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# ANC-SVA

A FARCE - OR A FORCE?

Many people agree with Enoch Powell that the Commonwealth has become 'a gigantic farce'. Some agree because they are racialists like Powell; others hold the same view for an entirely different reason. They reject the Commonwealth because its 'senior' members - Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand - practise racial discrimination or tolerate, if they do not actively support, white supremacy in Southern Africa.

The racialists want to wind up the Commonwealth because its white member states are in a small minority. They are like Rhodesian settlers who imposed Federation on Africans by force, and then threatened to secede if the eight million Africans ever obtained majority rule over the two hundred thousand Whites.

The Commonwealth consisted only of white states before the second world war. Africans, Asians, West Indians or Red Indians in the Empire were 'colonial subjects'. They had no representatives at Commonwealth conferences and were never asked to express an opinion on Commonwealth affairs. Dominion and colonial governments introduced massive colour bars without any protest from the conferences.

At these meetings of Dominion prime ministers Britain tried to bully her partners into following her foreign policy or giving her preferential treatment in matters of trade. The Dominions usually put up strong resistance and demanded equal and independent status, but they never failed to fight on Britain's side in her imperial wars.

Britain's imperial power is now only a shadow of what it used to be. She is still one of the great industrial and financial countries, and uses her wealth to impose her will on the poor members of the Commonwealth. But she cannot induce the 22 non-white nations of the Commonwealth to give way on the principle of racial equality.

It is for this reason that the right wing British press - newspapers like the Daily Telegraph and Daily Sketch - attack the Commonwealth conference as an 'obsolete forum', a 'harmful nuisance', from which Britain should withdraw in order to safeguard her interests.

The reactionaries want to restore Rhodesia to 'legitimacy' under white minority rule. They want to trade with South Africa, and sell arms to the Vorster regime. That is what they mean by Britain's interests; and they wish to escape the pressure that is applied to them by the Afro-Asian states for strong and immediate action against racial domination and white supremacy in Africa.

The imperialists wish to get rid of the Commonwealth now that it has become a platform for progressive forces and a forum for attacking imperialist policies. That is the recommendation one could find for the

maintenance of .....

for maintenance of the Commonwealth.

We cannot afford to surrender or withdraw from any opportunity to expose the white supremacy governments, to attack their system of racial discrimination, and to press for united action in support of the liberation movement. The Commonwealth provides us with such opportunities. Let us utilise them to the full.

The more the reactionaries denounce the Commonwealth, the harder we must strive to turn it into a weapon for the liberation movement. The racialists wish to turn the Commonwealth into a farce. Let the Afro-Asian member states redouble their efforts to develop it into an instrument for national independence and majority rule.

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### 200 TAKEN TO JAIL

**RUSTENBURG:** About 200 tribal villagers were arrested at dawn on Sunday near Rustenburg and appeared in court here, charged with occupying Government land without permission.

Mr. N.W. Boshoff, Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Rustenburg, said police removed about 190 African men and several women from Palmietkuil and Elandsfontein, Rustenburg district.

They were taken to police cells in Rustenburg and charged with occupying State land without permission.

The villagers - all members of the Bakubung tribe - were told to move from the area three years ago.

Mr. Boshoff said: "This is a case of Black spot removal." The Government had set aside land for the tribesmen at Pilansberg, but they refused to go there. He did not know why they did not want to go.

Mr. Boshoff said most people in the two districts had moved to Pilansberg.

The 330 Bakubung families have lived at Palmietkuil and adjoining Elandsfontein for 70 years. They were told to move to Ledige, Pilansberg - 60 miles away - in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Chief Lucas Monnakgotle, head of the 330 families, told me that he did not know why they were being moved.

I am told the villagers would move if the Government offered them land other than at Pilansberg.

MILITARY TRAINING IN TRANSKEI ALLEGED AT TRIAL

PIETERMARITZBURG: Twelve people appeared in the Supreme Court here on a charge of taking part in "terrorist" activities and military training in the Transkei. Ten of them were also charged on four other counts, including allegations of undergoing military training in countries outside South Africa. No evidence was led and they were remanded in custody until February 12.

