



the question was appointed. It has yet to report.

The official line was that urban Africans would be represented 'through their homelands.' This had been proposed by Viljoen in 1977 in an article, *Waarheen Met die Stadswartes? (Whither with the Urban Blacks?)* Viljoen wanted urban locations 'linked' to their corresponding 'homeland', possibly as separate constituencies. This would be a solution for the ethnically zoned locations. In the case of Soweto 'and some others', a different solution would be needed. They could become 'inter-ethnic city-states', or the bantustan governments could be given extra-territorial rights.

#### **Ethnicity and Total Strategy**

In 1982 the Prime Minister told Natal Nats that urban Africans would be represented through their 'homelands' except in the case of Soweto 'and possibly one other area'

where special arrangements might be made. He did not say what these would be.

An alternative plan being pushed by some verligte journalists such as Dr Wimpie de Klerk is for a national council representing urban Africans to have a place in the confederation. But this would violate the 'sovereign states' idea. Whatever course is chosen (probably the 'official' one), the OMSB has a crucial and even sinister role to play in making it possible.

In the article mentioned above, Viljoen warned that urbanised Africans would become more and more 'detrilled' unless steps were taken to strengthen links with the 'homelands'. But, he comforted his readers, population increase and urbanisation up to the year 2,000 offered a 'God-given opportunity' to plan African settlement so that it assisted white political plans rather than hindered them. Decentralisation must be not only economic but 'political-demographic' in content. New urban areas must be ethnically pure and sited so as to link up with ethnic 'homelands'.

The OMSB is intended to make these plans possible. Because urban residence will not be tied to a given prescribed area, the Minister will be able to move people to new, ethnic locations. He could do this by manipulating jobs and houses. He could even do it by ministerial order. People who have lived in Soweto for generations could be forced to move to planned new locations north of Pretoria on the grounds that they were 'ethnic Pedi' or 'ethnic Tswana'. This is the political meaning of 'increased mobility between prescribed areas'.

But this is not all. The NP planners realise it will probably be impossible to deal with all urban Africans by sorting them into ethnic batches. Therefore, the OMSB also aims to undermine the political strength and self-confidence of urban Africans by making their position much more uncertain. As was shown in part one of this analysis, Co-operation and Development officials had found that Section 10 rights gave those who held

them the feeling that they could not be touched. Under the OMSB, this feeling will disappear. The government hopes it can reduce the urban Africans to an insecure and docile community. Then it will be possible to force on them some kind of meaningless representation at confederation level, without risking an embarrassing refusal.

So much for constitutional reform. The second part of the South African government's reaction to developments after 1976 was the so-called 'total strategy'. Here too the OMSB has a vital role to play. 'Total strategy' combines a mish-mash of ideological formulae borrowed from international reactionary circles and real 'made-in-South Africa' measures of population control and coercion.

The OMSB is a vital step in the process of concentrating power in the hands of the executive branch of the State. This is a key element in 'total strategy'. Vast new powers given to the Minister of Co-operation and Development put an end to embarrassing possibilities of Africans going to the courts (as some of the Nyanga squatters did). And these powers will now cover the entire territory of South Africa, including the 'white' countryside.

The new powers are openly political, as in the case of the Minister's right to summarily 'remove' squatters who he thinks aim to 'canvass support for change or repeal of any law'. But even the seemingly 'economic' measures to do with 'unemployment areas' have a political side to them, as we have seen in regard to Section 10. The importance of the OMSB to the government's constitutional reform and 'total strategy' — the two arms of its post-1976 strategy — is very clear. But the Bill did not emerge without a struggle. This struggle (not yet over) involves various factions and interest groups inside the state apparatus and in the white camp. The strange story of how the Bill was drafted tells its own tale about this inner turmoil.

#### New Committees Formed

18 When the Riekert report was published, the

government issued a White Paper stating its reaction to the report's proposals. Then, in December 1980, a draft Bill was published and launched at an extraordinary press conference. Amazed journalists heard the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Piet Koornhof, try to make out that the Bill meant the end of passes. But each time he tried to explain why this was so, he was publicly and flatly contradicted by the Co-operation and Development officials sitting beside him.

It soon became clear that the officials were right and the Minister wrong. The Bill made the position of urban Africans worse. Bowing to the storm of protest that followed, the government withdrew the Bill and referred it to a special committee, the Groskopf Committee to be revised. The Groskopf Committee (with two African members) took as its guiding principle Riekert's reference to the most effective use of labour resources. According to leaks in the press, it took the view that 'a person who wishes to live an urbanised life and is able to maintain himself and his family in an urban environment should be entitled to do so'.

Not surprisingly, the report was never made public. When the OMSB was finally published, the black members of the committee denounced it as a deviation from their recommendations. Again, opposition was widespread. The government announced that the Bill would be referred to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Constitution, along with the Black Community Development Bill.

