

# SECHABA

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## SECHABA

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# THEY WERE MURDERED

Since 1963 when the white South African regime first introduced its detention without trial law, the following Black Africans were murdered by the South African gestapo while in detention and held incommunicado

**Bellington Mampe**, a 90-day detainee, died in Worcester jail in the Western Cape Province on September 1, 1963. He had been awaiting trial on a political charge since April.

**Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle**, died on September 5, 1963, after about three weeks in detention. The police said he was found hanging by a pyjama cord and a jersey, in a cell in Pretoria North police station, 1000 miles away from Cape Town where he lived and had been arrested. Allegations of assaults on detainees were made, and a magistrate who visited Ngudle before he died said he complained of being assaulted. The inquest verdict was suicide with no blame attached to anyone.

**Sipho James Tyita**, was reported to have committed suicide in the Port Elizabeth North End Jail. (Johannesburg *Star*, February 10, 1964) Tyita, who had first appeared in court on October 19, 1963 with 34 men and five women, on sabotage charges, was found hanging by a scarf from one of the bars of his cell window.

**Suliman Salojee**, died after falling seven floors from the Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg on September 9, 1964, two months after his detention. A security policeman, who refused to answer some of the defence questions, denied that Salojee had been assaulted. The magistrate found that Salojee died of multiple injuries after a fall during interrogation. He could not say whether Salojee committed suicide or was trying to escape but said there was nothing in the evidence to suggest assault or other irregularities.

**James Hamakwayo's** death, according to evidence in a "Terrorism Trial", was due to suicide by hanging. He was detained on August 26, 1966, but the date of his death is not known.

**Hangula Shonyeka** was detained in the Pretoria prison under the 180-day detention clause and allegedly committed suicide on October 9, 1966.

**Leong Yum Pin** was detained on November 18, 1966, at the Leeukop Prison and allegedly hanged himself by his shirt on November 19, 1966. At his inquest police said he had been questioned but refused to answer.

**Ah Yan** was found hanging by socks from the water pipe of a shower cubicle in a police cell at Silverton, Pretoria, on January 5, 1967. He was detained on November 30, 1966. The

inquest verdict was suicide by hanging and that nobody was to blame.

**Alpheus Maliba**, one of the 156 accused in the treason trial (1956-1960), all of whom were acquitted, was said by the police to have hanged himself on September 9, 1967, about three weeks after his detention at Louis Trichardt.

**J. B. Tubakwe** died on September 11, 1968, the day after he had been detained. The inquest verdict was suicide by hanging.

**Nicodimus Kgoathe** died on February 2, 1969, after having been in custody since November 7, 1968. He spent two weeks in hospital before his death. A post-mortem showed he died of bronchial pneumonia. The doctor who had him admitted to hospital said at the inquest he found various injuries which he thought were the result of an assault. A police sergeant said that Kgoathe claimed he had been assaulted by the security police during interrogation. Security Police evidence was that the detainee fell while taking a shower. The inquest magistrate said he was unable to conclude that any person was to blame for his death.

**Solomon Modipane** died approximately three days after his arrest on February 25, 1969. There was no inquest. A magistrate endorsed a post-mortem finding that death was due to natural causes. Police spokesmen said he slipped on a piece of soap.

**James Lenkoe**, aged 35, a Lesotho national, and a railway worker, was allegedly found hanging by a belt from the window of his prison cell on March 10, 1969, five days after he had been detained. Traces of copper were found in a wound on his toe. Four pathologists, one of them from the U.S., said that the wound could have been caused by an electric burn. Security police witnesses denied that detainees were given electric shock treatment. The inquest magistrate found that the apparent cause of the death was suicide by hanging, that no one was to blame, and that the allegation that electric shock treatment contributed to his death was not proved.

**Caleb Mayekiso**, prominent trade unionist, died in his cell 18 days after his detention under the Terrorism Act on March 10, 1969. According to the Minister of Police, his death was due to natural causes.

**Michael Shivute's** death was revealed by the Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, in Parliament in February 1970. He said Shivute died by suicide on June



16, 1969, the very night of his detention under the Terrorism Act.

**Jacob Monakgotla's** death was disclosed at the trial of 10 Africans charged under the Terrorism Act. He died on September 9, 1969 – the night before the start of his trial. No inquest was held, but according to police at the trial, his death was due to natural causes. A District surgeon found that he died of thrombosis. During the trial charges under the Terrorism Act were withdrawn against the surviving accused.

**Imam Abdullah Haron**, a prominent Moslem leader and newspaper editor in Cape Town, died in custody on September 27, 1969 after four months in detention. Security police evidence was that the Imam slipped and fell down the last few steps of a flight of stairs after interrogation on September 19. He did not appear to have been hurt, they said, and denied any knowledge of assaults on the Imam. But according to the post-mortem report, the Imam had 26 separate bruises on his body, a blood swelling on his back and a fractured rib. A pathologist who made the report at the inquest said some of the bruises were older than others, and not all could have been caused by the fall. The magistrate found that the Imam died as a result of injuries partly caused by an accidental fall down a flight of steps. He could not say how the other injuries were caused.

**Mthayeni Cuthsela**, an elderly Transkei resident, was detained by Security Police at his kraal on December 21, 1970, and taken to Umtata. In jail he had complained of severe headaches after receiving electric torture. On January 21 a doctor found him to be seriously ill, police said, and he was admitted to hospital where he died soon afterwards "of natural causes". Mr. Cuthsela's son said that when he was taken to the hospital by the police, his father's body was already in a closed, nailed coffin. No inquest has been held.

Indefinite detention in solitary confinement is a severe form of torture which has driven many detainees out of their minds. In cases where the detainees have proved more resistant, the security police have used psychological pressures – threats of prosecution on capital charges, promises of release and protection, threats to detain wives and families of detainees, the conveyance of false information, etc. In other cases they have resorted to outright violence, including physical assaults, electric torture and other forms of bestial and degrading treatment. One of the most effective forms of "interrogation" has been the so-called "standing torture", during which detainees are prevented from sitting down, sleeping or even removing themselves from the presence of their persecutors for the purpose of eating or performing their natural functions, until such time as they collapse.



Mohamed Timol

Ahmed Timol, a Black teacher was detained by the South African police, with scores of others on the night of October 22, 1971. Five days later he was dead. The police allege that he jumped to his death from the tenth floor window of John Vorster's Square – South Africa's Gestapo headquarters in Johannesburg.

Another detainee, Mohamed Essop, a student was taken to hospital after interrogation in a serious condition. **The doctor who carried out the post-mortem examination on Timol privately told friends of finding Timol's fingernails pulled out, his right eye gouged out and his testicles crushed. He also told them that upon Essop's admission to hospital the initial diagnosis he made had been omitted from his card on the instruction of the security police.**

These facts were brought into the open by the Reverend Donald Morton who told his congregation of what he had heard.

### Legal Torture

The so-called Terrorism Act, under which Timol, Essop and others were detained provides for the indefinite detention without trial in solitary confinement of any person suspected of "terrorism" or of having information about "terrorism". No court has the right to intervene and no one – not even the next of kin – has the right of access to a detained person, or entitled to official information about him.

The purpose of this law is to enable the police to use compulsion, psychological and physical, to break down detainees.

The South African Prime Minister John Vorster, who piloted the original 90-day Detention Act through parliament when he was Minister of Justice in 1963, made this abundantly clear when he said:

"It is not a very nice thing to see a

# THESE MURDERS MUST STOP

human being being broken. I have seen it . . . The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for them."

### Protest In South Africa

The death of Timol has sparked a nation-wide reaction of shock and anger and demands for a public inquiry. Support for such an inquiry has come from the broadest possible spectrum of the South African population and includes leaders from the right-wing United Party and all denominations of the churches to the militant Black South African Students Association, the Coloured Labour Party and the Natal Indian Congress.

In Durban, a packed meeting of all races, called for a national day of mourning which was observed on November 10, when very large numbers of Black-owned shops closed and students and school children stayed away from schools.

The anger of the people was summed up by Mr. I. Bhagwandeem, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress when he told the Durban meeting:

**"If we have to pay the final penalty that Ahmed Timol paid, let us pay it".**

Speaking at a prayer meeting in Johannesburg at which 1200 people attended, Mr. Richards a leader of the Coloured Labour Party said:

**"We are all being challenged. It is time for us to stand up and be counted. Are we just going to sit down and pray?"**

**God will not answer my prayers if I don't take positive action."**

All Black-owned shops in Roodepoort where the Timol family live closed as a mark of respect on the day Timol was buried. The funeral was attended by several thousand people. Hundreds of students at Lenasia Nervana Indian School where Timol taught, staged a one-day sit-in. Mass protest meetings were held at the Johannesburg College



of Education and the University of the Witwatersrand.

Five hundred lecturers and staff at the Natal University called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the treatment of detainees.

Protests and demands for an inquiry are continuing to be made all over the country.

### Vorster's Reaction

With characteristic arrogance, Prime Minister Vorster, rejecting the demand for a public inquiry soon after the demand was first made, warned that more arrests will follow. Within a few days his security police obliged by detaining upwards of 40 more people.

The legal representatives of Timol's family were denied access to medical reports at the Inquest into Timol's death and have been forced to take the matter to the Supreme Court for a ruling.

Granting a temporary interdict restraining the police from assaulting Essop, in another court application the Judge, calling for a full investigation said: "all was not well"

Mohamed Timol the brother of the deceased, is also in detention, was not allowed to attend Ahmed's funeral.

### International Pressure

International public opinion has been slow to react against this latest outrage. The external mission of the African National Congress, therefore, urgently calls on all its many supporters and sympathisers to urge their governments through their parliamentary representatives to support our call to the United Nations for:

- The immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations Organisation and all its agencies;

- The adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa until the scourge of apartheid and racial discrimination is wiped out in our country.

Furthermore, we call on all those who detest the White racist regime in South Africa:-

- To contribute towards our fighting fund so that our underground machinery and our fighting forces could be maintained and strengthened.

- To get your organisations, trade unions, students unions, political parties etc.,

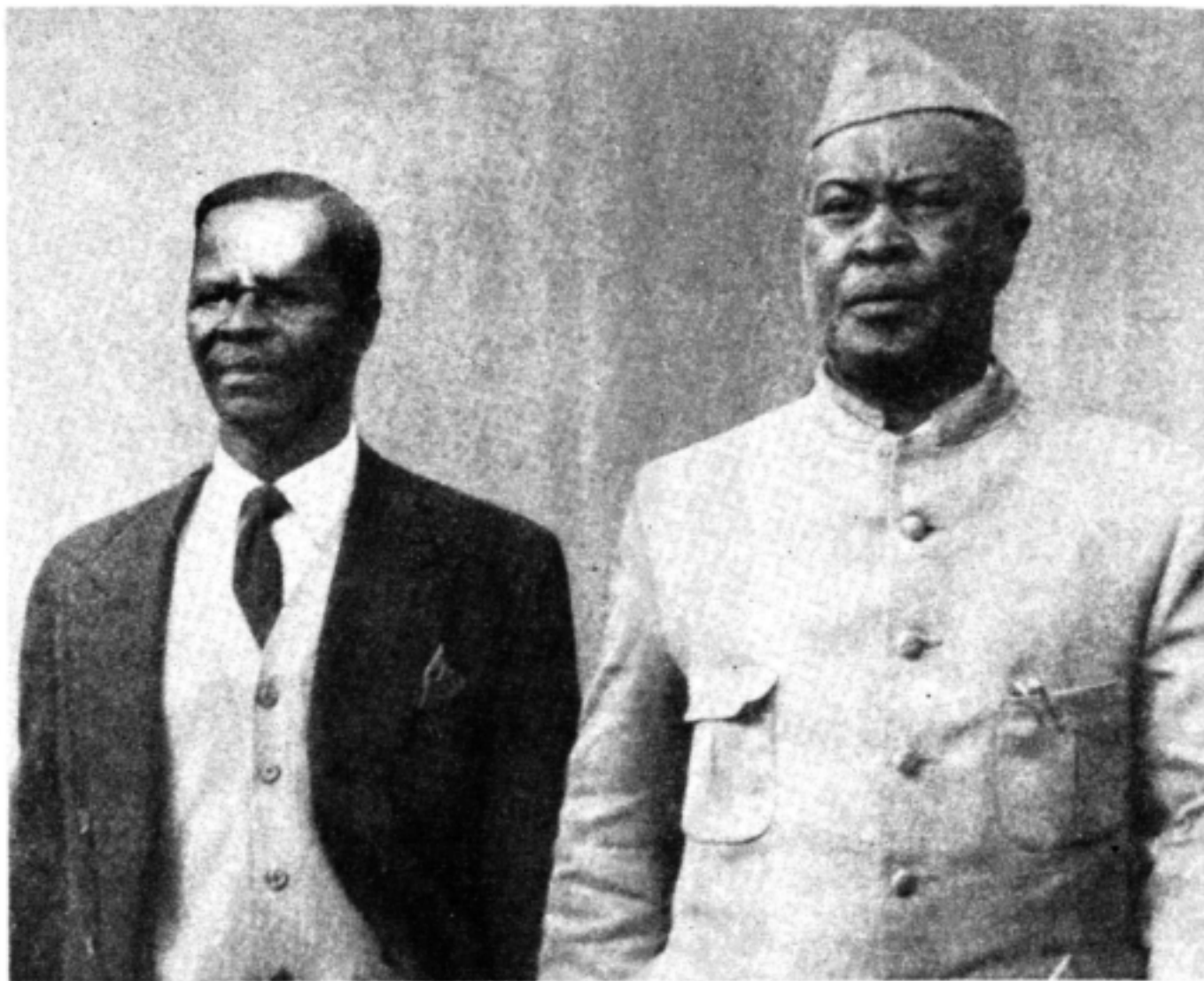
1. To send messages of protest to the government of South Africa;

2. to actively support our call to boycott and isolate white South Africa in every field;

3. demand the release of all political prisoners.