They are: Bifan Matthews Ngoobo, Lungepi Amos Lengisi, Themba Linus Dhlamini, Lawrence Madimetjie Phokanoka, Patrick Sindile Mantanyana, Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli, Gaboikangwe Johannes Seleke, Silas Mogatse, Fara Mvuyiza Sigwela, Twalimfene Joyi, Sisa Allen Dukada and Dorothy Nomzaninsi Nyembe.

It is alleged they took part in "terrorist" activities in South Africa between June 27, 1965 and November 29, 1968, and in so doing endangered the maintenance of law and order in the Republic.

It is alleged they conspired with one another and with persons and organisations to commit acts to foment and encourage discontent, violence and revolution in the Republic and to overthrow the existing order in the country by means of subversion, "terrorism", violent revolution and guerrilla warfare.

Among the 26 alleged conspirators in an annexure to the indictment are Abram Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Jack Hodgson, Oliver Tambo and Duma Nokwe. Three organisations are listed: South African Communist Party, Spear of the Nation and the African National Congress.

Count 2 involving all but Dukada and Nyembe alleges they underwent training of a military nature and in propaganda, guerrilla warfare and "terrorism" in Ethiopia, Russia, Algeria, Tanzania, Zambia and the Transkei.

On count 3 it is alleged the same ten accused searched for or attempted to establish routes and ways and means by which people who had been trained could secretly enter South Africa by land, sea and air.

In addition it is alleged they searched for and established or attempted to establish bases within South Africa and elsewhere from which armed attacks on and in South Africa could be launched and supported; that they searched for and inquired at places along the coast suitable for secret landings by submarines; that they incited or procured other persons to participate in

propaganda,.....

propaganda, subversion and armed attacks on South Africa.

It is also alleged they established or attempted to establish a system of contact with their supporters or former members of the three organisations and possessed chemicals for invisible writing and had codes and other aids to secret communications.

On count 4 it is alleged Lengisi incited six persons to undergo training of a military nature and in politics, propaganda, "terrorism" and subversion between March 1 and September 26 last year.

It is alleged in count five that three accused harboured and assisted Lengisi and Mlamini whom they had reason to believe to be "terrorists"

The offences are alleged to have taken place in the Transkei and in Natal.

All twelve have indicated they want pro deo counsel but have reserved the right to appoint counsel for their defence should the funds become available.

DAILY DESPATCH ( East London )  
January 8, 1969.

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DID SMITH DEFY VORSTER OVER FEARLESS??

One of the more puzzling developments in Rhodesian imbroglio is the apparent impasse in the relations between Smith and Vorster after the Fearless talks. Perhaps it is too much to hope that these recent developments threaten the rather delicate foundation so carefully laid by Verwoerd thus endanger the unity of the "unholy alliance" but the differences need to be understood.

After UDI, Verwoerd adopted an equivocal attitude towards Britain and Rhodesia. This was an attitude of official neutrality but private help. He declared that South Africa would continue normal neighbourly relations, and would not join any international action to topple the Smith regime. In his view, this was a domestic issue. Privately, however, South Africa has helped prop the rebels to such an extent that without her material assistance they would not be making a mockery of the UN sanctions. Premier Balthazar Vorster has continued this policy. Thus, at the Ladysmith conference of his party, he

reiterated.....

reiterated the domestic nature of the Rhodesian problem. Using a rather clumsy analogy, he said, "this argument between man and wife has got nothing to do with the in-laws." Nevertheless, he stated that South Africa was interested in a settlement. Not only that. The Afrikaans press, especially Die Burger urged Smith to accept Wilson's Fearless proposals and then, after the return to legality, he could decide whether he wanted to honour them or not.

To the amazement of most observers, Smith refused to come to terms. And here is the big question: If South Africa through her aid dominates Rhodesia, why did Vorster not succeed in pressuring Smith into a settlement?