This committee (which had already made big changes to the Black Local Authorities Bill) included the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order (security affairs). It also included Colin Eglin, Helen Suzman and Nic Olivier, of the Progressive Federal Party. Another curious development followed. At first the government said the Select Committee would act as a Commission while parliament was not sitting, so as to speed up the discussion of these important Bills. But short-

ly afterwards, it let it be known that the OMSB would be last on the agenda and would probably not be discussed before 1984.

#### The Four Trends Within the White Bloc-

This complicated and still unfinished process shows the extent of the struggle around the Bill. The most important thing to note is that the factions for and against do not fit simply into the pattern of white bloc versus the popular organisations. Within the white bloc there are four main 'players'.

\* First, the officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development. These gentlemen are first of all interested in protecting their own jobs and power, and secondly in guarding the 'heritage of Verwoerd'. They are said to be strongly pro-Conservative Party. Because of the enormous complexity and scope of the pass law system, they are very hard to displace.

During September 1982, Afrikaans newspapers close to the Prime Minister accused Co-operation and Development officials of trying to sabotage the government's policies. In an obvious attempt to discredit the hard-line officials, it was said that funds meant for 'homeland' investment were being eaten up by 'administrative costs'. Towards the end of 1982 it became clear that Co-operation and Development officials had begun to implement provisions of the OMSB that were not yet law. Applications for Section 10 rights were being delayed, obstructed or refused. Instructions were given that no contract workers should be allowed to change jobs, even if they had already found a new one. They would have to go back to the Reserves, where the chances of getting another job were virtually zero.

\* Secondly, big businessmen and farmers. The businessmen are afraid that the Bill's 'draconian controls' will make 'rational economic planning' impossible. They are afraid of protest strikes. They are afraid that pass raids will now take place on the factory floor during working hours, instead of at workers' homes in the middle of the night. And they consider the prospect of being

fined R5,000 per illegal worker 'an outrage to the public conscience'.

The farmers are worried (as always) that any new controls in the rural areas will reduce the pool of surplus labour and thus mean higher wages. A spokesman for the SA Agricultural Union said the OMSB would create 'an impossible situation' and warned that farmers would be forced to mechanise thus causing unemployment.

\* Thirdly, the security forces. According to a report based on 'informed sources', the state security organs had a big part in drafting the Bill. This influence was exerted in the Cabinet Committee on Constitutional Development, on which the departments of Defence and Law and Order, as well as the NIS and security police are represented. The need to 'combat urban terrorism' was reported to be behind the curfew provisions and wide ministerial powers in the Bill. Even before the Cabinet Committee saw the Bill, the report stated, it was likely to have been vetted by the powerful State Security Committee. We have already seen how the OMSB fits into the 'total strategy'.

\* Fourthly, the government itself, which has the task of reconciling the demands of the various factions. Within the leading group of 'reformers' or 'modernisers' two tendencies can be found. Their differences reflect different functions rather than different outlooks. The 'ideologists' tend to think in political terms and are trying to find a political solution that will safeguard white domination and at the same time provide 'safety valves' in the form of 'participation' by black South Africans. The most important figures in this group are Gerrit Viljoen, Chris Heunis and lately FW de Klerk. The 'security chiefs', Louis le Grange and Magnus Malan, on the other hand, believe in the need to control the reform process by strong administrative action (coercion). The Prime Minister has a foot in both camps.

While ruling circles are divided, opposition to the OMSB outside the white power bloc is exceptionally broadly based.

# THE ELOFF COMMISSION HAD NO COMPETENCE

## STATEMENT BY BISHOP TUTU

*In our May issue we published an article on the Eloff Commission, which was appointed by Pretoria to enquire into the affairs of the South African Council of Churches. Here we print a transcript of the verbal reply made by Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the SACC, to the findings of the Commission.*

When I appeared before the Eloff Commission, I said I did not wish to impugn the integrity of the Commissioners. I want to reiterate as vehemently as I can what I then went on to say and it is this: That Commission had no competence at all to sit in judgment on the SACC and its member churches. I said then and I want to repeat for all to know that no secular authority, not even the government of this land, has any authority to sit in judgment on the churches about how to be Church and how to fulfil their God-given mandate to work for the extension of God's Kingdom of justice, peace, reconciliation, compassion, laughter, joy and goodness, and to serve our Lord Jesus Christ by serving those he has called the least of his brethren.

### **The Commissioners Are Not Theologians**

I want to agree wholeheartedly with the honourable Commission on at least one point. They have little understanding, as they declared, of theological verities. And how, in the name of everything that is good, could they be expected to make a judgment that would be even remotely fair if they had little

or no theological expertise? The whole matter of our existence, the *raison d'être* of the Council, is theological through and through. The Commission did not boast a single professional theologian in its membership, and how could it be expected to pass fair judgment on an organism and organisation whose every reason for existence is theological from beginning to end? It really was like asking (speaking respectfully) a group of blind men to judge the Chelsea Flower Show.