We for our part pledge to avenge the death of Timol and all the others who have been murdered in order to maintain white supremacy in our Motherland.

We shall not allow these murderers to get away with their crimes and shall re-double our efforts to prosecute our struggle inside South Africa. Vorster and his gang will be destroyed!



Tambo and Lutuli

# MOBILISE OUR BLACK POWER

**Statement to the people of South Africa by O.R. Tambo, Acting President of the African National Congress on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe**

Now let us talk of FREEDOM. Everywhere in the world today, the oppressed and exploited masses of people are up in arms. They are fighting against the forces of colonialism and imperialism. They are making great sacrifices to redeem their human dignity and fundamental liberties from the shackles of bondage. They are revolting against oppression, against foreign aggression, against the usurpation of their land; against human degradation. They stand for peace and justice; the clamour for an end to imperialist wars; they yearn for the birth of a new order. And to uphold their convictions they are prepared to pay with their own lives.

These men, women and children whose lives are massacred in the struggle for liberation are in Vietnam, in Laos, in

Khymer, in Thailand; they are in Palestine, in the Sinai Peninsula and other Arab lands under Zionist occupation. There are fierce struggles being waged in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau; there are battles in Zimbabwe and Namibia; in Comoro and other islands in the Indian Ocean. Yes, there is a life and death struggle against United States imperialism and its lackeys throughout the Latin American continent. And in our fatherland - South Africa, the fascist monster of apartheid is resorting to more and more draconian tortures and murders in a vain attempt to extinguish the fires of struggle that are also aflame there.

We call upon all the oppressed and exploited Black masses of the people of South Africa to unite and close



ranks against the apartheid monster.

We call upon the miners deep down in the bowels of the earth; we call upon the labourers in the Boer farms and on farm jails; we call upon the workers in the factories, in the shops, in domestic employ; we call upon the men who keep the railways going, and on those who bear heavy loads at the ports and harbours; we call upon the men who keep the towns and cities clean; we call upon teachers, nurses, doctors, sportsmen; we call upon all working people and peasants throughout the length and breadth of our country to rise and demand the FREEDOM of the Black majority.

## Get Armed

Ten years ago on the 16th December, the first salvoes of our demand shook the enemy. On that day we spoke to the White oppressor in a new way; we blew up the hated symbols of oppression with our homemade bombs. In 1967 we made our voice quite clear in the battlefields of Zimbabwe. There the White oppressor learnt the lesson which we must teach him again and again – that a bullet kills a white man too. And out of the barrels of guns and homemade bombs let us go on showing Vorster and his gestapo that we are determined to smash apartheid; to end racism; and to liberate the oppressed Black people of our country. We are many and the White oppressors are few; our cause is just and white domination is condemned everywhere. The hour to talk Freedom has come. And Freedom means struggle against every form of injustice, against every instrument of oppression – against low wages and high taxes, high rentals, high busfares, high hospital fees, high school fees; it means struggle against the police, against the army against police informers; it means getting yourself armed to resist the apartheid regime.

Resist the apartheid regime in the towns and cities; in the villages and farms; in the factories and mines; in the townships and slums; in the detention camps and jails. Resist the apartheid regime in the Urban Bantu Councils, in the "Bantu", Indian and Coloured Advisory Boards; Yes, even in the Bantustans resist the apartheid regime, for freedom is indivisible. There can be no freedom in those Bantustans, unless it extends to all Black people wherever they live in South Africa. Freedom cannot be confined in Bantustans; just as Hitler could not provide freedom in the ghettos; just as U.S. imperialism

cannot provide freedom nor peace in the hamlets of Vietnam. Refuse to be hoodwinked by empty promises. Fight for freedom throughout our country; smash apartheid and the vile system of racist oppression of the Blacks.

## New Order

The African National Congress of South Africa has remained faithful to the cause of Freedom. It leads the national struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed and exploited Black people. It stands for a new order in South Africa where racism shall be a thing of the past and human dignity and equality shall prevail in the life of our country.

But before that new order shall be born, many lives will be lost. We are ready to meet the challenge. The A.N.C. and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and all revolutionary opponents of the political system represent the unbreakable will and determination of the African people of South Africa to spare no effort or life in order to attain our goal – the total liberation of South Africa from white racist domination and imperialism exploitation. To achieve such a noble goal; to fight for the realisation of such a lofty ideal – no sacrifice could be too great.

It will not be easy to accomplish this task. Initially the white oppressor enjoys land, air and naval power. He is backed by a mighty industrial-military machine whose bedrock is international imperialism. But the same white oppressor has a very soft underbelly. He depends on cheap Black labour to keep the wheels of the economy turning. Let us now mobilise our Black power to liberate ourselves from alien bondage. It is our power that sustains the life in South Africa. Let us fight for Freedom.

Let us arm ourselves with the will-power and fearlessness of Shaka; the endurance and vision of Moshoeshe; the courage and resourcefulness of Sekhukhuni; the tenacity and valour of Hintsa; the military initiative and guerrilla tactics of Maqoma, the far-sightedness and dedication, of S.P. Makgatho, Sol Piatjies, Langalibalele Dube, Isaka ka Seme. W.B. Rubusana, Meshach Pelem, Alfred Mangena, Paramount Chief Letsie II of Lesotho and all founding-fathers of the African National Congress. Let the dream of Moshoeshe who cherished a great alliance of African people to resist their separate conquest come true in

our lifetime. Let us fight for Freedom. The White enemy in South Africa can and must be defeated.

## Our Bedrock is Unshakeable

Our bed-rock is the support of our own Black masses; it is the support of all national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America; it is the support of democratic forces in Europe, Scandinavia, North America; it is the stirring conscience of humanity that is at last echoing from world-wide religious organisations; it is the consistent anti-imperialist support that the entire socialist camp renders to our liberation struggle. Our bed-rock is unshakeable; it is international solidarity that so firmly rejects apartheid and race oppression.

Today, December 16, 1971 we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. This is not a day of festivity. It is a solemn day of rededication to the struggle to liberate our fatherland – South Africa.

This is the day when we pause and re-examine ourselves and our organisation. Are we living up to what is expected of members of a revolutionary and fighting organisation? Is the OATH we took of any meaning and substance to those who swore to fight until freedom is won? We must unite and follow in the footsteps of our martyrs – in the footsteps of the men who fell in the frontline in South Africa and Zimbabwe and in other countries – men such as Molefe, Mini, Khayingo, Mkaba, Bongco, Solwandle, Saloojee, Imam Haroun, Paul Petersen, Patrick Molaoa and yesterday Ahmed Timol. What hope do their children have? What hope do all oppressed Black children have? Let us think of all the patriots languishing in Vorster's dungeons – Mandela, Mbeki, Motsoaledi, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada, Goldberg. Others like Mrs. Florence Matomela, Alpheus Madiba, Caleb Mayekiso were killed in prison. And many more have been killed and continue to die in jail. They go unheralded but confident that we will avenge their death.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the struggle to liberate South Africa and smash the apartheid monster. Let our courage and inspiration spring from those fallen heroes who have already set us a good example on the battlefield.

Eternal glory to the martyrs of freedom! To battle, Comrades, to battle!

**MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE! AFRIKA!!  
TOKOLOHO KA NAKO YA RONA!!  
FREEDOM NOW!!**



# THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT - A WEAPON IN THE BLACK

ANC calls on artists to affirm their stance



Congress militants collecting passes to be burned during an anti pass demonstration

In October 1971, forty-one leading British playwrights re-affirmed that they would refuse 'to allow their plays to be performed in any theatre where discrimination is made among audiences on grounds of colour' - for, in their own words, the following reasons:

**'We believe first that to participate in any way in the operation of the system of apartheid is to connive at it; and, second, that as the boycott of South Africa in culture and in sport now shows signs of success then it should at this point be strengthened, not weakened.'**

Signatories to this statement included John Bowen, David Mercer, Harold Pinter, John Osborne, Edward Bond, Lewis Nkosi, Iris Murdoch, David Caute, John McGrath, J. B. Priestley, John Hale and John Arden - amongst many other important figures in the British theatre.

These writers felt it vital to re-affirm their position at this time, because certain people had recently suggested that the cultural boycott should be reconsidered.

This question first arose in 1968, when Lord Willis, well-known television playwright, issued a statement suggesting that it was time for dramatists to reconsider their attitude to the performance of their plays in South Africa. Lord Willis gave the argument that the boycott was 'doing great harm to the people we most wish to help' and also 'closing the door to the free flow of ideas from abroad'. He proposed that British playwrights should change their minds, allow their plays to be performed before segregated audiences - and donate their royalties to 'one of the coloured artists associations in South Africa'.

## Logic of Next Step

In a powerfully reasoned reply to this, playwright John McGrath pointed out that the plays which would be allowed in would be chiefly those which would provide 'evening's entertainment for the white upper middle class, reflecting and reinforcing their current set of values. They would stimulate nothing but the box office, and the ego of the ruling class.' He went on to suggest that 'the heart of the matter

is that the liberals in the West have at last observed that a boycott alone is not going to be effective. And now they are stuck . . . They are wriggling because they are not prepared to see the logic of the next step. There is no doubt that this is to organize armed resistance.

'Far from allowing it to crumble, we in Britain must reinforce our little ban. Then, if we really care, we must do more. We must support, in every way that we can, the men whom the newspapers call terrorists, but who are, in fact, fighting in the only way now left open - with guns - for freedom and dignity.'

Prophetically (for this was more than three years ago) Mr McGrath concluded his statement with these words:

'And let us hope that Lord Willis's thinking on this subject is not, as one fears it will prove to be, a mere foretaste of the thinking of the British government when Rhodesian sanctions are shown to be "ineffective" and "actually doing great harm to the people we most want to help".'

This is the view of a man who sees the situation as a whole, who does not 'wriggle' when he understands its implications. For the South African regime wages war in many different manners. It wages outright armed terror against the oppressed African people; but, at the same time, it seeks constantly to wage a more insidious war of words for the purpose of ending South Africa's isolation, internationally. In this war it has numerous powerful allies in the West - in the United States, Britain, West Germany and France.

## Fantasy

It can draw to itself allies who are not necessarily identified with all its objectives: such a case is that of the South African playwright, Athol Fugard. The author of thoughtful plays which portray the absurdity and horror of South African society, Athol Fugard can none the less not be considered, as some British writers apparently consider him, as a spokesman for South African Blacks. (We have only to study his recent interview with the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport*, in which he states that 'the future of this country'



# PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE



(South Africa) 'lies in the hands of the Afrikaner'.) It was as a result of Athol Fugard's representations that the British playwright, Arnold Wesker, decided to give him the rights to present his play 'The Kitchen' in South Africa – first before segregated Black audiences, and then before segregated White ones. Justifying this decision in a letter to the Press, Arnold Wesker said, 'I would be proud if, though performed before segregated audiences, my plays inspired thousands of young blacks and whites to walk through the streets of Johannesburg, hand in hand, in defiance of apartheid.

While we believe that the artist certainly has a role to play in the changing of society, we cannot but regard Wesker's statement here as verging on delusory fantasy. Defiance of apartheid, for Africans and their white supporters in South Africa, involves acceptance of a war situation. Just as Africans in Rhodesia desire the maintenance of sanctions, though they suffer from them economically – so in South Africa, the Black people support overseas isolation of the country. In this sense, it is Fugard's position which is one of isolation in terms of the views of the majority of South African anti-apartheid artists.

We have seen this in relation to sport, as well. The responsible Black sporting bodies in South Africa have implacably resisted – even in the face of the offer of substantial bribes from the regime for purposes of developing apartheid sport and sending non-white apartheid teams overseas – all pressures. The situation is identical in regard to the cultural boycott.

The ANC accordingly – on behalf of the South African people who are daily facing imprisonment, torture and death for their resistance to apartheid in all its forms – welcomes the stand of those who affirm and re-affirm their principled position on this vital issue. It calls not for any paternalistic and unrealistic 're-think' of the cultural boycott, but its strengthening and its extension. Recent developments in the field of the film and television, which will be dealt with in a future issue of SECHABA, show that such a call is achieving a powerful response.



