



Official Organ
of the African National Congress of South Africa
VOL. 1, NO. 10 OCTOBER 1967

We Bring You a Message— THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS YOU TO ACTION!

You will wonder that men and women should risk long terms in prison to bring you this message of people do such things? The answer is simple. They are ordinary people who want freedom in this country. They are the African National Congress. Their longing for freedom is so strong that there is nothing they will not do to bring it closer. The African National Congress is built of men and women like this. They have one burning message to the people of this country: and one policy—to unite all the people in the struggle for that freedom. Even now they are being tried by the enemy to crush their spirit, they struggle forward to the people's freedom even now, after all that has been tried to destroy it. **THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

DO YOU REMEMBER . . .

- **IN 1952** we organised a campaign of defiance of unjust laws in this country. They are defying unjust laws and go to prison. They aroused our people till Malan's Government passed laws to kill the movement were passed.
- **BUT THE ANC LIVED!**
- **IN 1955** we organised a Congress of the People attended by thousands from farms, factories, mines and offices throughout the country. At that great meeting the historic Freedom Charter was adopted. Strydom's government arrested hundreds of our active workers and tried to kill our freedom struggle.
- **STILL THE ANC LIVED!**
- **IN 1956** Strydom's government struck again. They arrested all our national leaders and charged them with high treason—Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and 152 others of all races. For four years in court they tried to sentence them and the ANC to death.
- **BUT THE ANC LIVED ON!**
- **IN 1960** we countered the celebrations of the 50th Anniversary of the Union of South Africa with a massive countrywide campaign against pass laws. In the course of which we organised a nationwide general strike of protest against the killing of our people at Sharpeville. Led by Chief Lutuli we began mass burnings of passes. The Verwoerd government shook and again tried to kill us. A State of Emergency was declared. Thousands jailed, meetings and newspapers were banned and the ANC was banned.
- **BUT STILL THE ANC LIVES—UNDERGROUND!**
- **FROM UNDERGROUND** we launched the new fighting corps, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which made dynamite attacks on government buildings abroad to train as the people's soldiers, teach combined to stamp us out. They arrested thousands, meetings and newspapers were banned and the ANC was banned.

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**WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE OPPRESSED
STAMPED OUT! AND UNTIL POW
CAN BE NO PEACE FOR THE OPPRESSOR!**

THIS IS THE TRUTH ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA—EVEN NOW. With all Vorster's laws such as the Sabotage Act and the Terrorist Act with thousands of Special Branch men and the jails filled with freedom fighters. As long as we are oppressed the struggle will go on and be intensified until the people seize power and destroy apartheid.

To men who are oppressed freedom means many things. It means living wages to feed the family and bring them up in decency; the end of pass laws and influx control; the right to live and work anywhere and in any job; the right to vote and be elected to parliament; education, sports and culture; the right to own land to plough, clothing and shelter; the end of insults, humiliation, indignities and persecution based on creed or race.

**FREEDOM MEANS JUST THIS—
GIVE US BACK OUR COUNTRY, TO RULE FOR
OURSELVES AS WE CHOOSE!**

But freedom does not come in answer to men's dreams, nor by merely demanding it. In over fifty years of our existence many spirited protests and demonstrations have not brought freedom. Our freedom will be won by sustained and bitter struggle involving supreme sacrifice and selfless devotion by the oppressed people. This has been the experience of countries like Cuba and Algeria. We are witnessing this experience in Vietnam where the heroic Vietnamese are struggling for freedom against U.S. imperialism. It is the lesson which the people of Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa and Zimbabwe have learnt.

Here in South Africa the oppressors have fought against our people viciously, with brutality, shootings, beatings, jailings and torture. They have built a huge army and police force to keep themselves in power and riches while the people suffer poverty and oppression. But despite all that, the tides of history run against them. Today they stand isolated from the world, hated and despised by all people who love freedom. Their allies are the Ian Smith clique in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialists who fight for their survival in Angola and Mozambique.

AND WE, THE PEOPLE, ARE MANY! Not only here where every African, Indian and Coloured man is a victim of brutal white oppression. Our cause is the cause of Africa and the world and our comrades in arms, supporters and allies number hundreds of millions of people.

HISTORY SHOWS WE CANNOT BE CRUSHED! Our oppressors cannot win! With the spirit which moved our people to fight under the leadership of Makana, Sekhukhuni, Magoma, Cetshwayo, Mosheshoe and other heroes of the past—we will win! Africa's cause will triumph!

THE ANC IS EVERYWHERE. WHEREVER SOUTH AFRICANS DREAM OF FREEDOM AND HAVE THE COURAGE TO ACT TO WIN IT FOR THEMSELVES THE ANC WILL BE FOUND!

We are in your village, in your factory, in your shop, in your office! We are also abroad, in the camps where our young men train as soldiers who will strike for freedom with fire-arms to match Vorster's arms. **THERE ARE MANY WAYS TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.** All of them need courage and determination. However you fight against oppression and poverty—whether it is for better schools, better wages, for skilled work or better housing, you are fighting for freedom.

- ★ **UNITE AND ORGANISE AGAINST OPPRESSION IN TOWN, VILLAGES, FARMS, FACTORIES, SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, EVERYWHERE**
- ★ **USE EVERY MEANS TO SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF STRUGGLE AND FREEDOM TO ALL PEOPLE—AFRICANS, INDIANS, COLOURED AND DEMOCRATIC WHITES.**
- ★ **ISOLATE AND EXPOSE THE TRAITORS WHO ARE PREPARED TO BETRAY THE PEOPLE, THE ANC, THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS.**
- ★ **ISOLATE AND SHUN THOSE WHO WORK WITH THE APARTHEID ENEMY FOR THE CONTINUED EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION OF OUR PEOPLE.**
- ★ **RESIST OPPRESSION BY EVERY MEANS BUT FIGHT TOGETHER WITH TRUSTED FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS AND WORKMATES; YOU MUST CAREFULLY SABOTAGE THE PLANS AND SCHEMES OF THE OPPRESSORS.**

MOBILISE AND PREPARE, SOUTH AFRICANS!
Freedom is coming like the rising of the sun. It will be won in our lifetime!

**Afrika Mayibuye! Amandla Ngawethu!
Maatla ke a Rona! Power to the People!**

To keep this leaflet is dangerous. Pass it on to people you trust. Be Careful.

