

# Sechababa



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COVER: A Congress protest against the pass-laws, outside the Johannesburg City Hall. The pass laws are still there, but the day of demonstrations is over - new militant forms of struggle are rapidly taking over in Southern Africa. An article dealing with the pass laws, entitled "South Africa's Non-people", appears on page 3.

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# SECHABA

*SECHABA is the official organ of the African National Congress, the vanguard organization in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. It will be published monthly and will contain reports on apartheid in South Africa and views and facts of conditions under apartheid. This journal fulfils the need for the world at large to fully appreciate the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa against fascist apartheid tyranny, and will reflect the policy of the African National Congress, which seeks to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa. As the cost of producing this journal far exceeds the amount that will be received through sales, we appeal to all democrats to contribute towards the publishing costs.*

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# GOVERNMENT BY VIOLENCE AND MASSACRE

by Joe Matthews  
Managing Editor  
of Sechaba



The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 was one of the worst in the long history of indiscriminate killings of Africans in the Republic of South Africa. It was not *the* worst, as anybody with any knowledge of our history will know. The importance of the Sharpeville massacre was that, occurring when it did, in "Africa year 1960" when people all over the world eagerly anticipated the complete collapse of the disgraceful colonial system, it received maximum world attention and laid bare a side of racist rule in South Africa which was not generally appreciated outside the country.

The historians and researchers of African history who are so fond of enquiring into obscure and irrelevant subjects ought to spend some time examining the use of violence and massacre of peaceful people in South Africa as a technique against protest. The material is vast and is well documented.

Almost every African family remembers the most notorious occasions on which trigger-happy police have killed scores of people in order "to teach the Kaffirs a lesson".

## THE BULHOEK MASSACRE

We remember the massacre at Bulhoek in the Queenstown district, when a group of Africans refused to move from a site which they were held to be occupying illegally by the authorities. This amounted to a civil wrong of trespass — a very petty matter. But in South Africa any sign of disagreement by Africans soon becomes a challenge to the very basis of White rule, fit to be visited with the severest measures. General Smuts, who is always pictured as a kind of holy of holies in the imperialist literature, ordered the army into action. The Africans assembled at

Bulhoek were given a few minutes to disperse from the sight. The next moment there was the rattle of machine-gun fire. No less than 163 Africans died and many more were wounded. 95 were arrested and charged with Public Violence!

A few months earlier, in October 1920, a strike in Port Elizabeth was crushed by force even before it began. A peaceful meeting addressed by Masabalala was broken up by shooting in which 20 Africans were killed, including Masabalala himself.

## SHOT FOR DOG TAX

In 1921 the people of Bondelswart in South West Africa refused to pay a dog tax that had been imposed by the government. In accordance with accepted principles of White Supremacy detachments of the army and police moved into the area. In the resulting massacre 100 people were killed, scores were mutilated and many arrested.

On 16 December 1930, a meeting was called in Durban to protest against the pass laws. The meeting was addressed by Johannes Nkosi, a popular leader of the people. A large force of police arrived. Shots were fired, killing Johannes Nkosi and three others and seriously wounding 27. Twenty-six Africans were arrested and sentenced for "incitement to violence".

And so the story goes on. In the urban and rural areas, in demonstrations against arbitrarily imposed and absurd taxes, pass laws, removals, culling of stock, dipping-tank fees, municipal beer halls, the people have been met with bullets. The examples are legion.

## INCIDENTS ARRANGED

Knowing all this, organizers of the political movement have had to work

out methods of organization which would make it difficult for the police to arrange provocations which would enable them to shoot the masses. This was not always easy, especially in areas where there was an inexperienced leadership not fully acquainted with the tactics of the South African regime. Yet even where a strong political organization existed, it was no simple matter to anticipate the moves of the oppressors who often used massacres not only to intimidate the people but to prevent the development of campaigns by disruption.

Thus the Great Miners' Strike of 1946, in which workers sat peacefully in the hostels and compounds, was broken up through wanton shootings not only at a demonstration but inside the compounds themselves. During the non-violent campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws (1952), the police deliberately organized incidents in Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley which disrupted the movement.

In May 1959 the African National Congress at a conference in Johannesburg decided upon a massive campaign of resistance to the Pass Laws. The first step in the campaign was a potato boycott, directed against the practise of sending people convicted under the pass laws to farms as forced labour. The Potato Boycott achieved tremendous support and the Government suspended the system and appointed a commission to investigate the whole matter.

The anti-pass campaign rolled on. On 26 June 1959 at a mammoth meeting at Curries Fountain in Durban, Robert Resha on behalf of the ANC initiated the international campaign of economic boycott of South Africa. It was an-

nounced that the climax to the anti-pass campaign would be on 31 March 1960. Early in March 1960 a little-known organization which had come into existence at its first conference held in December 1959, announced that it would be starting an anti-pass campaign of its own on 21 March 1960. This was the Pan Africanist Congress. The organization announced that the form their campaign would take would be for thousands of Africans to gather outside police stations as a protest against the pass laws.

Not a single person with any experience doubted what would happen. Instead of taking every opportunity to avoid giving the trigger-happy South African police a chance for a provocation, here they were being handed one on a plate. Warnings were issued to the PAC against this sort of irresponsibility.

### SHARPEVILLE

Fortunately when the day of 21 March dawned the bulk of the people throughout the country ignored the

call of the PAC. But in the area of Sharpeville and at Langa in Cape Town, people did gather outside the police stations to protest against the pass laws. In both places the police arranged incidents which gave them a chance to shoot at the peaceful crowds. The Sharpeville Massacre resulted not only in the killing of scores of our people but also incidentally disrupted completely the highly-organized anti-pass campaign of the national organization which the government really feared — the African National Congress. The police had secured their twin objective of intimidating the people and disrupting the activities of the main liberatory forces.

What they could never have anticipated was the extent and nature of international reaction to the Massacre. The technique of violence was almost a traditional part of South African government. It had occurred so many times before. But the world had changed. A world dominated by a few imperialist powers had disappeared. In Asia and Africa numerous states had achieved their free-

dom. Such a blatant act of aggression against the African people could not go unchallenged.

### GENERAL STRIKE

Inside the country the African National Congress called for a massive general strike for 28 March 1960 in protest at the Massacre. Thousands of letters and cables flowed from the ANC headquarters to all parts of the world urging action against South Africa. On 28 March 1960 the whole country was paralysed by the strike called by the ANC.

At 8 p.m. that day, "Blackie" Swart, who was then Governor-General, signed the proclamation of a State of Emergency. The following morning hundreds of political leaders of all races were arrested under the emergency laws, over 90% of them members of the ANC and its allies. The pattern of arrests was most interesting if the *cause* was the Sharpeville Massacre.

There have been further massacres since Sharpeville, especially in Pondoland and the Transkei which are still under emergency laws. But Sharpeville was the landmark and turning-point in many respects.

It was perhaps the last of the peaceful and non-violent protests against the pass laws. The liberatory movement, considering all the factors operating in the African revolution, has decided that the way of armed seizure of power through a planned people's revolution is the only way out of the South African nightmare.

But we must never forget and must constantly pay tribute to those who, without arms and in the face of certain death by a ruthless enemy, stood firmly and courageously for our freedom at Sharpeville and elsewhere. ■



# SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-PEOPLE

CASE  
HISTORIES  
OF THE  
TRAGIC  
EFFECTS  
OF THE  
PASS-LAW  
SYSTEM

Photo: Not even the  
old escape the dreaded  
spot-check on their  
passbooks



For a hundred years and more, Africans have been forced to leave their homes and engage in work for Whites, at first on farms and then in the diamond and gold mines, and more and more in the industries and shops and homes of South African towns. At first a few young men came to work for short periods, then more and more. Many older, married men came also, and the periods they spent in town have grown longer and longer.

Today over half the men of working age are away from their homes in the so-called Reserves at any one time — official figures put it at 54% — and it

has been as high as 72% in some districts.

Of these men, who spend so little time in the country with their families, many are married but are unable to take their wives to town with them. The Pass Laws of South Africa do not allow this. A recent study in Cape Town showed that 58% of the men in the industries investigated were married, but over half of these did not have their wives with them in town.