Angela Davis 1969

## ANGELA - ON GEORGE JACKSON

Angela Davis faces death in the gas chamber in California on phony charges of murder and kidnapping. In reality she has been charged because of her courageous struggle for Black liberation. In particular she has put her life on the line in support of Johnathan and George Jackson, Ruchell Magee, and the rest of the Soledad Brothers. And now she needs support at her trial, which will be held in the near future.

An enemy bullet has once more brought grief and sadness to Black people and to all who oppose racism and injustice and who love and fight for freedom. On Saturday, August 21, a San Quentin guard's sniper bullet executed George Jackson and wiped out that last modicum of freedom with which he had persevered and resisted so fiercely for eleven years.

Though deprived so long of the freedom of movement enjoyed by his oppressors, even as he died George was far more free than they. Like he lived he died resisting. A Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, George belongs to a very special breed of fallen Black leaders, for his struggle was the most perilous.

He was recognised as a leader of the movement which sought to deepen the political consciousness of Black and Brown prisoners who constitute 30 to 40 percent of California's prison population. His impact on the community outside was and continues to be boundless. George's example of courage in the face of the spectre of summary execution;



his insights honed in the torment of seven years of solitary confinement; his perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds will continue to be a source of inspiration to all our sisters and brothers inside prison walls and outside.

His book, **Soledad Brother**, a stirring chronicle of the development of the highest form of revolutionary fortitude and resistance, serves as a primer to captured brothers and sisters across the world. Equally important, this volume, perhaps more than any other, has given impetus and shaped the direction of the growing support movement outside the prisons.

### Third World People

George, from behind seemingly impenetrable walls, has placed the issue of the prison struggle squarely on the agenda of the people's movement for revolutionary change. His book reveals indivisible nature of the struggle on the outside of the prison system with the one inside. Whether in prison or not, Black and Third World people are the victims and targets of a common system of oppression and exploitation. Only the methods used are different.

The prevailing conditions of race and class exploitation invariably result in the captivity of a disproportionate number of Black and Third World people. Our brothers and sisters are usually locked up for crimes they did not commit, or for crimes against property – crimes for which white youths receive prosecutorial, judicial, and penal leniency.

George himself was an 18-year-old man-child when he was sentenced to serve from one to life for a robbery involving \$75 – one to life – or eleven years' enslavement and sudden death. Through George's life and the lives of thousands of other brothers and sisters, the absolute necessity for extending the struggle of Black and Third World people into the prison system itself become unmistakably clear.

The legacy left us by George and his dead brother, Jon, means that we must strengthen the mass movement which alone is capable of freeing all of our brothers and sisters in prisons. We know that the road to freedom has always been stalked by death. George knew that the price of his intense revolutionary commitment was having to live each day fighting off potential death blows. He had repeatedly seen death used as a standard reprisal for blacks who "stepped out of line". In January of 1970, he had seen his brother prisoners, Nolan, Miller, and Edwards, warrantlessly and viciously murdered in the Soledad Prison yard. In **Soledad Brother**, George graphically told of the manner in which he had learned to thwart the many past attempts to murder him.

George Jackson



Ruchel Magee



Angela Davis 1970



### New Terrorism

The dimensions of the task which lie ahead of us are clearer now, but the price of our new vision has been the death of two brilliant and brave revolutionaries, brothers in blood. Associate Warden Park promises us that the new wave of repression which has been unleashed within San Quentin will not halt with George's death. Rather, he has ushered in new terrorism by openly inviting guards to make a show of force and fully exhaust their vengeance on the prisoners themselves. Efforts to squelch revolutionary prison activity will not stop with one murder Park tells us, but will continue until San Quentin is purged of all revolutionaries and every revolutionary thought.

The newspaper of George's party, the Black Panther Party, is hereafter forbidden within San Quentin's walls. "Old-fashion prison methods," namely raw brutality, without its cosmetic dressings, is officially the new regime. Brother Ruchel Magee, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Clutchette are identified targets: others in the so-called Adjustment Centre who have taken sides are equally in danger.

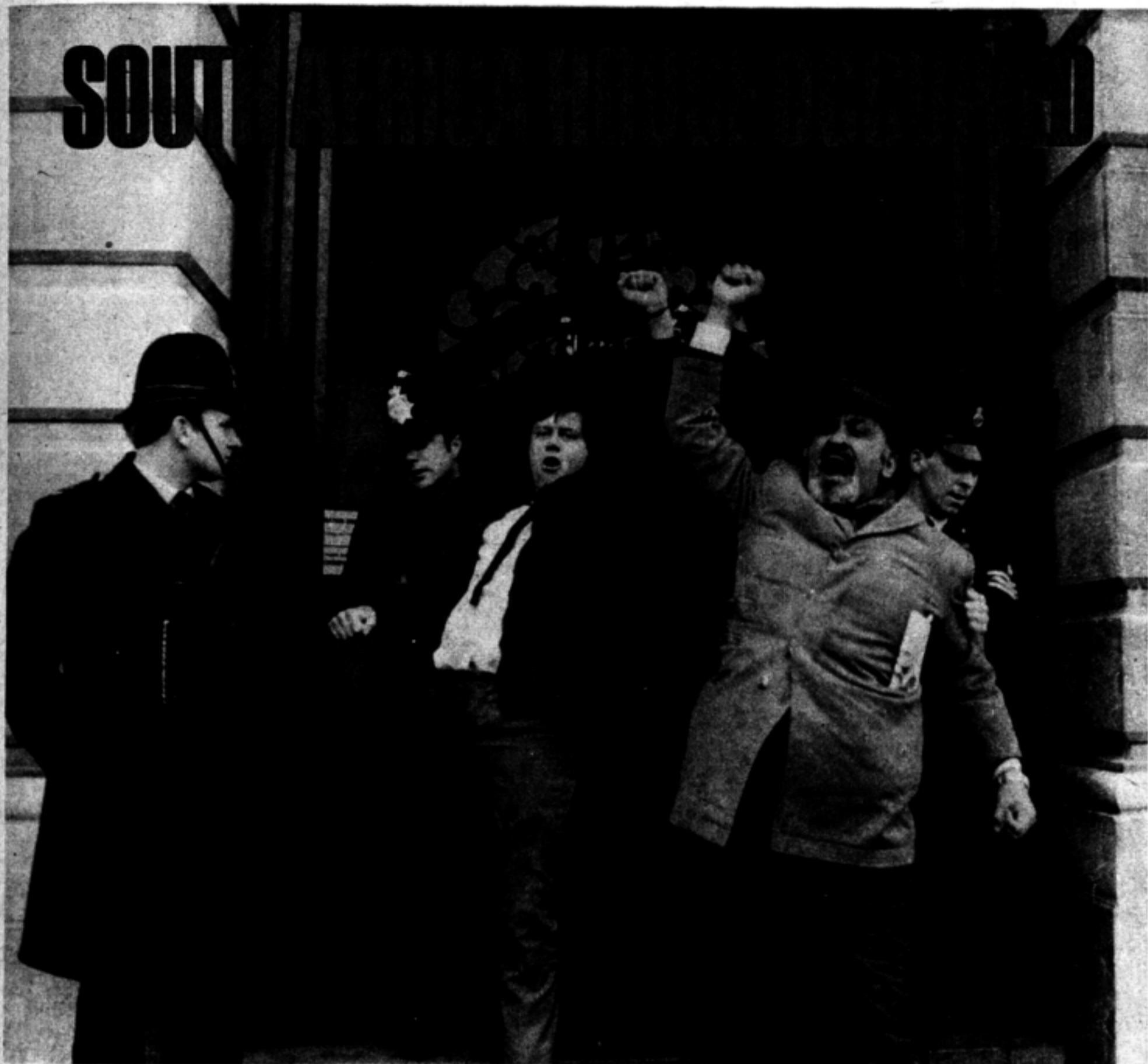
### I'll Crawl Back

Our responsibility extends to all these brothers upon whom war has been declared – the people must secure their safety, and ultimately their freedom. Prison authorities seek only to cover up their own murderous crimes by attempting to initiate new frameups. These efforts must be swiftly and forcefully countered.

The Jackson family must be saluted. Their grief is deep. In little more than a year two of their sons, George and Jonathan, were felled by fascist bullets. I express my love to Georgie and Robert Jackson, Penny, Frances and Delora. For me, George's death has meant the loss of a comrade and revolutionary leader, but also the loss of an irretrievable love. This love is so agonizingly personal as to be indescribable. I can only say that in continuing to love him, I will try my best to express that love in the way he would have wanted – by reaffirming my determination to fight for the cause George died defending. With his example before me, my tears and grief are rage at the system responsible for his murder. He wrote his epitaph when he said:

**Hurl me into the next existence, the descent into hell won't turn me. I'll crawl back to dog his trail forever. They won't defeat my revenge, never, never. I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undamned. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble.**





South African exiles, Barry Higgs (left) and James Phillips, being forced to leave South Africa House in London after it had been occupied for about an hour by about thirty former South African political prisoners and exiles, recently. The group was accompanied by a batch of British supporters. The demonstration was in solidarity with detainees in South Africa and especially in protest against the murder of Ahmed Timol by the Special Branch (See pages 2, 3, and 4).

On the afternoon of the action, the demonstrators moved into South Africa House in twos and threes pretending they were seeking information from various departments. At a signal they squatted in the entrance hall and chanted slogans against police brutality in South Africa. The lights went out and frantic officials began dashing about for instructions. The protestors broke into song determined to sit it out.

On the gallery above them numerous members of the staff began to gather. Work in the building came to

complete standstill. After a while those on the gallery began to spit on the demonstrators and one of the clerks poured a bucket of water on them.

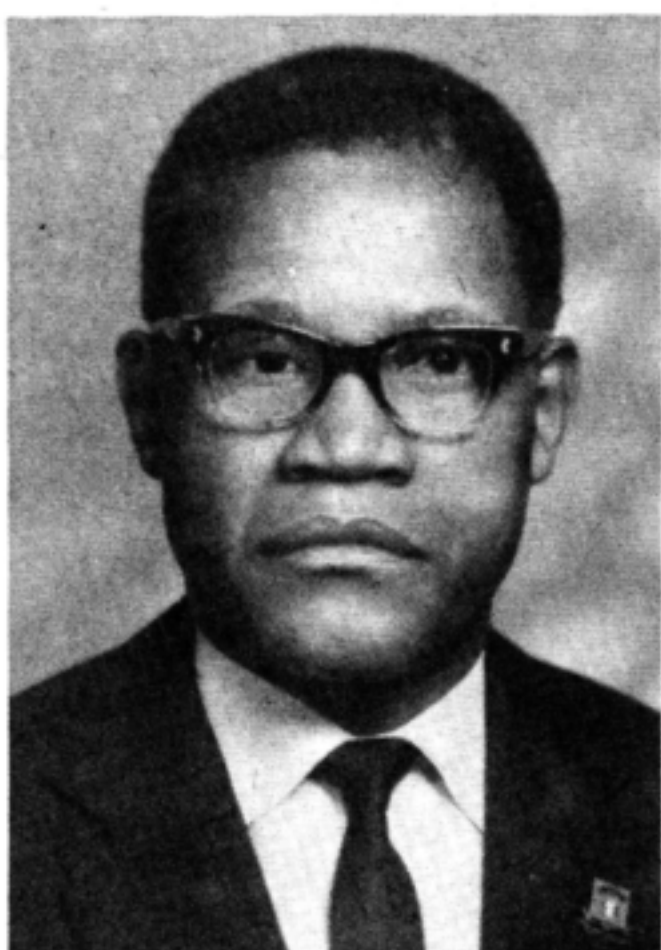
After a long while, British collaboration with Apartheid was emphasised, when the doors were flung open and a squad of British police came in. They surrounded the group and lifted, dragged and forced them out of the building one by one.

Outside another group of demonstrators were holding banners and shouting support. A crowd gathered to watch the events while embarrassed South Africa House officials slunk inside.

The demonstration was widely reported in the British Press and has now been followed up by a series of stories on deaths in detention in South African prisons.

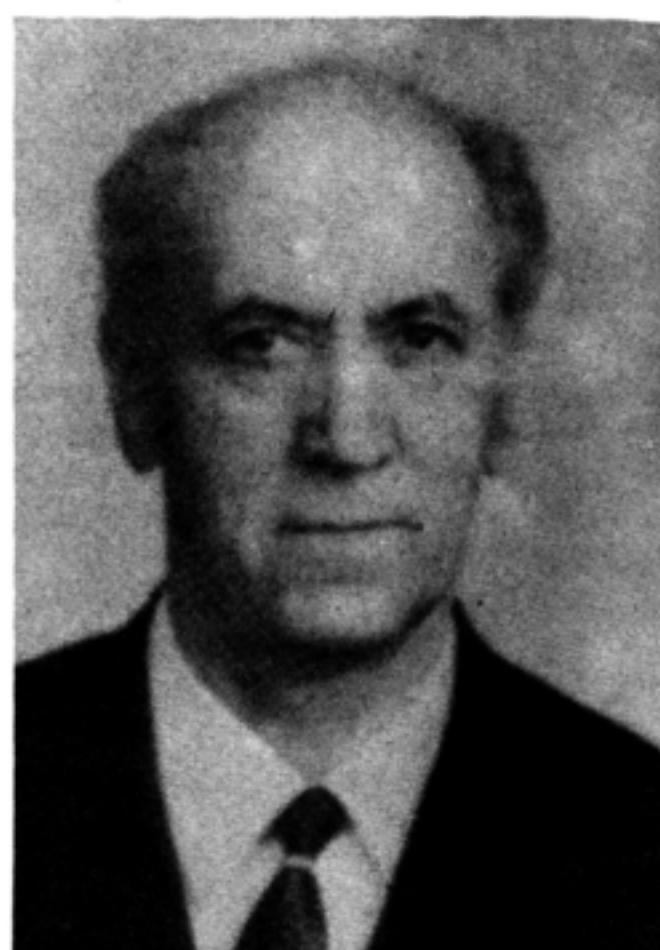
A widespread active campaign on torture in detention is a crying need at present. The spotlight of world anti-apartheid opinion must be focussed on this, the most horrifying aspect of Vorster's rule.