UKHON
Uyanibiza uKhongolose uthi vivinyu ngekhwakhe. Kade kwasa amaBhiz emaplazini uningi luqumba umhlir ezimobeni izingane zamadoda ziseb-

MAD
UTHI INDODA AYIMLALELE F HANTSI AWUDLE UTSHANI. ZIYAHLOMA IZINSIZWA, NA HANTSI

Uthi siyowafumana amajikanta Uthi lapho lawukhona bamba

likhathi sifikile umlungu si-

Abadayisi namambuka siv abanye uthule umlomo. Y

BAYALWA KWAMAN RHODESIA KUNUKA AWOCETSHWAYO! KWELABESUTHU, K WALA BATHSEMBEL

Uthi Mlomani Khar Gambushe! no Fak

ABAQEDILE AB



Oliver Tambo

PITSO! CONGRESS EA BITSA!

Congress e bitsa sechaba—e bitsa banna le basali kaofela—ho loanela tokoloho ea rona, ho bana ba rona, le lefatše la rona. MA-AFIKA A EME KA MAOTO ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE LE RHODESIA, HO SETSE RONA. APSHEGA! TSHAKA, MOSHOE-SHOE, HINTSA, SEKHUKHUNI —LIKOANKOETLA TSA RONA —BASHOETSE LEFEELA NA! ha ho mo maBuru a sa re utsueng banna teng. Re masaroa lifactring, le litereneng. Mefufutso ea rona ha e re tlisetse thuso. Lipolasing re epa litapole ka linaka, lipolasing ba sebelisoa ja ka liphoofole—ba banna ba bona.

CONGRESS E SUPA OENA!

Emang ka maoto baheso, a re loantseng sera se mahareng a rona.

CONGRESS E RE!

Hopolang baetapele, banna ba rona, le basali ba rona litorokong na re labette ba bolaloeng ke muso ka hobane ba ile ba rona tsa tokoloho.

NAKO E FEHLILE!

NAKO E FEHLILE BAHESO HO BEHA PEPEENENG BATHO BA RONA TSEBELETSANG MABURU KA SEPHIRI—BA REKISANG SECHABA — BO JUTA. A BONA A FEHLILE.

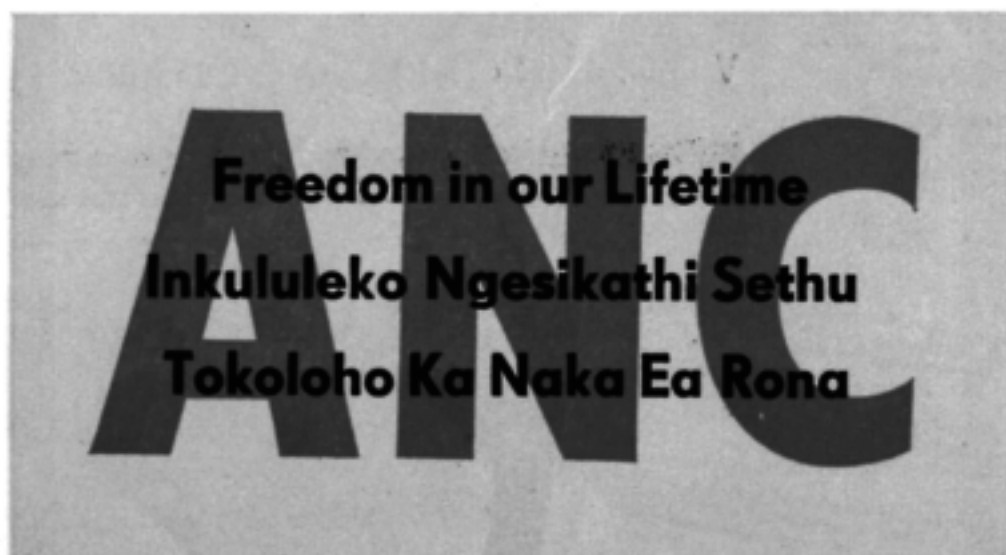
CONGRESS E RE! HLAKOLANG BO JUTA MAHARENG A RONA. NAKO E FEHLILE!

MATLA KE A RONA!!!

Nelson Mandela



BACK HOME...



THE A.N.C. LIVES!

In our last issue we published in full the contents of a leaflet which had been distributed inside South Africa, headed: "The African National Congress Calls You To Action!" We promised that in this issue we would give our readers a report on the distribution from the African National Congress underground in South Africa. Unfortunately we have not as yet received a full and comprehensive report. We have however received a preliminary report and the main points made in it are as follows:

- * Several thousands of copies of the leaflet were posted from all the main centres of South Africa to almost every town and village throughout the country.
- * Many thousands of leaflets were showered from the top of two tall buildings in Johannesburg and one in Durban.
- * A banner in the black, green and gold colours of the African National Congress, and bearing the slogan "THE ANC LIVES!" written across it, was hung on the side of a building in Durban.
- * Both the leaflet showers and the hanging of the banner were done precisely at the peak hour of 5 p. m. on Friday, 28 July (two days before our beloved President-General, Chief Lutuli, was laid to rest).
- * Thousands of stickers, three inches by one-and-a-half inches, were pasted on walls, shop-fronts etc, in the main cities and in many towns and villages. The stickers were printed on yellow paper with a bold ANC in green, overprinted with the words: "Freedom in our Lifetime — Inkululeko Ngesikathi Sethu — Tokoloho Ka Naka Ea Rona." (As illustrated above)

Note: The leaflet is also referred to in "The Big Lie Technique" and "The Final Phase" in this issue.

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THE FINAL PHASE

A new spirit is sweeping Southern Africa. A spirit of revolt. This report shows the growth of revolutionary action by freedom movements in the sub-continent.

In the first issue of *Sechaba* (January 1967) we stated that Southern Africa was passing into the final phase of its long struggle for liberation — the phase of armed struggle and of civil war. We pointed to the wars in Mozambique and Angola, to guerilla engagements in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and the first guerilla attacks on apartheid itself, by patriots of Namibia (South West Africa).

We predicted that the apparent political calm in the Republic of the past two years would inevitably be shattered, and that the central stronghold, the treasury and arsenal of Southern Africa, though the last of the white supremacy bloc to be brought into the war, would not for long prove immune.

Now, six months later, the calm has indeed been shattered. And there is no doubt that Africa's involvement in armed struggle will soon transform the whole picture. A silent war, a series of often scattered engagements between white 'security forces' and African guerillas, and largely ignored by the rest of the world, becomes suddenly a very different matter when the central laager is attacked, and that laager the depository of hundreds of millions of pounds in foreign investments: when not one country, nor two or three are threatened — but a whole sub-continent.