Men leave their families in the Reserves and come to work in the town in order to provide food. The Reserves of the Ciskei and Transkei and some in Natal

and the Northern Cape are nowhere near self-supporting even in corn. The money men earn in town goes mostly in buying food including corn grown on farms in the Orange Free State province. Nearly every family in the Ciskei and Transkei depends upon a bread-winner working away. More and more African men are forced to work in town; they cannot make a living off the land in the Reserves. Where then are their families to live?

## FAMILIES ENDORSED OUT

At present families which have joined the father and bread-winner in the

city are steadily being "endorsed out", that is, refused permission to remain in town and ordered to return to the district in which they were born. Some have homes in the villages in the Reserves, others do not, and indeed some have no legal right to live anywhere.

Wives can claim to remain with their husbands in town only if the husband has been there continuously for over 15 years, or worked for the same employer for over 10 years, and if it can be proved that the wife ordinarily resides with her husband.

A man went to the country to marry. When he brought his bride back to his home she was "endorsed out". "You may not live here" she was told, "nor anywhere else in Johannesburg. *As long as*

*you stay with your husband you are liable to be arrested.*" Her husband on the other hand was born in Johannesburg and legally may not live anywhere else. They pleaded to be allowed to live together. "*It doesn't matter what the marriage service says*" an official commented. "*If a Native is illegally in an area, then that is all there is to it.*"

### THE RUBBER STAMP

Nearly 9,000 African women were "endorsed out" of the Western Cape Province alone between 1959 and 1962. Men who do not qualify under Pass Law regulations suffer the same fate.

A rubber stamp in the hands of a South African office clerk is more powerful than lawyers, courts, magistrates, more terrifying than a prison sentence, more destructive than a bullet. The stamp separates man and wife, orphans children, controls destinies, exiles, and brings poverty and starvation. Under its impact, homes disintegrate and people are scattered.

A clerk stretches out his hand, bangs his small implement on the violet inkpad, imprints it carefully on a page of the pass-book. The owner of the pass-book is "endorsed out".

The stamp prohibits a man or woman from living within an urban area. You must leave within a specified number of days or hours. If you do not leave you are arrested and sentenced.

You must leave your home and the place where you work. You must leave your community, your relatives, your friends. Where do you go? Back to the reserves, they say. And if you were born in the town and never knew the reserves? Still, back to the reserves where your father was born, or your grandfather. A place where there are hardly any

towns, houses, industries or places to work. Where there are insufficient schools for your children, too little land, and too many other people like yourself.

### MULTIPLYING REGULATIONS

No consideration of economic circumstances, length of residence in a town, marital condition or number of dependents enters into the act of endorsing out. It is devised in the interest of what is called by officialdom INFLUX CONTROL, to control populations as you would control slave labour, and it is used for non-white people. The law developed its own parasitic growths of bye-laws, municipal regulations, ordinances, edicts, codes; they take on their own activity, they operate like computers, they are programmed, nothing will make them deviate from their ordained course, no consideration of logic, reason, decency or ordinary humanity.

### TRAGIC STORIES

Nelson Ntlebi jumped in front of a train, after being endorsed out. An ex-serviceman, he had lost his job and obtained another, but he had broken the regulations which do not allow Africans to seek work where they please. So officials endorsed him out of the area and told him to go to another town, Germiston. When he went there, they refused to give him a permit to live in that place. He told his brother, "I leave my wife and children in your care. I can no longer endure life under these intolerable circumstances."

Mrs Maphela, married, living in Paarl in the Cape, was told that because of a technicality under the influx control





laws she could not go on living with her husband. She took her case to court and finally on appeal to the Supreme Court. When this failed, she appealed directly to the Minister of Bantu Administration, then Mr de Wet Nel. He said resentfully that she had had the temerity to "challenge the law of the country", and he wouldn't make any concessions.

Old people after a lifetime of labour are endorsed out, and sent to die alone in some forgotten reserve. Africans who emigrated from other territories twenty, thirty or forty years ago are endorsed out to a land that has become alien to them. Women whose husbands die are endorsed out of urban townships — they may not go on living in the municipal houses. Their furniture is sold, what they have left is lost.

In Alexandra Township in Johannesburg a whole town of 80,000 people were being endorsed out, the women sent to the reserves, their homes destroyed, and a hostel for "single" men erected where their families once lived, so the men could go on working in Johannesburg.

In the Cape 26,000 African men and women are being endorsed out to fit in with the Government's scheme of apartheid. In the 1960 Emergency, of 20,000 people arrested and detained without trial, 18,000 were Africans caught up haphazardly and later endorsed out.

#### POLITICAL ENDORSING OUT

When the courts sentence people for political offences they serve their term of imprisonment but on release a new sentence is passed, one that effectively destroys what has survived of their home and family while they were in jail: they are endorsed out. Or this is

done to those against whom no actual charge can be preferred.

Elena Mpemba's husband was endorsed out of the Cape "because he was making trouble for the Government." He disappeared, just vanished. Then Mrs Mpemba, mother of 8 children, who had lived in Langa, Cape Town, for 25 years, was told that as her husband was no longer living there she had no right to live there and must leave. But she had relinquished rights to live in her place of birth 22 years previously. "Is it a crime to want to keep your family together?" she asked. Legally she may now not live anywhere. A non-person.

Mrs Grace Mtati has six children. Her husband was convicted for membership of the African National Congress. The municipal Labour Bureau told her, her permit to remain in the urban area had expired; it was valid only as long as she "discharged her lawful duties to her husband." His absence (in jail) disqualified her. After living in Port

Elizabeth for more than 15 years she was told to sell her furniture and go.

#### NO RIGHT TO LIVE ANYWHERE

It is estimated that about one-third of the African population of South Africa has no actual right to live anywhere, because they were born either on a white-owned farm which their parents have since left, or in an urban area to which, having left for a certain length of time, they have no right to return.

According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, between 1956 and 1963, 464,726 persons were endorsed out of 23 major towns. With their wives or husbands it makes the total a million. And with their families, their children and their dependants . . .

What is the fate of those endorsed out? There is only the limbo of rejection, that existence without living, that terrible life of suspense, fear and frustration. ■

# S.A. SELLS HER IMAGE ABROAD

## THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

by Emil Appo

As disclosed recently by Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster, the accelerated propaganda campaign now being mounted in Europe and the United States by South Africa falls into three categories. At home there is the official government Information Service, strongly augmented by the activities of the South African Foundation; while abroad private individuals, politicians, organizations and big business lend overt and covert support. Thirdly, the South African Government retains public relations firms, finances newspaper groups and journalists who in turn give a highly favourable picture of the country and its policies to the outside world.

Very important, then, would be a closer examination of how these individuals and groups make a powerful combination with the South African government in an attempt to white-wash apartheid abroad and project an image of prosperity and internal political tranquility.

### SELLING APARTHEID ABROAD

A department with a tiny budget and only three offices abroad when Dr Malan became Prime Minister in 1948, the Information Service today has offices in virtually every country with which South Africa maintains diplomatic relations, having spent £1,486,320 for the year 1965-66 on its worldwide operations. An additional sum of £200,000 was listed during the same year as earmarked for "Secret Service" in the budget of the Foreign Ministry under Dr Hildegard Muller, who explained that it was for "improving South Africa's image" and would not be used for espionage or subversion.

As early as 1955, Dr Piet Meiring, Director of State Information, purposefully put the goals of his department in a 'Fact Paper' when he wrote: "Modern techniques have turned sell-

ing into a highly specialised science. South Africa could profitably employ these new-fangled methods in her difficult task of selling herself to the outside market. The real commodity that wants selling, however, is goodwill and the real story that wants telling is the unofficial, domestic and social story of what individual White South Africans are doing for the Bantu. Let that be a story of real understanding and willingness to uplift and it will be a story to impress and convince the outside world."