That Vorster urgently wants a settlement is beyond doubt. For South Africa, the Rhodesian affair is too close for comfort. It focuses world attention on her role, and provides ammunition for those who advocate stern action against her. Moreover, it mars his grand designs for the sabotage of independent Africa.

But why did Smith reject the Fearless proposals which, even more than the Tiger, were so favourable to him? Last year we frequently pointed out in these columns that in their efforts to deal with the outside world both Vorster and Smith run into serious domestic difficulties.

Since the unseemly dismissal of William Harper, and the resignation of Lord Graham, Smith has been facing mounting right-wing opposition at home. With a significant following from the white working class and from the landed gentry, these rightists argue that Smith is out of touch with the wishes and interests of the white electorate. By playing the British at their favourite game of negotiation and compromise, at which they are masters, he will sell out the whites. Under these circumstances, for Smith to settle would be political suicide, especially since his right-wing opponents have the support of Vorster's own right-wing foes in South Africa. In other words, there is some sort of a right-wing alliance in these two countries, an alliance which while numerically weak however is vociferous and shrewdly plays on the tender emotions of its respective electorate. In both Rhodesia and South Africa, "the abdication of the white man" and "softness" are sure to bring a government into disrepute. And since they play on these touchy emotional issues, Smith cannot crack down on his opponents or enter into any international settlement which can appear to be a sell-out of the white man.

For this reason, Smith is not in a position at present to accept the Fearless proposals; nor can Vorster pressure him into doing so.

In this....

In this lies the answer to the enigma of Vorster wanting desperately a settlement and Smith, though held in bondage by South Africa, not being able to comply with Vorster's need.

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A MONTHLY CANLENDER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Optimist

Some Memorable JANUARY Dates in Our Country's History

\* 1912 - It was at Bloemfontein on the 8th of January, 1912 that the African National Congress of South Africa (called in its early years the Native National Congress) was born. Gathered there on that day, as a result of two years of preparatory work on the part of Dr. P. Ka Izaka Seme and others, was a truly remarkable and representative assemblage of Africans: chiefs, religious leaders, teachers, urban workers and people from all walks of life. They came from all areas of South Africa, including the three Protectorate Territories. Their common purpose was to find the means of defending themselves following imposition of the South Africa Act of 1910 with its provision for establishing a Union Government of, by, and for whites only.

Among the 21 "objects" agreed upon by the Congress were these:

"To encourage mutual understanding and to bring together into common action as one political people all tribes and clans of various tribes or races and by means of combined effort and united political organization to defend their freedom, rights and privileges;...

"To record all grievances and wants of the Africans and to seek by constitutional means the redress thereof....

"To agitate and advocate by just means for the removal of the 'Colour Bar' in political, educational and industrial fields and for equitable representation of Africans in Parliament or in those bodies that are vested with legislative powers or in those charged with the duty of administering matters affecting the Coloured races....."

Officers of the Congress elected at this founding meeting were Dr. John L. Dube, President-General; Sol T. Plaatjie, Secretary-General; and Dr. Seme, Treasurer-General.

\* 1919 - Beginning at a small gathering in Cape Town on the 7th January, 1919, when the first 24 members joined it, the Industrial and

Commercial Union....



Commercial Union (I.C.U.), under the leadership of Nyasaland-born Clement Kadalie, developed during the decade of the 1920's into a movement which not only played an important role in South Africa but was also not without influence on African struggles in some countries to the north. At the time of the British seamen's strike in 1925, when 1500 seamen on British ships laid up at Cape Town and Durban were interned by the South African authorities at Wynburg, the I.C.U. gave a noteworthy manifestation of international labour solidarity by voicing its support for the striking seamen and ordering its stevedore members not to handle any cargo for the struck ships. At its zenith in 1926 the I.C.U. could claim 100,000 members in the towns and country-side of South Africa. But there were major organizational weaknesses and these together with Kadalie's turning against the Communists who had helped build up the I.C.U., led to the movement's disintegration and decline. Despite its mistakes, the achievements of the I.C.U. on behalf of the exploited black workers of South Africa were considerable.