THE CALM SHATTERED

What has shattered the calm?

A sudden series of sabotage trials, trials for receiving military training, and for 'terrorism.'

A spate of unaccustomed interviews for foreign correspondents with police chiefs, to slander the memory of Chief Lutuli by claiming 'secret information' that none of them dared to publish while that great leader was alive.

A new vicious 'Anti-Terrorism' Act, a panic government measure accompanied by Prime Ministerial warnings that "terrorists" who cross South Africa's borders to "kill inno-

cent people in the night" will be dealt with "as in war time." And a closely-printed leaflet (a full text of which appeared in our last issue) appearing on 28 June in all South Africa's main cities simultaneously: "Mobilise and Prepare, South Africans! Freedom is coming like the rising of the sun. It will be won in our lifetime! Amandla Ngawethu! Power to the People!" In Xhosa, Sotho and English, it tells people that the African National Congress is alive "in your village, in your factory, in your office," and calls upon them to unite, to resist, and to prepare. "Our freedom will be won by sus-


MILITARY ACTION AT HAND

That leaflet is a public declaration that the time for military action against apartheid is at last at hand. And its appearance can be seen as part of a wider evolution of strategy in the liberation movement throughout the sub-continent, towards a frank and uncompromising confrontation not merely with white supremacy but with imperialism itself.

The development can be seen in the public policy of the leadership of Zimbabwe, and Namibia, now committed to armed struggle not as an adjunct of other methods — say diplomatic agitation at the UN and among Afro-Asian states — but as the *main* instrument of liberation. ZAPU spelt the change out for us in its policy statement of 17 March, Zimbabwe Day:

"Our freedom and independence in Zimbabwe will not come from the corridors of Lancaster House nor through the fraudulent and hypocritical sanctions which are nothing but an insult to the dignity of the African people and the progressive world. It will come through a war of the Algeria type by the masses of Zimbabwe engaged in the fierce struggle against the British murderers."

ZAPU specifically repudiates the notion that violence in Rhodesia can be seen as an instrument for forcing Britain to act against the Smith regime, and defines its struggle as against imperialism itself. (*Zimbabwe Review*, April 1967)



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Namibia is the latest territory to launch military action — the earliest engagements were reported late last year, though it seems that at least one guerilla training camp had been operating in Ovamboland for some months before that. After years of lobbying the international community to assume its responsibilities by defending the right of the South West African people to freedom, SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) told the UN Committee on Colonialism in Dar es Salaam in June: — "We ourselves must create the conditions — within Namibia — which would bring free-



SECHABA

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Supplement to Vol. 1. No. 10.

Heavy fighting in Rhodesia is continuing and a steady flow of Freedom Fighters are crossing the Zambesi River on their way to the South, according to information received by SECEABA.

Confirmation of this news is provided by reports which have appeared in the South African press, indicating that the scale of the guerilla offensive is far greater than the white supremacists were first prepared to admit.

The following news items deal with the Rhodesian fighting and with the growing aggressive attitude of white South Africa.

Heavy Rhodesian Casualties : Two former counter-espionage agents, who were closely connected with Britain's MI 5 in East Africa and are now living in Johannesburg said in an interview published in the South African Sunday Times, soon after reports of the first battles were reported, that "in actual battles between the security forces and the Mau Mau in Kenya, there were fewer casualties on the Government side than there had been in 'terrorist' clashes in Rhodesia. This indicates a high degree of training and proficiency in guerilla warfare."

Nitro-Glycerine Stolen : 161 pounds of glycerine and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ gallons of nitric acid was found missing from the storeroom of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg. Any uninitiated person trying to make nitro-glycerene from the stolen chemicals, stated a chemist, would probably cause an explosion before he was finished unless he was an expert. The loss of the chemicals was discovered eight days after they were missed.

Listed Persons Held For Questioning : Reports are reaching SECEABA that Vorster's Police have launched a campaign of terror among "people in South Africa suspected of being in liason with 'terrorist' organisations." Already panicked by the initial successes of guerilla units in Rhodesia, the police admit that no "terrorists" have been handed over in response, either to the offer of £100 reward for any freedom fighter "dead or alive", or to the vicious penalties in the "Terrorism Act" for "harbouring terrorists". It appears that all former members of the A.N.C. who are on the police lists are either being "held for questioning" or being questioned in their homes and places of work. Refusing to give any figures, the Commissioner of Police, General Keevy, said that "wherever circumstances justify it, the people concerned have been held for questioning".

Maliba murdered : Alphues Maliba, former peasant organiser of the African National Congress in Northern Transvaal, banned and restricted to the village of Louis Trichardt, for several years, was one of the first victims of Keevey's scoop. Within weeks of the entry of the Lutlui Combat unit and its ZAPU allies into Rhodesia, he was arrested and detained under the dreaded 180-Law. The next anyone heard of this 70-year old leader was that he had "committed suicide" while in detention. The fascist rulers of South Africa have added yet another murder to their long list of murders. They will most certainly pay for their crimes!

dom and independence to our people." SWAPO reported the launching of an armed struggle, and urged the "Afro-Asian nations and other friendly nations to come to our assistance *without waiting to see whether Big Powers will do something.*"

MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA

A new spirit is sweeping Southern Africa. And along with the new spirit comes an intensification of struggle in all the territories under white rule. Frelimo in Mozambique, where since the outbreak of war in 1964 large areas of two provinces, Cabo Delgado and Nyasa, are already liberated areas under Frelimo administration, is now looking ahead to the development of armed struggle in all 9 provinces. Frelimo counts according to one report, more than 9,000 guerillas in the field who are now being trained in Mozambique itself. 800,000 Mozambicans have been freed, 3,500 Portuguese soldiers killed, 250 motor vehicles and 18 aeroplanes destroyed. In Angola, a war launched in the north of the country in 1962 is now being fought in the more industrialised south under the leadership of the MPLA (Peoples Movement for Angolan Liberation), and in the east Angolan freedom-fighters have gained control of the vital Benguela rail link between the Congo and the coast at Lobita.

THE ZAMBESI VALLEY

Armed struggle in Zimbabwe is only a year and a half old, and strict censorship makes sure that little news of it reaches the people. But in January this year, the Minister of 'Law and Order', in extending the 'State of Emergency' yet again,

admitted that the past 12 months had seen an upsurge in armed resistance, in which 100 nationalists, all alleged to be "trained terrorists," had been killed.