### THE GLOSSIES

Part of the "sell" Meiring was talking about is carried out through the free distribution of glossy magazines like *S.A. Panorama*, *S.A. Digest*, *Bantu*, *Business Report*, *S.A. Summary* and *Scope*. These are augmented by numerous periodicals, hundreds of occasional pamphlets and booklets, TV and cinema films, and speeches by information officers. The audio-visual section of the Information Service produces scores of films in English, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese each year, mostly in colour. A shortwave radio station with powerful transmitters, said to be capable of reaching "about every corner of the earth" and broadcasting in nine languages throughout the day, was opened in October 1965 by Verwoerd.

### MISLEADING ADS

Early last year the programme really got into high gear when three-part full-page advertisements began to appear in the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and four other major American dailies. The dominant theme of these ads was that South Africa is a rich, anti-communist Western ally; that it is a real Eldorado where foreign corporations in 1963 could report a 26% return on their outlay; the

Transkei and other so-called Bantustans are eulogised as "communities of politically independent, economically interdependent states."

The newspaper campaign spread with intensity to Europe, particularly Britain and West Germany, when mass-circulation dailies like the *Daily Express* got off with well-written, by-lined four-page supplements, proclaiming the virtues of a sun-drenched life and boundless opportunities for White immigrants.

A letter written by Mr Hamilton Wright, a New York public relations consultant, to his client the South African government, had this to say:

*"What much of this work proves — beyond a doubt — is the value of positive non-political propaganda to create an effect essentially political. Political propaganda as such would have been largely ineffective. But institutional publicity — touching on South Africa's general life, economic, social and cultural accomplishments, tourist attractions, sports, festivals, etc — can tend to soften hard political attitudes, make for good feeling, and tend to correct misinformation about the country."*

Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, Chairman of the U.S. Committee which revealed the above letter in its investigation of the activities of non-diplomatic principles of foreign governments, contended that U.S. law is designed to let the public know that what they are seeing and buying is propaganda paid for by a foreign power, and that the Hamilton Wright outfit was trying to conceal this. During incisive questioning Mr Wright complained that the public would not buy his 'product' if it were always labelled as paid for by a foreign government.

"You are saying that unless you deceive the public there would be no place for you" was Senator Fulbright's sharp retort.





SUNSHINE  
ZEBRAS  
PROFIT\$

## U.N. JOURNALISTS

In a report some time back, the South African Information Service stressed the importance of New York which "apart from being the biggest centre of news dissemination in America, if not in the world, also has in its midst the elaborate press organization attached to the United Nations," with representatives of about 400 world newspapers, agencies and services accredited to the UN all year and over 1,000 accredited pressmen during sittings. This provides great opportunities for lobbying newsmen and maintaining the best of relationships.

In keeping with this, prominent editors and groups of journalists are regularly offered free, expenses-paid junkets "to see South Africa for themselves." These efforts, according to the Information Service report, have yielded "an appreciable decline in the eagerness of journalists to forecast nothing but darkness for South Africa."

## BRITAIN AND WEST GERMANY

While conceding that US newspapers who express outright pro-South African views are the kind with relative little influence (like the *Shreveport Journal* and the *Union Leader*), the same report points out that it sees encouraging prospects in Europe, where Britain and West Germany have powerful conservative newspaper establishments. The tactic employed by these news-media is to present events in South Africa with a strong tone of soberness and "objectivity", while treating the rest of independent black Africa with extreme sensation and ridicule.

Moreover, S.A. information officers have long ago discovered that the doors of high schools, academies, business clubs and cultural societies are readily opened for propaganda films and lectures. And with rare exceptions they have conquered the West German local and provincial newspaper field.

## AAAA AND THE FOUNDATION

The American-African Affairs Association (AAAA) is a pressure-group formed just over a year ago, and its 58 directors and members range from the ultra-conservative publisher of *National Review*, William A. Rusher, to downright John Birchites. The association mentions no more than the fact that its proposed first-year budget of £53,320 will come from "African sources". But it is ominous to note that the South African Foundation announced at the time of the formation of the AAAA that it had dropped plans for opening a New York office.

Three months ago I tried for several days without success to secure an interview with members of the AAAA through their Fifth Avenue office. Nevertheless it is well known that the group last year launched a new campaign at enormous cost to saturate the American public with newsletters, lectures and radio and TV appearances by such figures as Prof. Ernest van den Haag, Dr Thomas Molnar, and Dr Max Yergan, a Negro who has been head of the Tshombe secessionist lobby and nowadays is a regular visitor to Rhodesia which is held by the Smith regime. The specific aim of this fresh campaign is to work up the American people against their government's support for the UN demand for wresting South West Africa from the mal-administration of South Africa.

## "FRIENDSHIP" ASSOCIATIONS

While there aren't quite such high-pressure groups as the AAAA operating in Europe, the function of white-washing apartheid is performed by so-called "Friendship" associations in countries like Denmark, West Germany and the Netherlands. In Finland it is the Finnish Missionary Society which has worked out the subtlest of apologia means for South Africa.

Prominent clergymen, and politicians

of the stripe of Franz-Josef Strauss (former West German defence minister), are flown out by the South African Foundation on extended tours and their sympathetic pronouncements played to the heavens in South Africa's overseas propaganda network.

## FOREIGN INVESTORS

But by far the most powerful weapon in the armoury of apartheid abroad is the firm confidence displayed by foreign investors. For the extent to which South Africa depends on the "economic boom" for her continued strength can by no means be under-estimated. Ecstatic claims in South African Foundation pamphlets that it is a country "so diverse, so rich, and in an African context, so balanced and stable as to defy all comparison," are firmly backed by a steady in-pour of foreign capital.

## "WE GOT THERE FIRST"

Perhaps the most ridiculous argument used to divert attention from the real issue by South Africa's apologists is the one which implies that the apartheid policy is just because "the White man got there first". The real issue, of course, is not who got there first but who is there now, and how a just society can be developed in which all men can have a fair share. Although the "first-come" argument is irrelevant, it may be worthwhile to point out that South Africa's own scholars and historians have proved that it is also a blatant falsehood. ■



Emil Appolus, writer of this article, is Secretary for Publicity and Propaganda for SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organization), which is leading the revolutionary struggle in Namibia (South West Africa).

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## RESTRICTIONS (1)

A banned doctor who wants to continue his studies has been refused permission by the Minister of Justice to enter the Witwatersrand University's Medical School library.

Dr Costa Gazidis applied for a variation of his banning order so that he could go to study for a course in tropical medicine and hygiene, which he is doing through a London correspondence college.

In terms of the banning orders served on him last September, he is prohibited from entering any educational premises. Permission to go to the library has been refused, reports the Rand Daily Mail.

## RESTRICTIONS (2)

The Minister of Justice, Mr Pelsler, said in a reply to a question in Parliament that as at 31 December last year, 675 people had been subject to restrictions in terms of the so-called Suppression of Communism Act. Of these, 125 had left South Africa before 31 December.

Last year, 12 people subject to restrictions had been sentenced to prison for failure to report at police stations (one of the requirements of restriction orders); a further 17 had been imprisoned for other contraventions of their restriction orders.

*Traffic controller*



## MOTORING OFFENCE: SHOT

An African motorist was shot in both legs by a Lyttelton (Transvaal) traffic inspector, after a high-speed chase which began when the African failed to stop after passing through a speed trap.

## CHILDREN DIE: COPS FINED

Willem van As and Rudolph van Wyk, two South African policemen, were this year found guilty of culpable homicide after the death of two children. They were each fined £150.

The two small African children, David and Settler Makwena, died of exposure after the policemen had arrested their father for an alleged motoring offence. They were found huddled under a bridge the next morning.

The judge said the policemen should have realised that by arresting the father they were depriving the children of parental care. They had acted without discretion in arresting the father for a questionable offence when he was in charge of the children.

## BRUTAL TORTURE (1)

Twenty-six year old twin brothers Goolam and Cassim Moosai of Newclare, Johannesburg, who alleged that they were brutally tortured by policemen during interrogation, were acquitted earlier this year on charges of house-break and theft. They were acquitted without having to give evidence after the State had closed its case. The magistrate Mr J. L. de Villiers found that the State had not made a case for them to answer.