No one can understand why we exist as a Council and why we do and say the things we do unless they understand our theological, biblical justification for doing so. We are not and have never before been inspired by an ideology, political or otherwise. It is not politics that impels us to speak up against the vicious and iniquitous policy of forced population removals, exemplified so aptly today by the forced uprootal of a stable and settled community in Mogopa, something that has outraged the world.

It is not a political philosophy that makes us declare apartheid to be wholly immoral, unbiblical, evil and unchristian; it is not politics that makes us say that Bantu Education is designed to be inferior and an abomination, a system intended to turn blacks into perpetual serfs no matter how much more money is being spent on it; it is not politics that compels us to condemn the migratory labour system which forces married men to live unnatural lives for eleven months of the year in single-sex hostels helping to

destroy black family life, not accidentally, but by the deliberate policy of a government that declares itself to be Christian; it is not politics that says we cannot remain silent when such a government dumps God's children in arid, poverty-stricken bantustan homelands making them starve, not accidentally, but by their deliberate government policy.

#### **The Church Is Not Answerable to Pretoria**

No, my friends, no, South Africa, we are constrained by the imperatives of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Until my dying day I will continue to castigate apartheid as evil and immoral in an absolute sense and I will burn my bible, as I have promised before, and cease to be a christian if anyone can prove to me that I am wrong in my view about apartheid. This Commission did not have the theological nor the moral competence to pass judgment on us on that score. We are not answerable to a secular authority, not even the government of the land, to give an account of how we have sought to obey the injunctions of God in this matter. We are as a Council answerable first and foremost to God alone and then to our member churches. To the latter we have given adequate reports on a regular basis of our stewardship and to our donor partners, and they alone have the right to call us to book — not the government of this land or any other land. We have said that this Commission was totally superfluous. If we have contravened any laws of this land, then we should have been charged in an open court. This government has a formidable phalanx of draconian legislation on the statute book which they could use. In any case they have not been known to be bashful about passing new legislation to deal with awkward customers.

And I want to challenge them even now on the basis of the findings of their own Commission to bring charges against us for having contravened any of their laws and to make those charges stick in an open court. That a former employee of the Council, a man who helped to develop this Council into

this impressive instrument for good in the hands of God, was found guilty in a court, does not discredit the Council. If that were so certain, banks whose officials were guilty of fraud would have to be similarly condemned. Recently a member of the South African Defence Force was found guilty of malfeasance in dealing with a certain SADF fund. That conviction was not used to malign and discredit the SADF and have it accused of being criminal. Equally, therefore, if Council employees or officers should be convicted of



criminal offences, that should not be used as a stick with which to beat the SACC, for it is mainly the SACC that is being criticised in this report, it is the SACC that must therefore be brought to court, arraigned and convicted. I challenge the government to do that.

#### **The Commissioners Are All White**

This Commission had no competent theologian. What is more, it was sitting in judgment on an organisation which was largely (i.e. 80%) black. Was there a black commissioner among them? He was invisible to



me. The perspective of the Commission was an entirely white perspective. With due respect, all the Commissioners are people who benefit daily from the vicious socio-political dispensation which we want to see changed. They have spoken like Whites threatened by the fear that their privileges would disappear or be significantly modified if we were to have a more just and more democratic set-up in South Africa. Have any one of them or their families been part of the three and a half million Blacks uprooted in the forced population removal schemes; have they lived in squatter resettlement camps such as Winterveld and Onverwacht? Have their wives been arrested and harassed having to sit in the cold winter rain with plastic covering that the police callously destroyed at Crossroads? Have their homes been demolished at 2 a.m. as happened only recently in Bekkersdal; have they had to pay school fees for a travesty of an education with overcrowded schools and underpaid and ill-trained teachers?

What do they know about starvation in the homelands as a personal experience; what do they know about being stopped on the way to work and being thrown into a police van because your pass was not in order; have they been in solitary confinement or detention without trial; have they been banned without a chance to know the charges facing them or being granted opportunity to defend themselves and to cross-examine their faceless accusers? Or have any of those they hold dear suffered these indignities: have they walked with their children past recreation parks and when their children said, "Daddy, I want to go and play on the swing." Daddy, feeling thoroughly emasculated, being forced to reply, "You cannot play there," and the child says, "But other children are playing," and you have to tell them, "No, darling, it is not for children of your skin colour." What do they know of that humiliation and anguish?

What do they know of living in a match-box house in a drab ghetto even when they could afford to live elsewhere more salub-

rious? What do they know about being declared an alien in your own motherland because those who at the moment wield power say you are no longer a South African but the citizen of a spuriously independent spawn of apartheid you have never seen before in your life? What do they know about the agony of a mother whose children have gone into exile and she does not know where, and whose husband is serving a life sentence for having the audacity to think that he was a human being, and who has not had a contact visit with her husband for twenty-one years of his incarceration? Have they visited a resettlement camp or a black ghetto?