\* 1927 - The beginning of 1927 saw the formation for the first time of trade unions among Africans in specific industries - among the laundry workers, bakery workers, clothing workers, mattress and furniture workers, and others. This organizing was led mainly by two men: one an African Communist, T.W. Thibedi, said to have been the only black member in the early International Socialist League, and the other a white Communist, Bennie Weinbren, the driver of a laundry van. By 1928 these unions had banded together in the Non-European Trade Union Federation whose leading officers were Moses Kotane as Chairman and T.W. Thibedi as Secretary. The Federation had an affiliated membership of 10,000 in 1929. This was the forerunner of the stronger Council of Non-European Trade Unions established in 1942.

\* 1930 - African railway and harbour workers walked out on strike at East London on the 16th January, 1930, demanding that their wages raised from 3s. to 6s. 6d. a day. When the strike had been going for eight days, picketing was started to prevent scabbing. This led, two days later, to the arrest of Clements Kadalie along with other organizers of the strike. From prison Kadalie ordered the strikers back to work, their wage demands unanswered, only one firm granting a mere 6% increase. At their trial Kadalie's colleagues were acquitted, but he found guilty of incitement to public violence and sentenced to a fine of £25 or three months imprisonment with hard labour. This was the last progressive action in which Kadalie participated. Rumour had it that he had entered into some understanding with the Government as the price of not being deported from South Africa. In any event, when he next appeared in public later in the year, it was to disrupt plans for a big public burning demonstration to be held in Bloemfontein on Dingaan's Day by spreading propaganda against the Communist organizers of the demonstration.

\* 1947 - In the decade from 1936 to 1946 the African population of Johannesburg increased by over 100,000, but in the same period fewer than 4,000 houses were built for Africans by the City Council. The result was the African population overflowed, squatter communities or shanty towns grew up around the outskirts of Johannesburg. The population overflowed even the long, dreary rows of half-tank "habitations" and breeze-block "shelters" (door-less and window-less boxes of coke ash-cement blocks laid together without mortar and roofed with sheets of corrugated iron held down by rocks) grudgingly supplied by the white fathers of the city built from gold. Able leaders emerged among the squatter communities, men like James Sofasonke Mpanza in Orlando, O. Monongoaha at Pimville, Edward Khumalo at Albertynsville, and Schreiner Bhaduza in Alexandra. They organized resistance against attempts of the city authorities and the police to chase away the squatters. In January 1947 the leaders of the main shanty areas, just mentioned, met together and decided to form themselves into the Johannesburg Joint Shanty Towns' Co-ordinating Committee. Their demand upon the city authorities, emblazoned on banners which the Co-ordinating Committee's demonstrators paraded through the main streets of Johannesburg, was "GIVE US LAND TO BUILD OUR HOMES!"

\* 1949 - Among the most shameful pages in the sordid history of South African race relations must surely be those dealing with the African vs Indian rioting that started in Durban on the afternoon of the 13th January 1949 and continued sporadically for three days. It was sparked off by an Indian shopkeeper assaulting an African lad and by the swift spread of false rumours that the boy had been killed. Until the situation had got out of hand, the police made no serious effort to intervene; some were in fact goading on the Africans to "smash the coolies." Well over a thousand homes and stores were destroyed or damaged. Some forty thousand Indians and Africans, driven from their homes, had to be cared for in emergency encampments. The dead numbered 50 Indians and 87 Africans, together with one European and four persons of undetermined race. Of the 87 Africans killed, 37 had been shot, most of them by the police. Of the wounded - 541 Africans, 50 Indians, 32 Europeans, and 11 Coloured - 58 later died of their injuries.