On 10 August this year the Smith regime in a cautiously-worded statement disclosed that "in the past few days a small number of terrorists have been shot or captured and a quantity of arms and ammunition recovered." Many more freedom-fighters have been sentenced in the courts under the savage Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

According to ZAPU, military engagements have been frequent in the forests of the Zambesi valley near the Zambia border; in the rural areas, now under white military occupation, weapons are making their appearance from hidden caches; and in the Rhodesian army itself African units have mutinied, some 245 Africans mutineers being detained in military camps.

By June this year reports were testifying to the increasing professionalism of guerilla forces, their growing confidence and hardening patriotism. "Not long ago" a Johannesburg journalist wrote in evident amazement, "a cornered terrorist would have surrendered. Today he will fight to the end."

NAMIBIA FIGHTS BACK

None of these developments have escaped the attention of the fascists of Pretoria, and in spite of their bombast they are showing signs of panic already. According to the Deputy

Minister for Police, 2,000 young Africans left the Republic of South Africa for training in the past couple of years, 900 of them from Ovamboland in South West Africa; and most of these were now ready to return. Some are reported to have been arrested in South Africa. The trial of 37 Namibians has begun in Pretoria, under the new panic measure, the 'Terrorism Act,' which amends the Suppression of Communism Act yet again, to make 'terrorism' a specific crime like sabotage, punishable by a minimum sentence of 5 years' imprisonment and a maximum sentence of death.

(Note: The Terrorism Act was analysed in our last issue, and the trial of the 37 was reported. A statement by Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, on the trial of the 37 appears elsewhere in this issue.)

UNITY OF PURPOSE

All the signs, in short, point to a mounting crisis in the sub-continent. Over the years, the white supremacist governments have planned their strategy together in an unholy alliance around apartheid. Today there are reports of intervention by South African troops in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

Now the liberation movements are showing a growing unity of purpose and that they too see their struggle as one — as Frelimo President Eduardo Mondlane told the UN Seminar in Lusaka in July, the struggle "will have to involve the obliteration not only of the political system of colonialism as such, but also those elements in the present economic structures in Southern Africa which buttress the social position of the white man, be he Portuguese, British or Boer."

Revolutionary movements throughout the area are seeing a common enemy in a single imperialism — it is not insignificant, for instance, that members of the Basutoland Congress Party, citizens of apartheid's seemingly tamed hostage state, Lesotho, are being charged in Johannesburg with incitement to sabotage by derailing South African trains. For a unity is being forged among the liberation forces that is historically of the greatest importance.

NOT ECSTATIC, BUT CONFIDENT

The confrontation now developing in Southern Africa between imperialism and liberation may have consequences for the whole world. In the words of Oliver Tambo, our Deputy-President: —

"What could have been settled in the past by a few, through calm and peaceful discussion, must now be resolved by the oppressed masses in widespread armed conflict. In terms of the situation in Southern Africa, this development must be seen for what it truly is: the beginning of a racial war in Africa which will rapidly escalate into an international confrontation of measureless dimensions."

For no-one imagines that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. The realization is awesome, not ecstatic. All that can confidently be said now is that the final phase in the struggle against white supremacy and imperialist domination in Southern Africa has begun in earnest.

Another "Security Man" wounded : The Rhodesian authorities, who have banned all but "official" news on government losses in the guerilla war, have admitted to the wounding of another member of their so called Security forces in a battle near the Zambian border. The Freedom Fighters retreated without losses. It is now believed that Rhodesian and South African losses amount to well over 100 killed since the beginning of armed struggle launched by the ZAPU-ANC forces.

Rhodesians Bomb Botswana : According to South African press reports Rhodesian forces have bombed both sides of the Botswana-Rhodesia border and are alleged to have crossed over into Botswana, searched African villages there and set fire to some.

Front Line On Zambezi : The so called Rhodesian Minister of Law and Order and Justice, Lardner Burke, referring to ZAPU-ANC "infiltration" into Rhodesia said according to the South African Sunday Times : "This proves that we are in the front lines for South Africa as well as Rhodesia. South Africa appreciates this...and, there are now South African police in Rhodesia looking for those A.N.C. terrorists".

of leaflets

A.N.C. Men Charged : Further to our report in this issue on the distribution/by the A.N.C. underground inside South Africa, the following report has since reached SECHABA from Port Elizabeth :

"Evidence about a bundle of A.N.C. pamphlets, wrapped in newspaper and found dangling from a second-storey window of the Main Street Branch of O.K.Bazaars in Port Elizabeth in July, was given in the Mumsdorp Magistrates Court recently. Evidence to show that the A.N.C. was still working actively underground, despite its banning in 1960, was given by Lieut. M.J.Fischer, a security branch detective. Lieut. Fischer said an ingenious device, like a parking meter, was fastened to the string from which the bundle dangled. To the time mechanism was attached a razor blade, which would have cut the string at a set time causing the 1000 pamphlets to be released on to the street. The ticking of the mechanism led to its discovery in the women's cloakroom. Six African men were appeared on a charge of belonging to the banned African National Congress. They were all found guilty.

and a half

Citiyiwe, alias Khamela (54), was sentenced to four years imprisonment Katusa Robinson Jantjies (41) was sentenced to three and a half years, Albert Mamelolo Twama (75) Macoko Bumor Mtji (36), Sipeto Ephraem Tshake (27) and Zanevula Wesley Mavavama (42) were all sentenced to three years imprisonment.

White South African Threaten Black Africa : Thrown into a frenzy as a result of the widespread successes, first of nation wide distribution of A.N.C. leaflets and then by the immense successes of the ZAPU - A.N.C. Freedom Fighters, leaders of the Fascist regime in South Africa, with their typical "White Man Baas" attitude are issuing challenges and threats to the whole of Africa.

Addressing the Transvaal Congress of the National Party, the Prime Minister, Vorster, said : "We will fight terrorists wherever we are allowed. The hands of the young men in the armed forces are itching." Issuing a challenge to the O.A.U. meeting at the time in Kinshasa, he said : "If you think you can take us, come and let us see."

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, addressing Pretoria students said : "South Africa should be thankful that she has been chosen to solve the greatest problem in the world."