They have a vested interest to keep things as they are, with a white minority enjoying the vast privileges of their whiteness, benefiting from the oppression and exploitation of Blacks. Have they asked black people who have received legal assistance when facing serious charges? Have they asked the families of political prisoners who have had virtually their only support from the SACC what they thought of the SACC? Have they asked the high school and university students who have received the opportunity of an education only because of a grant from the SACC, what they thought of the SACC?

I refer to the thousand new high school students each year who have obtained SACC bursaries to go to government schools. I refer to the hundred new university students each year who have obtained SACC bursaries to enable them to go to university. Have they asked even one of those what they thought of the SACC? Have they asked the old people who received blankets to protect them against the winter cold from the SACC what they thought of the SACC; have they asked those who got clean water supplies, self-help project grants, help with growing their own food, through the auspices of the SACC what they thought of the SACC? I can say almost without fear of contradiction: "No." If they have spoken to blacks it will have been with stooges who would say what they thought their white masters wanted to hear.

My dear friends, have they asked striking workers whose families received relief assistance from the SACC what they thought of the SACC? — No, because virtually all the blacks would say, "The SACC has helped us keep body and soul together, the SACC has given us hope, the SACC has helped us get an education. The SACC has helped us believe in a God who cares about injustice, about unemployment, about harsh laws, about vicious population removals."

My dear friends, these are the activities that the Commission has considered subversive, confrontational, etc. With respect may I say that is unadulterated and arrant nonsense. I told the Commission that they should tell those who appointed them that I myself did not fear them. I have said it before and I say it again that those who think that they have immense power today must take a lesson from history.

I warned them that if they took on the SACC then they must know they are taking on the Church of God, and other tyrants before them have tried to destroy the Church — Nero, Amin, Hitler, Bokassa and so on. Where are they today? They have bitten the dust ignominiously. I warn the South African government again — they are not gods, they are mere mortals who will end up as mere marks on the pages of history, part of its flotsam and jetsam. I am not afraid of them. The worst I said that they could do to us when their disgraceful efforts to discredit us have failed as they have, is to kill me, but who said death is the worst thing that can happen to a Christian?

They are unscrupulous and ruthless men, as we can see from their treatment of those they uproot and what they do to those they have at their mercy when they detain them without trial. The late and unlamented Mr Jimmy Kruger, by innuendo and suggestion (very much as was done before the Eloff Commission in the '80s) truths and guilt by association tactics produced by General Johann Coetzee), tried to link the SACC with

fomenting violence and so-called terrorism. I repudiated his silly allegations then, and challenged him to debate the workings of the SACC publicly; he failed to take up my challenge. Then Mr Le Grange, now Minister of Law and Order and successor to Mr Kruger, made some quite asinine remarks about how our self-help projects were exacerbating a tense situation and he, too, I dealt with gently and I hope effectively, suggesting he need a course in elementary logic, because he really was saying much that was mindboggling nonsense; then Mr P W Botha spoke at Rand Afrikaans University at a Republic Day rally, accusing the SACC of using its vast funds for subversive purposes.

The Commission's own auditor stated before the Commission that the financial affairs of the Council since we appointed Mr Stevenson had improved remarkably — why was this fact not mentioned prominently? They claim that I have little ability to control vast funds. That is a gratuitous insult. I was not appointed for my financial skills. In any large organisation the head is not expected to know everything; he appoints those with the necessary skills. Does the head of, for example, the SADF have financial ability? — if he has why are the SADF finances in such a mess?

I said then that he was a liar and that he knew that he was lying. I want to reiterate those statements, using their own Commission to support my statements. The Government has lied about the SACC. But we are not surprised. They generally lied without batting eyelids, as shown in the Information scandal, as shown in what they told the country about their first incursions into Angola. If they are so concerned about financial probity, when are they appointing a commission to look into the financial administration of the SADF, which has received scathing reports from the Auditor-General for two years running and which in one year has lost inexplicably more funds than the SACC will hope to use in a decade?

24 Why are they so coy about all the shod-

dy underhand things concerning the Salem affair, which has cost this country about thirty million rand? Why have they not made public in South Africa what is common knowledge about this affair in other lands? They won't do these things because they cannot stand the light of day and the searching scrutiny such as that to which SACC has been subjected for two years.

#### The SACC Operates Openly

Let me say again we in the SACC operate openly and above board. We do not act clandestinely. Not even their master spy, Lieutenant Williamson, with whom I had extensive conversations overseas when I did not know that he was a Government agent, could say that I have any other view than that I am opposed to violence. I have said before and will say it again — I support the ANC wholeheartedly in its aim to work for a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa; but I do not support its methods. I have never hidden the fact that I meet with the leaders of the liberation movements when I go abroad. It is one of the first things I announce when I return to South Africa. How are we going to persuade them to come to the negotiating table if we have not kept in touch with them? Whether the Government and Whites like it or not, I won't have the South African Government dictate to me who my friends are going to be. The ANC and the PAC have a long history of working peacefully for change, and it was this Nationalist Government that banned them in 1960, forcing them to opt for the armed struggle.