**John Gaetsewe of SACTU**

# SACTU - CGT Communique



**Louis Saillant, Secretary General CGT**

At the invitation of the French Confederation of Trade Unions (C.G.T.) The South African Congress of Trade Unions visited France from 11th to 16th October 1971. The SACTU delegation, composed of comrades:

**John Gaetsewe**, member of the national management Committee of SACTU and **James Phillips**, member of the external mission of SACTU, had important talks with a CGT delegation.

During its stay, the delegation made contact with militants of the CGT Federations of State and Metallurgical workers. It met the local CGT unions of Seine-Maritime, la Manche and Seine St. Denis.

The SACTU delegation revealed the problems created by racial discrimination in South Africa, and denounced the odious system of apartheid (separate development) which is pursued vigorously by Vorster's racist, pro-fascist government, before journalists during a press conference organised by the CGT.

The SACTU delegation noted the struggles in pursuance of claims led by the CGT for the improvement of living and working conditions of French workers; it wished new successes for the CGT in its actions in defence of the interests of the working class in France.

SACTU, which has always appreciated and saluted the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the CGT, considers that the solidarity which it shows with the workers and people of South Africa for its liberation, contributes, to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggle of the workers in the world.

The CGT has informed the SACTU de-

legation of actions taken to denounce the attitude of the French government which, in violation of UN resolutions, maintains economic and commercial relations with Vorster's racist government; it continues to deliver arms of all kinds, allowing it to maintain its dictatorship over the African population and other groups of non-European origin in the Republic of South Africa.

The French monopolies because of class interests are supporting the South African government which maintains the shameful system of apartheid over millions of Africans in South Africa; this government also aims at extending its imperialist power in several countries of Southern Africa. The racists of Pretoria contribute through their aggressive policies to strengthening Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

The CGT and SACTU denounce the actions of the majority of governments of capitalist countries and certain African governments which, in violation of the UN and of various specialised international bodies, such as the ILO, give assistance to the racist Pretoria government. The two organisations consider that the whole world community must build up its pressure through multiple initiative on the racist South African government in order that the Africans and people of all races may enjoy freedom and basic human rights in that part of the African continent.

They congratulate each other on the development of the world protest which is expressed particularly in all the international trade union centres to condemn the apartheid system.

In the framework of the international

year of struggle against racism and racial discrimination, they support all efforts towards developing a united struggle and in particular the proposal for an international trade union conference against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid, with which the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour are in agreement. They call on all trade union organisations to support such a conference. The visit which SACTU has made to France at the invitation of the CGT has made possible better information on these questions, and will contribute to the development of French working class actions against racism and apartheid in South Africa.

The CGT has assured the SACTU delegation of its active solidarity in its struggle for the rights of African workers in South Africa, for their freedoms and human rights, against Vorster's pro-fascist regime.

The CGT and SACTU in their common anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle extend their solidarity to workers and peoples struggling for their liberation and national independence, in Indo-China, in the Arab countries, and in the other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The CGT and SACTU consider the visit made by a SACTU delegation to France as an important contribution to the struggle of the workers of the world against racism, for the freedom of peoples, the rights of workers, social progress, and world peace.

**Paris 16 October 1971**

Signed For the CGT

**Louis Saillant**

For SACTU

**John Gaetsewe**



# WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID

## Extracts from a memorandum by O.A.U. calling for an international conference on Southern Africa

The struggle of the people of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the territories under Portuguese domination and of other colonial peoples for freedom and dignity have been universally recognised as legitimate struggles deserving the support of the International community.

These struggles have been bitter and prolonged, and have resulted in extreme hardships because of the intransigence and brutality of the oppressors, who have used their military and economic power for denying the right of African people and have continued to receive assistance in various forms from their allies and from certain powerful economic and financial interests. Bloody colonial wars are being conducted by Portugal in African territories, and ever more repressive measures are being implemented by the Vorster and Smith regimes against the African peoples and all opponents of racism. The Organisation of African Unity has pledged from its inception full support to the Movements struggling for freedom in Africa.

The United Nations has repeatedly, and by overwhelming majorities, recognised the legitimacy of these struggles and appealed for moral, political and material assistance to the Liberation Movements through the OAU.

While the African States have established an African Liberation Fund for support to the Liberation Movements, the OAU has also welcomed support from outside Africa, bearing in mind that these struggles are of concern to all humanity. The OAU has commended the assistance given by the Socia-

list States and certain Asian and Latin American States to the Liberation Movements.

The OAU has been heartened by the recent contributions made by Nordic countries, and by the World Council of Churches and a number of church, trade union and other organisations to the Movements struggling against colonialism and Apartheid.

In order to facilitate and encourage widest support from all sources, the OAU has decided to organise a World Conference for support of Victims of Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (provisional title) which was originally planned to be held during 1971 as this happens to be the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. However, in order to allow for the maximum of planning and in order to provide for a conference that would give more than customary speeches and resolutions on the question of southern Africa, it was decided to propose the holding of the Conference in May 1972.

### Purpose of the Conference

The main purpose of the Conference is to formulate a strategy to be implemented by the OAU and the United Nations and its specialised agencies as well as by individual governments in regard to Southern Africa, this strategy to be a concrete programme for coordinated and effective assistance to the Liberation Movements; to study the implementation, or the lack of it, and the possibilities for the implementation of the various resolutions passed in regard to Southern Africa by the OAU, the United Nations and the va-

rious UN specialised agencies; and, finally, to alleviate, what appears to be a current risk of forgetting the problems in Southern Africa, particularly in view of the call by the South African racist government for dialogue with African states.

### Location and Timing

For practical reasons as well as in order to achieve maximum political influence of the relevant organisations and governments, the OAU wishes to hold the Conference in Europe. For obvious political reasons they would wish to have the Conference in Scandinavia and therefore Oslo has been proposed as a site. It is proposed to hold the Conference just prior to the Environment Conference in Stockholm which is suitable from the point of view that considerable attention from the press and the public will already be directed towards Scandinavia at that point in time and that, in certain instances, delegates could possibly be the same. Finally, it is hoped that it will be possible to obtain UN assistance, possibly in the form of interpreters, who could then perhaps be used at both Conferences. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Conference be held between the 20th May and the 27th May 1972.

### Central Organisation

It is proposed to establish a Preparatory Committee, consisting of the OAU, the United Nations etc. It has proposed that the Preparatory Committee holds its first meeting in either Copenhagen or Helsinki towards the end of November 1971 in order to draw up the final programme for the Conference to discuss the participation, the invitations, the working documents, etc.

It is estimated that the number of delegates will be around 200. It is proposed that the Conference will work on two levels: firstly, in a plenary form throughout the week where each day there will be a couple of key speakers presenting the various issues; concurrently with the plenary session two commissions selected in advance, will be working, one on the political and military aspects and one on the social and economic aspects. The commissions will be responsible for presenting, in stages, the concrete proposals resulting from their work which, together, will form the documents meeting the four earlier outlined objectives of the Conference. The plenary sessions will be open to the press. It is expected that this conference will be opened by such outstanding figures as President Ould Daddah, President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr. U Thant, Mr. Diallo Telli, etc.



# ZIMBABWE WILL BE FREE!

Britain sold out the Black majority in Rhodesia on the day the White regime of Smith declared UDI in 1965. What Douglas Home did when he met Smith recently was to legalise the sell-out. This is exactly what Britain did in South Africa in 1910, when she handed over the Country to the white minority. The so-called entrenched clauses put into the 1910 agreement to hoodwink public opinion into believing that some of the meagre rights of the Black people was being safeguarded, no longer remain in the Republic's constitution. We are aware that the fraudulent "five principles" around which the present agreement was concluded will suffer a similar fate. In fact, Smith answering a British T.V. reporter's question as to when he expected to see majority rule in Rhodesia arrogantly laughed off the questioner.

However, no agreement between White oppressors can bring freedom to the people of Zimbabwe, and the Black masses know this well. Chief Rikayi Tongwenwa and his people have already shown their determination to fight back



Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU's dynamic President addressing a meeting in Salisbury before his departure



U.S. and U.K. delegates at United Nations vote killing an Afro Asian Resolution on Zimbabwe

Smith's police in a raid on African homes



Chief Tongwenwa with his people



This is Smith's democracy



Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters



when they were forced to move out of their lands recently. Even though their homes were bulldozed to the ground and the people driven off by force of arms, they returned, rebuilt their homes and are, at the time this article was written, ploughing their fields. This is the form of struggle one is going to witness in Zimbabwe from now on. Added to this the world will witness many more guerilla attacks against the forces of white supremacy as in 1967, when the combined forces of ZAPU and ANC routed many units of the South African and Rhodesian armies operating in Wankie, Sipolilo and elsewhere.

We, Zimbabweans will fight to the bitter end. We shall fight until Joshua Nkomo, the undisputed leader of the majority of the people takes his rightful place as head of state in a Free Zimbabwe. Long Live the People of Zimbabwe!

Albert Ndingah



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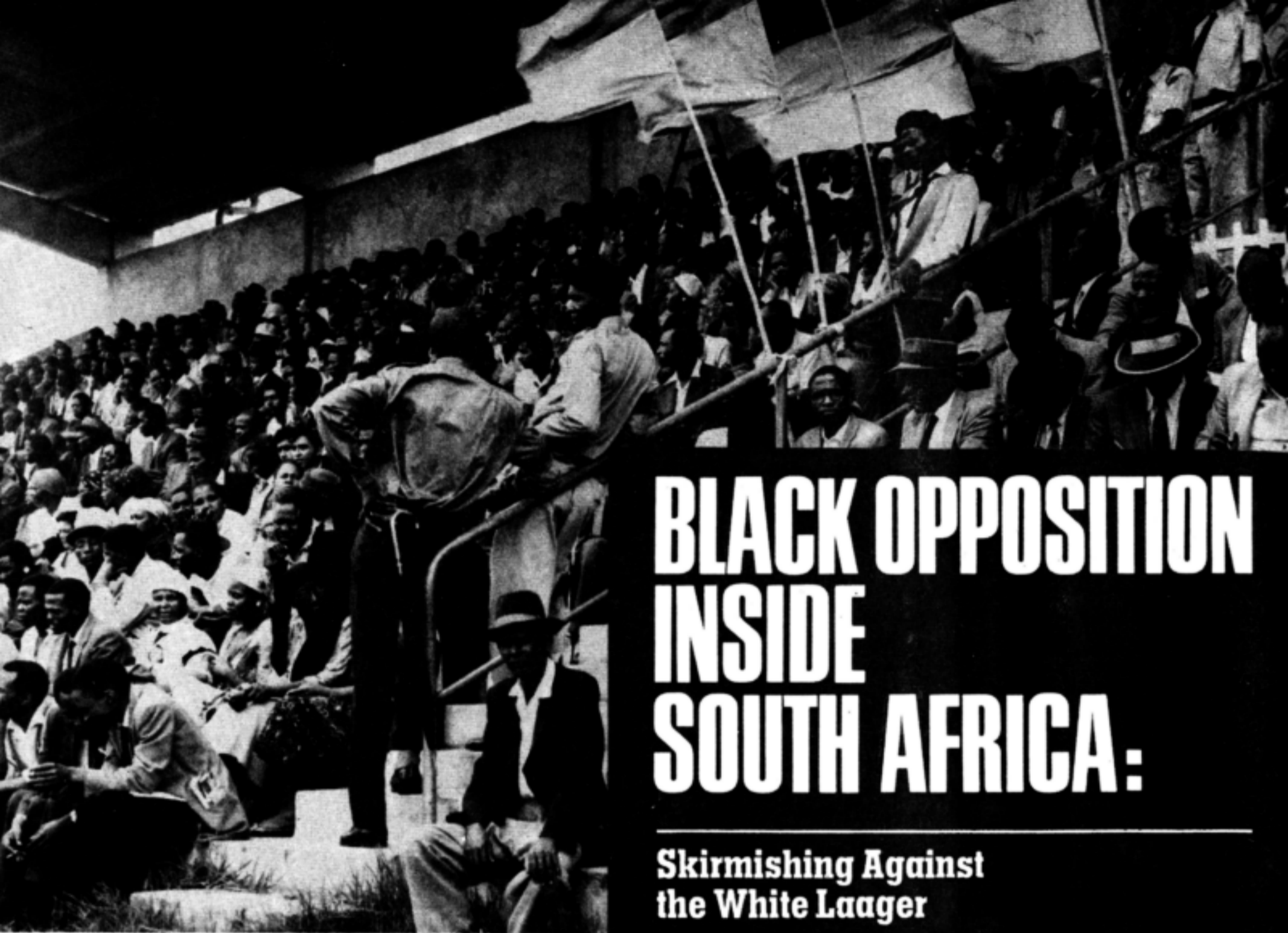
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# BLACK OPPOSITION INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

## Skirmishing Against the White Laager

Assailed by the harrying activities of the underground African National Congress, infuriated by the regular spates of propaganda leaflets calling upon the people to defy the white rulers, the racist authorities have recently engaged in increased terror against the forces determined to rally the people for major onslaughts against the barricades of Vorster's laager already bristling with unlimited arms and bolstered with reams of enactments giving the reign of terror increased cover from which to fire its bloodletting volleys. In spite of the enemy's heavy armour of arrests, detentions, bannings and murder, the people of South Africa continue to summon every effort, big or small, to openly defy the bastions of white privilege, white superiority, all forms of racism and apartheid from the fox-holes of social life, religion or politics.