ANC-ZAPU ALLIANCE

An historic declaration by Oliver Tambo, Deputy-President of the African National Congress of South Africa, and J. R. D. Chikerema, Vice-President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

"Furious fighting has been and is taking place in various parts of Southern Rhodesia. From the thirteenth of this month, the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the white oppressors' Army in Rhodesia. Only last night the Rhodesian Regime admitted having been engaged in a Six Hour Battle yesterday. In fact, the fighting in this area has been going on continuously for a full Six Days.

Both the Rhodesian and the South African regimes have admitted that South African Freedom Fighters belonging to the African National Congress have been involved in these courageous battles, fighting their way to strike at the Boers themselves in South Africa.

We wish to declare here that the fighting that is presently going on in the Wankie area is indeed being carried out by a Combined Force of Z. A. P. U. and A. N. C. which marched into the country as Comrades-in-arms on a common route, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of these Combined Forces to fight the common settler enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting zones.

In the Fighting Front, the enemy has suffered untold casualties and as the fighting continues, the Fighters are determined to inflict more harm without surrender. After all, as Comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common fate — hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries."

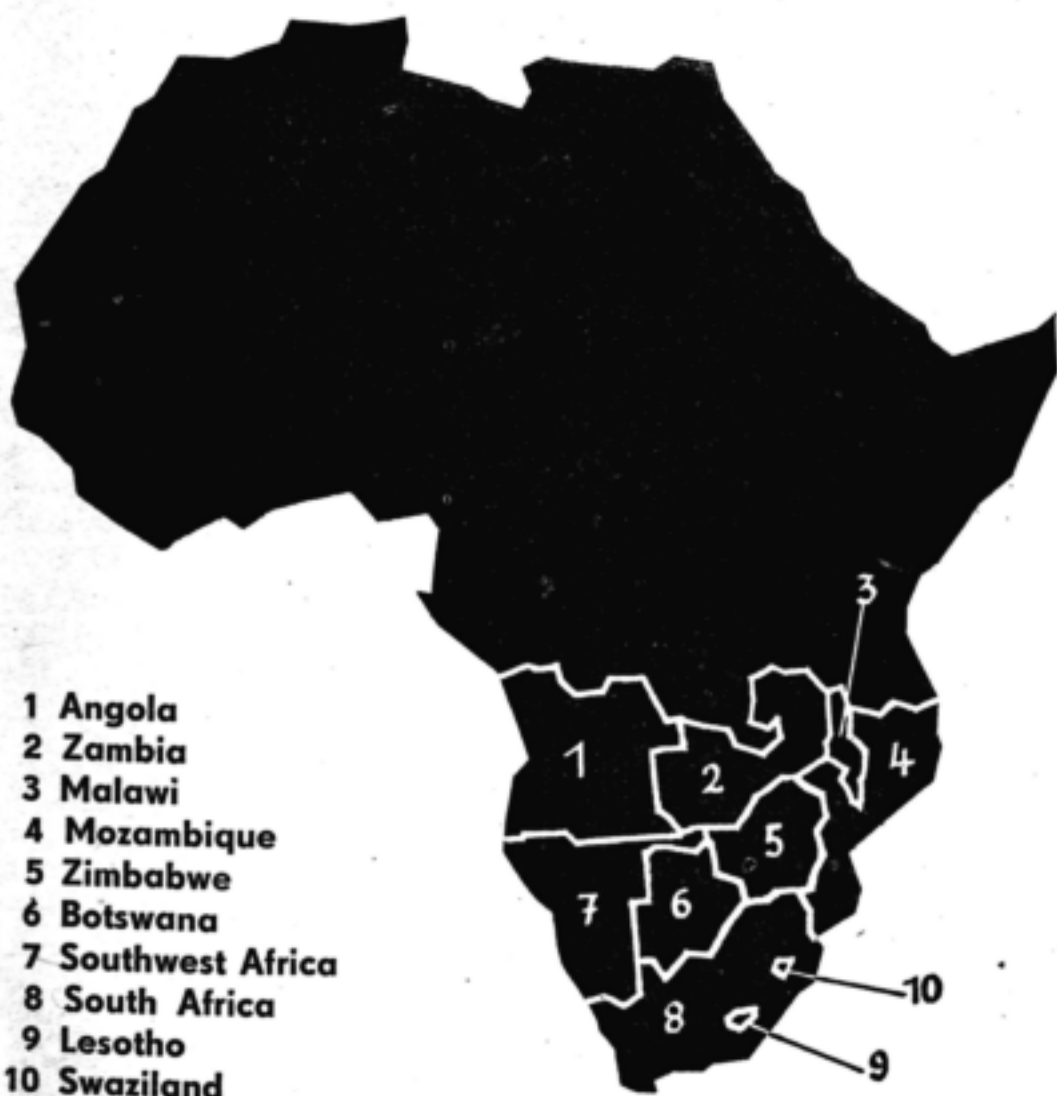
J. R. D. Chikerema

O. R. Tambo

Zimbabwe African People's Union Vice-President African National Congress Deputy-President

Sechaba

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- 9 Lesotho
- 10 Swaziland

* Seven Smith regime soldiers were killed in a clash with liberation fighters in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), south of the Kariba Dam, according to a report published widely in the London press. Sechaba learns from ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) sources that one freedom-fighter was injured in the skirmish.

* Another report emanating from the Smith regime sources stated that five freedom-fighters and two of their own men were killed in a clash in the northern part of the country.

* For four days recently a Swedish ship lay in the Lourenco Marques harbour (Mozambique) loading, with a red and black flag fluttering at the masthead.

An official caught sight of the flag and immediately alerted the police, who marched up the gangway to see the Master of the vessel.

There were explanations and apologies and the red-and-black flag was hauled down and up went the flag of Portugal in its place.

The flag that caused the trouble — the flag of FRELIMO!

The Minister of Agricultural Technical Services, J. Fouche, addressing the Free State Congress of the National Party, said, "for centuries the colonial powers had maintained law and order in Africa. But these powers were no longer there and it was time South Africa made her influence felt."

The Minister of Bantu Administration, M.C. Botha, referring to the entry of South African police into Rhodesia, said: "South Africa had an understanding with Rhodesia long before U.D.I."

OPPOSITION PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES SUPPORT VORSTER

UNITED PARTY : The leader of the official opposition in the South African Parliament, Sir de Villiers Graaf, backing the Government's decision to send police to Rhodesia said: "I support this move. The terrorists who are now trying to infiltrate into South Africa via Rhodesia are clearly fanatical and dangerous. They should be kept as far from our borders as possible."