Our operation is transparent and above board. We have said before that we did not hide even unpalatable truths from our donor partners and our member churches, not even when we received an audited report about material irregularity. Can the Government match that kind of transparency?

We do not use the methods of the government as revealed in the Information scandal. I have offered myself as a go-between



the government and the ANC to suggest possibilities of a negotiated settlement because, stop kidding yourselves, one day Whites must negotiate with the ANC among others. I do not have a brief for the ANC; Ton Vosloo, former editor of the *Beeld*, has said as much.

It will not do for Whites, nor for their government, to fulminate when I say that those they call terrorists are our brothers and sisters, our fathers and mothers, our sons and daughters. Nothing can change that biological fact. If my brother should commit murder, that will not alter the fact that he is my brother. White South Africans must know, whether they like it or not, that, just as much as they have their 'boys' on the border, so the black community too has their boys on the other side of the border. That is not sedition. That is not treachery. It is stating just a plain truth.

The SACC seeks to place before the public facts relating to important aspects of South African life, so that they can make informed decisions.

We are accused of being separated from our membership and of relying heavily on overseas funding, when ten cents per member would raise large sums internally.

#### The Commission Chose To Ignore The Evidence

The Commission, respectfully, shows its woeful ignorance of many things in this assertion. None of our churches can claim that, as individual denominations, their Synods and assemblies are not often viewed by the person in the pew as remote from them. All churches complain of a gap between the leadership and their rank and file membership. This is conventional wisdom in all our churches. But all our major churches, through their leaders, testified before the Commission. It is surely to run in the face of facts to say we are separated from our constituency when an Archbishop Hurley, an Archbishop Russell, a President Mgojo of the Methodist Church, the General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa and its chair-

man, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and other church leaders came to testify for the SACC. Why should they have inconvenienced themselves to such an extent for a body they thought to be of little consequence? The Commission chose to ignore a vast body of evidence which contradicted what some powerful people wanted said about the SACC.

All our member churches receive substantial assistance materially and in person from their overseas partners as a matter of



course, so the SACC is not peculiar in this matter. The Commission knows very little about the theology of the nature of the church. Because we are churches, as our overseas partners testified before the Commission last March, they regard it as a privilege to share with us in our ministry.

We are members of the Body of Christ, and there is a mutuality in our relationship. 25

that the Commission appears to know nothing about. There is a give and take which are part and parcel of being what it means to be a church. Can the Commission point to any self-respecting overseas church that supports the white Dutch Reformed Church? Is this purely accidental? Why did such high-powered delegations from right round the world come to testify about their fraternal relations with the SACC and be keen to see these maintained and strengthened, whereas the NGK has its membership suspended from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches?

We want to point the Commission to the fact that the white Dutch Reformed Church has often given substantial subsidies to her black sister churches. Is the fact that these churches have not been able to be self-sufficient evidence of a distance between them and their members?

We have been accused of fomenting unrest. We must point out that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is subversive of evil, and the Church will always confront evil to work for real reconciliation. But has the Commission ignored the fact that we served as mediators helping to end a long drawn out strike in Cape Town? Have they forgotten my intervention to try and save the life of a policeman at Mr Mxenge's funeral in King Williams Town? Have they forgotten how I have tried to stop stone-throwing at Regina Mundi on June 16th last year?

Have they forgotten our appeal to President Rene, which helped to secure the release of those condemned to death in the abortive coup? Have they forgotten our attempts to bring peace on the black university campuses and in black schools? All this evidence was before them. They chose to ignore it. But this Commission was a thinly veiled part of the government's strategy to vilify and discredit the Council. They are part of a blasphemous act to put the Church and Christ on trial, for our faith believes that all life belongs to God, not just the spiritual aspect. And at the very time that we are under attack so viciously and maliciously at home, the SACC has been

nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, testimony to the fact that some in the world think we are a powerful instrument for justice and peace.

We may act confidentially, but our policy is we do and say nothing by which we would not stand if it became public. The police intercept our mail, our telexes and several of our documents, as became evident when General Coetzee gave evidence before the Eloff Commission. They wasted valuable time because they speculated hopelessly wrongly about what we said, wrote or did.

#### Charge Us - And Let It Stick!

We repeat our offer to the authorities:

- a) If we have contravened any of your multifarious and hideous laws, charge us and let it stick.
- b) If you want to know what we are planning to do, stop trying to bribe SACC staff to spy for you. Ask us, and we will tell you.
- c) I am willing to provide you with advance copies of my speeches if you will observe my embargo.

But know that I will always condemn apartheid as evil and unchristian. Know, too, that nothing you can do will stop liberation coming to this country, for all its people, black and white. We shall be free, whatever you try to do. We are committed to justice and peace and reconciliation, and are opposed to all forms of violence.