Clearly the A.N.C. call to harrass the enemy, to give him no rest, is being manifested over and over again by the hardpressed Blacks, in spite of the recurrent sorties of the Special Branch.

From the cancellation of the Miss Africa South beauty contest, to the demand for a Black cardinal, from the breaking of school windows by irate scholars to the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, South Africa's oppressed Blacks continue to skirmish against the laager of white domination in its various forms.

A Mr. Harry Solarsh, Johannesburg businessman, hastily cancelled the display of curvaceous Black beauties for the international cattle market held in London last year after the racist Miss Africa South contest came under fire. Mr. Solarsh announced that a reason for cancelling the contest was the large number of telephone threats he had received.

### Black Cardinal

A group of twelve African Roman Catholics, including three priests, disrupted proceedings at the South African Catholic Bishops Conference in Pretoria, when they marched into the conference room with placards and presented a memorandum demanding the appointment of a Black Cardinal. These are but two minor incidents of the general skirmishing against all forms of white privilege, but sandwiched in between them are several signs of serious open opposition developing among the Non-White peoples, defying the status quo and pressing their demands for fundamental changes. The outlawing of political organisations of the people seems to have done little to deter the suffering Blacks from continuing to make their voices heard above the dire threats and brutal sallies against them. The South African press last year reported many incidents of defiance, both sullen and vociferous, from the persecuted people.

At the beginning of the year the chief of the Batlhaping tribe from Majeng Reserve was detained together with five of his men for opposing the removal of his people from their land. Members of the tribe had refused to move and the day before the scheduled transport of the 433 families, the usual dawn raid took place and the leaders of the resistance arrested. "We don't want to move", said Chief Israel Mokate, this time of a tribe living near Potchefstroom. He said the tribe rejected the land forced on them, 160 km. away in the Tswana homeland, because "it holds no future for us, our children and livestock."

Around Harrismith, Orange Free State, the police had to be



called out while bulldozers razed the houses of 1200 people who had refused to leave the location. The police came with sten-guns while the bulldozers crunched into the houses while the angry families sat among their possessions. A Harrismith hotelier said then, "I am worried about all the police activity. If it sparks off trouble we Whites are badly outnumbered."

All over South Africa Black people are being uprooted under the government's so-called resettlement schemes and "Homelands" policy, and there is no doubt that the transported people simmer with resentment, and treat with scepticism and suspicion those among them who see anything good in the implementation of Vorster's racist programmes.

## Derisive

Thus the praise of the Government's policy of "separate development" by Chief P. R. Mphephu, Chief Councillor of the Venda Territorial Authority, was met with derisive laughter from a host of his followers in the very presence of Vorster himself. Vorster had come to Sibasa to pay a courtesy call on the leaders of the Venda "homeland" and there were raised eyebrows when Chief Mphephu said his people appreciated what the Government was doing and would do for them in the future. There were murmurs of shock from the audience when Chief Mphephu said his people were going to help the Government fight "terrorists" whom he described as troublemakers.

So even within the framework of the laager's own sham institutions for the Non-Whites, all is not well. Rumbblings from those outposts of the white fortress, the "Bantu parliaments", out of the mouths of Chiefs and subjects, in the offices of petty officials and the ranks of Black labour everywhere the tremors of discontent and opposition is felt.

## Retrogressive

Last October a Councillor David N. Thebehali, newly-elected chairman of the Soweto (Johannesburg) Education and Health Committee, sullenly proclaimed that while he accepted Bantu education, he rejected the mother tongue medium of instruction as retrogressive. This medium was retrogressive and could not prepare Blacks to meet the challenge of the world of computers and technology. "As a parent I cannot assist my child with arithmetic problems in my own language. It is unfortunate that the Department of Bantu Education, without the approval of the Blacks, instituted ethnic school boards in a 'cosmopolitan' area as Sowete. It is a political weapon maintaining Blacks under subjection."

Earlier Mr. Rampona whose trade union represents 110,000 workers attacked the Government's Wage Board for making decisions which condemned tens of thousands of African families to living standards far below the poverty line. He said there was absolutely no doubt that the wages fixed by the Wage Board were unrealistic and took no account of the continued rise in living costs. A recent wage agreement had left the vast majority of the 110,000 workers with wages which fell far below the £37.50-a-month minimum needed by an African family. The Board at times even fixed wages substantially below those actually paid in a particular industry.

## The Youth

Let us not leave out the youth. Black scholars and students have time and again sallied forth against the white authorities in school and university. In the Transkei, model and the

first case of "separate development", there have been rumbblings not only from the Black benches of the apartheid "parliament", but in the schoolgrounds the young people have made more than hansard-recorded demands for more **lebensraum**.

For example, more than fifty scholars from the Ndamase High School near Umtata, the "capital", were sent home after they had threatened to strike. One evening girls at the school hostel broke several windows and the boys said they would support them if they went on strike. This had been the third disturbance in the area over 14 days. 80 pupils from St. John College had been arrested on charges of public violence. On the broader scale the flag of Black Power has already been hoisted. Militant Black students, seeing no future in cooperation with White counterparts, and Whites in general, under the apartheid conditions which infest every corner of society, have started to rally under the aegis of the South African Students Organisations.

## South African Students Organisation

Addressing the National Union of Students in Britain, they informed the British body, that "SASO also decided to limit contact with white organisations to a minimum in the belief that they were of little relevance to Black students and Black people in general. We are happy to report that SASO is receiving growing support among Black students in South Africa and can claim to speak for the overwhelming majority of them." In 1970 they withdrew their recognition of NUSAS, National Union of South African Students, thus virtually breaking links with White student opinion no matter how well-meaning. The leadership in NUSAS were forced into a certain amount of soul searching, having attempted to represent a multi-racial front in the student world, albeit with the acceptance of certain discriminatory situations arising out of university life in South Africa and the reservations of liberalism. From NUSAS sources came the alarms that, "certainly the danger exists that black separatism will follow the same path as Afrikaner separation-and by placing the exclusive interests of one group above those of others, establish a domination resting on discrimination and denial of common humanity." But for better or for worse, it would seem that the Black student has decided against the equality between the horse and the rider.

So the young generation, seeing no future in parleying with Whites, are entering the field to rally as many as possible and in every corner of Black grouping.

## Indian Congress

Black races should unite and once consolidated would be a force to be reckoned with. These were the words of Keith Mokoape, President of the SRC at the University of Natal's Black section. Amid chants of "Black Power" he said that the black people have no meaningful voice but instead had "dummy" platforms from which the Whites claimed they could negotiate their freedom in separate entities. "This obviously is undiluted arrogance, typical of White society," Mr Mokoape said. He was addressing a meeting in Durban protesting against the housearrest of Mr. Mewa Ramgobin of the Natal Indian Congress. Mr. Mewa Ramgobin had been one of the figures behind the revival of the NIC onto its feet again. Much battered and harrassed over the past years by imprisonment, bannings, house-arrests, the Indian community of Natal once more entered the arena against the Government.

The NIC's conference was opened at Phoenix, Natal, by Mrs. N. Luthuli, wife of the late Chief Luthuli, President of the banned African National Congress. This in itself was



an act of defiance by the new leadership of the NIC.

Vorster of course acted quickly and in the usual heavy-handed manner, by banning Mr. Ramgobin as well as placing him under house-arrest.

The NIC conference was an exciting one nevertheless, and full of the Spirit of defiance that is seeping through the oppressed South African people in spite of setbacks in the past.

Present were what the newspapers called "Young black militants" and said that "Most of the young wing wanted a Blacks only movement because they regarded all Whites as active or passive supporters of Government policy." Their spirit of revolt against the Whites was demonstrated by everything they proclaimed, from excluding Whites from the anti racist orbit to the creation of "a Black God, a Black fighting God that is against racialism."

Mrs. Ela Ramgobin, wife of the banned leader, filled her husband's place.

Mr. C. Sewpersadh, chairman of the ad hoc Committee, speaking at the conference said, "Although the Congress had the tag of 'Indian' to it, Congress did not forget its responsibilities towards other sections of the people." The idea of freedom and democracy transcends any physical separation; no one group can claim a monopoly of this idea; nor can one group appropriate for itself what belongs to the whole of mankind."

"After a decade of inactivity during which the powers have further entrenched themselves, many of the people were suspicious of the new movement," Dr. D. Naidoo, secretary of the ad hoc committee said. He went on to say that, "Many have shown a great zeal and enthusiasm for an organisation that gives them a forum to expose their ideas and beliefs--a forum to continue the struggle for freedom." Despite the ban on Mr. Ramgobin and a strong force of Security police, hundreds of people turned up to hear Mrs. Nokukhanya Luthuli open this first convention of the NIC. The main resolution for the revival of Congress and the staging of conference was unanimous.

Outside of these Congress activities, the Indian opposition also gathered itself to join in the nationwide protests against detentions and the deaths of people in the cells of the terrorist Security Police. In spite of the continued intimidation, voices were heard loud and clear, and even from the ranks of the Government's rigged South African Indian Council, the chairman of its executive committee, added to the protest.

On other fronts the Indian community has been assailing the racists edifice, albeit with strong words rather than deeds. Newspapers catering for the Asian readership are dotted with all kinds of protests, criticisms, attacks. Here a headline says, "Homeland Plan for Indians is Rejected," there an indignant letter growls, "Damn this oppression". Students at the segregated Indian University planned to publish their newspaper in spite of a ban by the authorities. When the paper was rejected by the University Authorities, students appeared on the campus wearing black armbands. During the White celebrations of the racist Republic, ten students of the University of Durban-Westville were cautioned and discharged when they appeared before the disciplinary committee for allegedly distributing anti-Republic Day leaflets.

On the sports beat, a meeting in Durban of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation which has about 20,000 players under its control decided to ask its members not to support all-White soccer. Blacks, by attending racial soccer games, were lending their support to apartheid they stated.

### **Coloured Community Active**

While this article was being written, down at Port Elizabeth's Gelvendale, thousands of Coloured people were still

boycotting the buses in protest against increased fares. This after police gunfire had wounded five of their number after a protest meeting stormed the local police station when incensed by intimidation of their meeting. Thirteen people had been prosecuted after the affair. The people turned out in black mourning to draw attention to "the loss of rights of the Coloured people."

Mr. Don Cairncross, treasurer of the action committee of the bus boycott was fired by Lennon Laboratories, his employers, for his involvement in the campaign. He said he had known for some time that his employers looked askance at his political activities.

Further along the Coloured front, the Representative Council, another of the Government's apartheid outposts designed to make the people co-operate with apartheid, has come into a shaky period. First those who voted returned the antiapartheid Labour Party when the elections for this body was held.

Now the leader of that Party has been calling for the whole kit and caboodle to be dissolved. "We have been promised extended rights, greater freedom, and a move towards greater political and economic fulfillment," said an irked Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the "opposition" in the Coloured people's sham "parliament." Yet what is going on now in the Cape Provincial Council represents a further deprivation of our rights." He was referring to the ordinance to remove the Coloured people from the municipal voters roll. "The Coloured people had lost all confidence in the council. The council has become a complete farce."

He added further, "We have always stated our policy of non-violence. Nevertheless we warn South Africa our people are beginning to show signs of taking the law into their own hands."

Thus when the 1971 "session" of the CPRC was opened, the Labour Party stayed away. In fact, last year all opposition members, except one, had stayed away too when Vorster himself, as high panjandrum of all stooge bodies, African or Coloured, had performed the official opening. In fact, the CPRC got into worse trouble when the pro-government Federal Party lost its slender majority in the Council due to the resignation of a Mr. Solly Essop. This gentleman got fed up with supporting the Government appointed "majority" Party because he discovered that "the Federal Party's interests ended at the Hex River mountains."