PROGRESSIVE PARTY : Many simple minded people, with typical naivette have often expressed the hope that the Progressive Party will one day save the oppressed people of South Africa from the catastrophe of a racial war. Repeated warnings that this Party comprised of people who had a vested interest in the maintenance of the cheap labour policy which is the cornerstone of the Apartheid Policy of the National Party fell on deaf ears.

No sooner has the struggle sharpened and the people led by the African National Congress taken up arms in the fight for liberty and independence, the Natal leader of the Party, in a message endorsed by the Party leader, Dr. Jan Steytler, has supported the Government's decision to send troops into Rhodesia. "We are as opposed to terrorism as the government, and if we were in power, we would deal with it as resolutely," states the message.

Small wonder, for one of the leading lights in this organisation is the mining tycoon, Harry Oppenheimer, whose latest exploits we deal with hereunder.

New Nickel Mine in Rhodesia : Anglo American Corporation is to open a new nickel mine near its existing mine at Bindura, about 60 miles from Salisbury, Rhodesia. The Company will spend about £10m. on development and prospecting.

This according to the London Times report is the largest capital investment in a Rhodesian company since U.D.I. This is also in defiance of the U.N. resolution to boycott the illegal Smith regime.

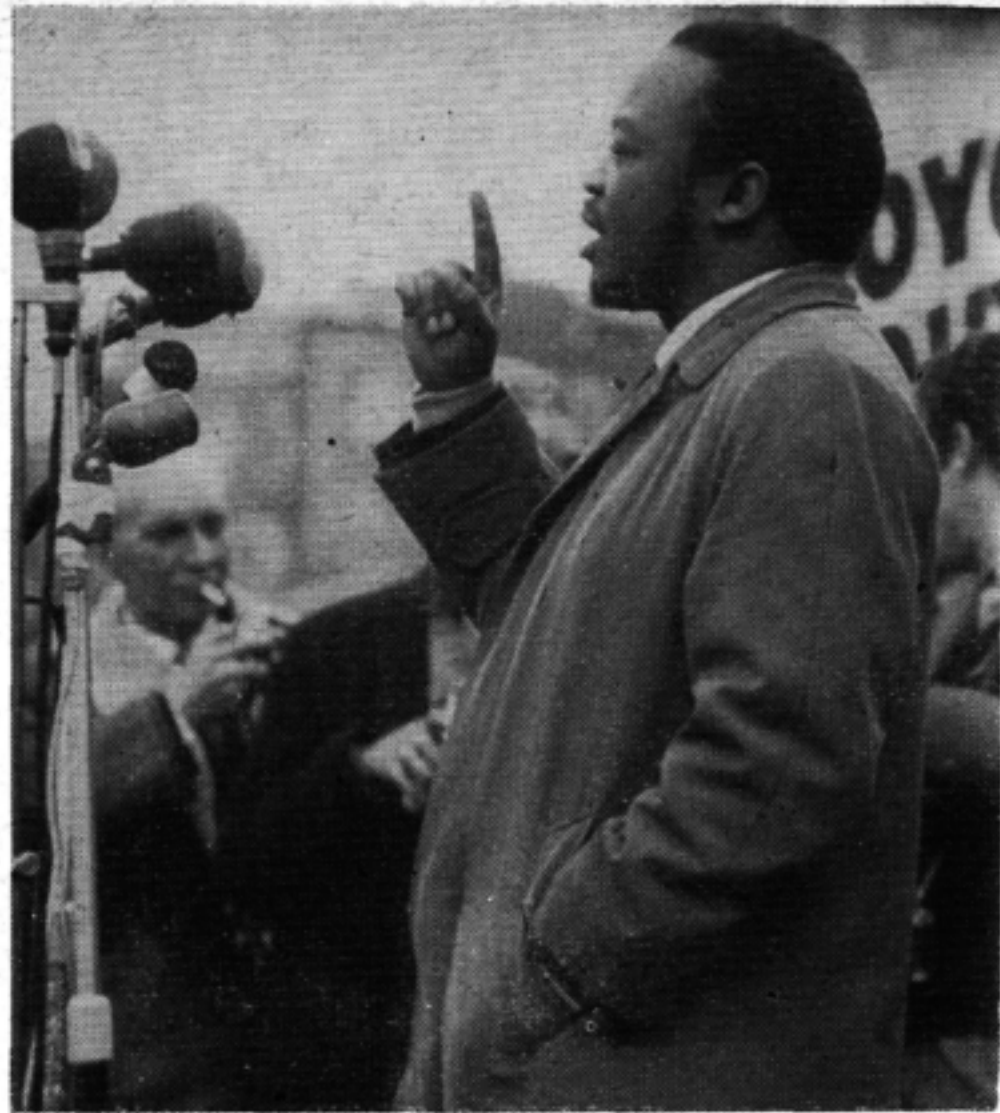
Anglo American of South Africa is registered in Johannesburg and has offices in London, New York, Melbourne, Toronto, Lusaka and Salisbury. The chairman of the Company is Harry Oppenheimer who, apart from his vast investments in Southern Africa is a leading member of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY and of the South African Foundation which has been set up with the sole purpose of selling South Africa and its policy of Apartheid to the rest of the world.

Among the 21 other directors of the Company are Deputy Chairmen, Sir Keith Acutt and C.W. Engelhard the American millionaire.

37 S.W.A. REVOLUTIONARIES FACE DEATH

**Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General
of the African National Congress,
challenges the right of
South Africa to try these
37 freedom-fighters**

Duma Nokwe on Boycott platform, London



The trial of 37 South West African patriots in Pretoria, charged by the fascist regime of South Africa with allegedly intending to create a violent revolution and to take over the government of the country, is a gross violation of international law and a flagrant defiance of the United Nations and of world opinion.

This present action represents the most serious of many acts by the white minority regime of South Africa which have flouted the legitimate rights of the people of South West Africa and committed atrocities against them.

In terms of UN resolutions on South West Africa which confirmed the views of the overwhelming majority of mankind, the South African white regime has no legal authority whatsoever over South West. This trial, therefore, is a blatant challenge to the authority and views of the UN, and a naked declaration by South Africa that it is prepared to continue

its ruthless and piratical aggression and annexation of South West Africa.

It is the sacred duty of the peoples of the world to protest against and condemn the holding of this trial, in which the lives of 37 valiant sons of South West Africa are at stake. (A full list of the 37 appeared in our last issue — Editor.)

