses that the special conditions in Chile, with its long-standing tradition of constitutionalism enables the socialist and communist coalition to step by step seize the high-points of the economy in the name of the people and gradually reconstitute the state apparatus to place real power in the hands of the working class. He says, "As for the bourgeois state at the present moment we are seeking to overcome it, to overthrow it."

In reply to Debray's insistence that the existing machinery may well prove to be an insurmountable obstacle to fundamental change, Allende replies in the affirmative but says that his government can overcome constitutional and administrative bottlenecks by resorting to the plebiscite and popular participation from below.

Since the Chile experience is bound to become a model for reformists and moderates elsewhere it is important to stress, as Allende does, that the Popular Unity Coalition in the elections was due to the special circumstances in Chile alone.

In relation to South Africa his remarks on the road to power are particularly pertinent. He says, "In some countries there is no alternative to armed

struggle: where there are no parties, no trade unions, where there is dictatorship, who is going to believe in the possibility of an electoral victory?" And in those conditions "the revolutionary struggle may be found in the guerrilla foco or in urban insurrection; it may be the peoples war . . ." What is needed is a concrete analysis of the class structure of the country, a fine assessment of the interplay of political forces and an evaluation of the best means of bringing about growth in the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses. Even in Chile, where the legal possibilities were at an optimum, Allende stresses that the essential element in their victory and its only safeguard is the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and the peasantry.

A final point which emphasises the special conditions of Chile and brings out the skilful tactics of the P.U.C. is the fact that in the elections the bourgeoisie put forward two candidates thereby letting in Allende. We recall the recommendation of Le Duan in the Vietnamese situation that splitting the enemy and choosing the principal target was essential to victory. In Chile as elsewhere, particularly in the conditions of national liberation where it is vital to bring the non-committed to the side of the revolution, this idea has a special significance.

B. T.

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## The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa — African National Congress 1912–1952

by Peter Walshe. Published Hurst and Co. 1970.

This is the most complete study yet made of the history of the African National Congress. But it is a pessimistic book. Even the events of the most stirring periods, the anti-pass protests and the defiance campaign, are approached in this mood so that it is hard to avoid the suspicion that Peter Walshe's evaluation is influenced by the severe repression of the 1960s when the African National Congress was outlawed, when its leaders were imprisoned and new forms of organisation and struggle had to be devised.

The history of the ANC reveals how deep are its roots and how far back they go. Formed in 1912, Walshe says that by the mid-1920s it had a following of at least 100 000. At all times, even when the membership was only in the field of 5000 or so, the ANC remained the recognised mouthpiece of the African people.

The book traces the history of the evolution of Congress policy from consultation to non-collaboration to passive resistance, though it ends in 1952 when disenchantment with the white system was complete. He describes vividly and in great detail the protests, strikes and demonstrations which studded this history, the leaders who emerged at each stage and the tremendous difficulties faced by African protest in the context of a hostile white power structure.

The founding fathers of the ANC among whom were chiefs, were guided by the Christian values they had imbibed as the mission-educated elite, says Walshe. But what he fails to realise is that the chiefs' importance lay in their leading role against white colonization in the 19th century. The mass of the African people continued to regard them as their authentic leaders and saw the ANC as carrying on the fight in a new arena.

While Walshe has done a tremendous amount of research, particularly into African documents and sources, he has unfortunately been diverted by his own pre-occupation with non-racialism from grasping the real focus of the African struggle. He refers repeatedly, with admiration and growing incredulity, to the fact that the ANC continued to support the principle of non-racialism. Even the Congress Youth League, while asserting its belief in African Nationalism in the 1940s, yet had as its policy "accommodate the minority groups in this country"; their aim was to get rid of white supremacy not of Europeans as such. But Walshe distorts his analysis by seeing in this non-racialism, this "attempt to check the spread of racial discrimination", the main objective of the African National Congress struggle and not the overthrow of white supremacy and attainment of African liberation. While it is true that in former years some African leaders held that the integration of Africans in the white economy would somehow force a non-racial political solution; this is no longer the case today. The perspective is increasingly one of a black revolution led by the African people against white authority. This is not racist, nor does it imply that there will be no place for white South Africans in a future society. But Walshe, like so many academicians writing about South Africa today, has been hypnotised by the degree of "inter-dependence" of black and white in the socio-economic framework.

M. T.

# M.P.L.A. COMMUNIQUE

## Edited Statement on Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA)

The Executive Committee of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola met in plenary session from the 27th September to the 3rd October 1971, under the chairmanship of Comrade Agostino Neto.

Twenty two members of the Executive Committee were present. It was confirmed that in the period of time between the last plenary meeting and this one, six members of the executive committee had heroically sacrificed their lives in combat and for the liberation of our national territory. They are: Commander HOJI IA HENDA "Beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic fighter of the MPLA"; Commander BENEDITO of the 1st region; Commanders JANGINDA and KIMAKIENDA of the 4th region; Political Commisar LEVSKY of the 1st region . . .