These grumblings in the institution set up by the Government to create a Coloured pro-apartheid showcase, can only demonstrate to the Coloured voters what participation in the sham elections was meant to show--that institutions catering for the acceptance of apartheid cannot gain freedom from apartheid for them. Indeed, every front against the White regime, whether inside the government institutions of Bantustans, Territorial Councils, Indian Councils, Coloured Councils and Management Boards, or outside these on the bus routes or in the conference halls, are signs that the South African people have not ceased to oppose the racist authorities, the retention of White privilege, the displays of White arrogance, the humbug of separate development and the present power of fascism. Opposition in one form or another stud the South African scene like currants in a bun. What all these activities will inevitably gain for the oppressed people is a greater experience in renewed political activity and understanding, heightened consciousness of the fact that in the final analysis these skirmishes against the White laager must lead to a final assault that will bring down its walls. But as the laager bristles with its weaponry, terror and metal, the people's mass activity must one day be reinforced with equal or superior firepower that will gain for them the freedom they demand.

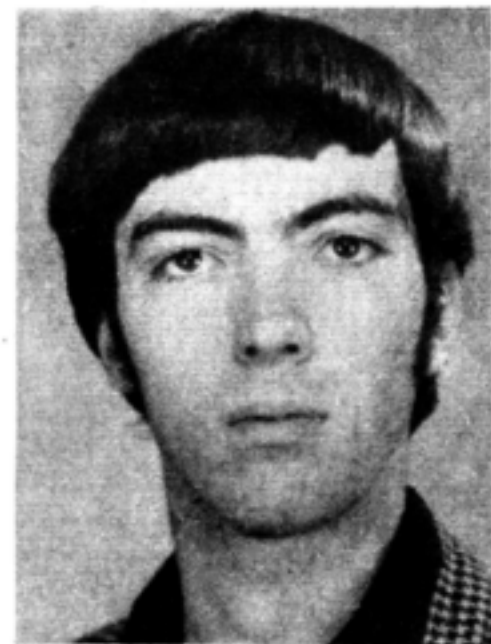


# AUSTRALIA:

## Rugby Springboks and After

BY: MICHAEL LITTLE

(Mr. Little, a third year Arts Student, formerly from East Africa, is President of the Monash African-Australian Association, convenor of the University Branch of the Anti-Racist Movement and is a member of the Victorian Committee of the ARM)



Michael Little

The story of the Springbok sporting tours of Australia is one of the best illustrations of the lengths to which apartheid's supporter will go in their campaign to keep the South African regime respectable and secure in the modern world. But even these seemingly invincible barriers could be overcome, and the way is now open for battles against apartheid on new fronts.

It is too easy to say that because the Springbok tours of Australia followed the same sequence as in Britain (i. e. rugby, then cricket), it was inevitable that the cricket tour of Australia would be cancelled. In Australia the situation was even less promising than in Britain: the Government consistently stated its support for the tour, and Australians are almost traditionally apathetic to anything beyond their back doors. White South Africa and Australia have always been close, and the South African Government has worked hard to keep it that way. White South Africa and White Australia are both remote White enclaves, both basically racist societies to a greater and lesser degree respectively. In contrast to the rest of the world, the revulsion that followed the Sharpeville massacre left Australians unmoved.

Australians and White South Africans are similar in another respect: both worship sport. If there was any way at all to force Australians to act against apartheid - and against racism in this country itself - it had to be through sport. This is why the Springbok tours had to be stopped.

While the rest of the world was breaking off sporting relations with South Africa, Australia was moving in the other direction. In 1971 - the UN Year for Action against Racism - no fewer than six White South African sporting teams were expected.

There have been anti-apartheid movements in Australia for years. Student groups initiated the action against

racist sporting teams with strong protests against a women's basketball team in June 1970 (see *Sechaba* Nov/Dec 1970).

### Nightmare

In January last year a White women's tennis team participated in the Federation Cup in Perth (Jugoslavia, Sweden and Czechoslovakia withdrew in protest), and then went on a tour of Australia. They were met by hostile demonstrations, especially in Sydney and Melbourne, where the racist republic's flag was ripped down and the matches disrupted. The South African team played under false names on remote courts. "It was like a nightmare," one of the players said on her return to Johannesburg. "The demonstrators were the ugliest, scruffiest, dirtiest things I've ever seen."

However, it was the tour of South Africa by Aboriginal tennis star Evonne Goolagong against the wishes of all Aboriginal organizations, and the tour of Australia by the all-White South African surf lifesaving team that stirred up the first real controversy on the issue.

The surf lifesavers toured in February, and for the first time a Springbok team was dogged by protests wherever it went, across the nation and in New Zealand. And for the first time the protests against racism in sport were getting wide coverage in the press. At Lorne in Victoria the South Africans rammed their surf boat (donated by BP) through a group of protesters, knocking several over. Police stood by. In Sydney, where a great deal of work had been done among ratepayers, at the last moment the Sutherland Shire Council withdrew permission for the team to compete on its beaches. Uniformed Nazi Party members physically attacked demonstrators, the first of many Nazi attacks.

### Lifesaver of the Year

Already the racist sports administrators had realized that if they wanted to keep sports links with Australia they would have to do better than "it's a tradition" that all Springbok teams are White. So the manager of the life-saving team, Mr. Mortimer, claimed that the team had been chosen on merit and it was just coincidence that all the members were White.

Brandishing some documents which he said were nomination forms, Mortimer asserted that of 83 nominations, four were from non-Whites. Even if this was true, it illustrates the tremendous difference in opportunity between Whites and Africans in South African lifesaving. But it was not true. South Africa's "Lifesaver of the Year" in 1970 was an Indian, Mohammed Kathrada. Why wasn't he in the team? Because he wasn't nominated, Mortimer replied. News reports from South Africa showed that Kathrada had been nominated, but that his nomination form had "disappeared". Mortimer then said that the "Lifesaver of the Year" award had nothing to do with lifesaving skill, and anyway Kathrada was "just a good little back-room boy". By the end of the tour he had given up defending the racist team and left mumbling that the demonstrations were "a farce", "pathetic", "not worth worrying about". The rugby tour was to prove him wrong. The minor Springbok tours which had gone through had drawn the attention of progressive Australians to the issue of racism in sport. They alerted the media, the trade unions and the Government.

Unlike other sports, rugby is a major sport in Australia, and the visit of the "world champions" of the game would be an important occasion. It was vital that very strong opposition be put up to it, and if possible it should be disrupted and called off. In the months before the tour the anti-apartheid





Police action in Sydney against demonstrators

groups worked on two major fronts: in the universities to get solid support from students, who were obviously the basis of effective opposition to apartheid; and among the rank-and-file trade unionists and other progressive groups to get as much support as possible for militant demonstrations across the nation.

From the very beginning the aims were clear: to do everything possible to prevent the tour from taking place successfully. The team would be harassed and cajoled from touch-down to take-off, and strong protests would be mounted at every ground to stop matches if possible.

Even before the campaign started, seven Australian international rugby players who had toured South Africa announced that they would not play against the Springboks. In March, Bishop Crowther (formerly Bishop of Kimberley until he was deported from South Africa) trekked across Australia talking to students, unionists, sportsmen and politicians as well as through the press, urging Australians to reject the racist South African rugby tour.

### Total Union Ban

Throughout the campaign it was obvious that the major bastion of support was in the universities, where there was a keen awareness that this was one of the key issues. Australian unionism is steeped in the traditions of "White Australia" and we never counted on the proposed total union ban coming off. But there was increasing support from "left-liberal" sections, and by the time the Springboks arrived almost all Australian newspapers (which are notoriously monopoly-ridden) were calling for the cancellation of the tour. The main burden of defending the tour was shouldered by the Australian Rugby Union. It is no wonder that they

were prepared to go to any lengths to preserve the tour. In October 1970 ARU President Charles Blunt said on TV: "If I lived in South Africa, I would be in favour of the policies their Government pursues." But someone must have told him that this was not a very suitable line to push, for he switched to those old favourites, the "bridge-building" and "politics-and-sport-don't-mix" arguments. He asserted that all non-White players he had consulted in South Africa wanted the tour to go on. In fact, he announced later, the ARU had invited a Coloured team to tour in July 1972, and the South African Government had agreed to pay their fares. But that diversion collapsed completely when the President of the (non-White) South African Rugby Union, Mr A. R. Abass, rejected the invitation as a complete fraud. "We would like to be selected on merit, and be given the chance to prove ourselves as South African rugby players in a multi-racial team", he said. It later turned out that had a non-White team come it would have had second-class treatment. It would not have played any matches at all against the Australian national team, which would be in New Zealand at the time. (The White team, on the other hand, as the "national" South African side, would play against the Australian team in three Tests.)

Mr Blunt lost no opportunity to castigate the protesters as "un-Australian", and said that "there is too much being made about something which is not important".

The majority of Church leaders and the Australian Council of Churches issued statements condemning the proposed tours. The Australian Council of Trade Unions vigorously attacked the tours, and asked its member unions to take "conscience" action. The leadership of a number of key unions announced a ban on services for the team. The Australian Labor Party at first strongly supported the ban, but when it appe-

ared that the electoral wind was not blowing in the same direction the ALP changed to "all we have said is that we oppose apartheid". However, the ALP continued to attack the tour in Parliament.

### Government Support

From the beginning the Federal Government strongly supported the tour, and Prime Minister McMahon went out of his way to defend it. He personally wrote an article in a Melbourne newspaper headed: "Should the tour go on? - Yes". In Parliament he said that the Springboks deserved a "marvellous welcome". While Australia abhorred apartheid, he said, "we do not believe in interference in the internal affairs of other countries" (what about Vietnam?). The Government made Royal Australian Air Force VIP jets available if the Springboks could not find transport - prompting a remark by ACTU President Bob Hawke that it should be renamed the Royal Apartheid Air Force. But worst of all the Government cynically tried to turn the whole rumpus into cheap electoral profit. McMahon travelled the country propagating a great exposé: the whole issue really had nothing to do with apartheid, but was a blatant attempt by the ACTU to take over the running of the country. He attempted to rally all the reactionary and pro-tours forces with the slogan "Who's running the country?", and divert attention from the real issue involved.

The threatened union ban led to the withdrawal of services to the Springboks. The Australian overseas airline Quantas and both domestic airlines cancelled the team's bookings, and a major motel chain did the same. The Labor Governments of South Australia and Western Australia announced that no State facilities would be made available for the visit. Support for the



tour, which had been 85% in March, had withered to 63%. Nonetheless, "Mr Racist Rugby" Danie Craven said in South Africa that the tour would go on "even if we have to hitch". The last two weeks were weeks of high pressure. Peter Hain and Bishop Crowther both arrived to consolidate last-minute support. Anti-apartheid centres at the universities were rallying opposition to the tour. An unprecedented number of front pages were devoted to the issue, and the team's departure for Australia was reported live on radio from Johannesburg.

### Arrived in Chaos

The racist sportsmen arrived to chaos at Perth airport at 12.30 a.m. 300 chanting protesters clashed with vigilantes who "roughed up" Bishop Crowther. A relatively small demonstration at the Springboks' match in Perth which was easily controlled by police and vigilantes gave them the impression that they were welcome.

That impression was smashed when they got to Adelaide. After a tiring 8-hour flight from Perth in light aircraft including two refuelling stops (only a 2½-hour flight in a commercial jet) the racist team was met by a large and hostile crowd at the airport tracked down to their motel and kept awake till the early hours of the morning. The team was forced to slip into a civic reception in the town hall through the side door. On a bus trip into the Barossa Valley they were turned away from the gates of a vineyard, and attended a miserable reception in Elizabeth where they ate cold pies and party cakes because no caterer would supply them. 1000 protesters staged an uproarious demonstration throughout their Adelaide match, which was held at night. At several times during the game smoke bombs made it impossible to see from one end of the field to the other.

### A.N.C. Flags

It was Adelaide, not Perth, that set the tone for the rest of the tour. The team travelled around the country in tiny bumpy aircraft. In Melbourne they could not stay in a hotel. 5000 demonstrators faced a determined police attempt to crush their protest by horse charges, and succeeded in stopping the game several times. There were 144 arrests. In Sydney about twice that number were arrested at the three matches. All the games were brought to a halt for short periods. The venue of the matches was changed at the eleventh hour. In Canberra there were 49 arrests. Most of those arrested throughout the country received heavy sentences – ranging up to two months' jail with hard labour and bail set at up to £467. (By contrast, a crowd of football spectators who invaded the ground

at a local match and threw beer cans at the referee were let off with a caution.) At every demonstration the black, green and gold ANC flag was to be seen.

In Melbourne a summons was taken out against Springbok captain Hannes Marais seeking damages of £1850 for assault on a demonstrator. In Sydney a gas bomb forced the team out of their bus, coughing and spluttering. A crowd of Springbok supporters in Sydney reportedly cheered uniformed Nazi Party members and a few minutes later booed the UN flag.

### State of Emergency

It was well known that Springbok morale had hit rock bottom. Reporting that several players wanted to go home, the Johannesburg **Sunday Times** reported on July 10 that they were "tired of being hounded and hunted, baited and insulted" and added that they were "depressed, lonely and homesick". The intrepid Afrikaner ladies of Bloemfontein were reported to be sending the team food parcels to keep up morale.