I want to pay a warm tribute to our legal team, led by Advocate S Kentridge, including Advocates Unterhalter and P Solomon, and our attorney, Mr O Barrett of the firm Bowens. I am deeply grateful to the leaders of our member churches and overseas partners for their prayerful and other support, and I want to express my admiration for my SACC colleagues for their joyous commitment and conscientious application to duty during a difficult time.

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# OUT OF PRISON

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# BUT NOT YET FREE

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## Herman Toivo Ja Toivo

The front and back covers of this issue show Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, leader of the Namibian liberation struggle, who was released from Robben Island on 6 April 1984, after eighteen years' imprisonment by the apartheid regime. The Pretoria government, illegally occupying Namibia, never had any legal right to imprison him. In 1968, at the time he was tried with 36 others, a United Nations resolution was passed denouncing as illegal the arrest, deportation and trial in Pretoria of these men, calling it a "flagrant violation" of the international status of Namibia.

Herman Ja Toivo was a founder member of SWAPO. He was born in 1924 in Ovamboland, and, working in Cape Town during the 1950s, became leader of the Namibian contract workers in and around the city. In 1958 he was arrested and deported back to Ovamboland for despatching to the United Nations a tape recorded message appealing to the UN to come to the rescue of the Namibian people.

The Ovamboland People's Organisation, forerunner of SWAPO, was formed in 1959, and SWAPO itself was formed in 1960. In 1966, soon after the beginning of the armed struggle in Namibia, Herman Ja Toivo was arrested, with the 36 others. He spent almost a year in solitary confinement before being brought to trial under the Terrorism Act, which had been introduced to deal with free-

dom fighters in Namibia, and had been made retrospective to 1962 to cover the trial of the 37.

In his address at the trial, Herman Ja Toivo reminded the court that during World War II he had worked as a guard at a South African ammunition dump:

"... when it became evident that both your country and my country were threatened by the dark clouds of Nazism I risked my life to defend both of them ... But some of your countrymen when called to battle to defend civilisation resorted to sabotage against their own fatherland. I volunteered to face German bullets, and as a guard of military installations, both in South West Africa and the Republic, was prepared to be the victim of their sabotage. Today they are our masters and are considered the heroes, and I am called the coward."

He told the court that Namibians had always regarded South Africa as an intruder in their country, and went on to say:

"Many of our people, through no fault of their own, have had no education at all. This does not mean to say that they do not know what they want.

"A man does not have to be formally 27

educated to know that he wants to live with his family where he wants to live, and not where an official chooses to tell him to live; to move about freely and not require a pass; to earn a decent wage; to be free to work for the person of his choice for as long as he wants; and finally to be ruled by the people that he wants to be ruled by, and not those who rule him because they have more guns than he has ...

"Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop."

When, after his release, he was asked how it felt to be free, he replied that he was merely out of prison.

#### **Billy Nair**

Billy Nair was released on 27 February 1984, also after serving twenty years on Robben Island.

He was active in the Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws in 1952, was one of the accused in the Treason Trial in the 1950s, was detained during the State of Emergency in 1960 and detained again in 1963 under the 90-day detention law. He was a leading member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), secretary of the Natal branch of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and former secretary of the Durban Clothing Workers' Union.

He was met outside the Durban prison from where he was released by family, friends, supporters of the NIC and a large contingent of journalists and security police. A few nights later, six hundred people attended a reception party for him, and sang freedom songs. Addressing the gathering, he expressed his desire to continue being involved in the struggle, and declared his support for the NIC and the United Democratic Front.

Since his release, in interviews with the press and on the radio, he has repeatedly stated that the only solution to the crisis in South Africa will be by direct negotiation with accredited leaders of the African people,

such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Moses Mabhida.

#### **Curnick Ndlovu**

Curnick Ndlovu was released on 27 September 1983 from twenty years behind bars. He was sentenced under the Sabotage Act with Billy Nair and 16 others in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in February 1964. He was one of the Umkhonto freedom fighters responsible for sabotaging electricity pylons in Natal during 1962 and 1963, and he and Billy Nair were the only two who admitted to being members of the Natal Regional Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe. He and Billy Nair both received twenty-year sentences, and the others were given sentences of from five to 16 years.

In the 1950s, when Curnick Ndlovu was working as a railway workers, he became secretary of the Natal Railway Workers' Union, assistant secretary of SACTU and an executive member of the KwaMashu branch of the ANC. He was also secretary of the KwaMashu Residents' Association, which fought successful campaigns to improve living conditions in the township.

Because his release was unannounced and five months early, no one was waiting outside the prison in Durban when he came out. He caught a bus home to KwaMashu, where he was met by his surprised and delighted wife. Word of his release soon spread, and he was given a rousing welcome.

#### **David Kitson**

David Kitson was released in Johannesburg on May 10 1984, seven months early, from a twenty-year sentence.

He was born in 1919, and fought in World War II. He trained as a mechanical engineer and spent eight years in Britain before returning to South Africa in 1959.