The defence had put it to Sergeant le Roux that Goolam Moosai was handcuffed and suspended upside-down between two tables on a broomstick pushed through the crook of his arms and behind his knees. "He was upside-down for about one-and-a-half hours. Then he says he was given a hiding and

several blows were struck on his testicles" stated the defence.

A specialist, an independent doctor, stated he found traces of injuries on the accused. Le Roux denied the allegations.

The brothers have laid a charge of assault against Sergeant le Roux, and intend suing the Minister of Justice.

## BRUTAL TORTURE (2)

An African suspected of an assault was hit and kicked by a young police constable until his face was covered in blood, it was alleged in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court last month. Gabriel Jacobus Petrus van Eenden and Gerhard Kritzinger, both Constables, appeared at a preparatory examination on an allegation of culpable homicide, arising out of the death of Mr Daniel Shuping.

Constable Stephen Chuene said in evidence that while investigating an assault he found a screw-driver in Mr Shuping's possession.



*Torture device*

Van Eenden took the screw-driver and began assaulting Shuping with his clenched fist. Shuping was hit several times on the face. When he tried to run away Kritzinger kicked him in the back. Van Eenden hit him again until he fell to the ground on some bricks. Van Eenden kicked Shuping under the chin as he lay on the ground. Shuping died later that day.

## BRUTAL TORTURE (3)

Three people committed suicide while being held under the 180-day detention clause since it was introduced in June 1965, the Minister of Justice Mr Pelsler told Mrs Helen Suzman in Parliament on 27 January 1967.

The detainees had been held for 16, 2 and 37 days respectively. But Mr Pelsler would not disclose why they were being detained as witnesses, as "it is not deemed in the public interest".

Mr Pelsler told Mrs Suzman that 3 Whites, 63 Africans and 36 Asians were at present being detained under the 180-day clause. In 1965 10 Whites, 2 Asians and 5 Africans were detained, while last year the figures were 138 Africans, 57 Asians, 34 Whites and 1 Coloured. Eight of the 1965 figure were women, while last year 17 were women.

## THE SIGNS OF HUMILIATION

Joyce Sikakane in an article entitled "The Signs of Humiliation", published in the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, states: —

'You get up in the morning and walk a mile to the station. You get into a crowded coach which is probably secondhand from the Whites.

At Johannesburg you fight your way out of the non-white's side-entrance to the station — the handsome concourse is for Whites only — and you head for a bus.

On the way you go into a shop, and after waiting your turn — which means waiting until every white in sight has been attended to — a teenage assistant turns to you: "Yes, girl, what do you want?"

You tell her and she hands it to you — after you have paid.

Then you go to a dry-cleaning depot and the assistant asks whether the clothes you want cleaned are "the madam's". You answer that they are your own: and you are told to go to some other place where they accept "Bantu clothes".

You go to a public lavatory and you notice the signs refer to White women as "ladies" and non-White women as "females".

At lunch-time you go to a cafe and you are served through a back window.

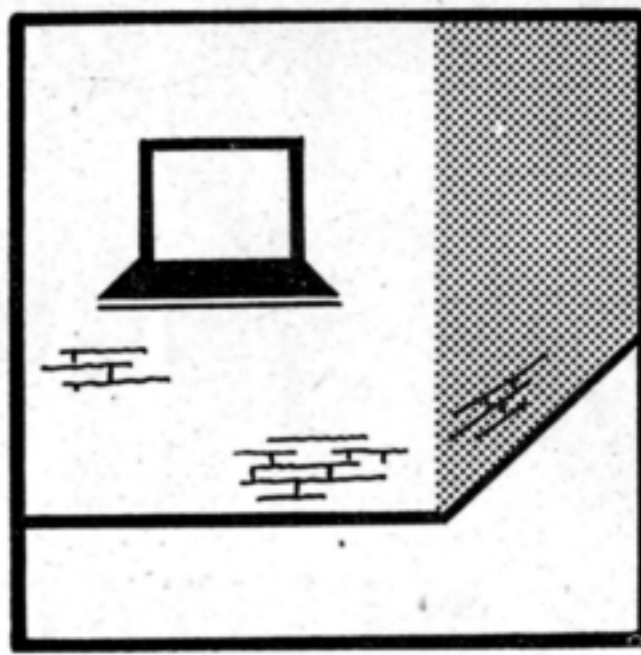
In the evening you go to visit a friend who happens to live in the servants' quarters on the roof of a block of flats. At the front entrance to the building you find a guard with a knob-kerrie (heavy stick) who tells you that you are not allowed in that way, and you must not use the White lifts.

So you go round the back and get into the goods lift. And when it stops on the top floor you walk up a fire-escape to get to your friend's room.

And finally on your 20-mile way home, some-one finds some excuse to abuse you. That's your life. We laugh it off, but it's sour.

I don't see why I should have to suffer humiliations all day, every day of my life, in my city, in my country.

Some years ago some-one took exception to a sign on the Main Reef Road which said: "NATIVES CROSS HERE". He changed it to "NATIVES



Cafe counter

VERY CROSS HERE". He went to jail for his troubles, but he made his point perhaps: that sign is no longer there.

More recently I saw an African react with contempt to a White whose car had stalled in Twist Street.

"Hey boy," shouted the White man to the African walking on the other side of the street, "Come and give me a push."

"Voetsak" ("Go to hell") said the African, and walked on, leaving the White man speechless, but perhaps a little wiser.

## MORE GUERRILLAS ARRESTED

Two more South African-born Africans trained as guerilla fighters have been caught in Botswana on their way to South Africa. Both were armed. According to the Botswana police, both men claimed to be political refugees from South Africa. Both were obstinate under interrogation however, and did not behave like political refugees. (Editor's note: Before Christmas eight armed South Africans were deported to Zambia from Botswana.)



## THE MEANING OF RAPE

Joseph Benjamin, 27, and Abraham James, 25, were sentenced to death by Mr Justice van Heerden for raping a 20-year-old White woman. Mr Justice van Heerden said the sentence would have been the same had the complainant been a non-White woman. "The

court has not come to its decision because the rape was by non-whites on a white." (*Rand Daily Mail*, 25 February 1967.)

A 32-year-old African woman, Jane Gare, was awarded £500 damages with costs against four young White men who had earlier been convicted of raping her. Petrus Maphana, who was walking with Miss Gare when she was attacked and who was beaten into unconsciousness by the men, was awarded £50 with costs.

Evidence was led that the men were tried and convicted in November 1965 for raping Miss Gare, and had each been sentenced to six strokes with a cane. One of them, Joubert, received the strokes with a heavy cane and was also given a suspended sentence of one year's imprisonment. (*Star*, 11 January 1967.)

## FIRST INDIAN 'BORDER INDUSTRY'

South Africa's first white-owned Indian 'border industry' — a £9 million textile mill — has been opened in the primarily rural area of Tongaat.

Financially the new company is a joint venture between Britain's vast David Whitehead group and two South African concerns, the Tongaat Sugar Co Ltd and Ropes and Matting Ltd.

The number of Indian men on the payroll is expected to rise to 950 by mid-year. *Wages will be about half that paid to textile workers in the cities.*

## SHUT-OUT FOR JEWS AND CATHOLICS

Teachers who were Roman-Catholic or Jewish found difficulty in obtaining posts in schools in the Orange Free State province of South Africa. This was stated by a delegate to the congress of the United Party in November last year. Of the Province's 37,000 English-speaking Whites, about 7,300 were Catholics and 10,500 were Jews. "These people find themselves very much excluded from the teaching profession, for schools will not appoint them" stated the delegate.

## QUOTE

*Returning to South Africa after attending the Miss World contest in London, Miss South Africa stated that Miss India had been chosen as Miss World for political reasons. "Yes, it definitely was a political choice," said Miss South Africa. "There were two non-whites among the judges."*

*She did not feel that Miss Yugoslavia was chosen second for political reasons.*

# JUGGERNAUT

## THE FASCIST MILITARY MACHINE

The Republic of South Africa is the most powerful bastion of imperialism in the entire continent. And with good reason, for it is here that the crucial battles for African emancipation will be fought. The South African ruling class brazenly assisted by the imperialist countries of Britain, the USA, West Germany, France etc., is aware that its continued existence in the face of the struggle by the oppressed African people depends on the use of the most brutal and sadistic methods. The efficiency of these methods to ensure the survival of their regime, depends on the expansion of the fascist armed forces, the introduction of better and more modern equipment not only for the armed forces but also for the police and other para-military forces.