It is a duty which the UN cannot avoid to marshal all its international authority and force to stop the holding of this trial and to give full effect to its resolution terminating the South African mandate.

Instead of the 37 patriots who are now standing trial, it is the white fascist criminals of South Africa who should be brought to dock for their illegal acts and atrocities against the people of South West Africa. We call upon the Security Council to convene a meeting urgently to consider this situation and to take appropriate action against the South African regime.

DEFENCE WILL QUESTION COMPETENCE OF S.A. COURT

The competence of the South African court to try the 37 South West Africans accused of acts of 'terrorism' in South West Africa is to be raised by the defence, stated Mr N. Philips Q.C. in the Pretoria Supreme Court when he applied for postponement of the trial.

Mr Philips said that the competence of the court to try the case, involved questions of international law and required particular study. The defence would have to consider whether a South African court had the legislative competence.

This is the first trial to be heard in terms of the recently published 'Terrorism' Act. The men face the death penalty if they are found guilty of the many charges. The full main charge is that the 37 men, of whom three were members of the executive committee of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), took part in terrorist activities between June 1962 and May 1967.

They are accused of entering South West Africa fully armed and with the intention of creating a violent revolution and of creating hostility between Whites and Non-Whites.

Some of the accused have been held in solitary confinement under the 180-day law since February and March of last year. The ages of the accused range from the early twenties to 60 years. They include a number of school-teachers and shop-owners, cattle-herders, gardeners and peasants. It is expected that about 160 State witnesses will be called.

Number one accused is Mr Eliassen Tuhadeleni, a 49-year-old market gardener and cattle owner. He speaks Ovambo and Afrikaans, and has seven children.

The accused are charged with 81 'co-conspirators', some of whom are overseas.

Anglo American is the largest single gold producing group in the world, with its mines contributing 39 per cent of South African production and about 29 per cent of the world output, excluding the communist countries. It also runs the Wankie Coal Colliery in Rhodesia, which before the declaration of U.D.I. was the main source of fuel for the copper mines in Zambia.

We have nothing to hide : In the course of an analysis of the present situation addressed to its members, the African National Congress of South Africa (London Office), attacking the British Press for playing down the successes of ZAPU-ANC Freedom Fighters states :

" Being far from the scene of operations and the sources of information, our friends and supporters in Europe and the United Kingdom are apt to take for granted the despatches of the local press, and accept them as the truth. Accustomed perhaps to being conditioned by the barrage of the local dailies we may tend to accept the printed word of the rotary presses as against the struggling efforts of roneoed bulletins. Some of us may think in terms of our **having** to make "propaganda" to off-set the "official" news, while hesitantly accepting the news "claims" of both sides.

" Let us remember that it is the enemy who has reason to hide the truth, to bamboozle the people, and to create false impressions. **WE HAVE NOTHING TO HIDE** and we are proud to tell the truth all the time.

" Our people are fighting! All our friends, members and supporters should remember this. Our cause is just, our success is determined by history. **WE ARE GOING TO WIN!** Our Freedom Fighters are laying down their lives in heroic fashion!"

Another Death In Prison : One of the 37 Freedom Fighters from South West Africa who was on trial in South Africa (See story on page 4 of this issue) has died in the Pretoria Prison Hospital. He is Ephraim Kaporo. An official statement issued by the South Africa authorities states that he died "of natural causes".

Kruger A Coloured : The descendents of Paul Kruger, the first President of the Transvaal Republic, are demanding Government action against an Afrikaans professor who is reported to have suggested that Kruger had African blood.

Failing Government action the Krugers say they will sue Prof. Oosthuizen, of the University College of Rhodesia, for defamation.

Latest British-Rhodesian Discussions condemned : Condemning the projected talks between Mr. G. Thompson, the Commonwealth Secretary and Ian Smith, a joint A.N.C. - ZAPU statement issued in London this week states : "As the clouds of war gather in Southern Africa, those participating in discussions behind the backs of the African people, should pause at the brink and remember that no short-term tactical manouvre undertaken at the expense of our people can solve problems or avert eventual tragedy for its authors.

THE BIG LIE TECHNIQUE

SOUTH AFRICA'S GESTAPO CHIEF, GENERAL VAN DEN BERG, WHO HAS TRIED TO BESMIRCH THE MEMORY OF ONE OF AFRICA'S GREATEST SONS, CHIEF ALBERT J. LUTULI, IS PROVED A LIAR

Chief Albert Lutuli, hounded and persecuted by South Africa's fascist police, but defiant until the last, has had a final indignity flung at him.

Unable to use or even break the great African National Congress leader during his lifetime, the Security Branch are attempting to use his name now that he is safely interred and can no longer personally fight back.

Within days of Chief's funeral, Special Branch head General H.J. van den Bergh stated that Chief Lutuli had undergone "a change of heart" shortly before his death. "He accepted," the General said in a newspaper interview, "the Government's honesty of purpose, and realised that Africans in South Africa were better off than in any other country in Africa."

The Chief had "repented," said van den Bergh, and had realised he was "being used as a tool by the Communists." Had Chief been younger and healthier he would have "denounced Communism openly very much earlier," he said, adding that Chief had denounced "Communism" privately to a Swedish journalist (unnamed) in February of this year.

PANIC TALK

The General is not usually given to making foolish statements: he is a shrewd and calculating man. Yet he made this statement about Chief. A statement which even the most naive would regard as ludicrous, especially since it was the Special Branch who earlier (after the alleged "repentance") took several months and two requests by Chief before granting him permission to visit a specialist in Durban — despite the fact that he had a serious eye disorder and was in danger of going completely blind. In fact, he was partially blind when he was killed.

Why then did General van den Bergh make the statement he did? The answer is simple. It was a panic measure, brought about by the realization that the underground resistance he had said was smashed was in fact very much alive.