In October 1964, after some months in solitary confinement, he was brought to court with Wilton Mkwazi, Laloo Chiba, S R (Mac) Maharaj and John Matthews, and charged with sabotage, furthering the aims

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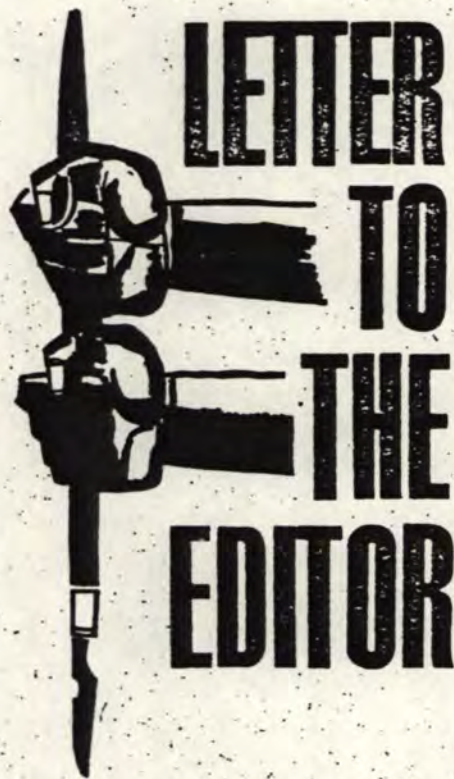
of communism, and joining the National High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

The charge sheet alleged that he had served on the Regional High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe, and on the logistics committee of the National High Command; obtained illegal possession of a firearm which he had handed over to Wilton Mkwayi;

obtained the ingredients for explosives; assisted illegal radio broadcasts and purchased parts required for transmitters, and assisted in the publication of illegal documents and pamphlets.

Interviewed on his release, he called for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

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Revolutionary greetings in the name of the struggling people of South Africa and the front line states.

The 'rebel' West Indian cricketers have finished Part Two of their parasitic tour of South Africa on a 'victorious' note, by beating the all-white South African team 4-2 in the one-day series and 2-1 in the one day matches.

They now find themselves returning to the cricketing wilderness of their own countries. These cricketers must be seen as mercenaries, Judases, traitors, and supporters of apartheid. They have sold their dignity and black pride for a few thousand rand.

They have caused the majority of us in the West Indies to hang our heads in shame. The 'rebels' continue to perpetrate the most shameful transaction in the history of West Indian sports. At least three of the 'temporary' whites have been further recruited and contracted by Natal and Transvaal. These honorary whites are bedfellows of racism and apartheid. I know that one day history will prove to them and their co-conspirators that they are being used by their enemies against their own black brothers and sisters.

At this point I would like to congratulate Clive Lloyd and Michael Holding (among others) who resisted, and turned down lucrative offers to play cricket in South Africa. They have demonstrated to their colleagues, their countrymen and the world that they cannot be bought and that they will not support apartheid.

While our cricketers fleece a few hundred 29

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thousand more dollars from the sweat, tears and blood of the toiling masses of South Africa, Comrade Nelson Mandela and thousands of others are languishing physically in the gaols of Pretoria and Robben Island. However, they will continue to inspire the ANC militants and millions of anti-apartheid workers throughout the world, because they stand for an end to the exploitation of man by man; they represent the aspirations of the oppressed and exploited masses; they fight for a liberated, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

I believe the collaboration with apartheid sport is like a cancer, and if it is not arrested it will cause a serious illness in world sports. In 1976 the African states withdrew from the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand's collaboration with apartheid sports. The result was the Gleneagles Agreement. However, after the above agreement, a number of 'rebel' teams toured South Africa — England, Sri Lanka and the West Indies.

There are also individual sportsmen who have been going to South Africa, and South Africans participating in sports in other countries, in the fields of cricket, boxing, rugby, golf and lawn tennis, to name a few. It can be clearly seen that the Gleneagles Agreement is not working; it does not have any teeth. It is obvious that some of the signatories to the agreement are not serious about it. Governments allowed sportsmen to go to South Africa and then called them 'rebels.' The sports associations have not been innocent in this collaboration with apartheid. The penalty for touring South Africa, meted out by the different sports associations, are not equal. For example, sportsmen have been banned from representing their countries for three years, for twenty-five years and for life, while for others there is no penalty. Who are the supporters of apartheid sports?

The governments of this region, with the possible exception of Guyana, and Grenada (under the leadership of the late Maurice Bishop) were not firm enough in their condemnation of the rebel tours. If they had warned the cricketing association and the people of the real consequences of the rebel tours, these tours would not have taken place. Governments are elected to govern — not sports associations — and it is those governments which allow their sons and daughters to establish sporting contact with racist South Africa who are responsible for the failure of the Gleneagles Agreement.