The militarization of fascist South Africa is an outward sign of the force being created and moulded to resist the overthrow of colonialism and racial oppression in Southern Africa. The build-up of the force is reflected in the following estimates.

### EXPENDITURE FOR DEFENCE AND POLICE

	1960—61	1963—64	1964—65
Defence	£21,795,500	£60,802,000	£105,000,000
Police	£18,100,000	£27,935,000	£24,596,000
TOTAL	£39,895,500	£88,737,000	£129,596,000

These figures were given by the South African Minister of Finance, Dr T.E. Donges, in the House of Assembly on the introduction of the record Defence Budget in March 1964. The most recent estimates — provided by the British Institute of Strategic Studies, June 1966 — show that the South African fascist regime is spending more on military and para-military forces than it did at the height of the second world war. The total arms budget for the period 1965—66 is £578,450,000.

### NUMBER OF TROOPS

Out of a white population of 3½ million, the armed forces comprise 21,700 men. There are 43,600 armed police plus 55,000 reservists and other para-military forces. These forces are provided with modern tanks, armoured cars, aircraft and warships — provided despite the nominal arms embargo by Britain, the USA and other NATO countries. At the same time, these Western powers are helping to develop an armaments industry inside South Africa.

In addition to the 21,700 troops armed with modern weapons, highly mobile and decentralized, there are the Commandos and the Citizen Force. All white youths above the age of 18 are compulsorily called up for nine months training in the

citizen force in the first year, and three months for the next three years. Every able-bodied white South African who is neither a member of the Permanent Force or of the Citizen Force, is required to serve for four years in the Commandos, which are divided into Afrikaans- and English-speaking units. These are trained in weaponry and in combat operations.

### BELICIOUS ATMOSPHERE

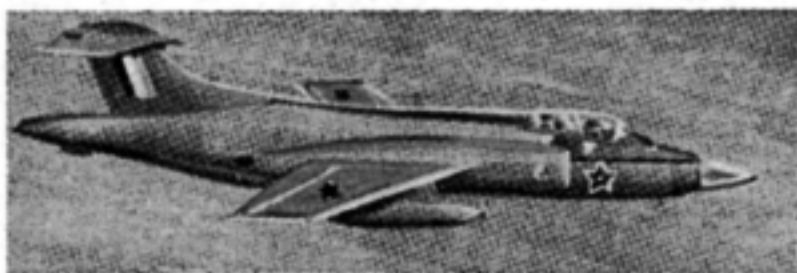
The task of the army and air force, according to a statement by the then Minister of Defence Mr Fouché, is "to take action for internal security as soon as disturbances have reached a degree where the police are unable to control them. In order to cope with this task, greater mobility, armoured protection and increased striking power have been given to twelve of the infantry units, together with the two Mobile Watches which are organized as Saracen Units. These form a shock element in the Army."

The bellicious atmosphere which pervades South Africa can be illustrated by a statement reported in the *CAPE TIMES* of 25 February 1963. The statement reads as follows: "When you are really in need of a firearm, it is worth more to you than all your other earthly belongings." — *Adjutant-Officer Badenhorst, instructing a women's Shooting Club.*

### ARMED FORCES STRENGTH

At this juncture it is necessary to analyse the various sections of the South African armed forces and to show their strength and rate of expansion. I shall start with the Air Force.

Aircraft include about 130 first-line combat-type and 440 support-type planes. To these must be added 8 Navy aircraft



and 21 Army liaison aircraft. This makes an inventory of 600. To these should be added Mirage Jet Fighters supplied by France and Buccaneers procured from Britain.

Then comes the Navy which has 3,000 men with 29 active vessels. These are being reinforced with three Whitby Class anti-submarine frigates of 2,577 tons. Armament will include two 4.5 inch twin-mount guns, two 40 mm Bofor anti-aircraft guns, twelve tubes for homing torpedoes, and two 3-barrel depthbomb mortars.



South Africa is self-reliant for its munitions. Three new armament factories have been constructed at a cost of £10 million in a deal between the Government and *African Explosives and Chemical Industries* (AECI). Apart from .303 ammunition local plants are now manufacturing 7.62 mm bullets for automatic rifles, 9 mm bullets for sub-machine guns, and .380 revolver ammunition. Armoured cars, radio equipment and service equipment are built locally. The standard weapon is the 7.62 mm NATO rifle, also the 7.62 mm light machine gun and a 9 mm sub-machine gun. The Saracen, the Ferret Mark I and II and the Centurion Mark 325 are being replaced by the French Panhard armoured car.

### RESEARCH AND GAS

The South African Government is leaving no stone unturned in its preparations for the coming struggle. Its plans include research into poison gas, rockets and nuclear power. There is the Defence Research Council in charge of research work into the use of poison gas. A special group of scientists is learning about virulent poisons like Tabun, Soman and Sarin, developed in Nazi Germany. These poisons are capable of being delivered in big quantities by aircraft or long-range missile, and they can have a destructive effect similar to that of a nuclear bomb of twenty megatons.

South Africa has sent experts abroad to study methods of making missiles. To pursue this objective, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research established a National Institute for Rocket Research in 1963, the immediate task being to build ground-to-air missiles. According to the Directors of the South African Atomic Energy Board, the country has the knowledge, ability and industrial potential to produce nuclear weapons.

### "MILITARY POLICE"

When analysing the military build-up in South Africa, it becomes imperative also to analyse the police force which is being increasingly co-ordinated with the army. The police force has taken functions similar to those of an army of occupation. The police receive basic military training, mainly in the use of rifles and machine guns. The South African Air force is training police to man their own helicopters and Harvard spotter-planes for police reconnaissance and transport operations. During emergencies, police are issued with Belgian FN rifles (just like the army), and police cadets are issued with revolvers. The police have their own mobile armoured division of Saracens, stationed throughout the country with at least three to each divisional office. This militarization of the police elicited the rather candid remark from the then Minister of Justice J. B. Vorster: "One can hardly draw a line between police matters and military matters."

### THE TASK FORCE

Thus the South African government has cast aside all illusions and fully realises that the oppressed people will use all methods at their disposal to wrest their freedom from those who have usurped it. Faced with this reality, the fascists, in addition to all other preparations, have inaugurated a new, go-anywhere, do-anything combat group known as the Task Force. According to a spokesman for the Commandant-General's office, this force will have full and adequate air support in any emergency it is required to deal with. Although the strength of this force is unknown, it is an established fact that it is composed of the best-trained troops in the Republic with the most modern weapons. The unit is very mobile and not limited to any geographic area.

### CRUSHING OPPOSITION

It is important to consider all the implications and dangers which this military build-up poses for the National Liberation Movement. Confronted by blows from the Liberation Movement (which is supported by all progressives the world over), the South African fascist regime, like all tyrannies in other parts of the world, has been forced to place the country on a war footing and to whip up White chauvinism in order to bolster its position. Past experience in dealing with the National Liberation Movement has convinced the fascists that the police, together with other former methods of oppression, have failed to blunt the determination of the oppressed people to deliver themselves from the fascist grip. To crush strikes, demonstrations and acts of sabotage, initiated and carried out by the African National Congress and its allies, the South African minority government has used its armoured police, soldiers and other military groups.

### THE LIE OF EXTERNAL AGGRESSION

The naked and brutal manner in which the fascists deal with the resistance of the masses has exploded the myth that the expansion of the South African armed forces has been made necessary by the threat of external aggression. This is a lie and a subterfuge, designed by apartheid's architects to deceive the world and to make it easier for South Africa to enter into military, political and economic deals with the Western countries.