But the highlight of the tour was the State of Emergency declared by the crank-reactionary Queensland Government, ostensibly to commandeer a football field (the owners had refused to allow it to be used by the South Africans). But the declaration gave the police wide powers of search without warrant and indefinite detention, and effective protest was crushed. The Springbok visit to Queensland cost the economy about £3.2 million – £2.9 million as a result of protest strikes and for police protection. Many country towns were left almost completely without police protection while the State's police force was tied up guarding the foreign rugby team in Brisbane.

In South Africa, **Die Burger** headed a major report: "Springboks Hide Their Blazers", and described the tour as "like a chapter from a spy story". The title said much more was in the balance than rugby ties – the whole future of the Indian Ocean might be at stake.

After the chaotic rugby tour, could the Springbok cricketers have come? The Australian Government seemed to think so, for right up to the very end Mr. McMahon was muttering about extremist minorities bringing politics into sport.

It was always quite clear what the Black cricketers in South Africa wanted. Owen Williams said: "If this tour of Australia goes on, it will put back our cause many years. For God's sake, ban them. Make them feel as we are made to feel all the days of our lives – unwanted." South African Cricket Board President Hassan Howa also attacked the tour. When the White cricketers tried to save their tour by offering to put in two pretty Blacks to make it a "multi-racial" team, this selfish move was repudiated and denounced by Mr Howa as "a safety-valve against demonstrations".

The pious hypocrisy of the White cricketers' walk-off at Newland over Easter was completely exploded when they failed to meet Nationalist Sports Minister Waring's challenge to state that they wanted to desegregate the sport at all levels. (Later that oh-such-a-jolly-nice Springbok captain Ali Bacher said that in Rhodesia they had multi-racial sport without affecting the structure of Rhodesian society, and recommended the Rhodesian "solution".) A series of bombings and attacks on South African property in Australia, such as the destruction of the South African Consul's speedboat in Sydney, emphasized opposition to the tour.

Anti Springbok demos in Victoria





## Tour Cancelled

While the Australian Cricket Board of Control and the Government continued to claim that the tour would go on as scheduled, more and more influential Establishment people were calling for cancellation. The police in Western Australia and South Australia stated that they would not be able to handle demonstrations against the cricket tour. The UN Special Committee on Apartheid urgently requested the Government to call it off.

And on the evening of the 8th September it was. Although Sir Donald Bradman attacked the Vorster Government's imposition of apartheid in sport, it was plainly because of the probability of widespread disruption to that gentle game that the cancellation was proclaimed. In addition, the Government — which had just gone through one of its periodic spates of faction-fighting and had been shown in polls to have less support than at any time since 1961 — was having second thoughts about fighting a protracted battle across the cricket fields of the nation.

Mr McMahon chimed in one last time with "politics should not be introduced into sport", embellished with a profound remark that the decision "had obviously taken account of the possibility that a minority would be prepared to go to extremes to disrupt the tour". As if in echo, Mr Vorster told a National Party congress in Bloemfontein that a minority "riff-raff" had forced the cancellation. "It is time," proclaimed that great champion of Western Christian Civilization, "that democracies take note that minorities are trying to force their will on majorities."

Although the first battle has been won, the war has only just begun. Even in the field of Australian-White South African sporting relations the struggle is not yet over. Although the proposed

golf tour was called off in the wake of the cricket cancellation and stiff opposition in New Zealand, a Springbok squash team slipped in, travelling incognito and playing as an "international" — not "South African" — side. There were vigorous protests. Australian hockey and squash teams are visiting South Africa. The possibility of an Australian cricket team making a short tour next year has been mentioned; and it is rumoured that Sir Donald Bradman is trying to "engineer" a visit by a South African team selected on merit. Such a plan should of course not be acceptable until all sport in South Africa is run on non-racial lines — i. e. until apartheid is defeated.

After having gathered so much support for the campaign against racism in sport it would of course be unthinkable to say "We've done our bit" and forget about the whole issue of apartheid and racism.

As mentioned at the beginning, much must be done against the oppression of the Aboriginal people of Australia. Few people really know what is going on in the closed "reserves" of Queensland and Western Australia. In every sphere the Koories (Aborigines) are far worse off than White Australians, and we should be ready to support any action taken by the Aboriginal people.

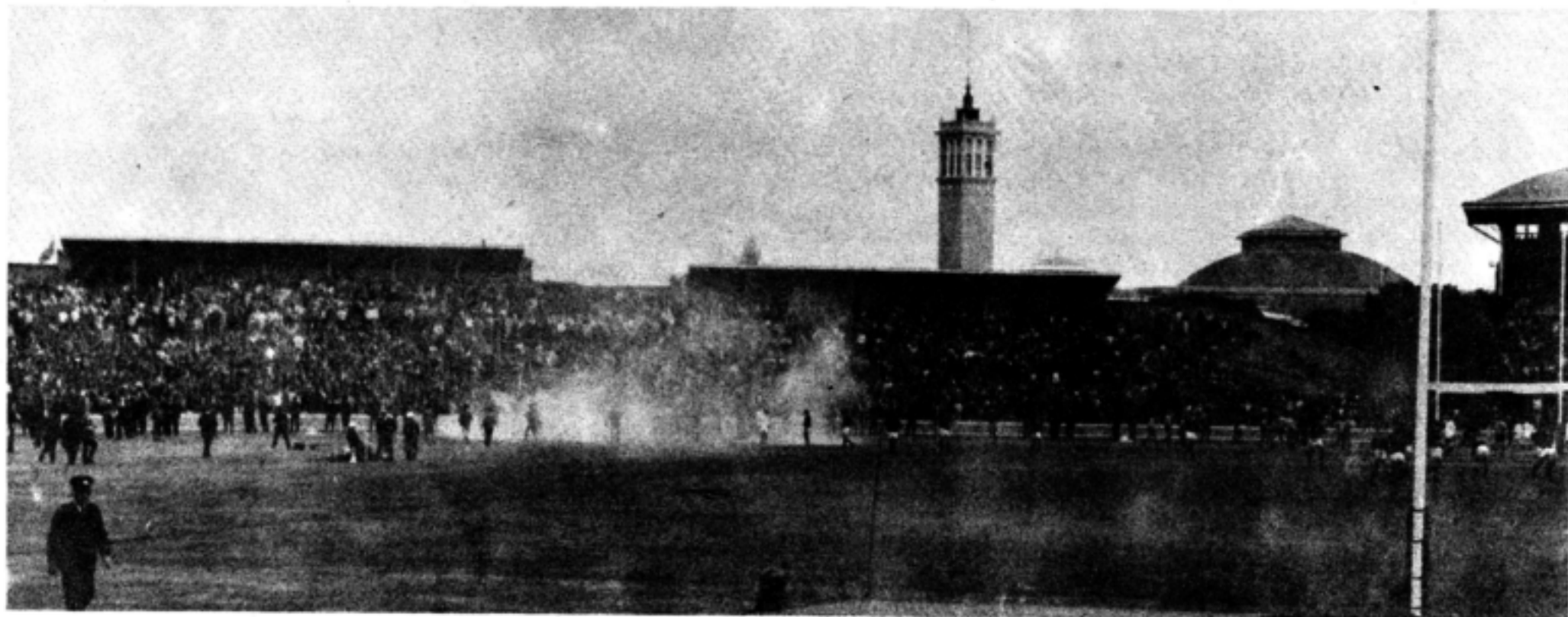
## Economic Links

All these sorts of issues will be discussed at the First National Planning Conference on Racism in Brisbane next February. However, the continuing campaign against apartheid will probably take two forms: to attack Australian involvement with the South African racists, especially through trade; and to rally more support and financial aid for the liberation movements.

Already several Australian companies with close links with South Africa have been attacked from the floor at Annual General Meetings, and the campaign of demands for total withdrawal will continue throughout the year. Nearly 100 Australian firms have links with South Africa. Between July 1970 and March 1971 exports of manufactured goods totalled £23.3 million — twice the level for the same period in 1968-9. During the same 9-month period in 1970-1 exports of primary products totalled £3.2 million, an increase of about 125% over 1968-9. The main target in the long run will be the car industry, as almost all cars manufactured in South Africa contain Australian parts (a policy deliberately fostered by the last racist Ambassador, Dr J. K. Uys). Imports of Australian car parts into South Africa enjoy even better protection than imports from the US, Western Europe or Japan, and the trade will soon be worth £2.3 million a month.

South Africa's régime has often said that its aim is a military pact with Australia, and increasing Australian dependence on the South African market in fields such as automobile manufacture is the "bait" that is being dangled. In the long run trade with South Africa may be disrupted. Last year the Waterside Workers' Federation threatened to put a ban on loading exports to South Africa, but was dissuaded by the Australian Council of Trade Unions on the grounds that too much industrial strife would result. This year the waterside workers had a part-South African-owned ship holed up in Melbourne while the Springboks were in Victoria. But effective action against big international monopoly corporations is not possible overnight. In the short run, a campaign against South African Airways has been suggested for 1972 as a transitional step to maintain popular support.

Demonstrators throw smoke bombs on to pitch during Springbok rugby match in Sydney





## Going Dotty

Since the dull Afrikaner Ambassador Uys (who only gave two press conferences during his period in office was replaced by trendy PR-man John Brent Mills (who was previously a senior official in the Africa section of the Foreign Office in Pretoria and partly responsible for putting Vorster's "outward-looking" policy into practice), the intensity of South African propaganda has increased. (During the several weeks between Mills' arrival and the Springbok tour the South African Embassy in Canberra was demonstrated against, picketed around the clock, and inundated with hoaxes. Thousands of commuting motorists complied with a request to toot their horns as they drove past, and Embassy staff admitted they were "going dotty". Despite a 24-hour police guard slogans have several times been painted on its proud white walls.)

South African Airways is Vorster's main propaganda front in Australia as elsewhere. The number of flights it operates into Australia has quadrupled since 1962, and the number of Australians and New Zealanders going to South Africa increased 250% in 1970. SAA - which, like the Springboks, is a prestige symbol to White South Africans - is wholly Government-owned and comes under the South African Railways administration, a major exploiter of cheap Black labour.

SAA is easily identifiable in the public mind, and the possibilities for action against it are wide. The aim of such a campaign would be to stem the tourist tide to the "White Paradise."

In 1969 the then Nationalist Economic Affairs Minister, Jan Haak, came to Australia on a cloak-and-dagger mission to evade the angry student protests. A South African parliamentary delegation which was to have visited Australia last September has called off its visit. No reason was given.

This year we are hoping to raise enough money to invite a representative of the ANC to Australia. A visit at this stage would certainly do a great deal towards transforming public interest in Southern Africa into keen awareness of the liberation struggles of the ANC and its allies and positive action to support the freedom fighters.

The South African racists place a high priority on their friendship with Australia. For the first time a large number of Australians are beginning to have second thoughts about the traditional links with White South Africa, and about their own racist attitudes. The gains that have been made during the UN Year for Action Against Racism are a promising start - but nothing more - to the total withdrawal of Australian involvement in the fascist oppression in Southern Africa.

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

# MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA

Report of an Episcopal Church Mission to South Africa  
by William H. Booth,  
Judge of the Criminal Court of New York City

The South African is proud of his judicial system. And it seems true that 'justice' is well administered. But, the law that is administered is bad, inhumane, and is unconscionable.

Consider that a man can be arrested by the police on mere suspicion and held, without charge, for 180 days - 6 months. He can then be released, and re-arrested, on mere suspicion, and without charge, for an additional 180 days. Or, consider, some laws there under which detention without charge can continue without end!

Consider, further, that Parliament there has proclaimed that no court may intervene to determine the reasonableness of such detention, or to set bail!

Finally, consider the Bantu Commissioner's Courts which administer 'Pass Law' violations. The Pass Laws are a maze of regulations which are applied rigorously to black Africans and govern their life and livelihood in all aspects . . . At one of the Bantu Commissioner's Courts - in Fordsburg, a section of the great city of Johannesburg - we were detained so as to keep us from seeing their full operation. But, because of the over-crowded calendars (1900 people arrested daily for Pass Law violations) the defendants are herded through like cattle. Joel Carlson, the white South African lawyer now in exile in the United States, who spent the better part of two decades defending Africans, has estimated that each defendant is given 20 seconds for charge, trial, decision and sentence!

Parentihetically, the few black lawyers in Johannesburg illegally occupy their offices since no black man is allowed to 'occupy' urban space, and 'occupy' is broadly construed to include office space. And the finding of contempt against one such lawyer who refused such separation was upheld on appeal.

## Apartheid

The system of apartheid must not be reviewed merely as separation of races. In effect, it is dehumanising and demoralising, contributes to family break-down and to utter poverty. Men are not permitted to live with their families legally if they work in the cities. When it is discovered they are 'illegally' living with their families, they must make a choice of leaving their jobs or leaving their families. If they leave their job, they and their families become welfare recipients. If they leave their families in order to keep their jobs, they must live in a male hostel outside the town. They eventually become homosexual in the hostel.