Many Africans in Durban no doubt harboured resentment against Indian landlords and shopkeepers whom they knew as their immediate exploiters. But why would they turn against ordinary Indians, workers, victims like themselves of European exploitation? One can think of answers: the blindness and senselessness of mass hysteria, the possible incitement of agents provocateurs; but these failed to get at the basic cause of the tragedy. The truth is that the people of Durban on those fateful July days in 1949 were paying the price of the racial hate and violence so long identified with that city. And the author of White Man Boss reminds us, Durban is

"the city which mobbed Mahatma Gandhi, which saw bloodshed following the burning of native passes, which looked on calmly while young white

hooligans....

hooligans assaulted Indian passive resisters in 1944-45 - a city of grossly overcrowded male barracks for Zulu workers and vice-haunted purlieus .... a city where the white folk luxuriate on the Berea surrounded by poinsettias and fragrant frangipani and where thousands of non-Whites nightly sweat homeward to their remote pigsties and their meals of mealie-meal and offal."

A European whom the commission of inquiry ( with no African and Indian members) termed "a reliable witness" testified that, in his view,

"There was a ~~tragi~~-comedy atmosphere about the affair.... with the 'coons' chasing the 'coolies', and the 'oops' chasing the 'coons'... The feeling (of the Europeans) was, and still is, very strong and articulate that the Indians deserved what they got, and this feeling at the time, and more especially since, was translated to the native mind."

And there is, among other testimony of the same kind, that of the authors of A History of Natal: "White women ran joyously behind the rioting Zulus and looted the contents of the demolished Indian shops." The ultimate shame and the ultimate responsibility for what happened in Durban rests with the upholders of white supremacy in South Africa.

\*1960 — The police had been in the habit of making regular raids on the African community at Cato Manor, near Durban. The raid on the 24th of January, 1960, was just one too many. The inhabitants, angered, stood their ground and fought back, killing nine of the police, four Whites and five Africans. It was in the same month of January 1960 that 434 coal miners lost their lives in the disaster at Coalbrook - due to the negligence on the part of the management, so the inquest found.

\*1961 — African bus drivers at Port Elizabeth on 10th January, 1961, began a sit-down and go-slow exercise when their demands for a wage increase were not met. They reported for work but simply refused to take out their buses. The company managed to operate a skeleton service, but the African residents of New Brighton in an admirable demonstration of solidarity boycotted the buses and walked the long distance to and from work, over twenty mile in some cases. They kept up their boycott for five weeks while the stalemate continued. Finally the company capitulated and raised the bus drivers' wages. But the government then stepped into the case, starting prosecution proceedings against 193 Of the workers. A tense situation developed. There were pressures on the Attorney-General not to press the charges. In the end he agreed to accept admissions of guilt and fine each person £7 - which their employer advanced for them to pay.

### MORE HEARTLESSNESS

South Africa has always pleaded special circumstances in defending her racial policies before the world. Our problem, we explain, is unique: here Whites are outnumbered; here it is a question of survival. It is all very well to be liberal-minded in America (or Britain, or elsewhere), but they don't have a Negro majority to worry about there.

True enough. And there is no doubt that South Africa has a right to plead for special understanding and tolerance. Our problem is appallingly difficult. And liberal policies obviously do have far more extensive implications for South Africa than for any of the Western democracies. Nevertheless, South Africans are inclined to overwork the argument: we tend to regard it as the Great Comprehensive Excuse, a kind of certificate of socio-political morality.....

The clearest indication of this lies in our treatment of the Indian and Coloured communities of this country. These people do not outnumber the Whites. They do not represent a threat to White superiority or survival. They are minority groups, entitled to special consideration and protection. Yet South Africa treats them abominably.

It is the African population that poses the numerical threat, and it is on this front that our special plea for patience and understanding has some validity. But then the Nationalists already claim to have found a solution to this problem in the shape of the Bantustan policy, which is supposed to separate the African people from "White South Africa", and give them their own homelands. It is, of course, becoming increasingly apparent that the Bantustan solution is unattainable.....

Recently the spotlight has fallen on the miseries of the Indian people of the Transvaal.....we draw special attention to the situation in Rustenburg, where Indian traders have been ordered to move from shops in the town where they have done business for more than a century, to a new zone on the outskirts of the town. The same sort of thing has happened to Indians in Johannesburg and a dozen or so platteland towns. And always with the result: businesses which inevitably depend mainly on White and African custom cannot survive in the new out-of-town areas. These are small communities and they cannot thrive in isolation, taking in each other's washing.....