*What happened in Pondoland in 1960, at Langa in the same year, at Sharpeville, in the May 1961 strike etc., are eloquent examples of the increasing use of the armed forces to intimidate and crush the forces of liberation.*

In addition, the rapid expansion of the armed forces in the fascist Vorster Republic constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of independent African states.

The South African government is feverishly equipping its armed forces with the most sophisticated weapons in order to block the advance of the liberation movement and to stop the advance at the Zambesi.

The systematic and intensified military build-up in South Africa has been accompanied of late by sabre-rattling and aggressive statements from the madmen of Pretoria. Vorster has openly stated that in the coming campaign against terrorists (the term that the South African government uses to denigrate freedom-fighters), he will not endanger the lives of the sons and daughters of South Africa: these of course are the Whites. One is forced to deduce that Vorster will launch an attack on the African countries he thinks are harbouring freedom-fighters. So the safety and sovereignty of all countries who have granted asylum to freedom-fighters is threatened. Such belligerent statements from the madmen of Pretoria should be taken seriously.

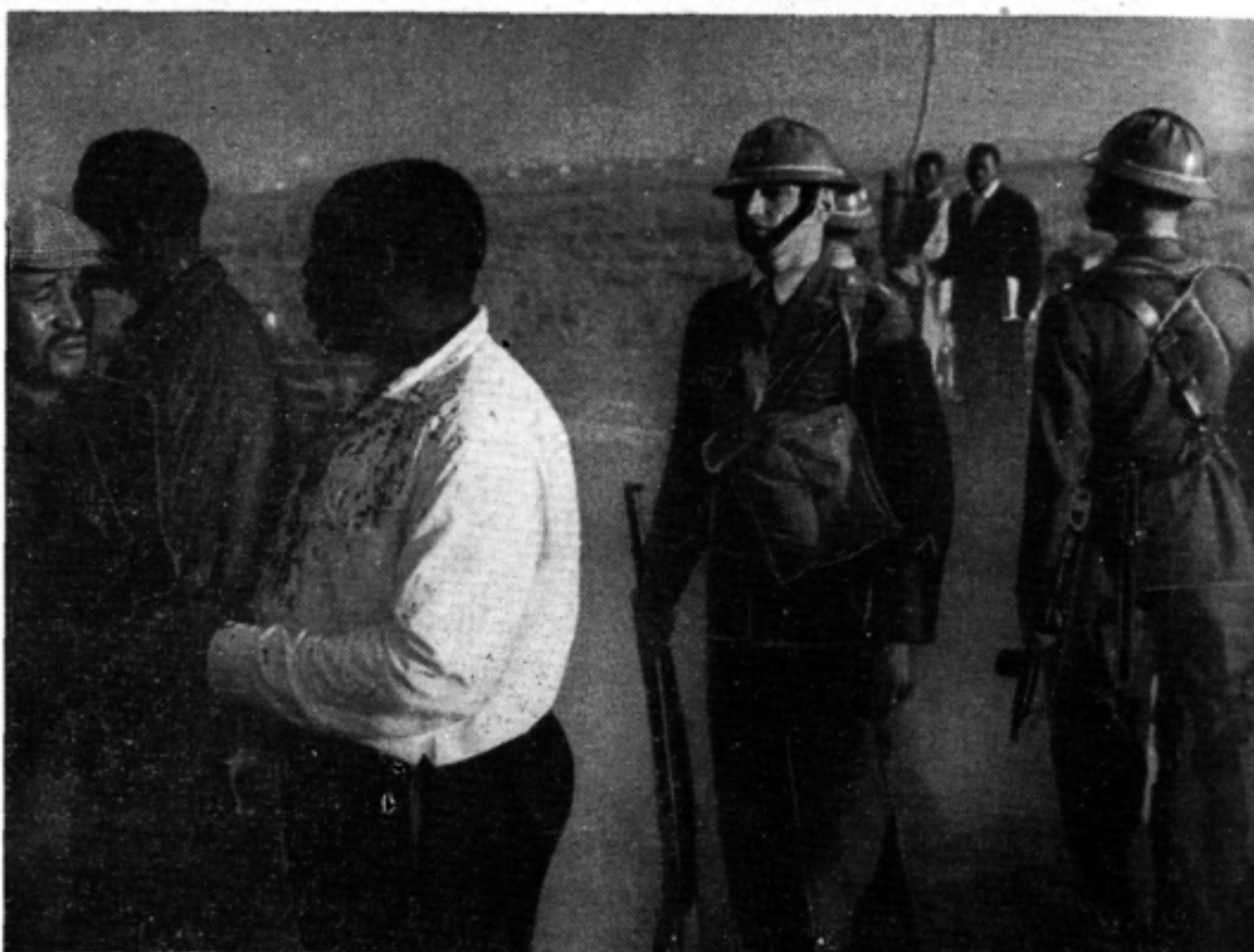
### FASCISM'S SUPPORTERS

Ironically, the armed forces of fascist South Africa are equipped by the very countries who only 23 years ago lost their sons in the struggle against Nazism and racism. Their present indifference and apathy to our fate forces us to infer that these countries fought Hitler's nazism not because it was racist but because it was expansionist. These mighty imperialists who are arming white South Africa are the USA, Britain, France and their NATO partners.

We of the African National Congress, which leads the liberation movement in our country, fully accept the responsibility for emancipating our people. All these hysterical preparations for war hold no terrors for us. We sincerely ask those countries which profess to uphold the principles of democracy and at the same time militarily and economically support a country which holds these principles in contempt, to keep away from the theatre of action. In the coming bloody settling of accounts, all methods will be used to ensure a speedy destruction of the octopus whose tentacles are being spread to destroy everybody in our country. ■

(Reprinted from *Mayibuye, Bulletin of the Zambia office of the ANC, Volume I, Number 7.*)

1. Patrol near a township railhead
2. Wounded man, and police in riot dress, during the stay-at-home in Zola
3. Spotlights on Cato Manor township



# the time has come

Part Two: S.A.  
Coloured  
People's  
Social and  
Economic  
Deterioration

BY ALEX LA GUMA

Forging ahead with its policy of 'separate development', the Nationalists have instituted the Coloured Representative Council which it hopes will serve as a Coloured 'Parliament' in the same way as it expects the Transkei 'Bantustan' Parliament to operate. Sixteen members of the CRC will be appointed by the Government and 30 elected by the Coloured people of the Republic.

The CRC will however be responsible to the Central government and any resolutions it might pass must be considered by the Minister of Coloured Affairs. The Nationalists have made it clear, in any case, that 'the rights of Indians and Coloureds will remain limited.'

Addressing Parliament in April 1965, the late Verwoerd said that 'if the Africans are eliminated from our political life... then the position is that we have a White majority in South Africa and two minority groups (Indian and Coloured people)... Surely it is much better then to give a minority group limited powers and opportunities. That is the basis of our policy.'

Further inroads have been made into the last institutions where the Coloured people of the Cape have enjoyed direct representation... the City Councils. In future Coloured people will no longer be elected to the central local governments, but will be 'represented' by Management Committees in the Coloured areas.

Parallel with the destruction of whatever political rights the Coloured people possessed within the framework of the white-supremacist society, social and economic conditions have rapidly deteriorated.

Under the Group Areas Act thousands of non-White people have been removed from long-established homes in 'mixed' areas to racial ghettos. The Group Areas Amendment Act makes it clear that the Minister of Planning is responsible for planning Group Areas for Whites, Coloureds and Asians through the Group Areas Board. As far as African areas are

concerned, the responsibility rests with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Numerous examples of invasions of the people's residential rights can be mentioned. In 1965 the whole of the central area of Cape Town, where non-Whites have lived for centuries, and where a large number have businesses, was declared for Whites only. From one district — District Six — more than 60,000 people are to be moved. Statistics show that over 100,000 non-Whites in Cape Town will be affected by group areas proclamations. In Port Elizabeth where the second largest concentration of Coloured people live, the situation is the same. In and around Johannesburg, places like Albertsville, developed by Coloured people over many years, have been taken over by Whites. From all parts of South Africa the names of places, both well-known and obscure, find a position on the group areas map.