## Outside Involvement

Not enough about conditions under South African apartheid is known elsewhere. Thus, there is need for more communication to and from the outside world. There is a need for South African black people to educate themselves to 'oppression' suffered by other people in world history, to know their sufferings have been known at other times in history, and to adopt the methods of other oppressed people seeking freedom (U.S. slaves, the French underground, etc.) to their own situation.

Further, each segment of world society ought to use its influence on the corresponding segment of South African society to bring about change. Thus, American Churchmen ought to see that South African Churches are involved. 'International' unions ought to be





Judge Booth being greeted by Mr. Abdulrahim Farah  
Chairman of the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid

creating good working conditions for South African workers, etc.

A Christian cannot advocate violence or revolution. Not living under similar oppression, however, one cannot condemn violence if that is the decision of the South African. He may desire violence even if it means suicide since that may be to him better than the unofficial genocide he suffers.

### Hearing in Magistrates' Court

The charges against Dean French-Beytagh on May 28 were alternative in nature. He was charged with violations of the Suppression of Communism Act in that on or about January 20, 1971, he aided or participated in the activities of suppressed organisations or, in the alternative, that on or about January 20, 1971, he possessed material distributed by such organisations.

These charges were dropped on June 30 and replaced by charges under the Terrorism Act – of advocating the violent overthrow of the South African government, administering in South Africa monies received from the Defence and Aid Fund in London, discussing plans for sabotage, encouraging a person to prepare for the violent overthrow of the government, and taking part in England in fund raising for African liberation movements.

The Dean was arrested on January 20, 1971, and held in solitary confinement, under interrogation and mental torture, and without charge for a period of eight days before being charged and then released on 5,000 Rand (1 Rand equals \$1.40) bail. He has remained on bail since that time, although the amount was raised on June 30 to 10,000 Rand.

Our party – the Bishop and the Dean of Washington and myself – was warmly received by the Chief Magistrate (who was retiring that day), by the Deputy Magistrate, and by the Presiding Magistrate in the court room where Dean French-Beytagh appeared.

In attendance were members of the Dean's congregation, black-aiding volunteer Black Sash organisation, and the American Consul General's attache, Mr. Edward J. McLale.

In the court room, the prosecutor asked me my impressions of South African justice. Though I protested insufficient time to have gained an impression, Mr. Rothwell insisted I must have an impression. He expected that I would speak in approval since the general image of the judicial system there is good. However, I stated that my first 'impression' was of revulsion at the idea of detention without charge. Mr. Rothwell then wondered how I could gain such an impression in only a matter of days.

He then attempted to compare our American system of 'detaining' a material witness in criminal cases. The vast difference though, is that in South African law, the court cannot ever contest the reasonableness of detention, but in American law, the 'detained' witness must be brought before the court to determine the reasonableness of the detention, and to set bail. Stating this to the prosecutor, I was prevented from getting a response by the appearance of the Magistrate and the actual start of court.

### Bantu Commissioner's Court

After court, we went to Fordsburg to see the operation of the Bantu Com-

missioner's Court, which is responsible for hearing violations of the 'Pass Laws'. These laws now require all black Africans to carry a Reference Book which contains information as to birth, marriage, work etc. They require the black African to live, work and sleep in certain specified places. Any violation is a crime and Africans are picked up by the hundreds and loaded off to jail to await court, usually several days. To get a quick sentence (usually 10 days), they plead guilty and this is done in machine-like fashion.

However, when we arrived at Fordsburg, the sitting Commissioner was in the midst of a trial. A man was charged with violating the 72-hour rule (no black African can visit in Johannesburg more than 72 consecutive hours). His testimony that he was there (at his mother's house) for less than 72 hours was supported by his mother's testimony. Although there are no black prosecutors in the Bantu Court, the sitting Commissioner, (for our benefit, I'm sure) directed a young black clerk sitting in front of the bench to cross-examine the mother. When the clerk declined, the Commissioner said, "Mr Prosecutor, you're missing the point – you must test the truthfulness of the witness". The clerk's ineptness at framing questions made it obvious he was not a prosecutor.

Soon a policeman appeared at the door to the court and beckoned us outside. He then directed us to the police room where he told us to stand while he went to an adjoining room and detained for 20 minutes. Then the policeman, Warrant Officer Flynn, asked us our names and purpose. He then delivered a stern lecture about the criminality of taking pictures of the court (which we had not done), and of any building in which South African citizens were detained.

"Do you understand?", he insisted, and then told us we were free to leave. During the detention, we saw guards outside the door we had entered. By this time, all sessions of the court were adjourned for tea time thereby effectively preventing us from seeing the court.

### Meeting With Attorneys

In the afternoon of May 28, I was a guest of about a dozen attorneys (all white) in a fancy private dining room in a downtown Johannesburg office building. These attorneys were disappointed that my skin colour was not dark and they so expressed themselves, apparently believing that in America I did not live as a black man and therefore would not relate properly to their concerns. Interestingly though, they had been rejected by a couple of public restaurants when they attempted to make reservations for our luncheon meeting.

It seems a black man can't be served liquor together with whites and he



can't have a sit-down (horizontal segregation) meal with whites! The meeting was punctuated with justifications for apartheid, for detention without charge, for unequal and separate education, and for unequal pay for equal work.

For example, the 'justification' for the expenditure of over 200 Rand per year for white students and 14 Rand for black students was that the white person being education-oriented, had built many schools while the African had not done so. Therefore, when the government took over schools, it was responsible to keep in mind the 'white' investment, and thus give more for the white child than for the black child.

Likewise, the white teacher is 'hard to find' and so should be paid more than is paid to the African black teacher who is, in large numbers, seeking employment. Under this theory it is understood that the position of 'school teacher' is highly regarded in the black African community and not so highly regarded among whites. This is the reason for paying white teachers more money than black teachers.

Illogical justifications such as these would not be expected from educated, God-fearing people. From attorneys it borders on the fanatic.

## Tour of Leeukop Prison

During the meeting with the lawyers, I complained that there were certain places I could not see. One veteran attorney took this as a challenge and said he could get me anywhere I desired. I asked to see a maximum security prison. The attorney phoned the Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelser, and immediately arranged a tour of Leeukop Prison for that afternoon.

We were met at Leeukop – a prison for black Africans some miles outside Johannesburg – by the director, Colonel Pretorius. The colonel escorted me around the entire complex in his car, with the lawyers following in their car.

We went to the maximum security cells, an ultra-modern set of buildings with catwalk security posts extending over all the cells. From that catwalk, we could peer down into the cells, all of which were about 30 feet by 6 feet, but in which 35 to 40 prisoners had each about 3 feet by 6 feet to lay his thin cloth on the floor when bedding down – directly on the concrete floor.

A cruel propaganda hoax is played by the South African government in its slick, colour book entitled **Prison Administration In South Africa**. This costly fraud contains pictures of Leeukop Prison. They show beds, with blankets, sheets and pillows, in a dormitory – together with good lighting, desks and **no overcrowding**.

But what I saw at Leeukop was just the reverse. There were no beds, no desks, no lights, no furniture, and no facilities except one open toilet bowl and a water tap above which serves the dual purpose of flushing the toilet bowl and allowing the prisoners to drink out of cupped hands. Colonel, Pretorius called down from the catwalk to ask the prisoners how they were doing. **Of course**, they answered in chorus, "Fine, Colonel!"

There are also several solitary confinement cells, also viewable from the catwalk. The food served the prisoners is alleged to be African traditional 'mealie meal' (maize) and beans. We observed classrooms where a guard-psychologist informed us that on intake the prisoners are tested and classified for work and or training.

A tour of the shops revealed that of the several thousand (four to six thousand) prisoners, facilities exist for training only about 20 or 25 in each of six or seven skills. Thus, only a maximum of 300 prisoners are able to secure training of any kind. Training facilities for plumbing, carpentry, cabinet making, metal work and brickwork seemed efficient and modern but hardly adequate for the population. It is interesting to note that, even in the prisons, apartheid is strictly enforced. First, there are black prisons and white prisons. Then, inside the black prisons there are separate toilet facilities for black and white prison guards. When I inquired into this, Col. Pretorius asked one of the attorneys (in the Afrikaans language) why I was concerned since I ought to have understood that apartheid is part of the national policy of South Africa.

Apartheid in action produces some interesting anomalies. At the Johannesburg Zoo, for example, whites pay 20 cents and blacks pay only 10 cents admission. Blacks are permitted in the zoo on certain days; this is true of many other sight-seeing places and usually Thursday is the black African day. Since there are many more black bus drivers available than white drivers, there are most often long lines of white people waiting for their white-driven buses while near-empty black-driven buses go by sweltering lines of white South African!

Next on the tour of Leeukop, we went to the living area for black guards and their families. Their homes are in a section of the prison compound separated from the rest of the prison by miles of farmland and connected by a narrow, dusty road. Black guards walk the several miles of that road to their homes absorbing the red dust every time a car drives past. The homes I saw were neat,

Fingerprinting of pass offenders at the Fordsburg "Bantu" Commissioner's court







Thousands of people such as these are moved from one area to another to make way for the Whites

clean and adequate. Near the homes is a store and an 'officers club', simply built in similar fashion to an American day-care center.

Leaving this area in a cloud of dust billowing over, around and into the faces of the black officers walking home from their prison jobs, we went to the area where the white prison guards and their families reside. This sector is close to the maximum security cells where the officers work. There are lawns and trees and flowers, and the officers club is sumptuous, carpeted and attended by black servants. In violation of the law, we were all served liquor in the club. (I noted that South African whites will bend the law when it is to their interest to do so. For example, because they desire the Japanese trade in iron ore, the Japanese people are classified 'honorary whites' instead of as Asians so that they can get all the benefits of apartheid.)

## Can Never Forget Certain Things

1. At Soweto township outside Johannesburg, people were told they would be resettled in the homelands', such as Dimbaza or in the Transkei region. They are told there will be homes, medical care, jobs and other conveniences. But, our visit to Dimbaza proved that conditions there are worse than Soweto one-hundred-fold.

2. At Dimbaza is a 'resettlement area', in the Eastern Cape Province region of South Africa. It is one of a reputed

26 such camps in the country where hundreds of thousands of black Africans who had lived and worked in and near South Africa's 'white' cities are being dumped as superfluous people. Dimbaza's population is about 9000. At Dimbaza, I saw 62 open graves being prepared for children who will die under one year of age. Thirty-eight had died in the previous month. Fifty per cent of all Dimbaza children die before age one, usually because of malnutrition.

3. At the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice in the Eastern Cape, fear expressed by students was reinforced by our independent investigation that black people are paid money by the Special Branch, the security police, to inform on other black people.

In meetings with students and townspeople, we learned of the torture practices used in Pretoria and on Robben Island, the prison colony off the coast within sight of Cape Town. Fingernails are pulled out, sexual torture is used, and no effort is spared to secure confessions.

4. We were all struck by the simplicity, the neatness and the efficiency of the widely-spread thatched hut in African villages we visited (not the government-sponsored resettlement areas). The African villages provided stark contrast to the government areas set aside as 'homelands' where families of 10 or 12 are packed into small, two-room shacks with no furniture, plumbing or floors.

5. No black African is permitted by law

to own property, even property in the 'homelands'. The government determines where blacks should live. The black African cannot go to a real estate broker to secure housing. He can only request the proper government agency to advise him where he can live and what rent he must pay.

The poverty of the more than 15 million black Africans, enforced by the almost 4 million whites and the law is hard to visualise from afar. Seeing it in person gives one a dimension that makes it more vivid. Living it, daily, however, must make one wonder how long such a society can endure without an eruption.

## Additional Observations

There is a considerable public relations effort by South Africa to change its image. Witness, for example, the recent news story that penalties have been lessened for 'Pass Law' violations. If you examine the story closely, however, you will see that the new 'relation' is merely a tightening of the vise. Now, the black man who is allegedly in the wrong place at the wrong time is sent to an administrative office instead of to a court. At this office, in effect, his labour is to be sold to the lowest bidder. The government will now have a better-controlled labour market.

Another example of South African public relations is the call for 'dialogue' with black African nations. To the democratic oriented American, this sounds logical and civilised. But, thank God, the Organisation of African Unity saw through it and voted against such 'dialogue'. The OAU said by a vote of 3 to 1 that 'dialogue' would be meaningless unless apartheid were to be discussed and unless black South Africans were to be included in the talks. Some ten nations, out of the 41 in the OAU, believe the dialogue would be worthwhile. Of course, since these are the smaller, weaker nations, the value to them would be in the economic advantages, the bribes, offered by the South African Government.

THE NEW YORK TIMES recently printed a letter which supplies us with another public relations ploy. The writer suggests that the United States cannot throw stones since our policies in the past have been inhumane. Then, he says that 'apartheid' no longer has meaning, that the present policy is 'separate development'.

Besides being a horrible play on words, 'separate development' takes me back to 1896 - **Plessy vs. Ferguson** and 'separate but equal'.

The 1954 doctrine of **Brown vs. Kansas** rings loudly in my ears - 'separate is inherently unequal!'