The fact that the plenary session of the executive committee was organised and held on the eastern front is proof of our Movement's vitality.

All decisions were unanimously taken, and during the meeting emphasis was given to the revolutionary character of our struggle, which essentially takes into account the interests of the working classes in our country.

The situation both in the controlled areas and in the areas still under enemy occupation warranted exhaustive analysis, and appropriate decisions were taken for the progress of struggle.

The elimination of the weak points on our activity was an aspect which prompted criticism of our revolutionary action.

The holding of the next congress will be the culmination of the steps now taken.

### Decisions:

Decisions were taken on the following:

1. The enlargement of the Movement's leading bodies, notably the Executive Committee and the Politico-Military Coordinating Committee.
2. The holding of the 1st National Congress, at a time and place still to be decided, preceded by seminars of the mass organisations in each zone and locality.
3. The establishment of an Institute of socio-economic studies as well as other bodies to deal specifically with problems of the MPLA and of organising our people.

### The Enemy

The complexity of the present international situation, the most recent events relating to Portugal reflect the embarrassing situation in which the Caetano government finds itself. Its reformist policy, which is moreover contested by a sizeable faction of his "National Popular Action" party, has met with no success whatsoever among the Angolan people in the occupied areas.

All further manoeuvres attempted by the colonialist and fascist Lisbon government will come up against the firm resistance of our people, using the appropriate forms of struggle for National Independence.

As far as the Angolan people are concerned, the solution to the colonial problem can be found only by fully satisfying their aspirations for Independence.

The colonialist Caetano government is worked both by the hysteria of some settlers and monopolies which are opposed to any concessions, and by the failure of the reforms among the Angolan masses, which it sees to be a result of increased national consciousness, pressing the resounding failure of its absurd plan.

It is in this light that one must view the manoeuvre of Spiro Agnew when that American leader went from Kinshasa to Lisbon to propose to the Portuguese government that President Mobutu of the Democratic Republic of Congo mediate in the conflict between the colonialist oppressors and the patriotic forces.

It is in this light that one must view the appointment to Kinshasa of well known Portuguese ambassador Marcelo Matias, up to now ambassador in Paris. Western Europe and American imperialisms are thus involving themselves more obviously, manipulating their pawns in Lisbon and Kinshasa in their battle for the neo-colonial occupation of Angola. The NATO meeting in Lisbon was a manifestation of that organisation's support for the Portuguese colonial policy. However, the MPLA appreciates the stand of the countries in that bloc which have come out against the colonial war.

### South Africa

More weight is being assumed in this concert of reactionary forces by the aggressive and expansionist policy of the racist Republic of South Africa and

"Rhodesia", the active protectors of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, were they have given sufficient evidence of their direct participation in military operations against the MPLA, while enjoying the political and belligerent support of a Western Europe which wants to preserve the gold reserves it needs to oppose the American imperialists' monetary policy. The MPLA's answer to the launching by the Republic of South Africa of operation "Seduction" of African countries must be dynamic armed and diplomatic action. **Any dialogue with South Africa which is not conducted through the National Liberation Movement is condemned by our Movement.**

The isolation of Portugal necessarily means also the isolation of South Africa.

### Solidarity with African National Congress (S.A.)

The Liberation Movements in Southern Africa are united in a struggle employing all means to liquidate the colonialist and racist regimes in that part of Africa, pitting against the Caetano-Smith-Vorster alliance the indomitable will of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to be masters of their destinies. **The plenary meeting of the Executive Committee of the MPLA reaffirms its fighting solidarity with the people of South Africa led by ANC**, expresses its confidence that the Zimbabwean militants will restore their unity and continues to support the people of Namibia in their liberation struggle.

The plenary meeting of the Executive Committee of the MPLA expresses its fighting solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China and other peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, fighting international imperialism led by the USA.

**The MPLA** also supports the Afro-American people's struggle to win their rights and also expresses its full support for the progressive Portuguese forces which are continuing to advance their victorious fight against fascism and colonial war.

The plenary meeting also noted an important increase in international solidarity with the Angolan people's struggle.

**CONCP** (Conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese colonies)

The Executive Committee of the MPLA will make every effort together with the sister organisations FRELIMO and PAIGC, to give fresh vigour to the CONCP, making it more effective in the struggle against the common enemy.

The plenary meeting fraternally hails the PAIGC and FRELIMO fighters.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**



# OTHER ANC PUBLICATIONS

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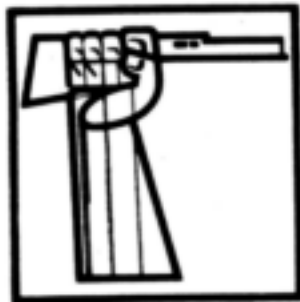
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ANC-ZAPU militants at a flag-raising ceremony at a guerrilla camp in Africa

## THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID!