## HUMILIATION AND TRAGEDY

Humiliation and tragedy has followed in the wake of the Nationalists 'separate development' policy. Houses, schools, churches, mosques, human beings suffer equally: the Christian Council of South Africa estimates that at least £3,000,000 is required to build new churches to serve communities moved under the group areas proclamations; when the century-old tiny Coloured community of Sea Point was ordered out of that part of Cape Town, one man, unable to face the prospect of starting life anew in some unfamiliar place, went out and hanged himself.

Beaches, entertainment and meeting halls, public parks, used for generations by non-Whites, have been barred to them. The Coloured people, angered by these encroachments on their rights to live and die where they please, have launched campaign after campaign in protest, only to be met with the disdain and intimidation of the Nationalists. Trade unions have been broken up on racial lines, thereby crippling the power

of workers to bargain collectively with employers. Jobs have been reserved for particular races. From driving heavy vehicles in the Orange Free State to posts as traffic policemen, the 'white-only' proclamations have frustrated the ambitions of non-Whites for higher standards of living.

## JOB RESERVATION

In the building trade which employs thousands of Coloured artisans, avenues of skilled employment have been closed to them in terms of work-reservation decrees. According to the job-reservation determinations, work normally performed by a skilled artisan in the fol-

*Queue of unemployed Coloured workers in Cape Town*



lowing centres is reserved for White persons only :

*Durban and Maritzburg*

carpentry, joining, wood-machining, plumbing, plastering and electrical wiring;

*Port Elizabeth*

same as for Durban and Maritzburg except for carpentry and plastering;

*East London*

all skilled trades;

*Cape Peninsula area, Paarl, Wellington, Stellenbosh & Worcester*

stone masonry, marble masonry, joinery, wood-machining and electrical wiring.

In the OFS no Coloured may work as a building tradesman, even though there is a major shortage of building workers on the goldfields. Job reservation in public transport in Cape Town allows only 16% of the total force of bus drivers to be non-White in spite of the service's complaints of shortage of staff. From most skilled spheres the barriers

of apartheid are diverting the people to the dead-end of unskilled labour.

In the face of increasing forms of apartheid and racial discrimination in politics and economics, it is not surprising that the physical and social life of the Coloured community is deteriorating to an alarming degree, while vast numbers in the lower income groups are hit first and hardest. Social problems which might exist under 'normal' capitalistic conditions are aggravated seriously by racial discrimination.

It should not be assumed that only under Nationalist rule has the position of the Coloured people deteriorated. Statistics reveal that in 1939, 53% of the community lived below the bread-line. Today the position is no better since no white-supremacist society, ruled either by the Nationalists or any other government, holds any promise of progress for the non-White people. Nationalist policy has only worsened the position.

Recent observations by sociologists (*Cape Times, June 2, 1966*) show that increased prices of food and higher trans-

port and other costs were widening the already considerable gap between unskilled wages and the rising cost of living. Approximately 150,000 people are dependent on the earnings of Cape Town's 40,000 unskilled workers... and 'a marked increase in the incidence of malnutrition' is imminent. Official figures showed that the cost of living had risen by 69% since 1948. In the same period basic wages had gone up by only 50% so that the unskilled worker was 19% worse off today than he was 18 years ago.

'Reports of medical officers of local authorities in the Cape showed that the infant mortality rate among non-Whites was 4 to 10 times greater than among Whites and that the incidence of diet-deficiency diseases was 10 to 20 times greater.'

'In 1965 an average of 185 new cases of tuberculosis a day was notified in South Africa — a total of close to 68,000. About 56,000 were African, 9,000 Coloured, 1,300 Asian and 1,260 White... Among the Coloured group a comparatively stabilised four-year run has been dramatically broken by an increase of 16% — from 7,800 cases in 1964 to 9,000 last year.' (*Cape Argus, June 14, 1966*)

Figures issued by the Cape Town City Council's Health Department show that of those who died in 1963—1964, 53% of the Africans, 39% of the Coloureds and 24% of the Asiatics were under the age of 5 years. Thus nearly half of those non-Whites who died were infants. The comparative figure for Whites during the same period was less than 5%.

According to the Minister of Planning, Mr. Haak, the life expectancy of Coloured men is 44.82 years, while that of Whites is 64.57. Asians are expected to live to the age of 55.77. White women can expect to live to 70.80 years. Figures for African men and women were not available, the Minister said. (*House of Assembly, 16 March, 1965*) ■

(Part Three of this article will appear in next month's *Sechaba*.)

*A Coloured family forced to move from their home*





# they are not afraid

**Four outstanding freedom-fighters  
and prisoners of conscience**

## JOE NQABI

Joe Nqabi first became deeply politically involved in the early 1950s. At this time there was a scheme to train Africans for building work in the townships. Joe was an extremely talented trainee. However his employers were soon distressed to find that he was no 'company man' but a militant trade union organizer. Dismissed, Joe (who had also become an active member of the ANC) entered a new field as a reporter on *NEW AGE*. Here his courage and resourcefulness soon proved to be of tremendous value. A former colleague says: "Wherever there was trouble you'd find Joe in the thick of it." It was largely due to his efforts that the torture and killings of convict labour in the eastern Transvaal was exposed . . . and the complicity which existed between prison authorities, police, and farmer exploiter 'employers'.

Interviewing a labourer on one of these farms, Joe was driven at by a farmer in a tractor and narrowly escaped by leaping a fence. He also carried out fearless exposures of gold-mining conditions — he got into the closely guarded compounds — and of the disgraceful circumstances surrounding the Coalbrook mining disaster.

In the early sixties Joe Nqabi was sent out of the country to undergo further training. After his return, he was caught ferrying recruits to the Botswana border. After serving two years imprisonment for this, he was re-arrested and, in May 1965, sentenced to ten years on charges for which he had already served a sentence. In his thirties, married and with two children whom he has been able to see little of, Joe is on Robben Island.

## STEPEN DHAMINI

Stephen has for many years been an outstanding figure in the liberation struggle. Employed as a textile worker, he became a highly effective trade unionist — being elected national chairman of SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) and also Secretary of the African Textile Union. In addition he was a member of the Natal Executive of the African National Congress. He was banned in 1953, was one of the accused in the Treason Trial, and during the 1960 Emergency did notable underground work, organizing demonstrations against the detention of Congress leaders.

In 1963 he played a large part in the stay-at-home strike called for by Mandela, and was arrested and charged with incitement and ANC activities. While on bail, he was detained in solitary confinement under the 90-day clause. At his subsequent trial he was sentenced to seven years. He was then re-charged under another section of the same Act and sentenced to a further year's imprisonment. He is now on Robben Island where he is reported to be doing heavy work in the quarries. Now in his fifties, he is the father of three grown-up children and is a talented musician.



## BILLY NAIR

Employed as a book-keeper, Billy took no prominent part in politics until he became active in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. Imprisoned for six months on this account, he emerged from prison a dedicated freedom-fighter. In 1953 when many leading trade unionists were banned, Billy was initiated into



Billy Nair

union work and developed into one of South Africa's top trade unionists. He was elected a member of the SACTU National Executive and also served on the Provincial Executive of the Natal Indian Congress. He did outstanding work in the organization of African workers in the first 'border industry', set up at Charlestown, where remarkable improvements were achieved in wages and working conditions. He was one of the accused in the Treason Trial.

He went underground in the 1960 Emergency but was arrested towards the end and held in solitary confinement. In 1963 he and Stephen Dhlamini were the first two detained in Natal under the 90-day clause. Billy was tortured by the Security Police but refused to make any statement. He was subsequently charged with sabotage and alleged to be Natal leader of *Umkonto we Sizwe* ('The Spear of the Nation'). While in prison awaiting trial, his colleagues found his courage and high morale inspiring. In 1964, he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, which he is serving on Robben Island.

## FRED CARNESON

Born into a poor working-class family during the depression years, Fred's formal education ended early. While still in his teens working as a sorter in the Post Office, he became keenly interested in politics and worker's organizations. At this time also he met his future wife Sarah: the start of a great partnership in the freedom struggle. After fighting in North Africa in the war Fred devoted himself to political activity. He was elected to the Cape Provincial Council — to be expelled four years later when new 'suppression of communism' legislation was enacted. Fred was a Treason Trial accused. He went underground during the Emergency, and his wife was detained.