At the beginning of the 1983 West Indian 'rebel' tour to South Africa, here in Jamaica the people asked for information about apartheid, and their appetite was whetted by the mass media, print and electronic. This was supplemented by rallies held by progressive forces to educate and mobilise the people. There was also an ANC lecture tour which further informed the people. Comrades, the process of collaboration with apartheid can be stopped if we act jointly and collectively.

It cannot be stopped when some of the signatories to the Gleneagles Agreement covertly support apartheid sports, and when some of us conceal our sure and underhand support for apartheid by deliberately misinforming the masses, by deception and parliamentary hypocrisy. Let us act jointly and collectively. The struggle continues! Victory is certain.

Long live Nelson Mandela.  
Long live Oliver Tambo.  
Long live the ANC.  
Long live Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Yours faithfully in comradeship,  
L.V. Thomas,  
St Andrew,  
Jamaica.  
February 5th 1984.

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Dear Comrade Editor,

I take up my pen to write you these few lines. I have been a reader of *Sechaba* for a long time. Now I would like you to explain me one thing.

I have noticed now in speeches, articles, interviews etc. in *Sechaba*, that I am called 'so-called Coloured' (sometimes with a small 'c'). When did the Congress decide to call me this? In South Africa I was active in the Congress Alliance and was a member of the Coloured People's Congress, not the 'so-called Coloured People's Congress.' When we worked for Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter we sang, 'We the Coloured people, we must struggle to exist ...' I remember in those times some people of the so-called unity movement refer to so-called Coloured people, but not our Congress. The old copies of *Sechaba* do not show when it was decided to make this change, or why. Maybe governments, administrations, political and social dealings over centuries called me Coloured. But clever people, the ethnologists and professors of anthropology and so on did not bother to worry about who I really am.

Comrade Editor, I am confused. I need clarification. It makes me feel like a 'so-called' human, like a humanoid, those things who have all the characteristics of human beings but are really artificial. Other minority people are not called 'so-called.' Why me? It must be the 'curse of Ham.'

In the meantime, I remain, respectfully,

Your,  
Capie (Alex La Guma)

P.S. Was Paul Peterson a so-called Coloured?

(Paul Peterson was the *nom de guerre* of Basil February, an ANC cadre who died fighting in Zimbabwe in 1967-68.)

[Editor's note:

As far as I can remember there is no decision taken in our movement to change from 'Coloured' to 'so-called Coloured.' All I know is that people at home — like Allan Boesak at the launch of the UDF — have been increasingly using the term, 'so-called Coloureds' I suspect that what you have noticed is a reflection of this development.

Not long ago, *Sechaba* reviewed Richard Rive's book, *Writing Black*, and in that review we said:

"Our strive for unity should not blind us from seeing the differences which if ignored can cause problems exactly for that unity we are striving to achieve. It is not enough to say the so-called Coloureds or to put the word Coloureds in inverted commas. A positive approach to this problem needs to be worked out because we are dealing with a group of people who are identifiable and distinguishable."

In other words, what we were saying in this review is that a discussion on this issue is necessary, and I think your letter may just as well be a starting point for such a discussion. Any comments on this issue are welcome.]

# Poem:

(In 1913, the African women of the Orange Free State threw off their shawls and confronted the authorities over the question of imposition of passes on them. This poem was published by the newspaper of the African People's Organisation, an organisation of coloured people, on June 27th 1913, and was dedicated to these demonstrations. The name of the author was given as 'Johnny the Office Boy.'

*The women of old Waaihoek, by Moroka's grave they swore  
That the inhuman Council should rule the roost no more.  
By Moroka's grave they swore it, and named the massing day,  
And bade their messengers go forth, to summon their array.*

*Too long have they submitted to white malignity;  
No passes would they carry, but assert their dignity.  
They vowed no more to fawn or cringe, nor creep to the tyrant's power;  
But to proclaim their womanhood, their inherent God-given dower.*

*On the sixth day of June they trooped in numbers fast,  
Till Bloemfontein and suburbs did hear the battle blast.  
In all that godless town there was no heart so bold  
But sore it ached and fast it beat when that ill news was told.*

*At noon the women's army, right glorious to behold,  
Came waving big knobkerries that they aloft did hold.  
Six hundred voices sounded a peal of warlike glee,  
As the chicken-livered whites from the women's sight did flee.*

*The Magistrate stood trembling, regardless of his fame,  
"The Council and the Mayor," said he, "alone must share the blame."  
Then forthwith to the Town House six hundred stout hearts went,  
Demanding to their grievances the Mayor his ear shall lend.  
In the absence of His Worship, the Deputy, shoulder high,  
Counselled the women to keep the peace, and to be patient, try.*

*A lion-hearted (?) constable collared a woman tight,  
But as six hundred sticks went up, he dropped down dead in fright.  
When excitement was at breaking point, an old dame did declare,  
"Our object has now been achieved, so to your huts repair."*

*The battle is now over, but long years after this,  
Old women to their piccanins will tell the tale, I wis!  
With pride and with laughter will the story long be told,  
How the brave women of Waaihoek fought in the accursed days of old.*



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