Fred worked on a series of progressive political publications and became editor of *New Age*. In 1963 he was banned from taking part in journalism and subjected to constant police persecution and intimidation, until in 1965 he was detained under the 180-day clause. Remorselessly interrogated for days on end, he was deprived of sleep and forced to stand for long periods.

In January 1966, in Cape Town, he was charged with Sabotage and under the Suppression of Communism Act. Acquitted on the sabotage charge, he admitted to other charges in order to prevent friends of his from being imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against him. He was sentenced in May to 5 years and 9 months imprisonment. A further charge was subsequently brought against him but he was acquitted. He has recently been moved to the Pretoria prison after spending more than a year in solitary confinement. His wife Sarah is currently facing a charge. ■

# SACTU!

## FORMATION

When Sactu (the South African Congress of Trade Unions) was formed in March 1955, the Nationalist Government had been in power for 7 years — seven years which had been marked by attacks on the working class and by anti-trade union legislation. The Government had made it clear that it was implacably opposed to the organization of African workers into trade unions and that it would never recognise any such unions as negotiating bodies. It had indicated that it would not hesitate to use the armed might of the State against the workers.

But it was not only the hostility of the Government which the founders of SACTU had to face. Five months earlier the Trades and Labour Council, the most powerful federation of organized workers, had voluntarily dissolved their organization, which had permitted affiliation of African unions. They formed a new body TUCSA (the Trade Union Council of South Africa) which specifically excluded African unions from membership. The Government had used the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 to remove from office all progressive white trade unionists, and had thus paved the way for this act of appeasement. Ironically, the newly formed TUCSA claimed that their new federation would be more effective than a truly united body of workers in fighting direct Government interference in the trade union movement!

13 of the unions which had opposed the dissolution of the Trades and Labour Council now came together to form SACTU, knowing that from the majority of the organized workers they could expect only apathy and indifference, and from certain powerful unions, such as that of the white mine-workers, there would be intense hostility.

Employers, making super profits, preferred a large unorganized labour force and on this front too, SACTU was to face hostility and disruption.

But the founders of SACTU — 13 small unions representing workers in manufacturing industry, food and canning, textile, baking, shops, canvas and rope, tin, twine and bag, and others — announced their intention of forming a multi-trade union federation that was prepared to challenge the Government, the employers and those organized workers who either tacitly or openly supported APARTHEID.

## JOINS CONGRESS ALLIANCE

The founders of SACTU understood that trade union and democratic rights are not won in a vacuum and that the struggle of the workers was inextricably bound up with the struggle of all the non-white people of South Africa for liberation; for freedom from oppression and discrimination. So SACTU joined the Congress Alliance, which represented the African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Organization. It became a signatory to the revolutionary Freedom Charter, adopted by 10,000 democrats of all races at a mass conference held in October 1955.

**A NEW DIMENSION  
IN THE  
TRADE UNION  
MOVEMENT**

In the preamble to its Constitution, SACTU announced: "The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers. *Only the working class, in alliance with other progressively-minded sections of the community, can build a happy life for all South Africans, free from unemployment, insecurity, poverty, racial hatred and oppression: a life of vast opportunities for all.*

"But the working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it itself is united and strongly conscious of its inspiring responsibility. The workers of South Africa need a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working class can play their part, unhindered by prejudice or racial discrimination. Only such a truly united working class can serve effectively the interests of the workers; their immediate interests, higher wages and better conditions of life and labour, as well as *the ultimate objective of complete emancipation.*"

*A road-digger : average wage £3 per week*



**Part two of  
„WORKERS\* UNITY.“**

**POLITICS PART OF THE STRUGGLE**

Thus, with the appearance of SACTU on the scene, the struggle of the workers of South Africa entered a new dimension. They abandoned the slogan "no politics in the trade union movement" which the white unions had tried so hard to foster; knowing that colour was used to obscure the basic exploitation of all the non-white people and that the *politics* of this economic exploitation had to be fought by the workers. Starvation wages, pass laws, migratory labour — these are the politics of South Africa.

Thus in 1955, with an affiliation fee of only 10/ — per union, plus one penny per member per month, SACTU went into the field. It broke into the basic industries — into the State-owned transport industry with its own corps of tough police: it broke into the sacrosanct mining industry — into the compounds of the migrant mineworkers, also guarded by special

*A farm-worker : average wage £4 per month*



police; it sent its organizers into the vast engineering industry and it also organized the farm workers, workers whose conditions beggar description. It was in fact attacking the major bastions of APARTHEID.

## A POUND A DAY

Every penny was spent on organizing, so much so that the head office of SACTU existed for the first six years with only one paid official. When a typist was finally hired, there were no funds to buy a typewriter and it had to be hired. In its affiliated Unions, one official acted as Secretary, Organizer, Treasurer, Minute-taker, while also serving on SACTU local and National Committees. Its organizers covered thousands of miles travelling third-class in trains and hitching lifts: and SACTU grew into a national force.

In six years its membership increased from 13 affiliated Unions with 30,000 members to 46 affiliated Unions with 53,000 members, representing African, Coloured, Indian and White workers in the manufacturing as well as the basic industries.

Its influence was always greater than its organized strength and its £1-a-day campaign spread South Africa like a prairie fire. Originally, this demand for £1-a-day as a basic minimum wage was denounced by employers, by the national press, by the organized white workers as "irresponsible and frivolous," yet within 5 years the all-white Parliament was forced to debate this demand, while TUCSA claimed to have originated it!

So effective had SACTU become that TUCSA itself had been forced to drop its colour-bar so dramatically adopted in 1954, and once again to try to open its doors to African trade unions. Yet today in 1967, with all the leading SACTU officials, shop stewards, rank-and-file members banned and jailed and exiled in the savage retribution exacted by the Government for its success in organizing the workers, TUCSA is still not able to attract African workers into its ranks in any worthwhile numbers. In fact, TUCSA's African membership, on analysis, proves to be a *Complaints Department*, where individual grievances are taken up with individual employers. Should TUCSA attempt the genuine organization of the African workers, its members will be treated with the savagery meted out to SACTU. The South African Government

is as implacably opposed to the organization of African workers now as it was in 1948.

## STRIKES MADE ILLEGAL

The major crack-down on SACTU began after the great Stay-at-Home strikes called by the Congress Alliance, when throughout the country, in every industry where there were strong functioning SACTU Unions, there was an almost total stoppage.

In 1956, a year after the formation of SACTU, the Government had introduced the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which made all strikes of African workers a criminal offence. SACTU campaigned ceaselessly against this Act and from 1956 onwards the South African scene was marked by many hundreds of strikes in the milling, textile, leather, match and other industries. Thousands of workers paid fines and served prison sentences, while SACTU organizers were jailed and fined for "inciting" workers to strike. One of the provisions of the Settlement of Disputes Act allows for the establishment of committees, composed of Government, employer and *nominated worker* representatives, to discuss matters concerning African workers. SACTU assessed this an anti-union act, and demanded that the African workers be permitted to negotiate direct with their employers.

## SUCSESSES

Through its local committees, SACTU campaigned in all the main centres of South Africa; campaigned on every possible level, not only by organizing workers but by serving demands on employers, both provincial and national. As SACTU grew in strength, so did it achieve recognition, and employer's organizations were prepared to discuss wages and conditions with SACTU representatives. Progressive employers have had the bitter experience of having their entire labour force arrested even when they had amicably settled a strike by meeting the representatives of the SACTU Unions.

Through the intensity of its £1-a-day campaign, SACTU forced employers to realise that the non-white workers would no longer accept starvation wages while fully employed. The increases won over the past 12 years have been through the bitter struggles of SACTU and its affiliated Unions. ■

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It is our aim to bring before world public opinion precise and reliable information on the day-to-day events taking place in South Africa. In doing so we hope that sufficient indignation will be aroused among democratically-minded people throughout the world to support the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa against apartheid.

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