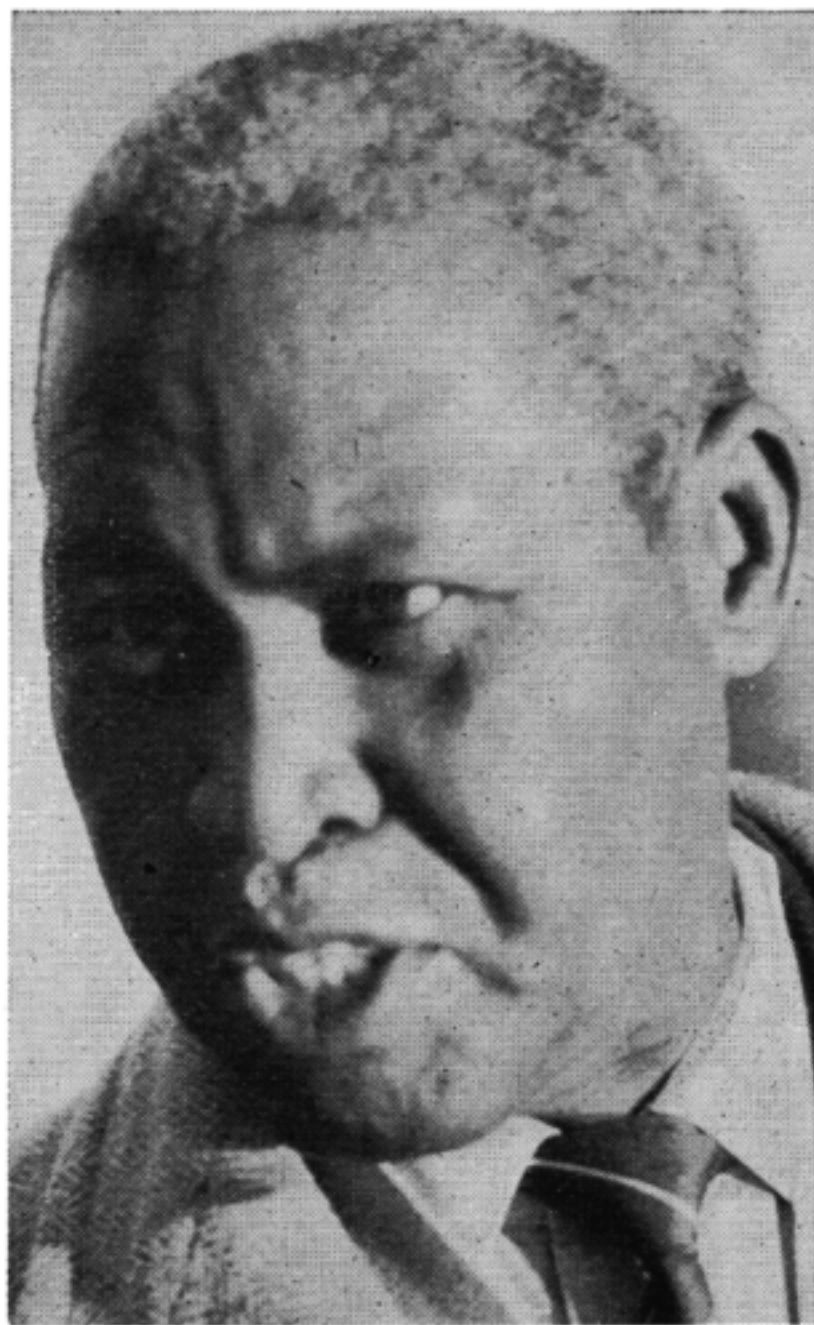
CHIEF CONTINUED FIGHTING

The General linked his "repentance" fantasy with the country-wide distribution of leaflets by the A.N.C. The leaflets were of such a nature that they could not have been issued while Chief was alive, he said, adding a while later that they had been printed abroad, smuggled into South Africa and distributed to coincide with Chief's death. For this to have been possible, however, the A.N.C. must have been able to foresee the death of Chief. Such a glaring contradiction did not, however, ruffle the General as he went ahead with his wild attempt to sow confusion in the ranks of the liberation mo-

vement and at the same time to restore confidence in the ranks of the white oppressors.

It must have come as quite a shock to the General to realise that despite his hangings, jailings and bannings the liberation movement was, after a relatively brief lull to re-organise, operating again throughout the country.

Another fact which he must have been aware of, from statements he forced out of traitors such as Piet Byleveld, Hlapane and others, *that Chief had been consulted and had sat in on all the underground decisions of the A.N.C.*, must have weighed heavily on van den Bergh's efforts to smear the memory of our beloved Chief.



CHIEF A. J. LUTULI



"Farming will be only one of my activities during my period of exile . . . But, as before, my major occupation will be as President-General of the ANC, as long as the people need me," said Chief Lutuli when this photo was taken in 1959.

MORALE UPLIFTED

Van den Bergh, realising that his brutal measures had not even scratched the surface, then swung out wildly. And his statement, far from having the effect he obviously hoped it would, operated against him. His ludicrous song and dance in the South African press, re the leaflet, made him look foolish not only for the contradictions it contained, but because he chose to tarnish the name of a man who is considered, even by his political opponents among the non-White people, to be a prince among men. The statement, far from spreading confusion, has uplifted morale among the masses. Dismissing the leaflet as the "swansong" of the A.N.C., he stated that it had been posted by a few people "who will have to take their medicine when we find them." This ignored the fact — of which the General must be fully aware — that the leaflets were posted from at least six main centres in the country *simultaneously*, demonstrating a high degree of organization.

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PLEADING FOR HELP

The General also made it sound relatively simple to catch those involved in the distribution, implying that the police had a good idea of where to find them. Yet the "confident" General ended his statement with a plea which exposed him even further. He called on anyone who had received a leaflet by post to hand the leaflet "and particularly the envelope" over to the police. When the Security Police are reduced to fishing about in the hope of discovering fingerprints on envelopes, it is certain they have nothing else to go on.

But perhaps the General will manage to catch and jail some of the people involved. Even if he does, he still remains at square one, as there are always others to take the place of the General's victims. And there will surely be some people hitherto inactive who will become active in the liberation movement as a result of his own wild statements in the South African press.

During Chief's lifetime the police tried to break him and failed. Now, after death, they have attempted to use his name to confuse the liberation movement, with an equal lack of success. For what the General does not appear to understand is that Chief Lutuli was not for the people but of them: he was a mighty, personal manifestation of the aspirations of all the exploited masses in South Africa.

Lutuli delivering a speech while abroad



LETTER IN THE S.A. PRESS

This letter, by the Reverend Charles Hooper, appeared in the Rand Daily Mail, a Johannesburg newspaper, last month. It replies to statements about Chief Lutuli's views on violence. The ANC's reply to the vile statements of General van den Bergh regarding Chief appears in the article "The Big Lie Technique."

"May I comment on the following quotations from the Rand Daily Mail of July 22, dealing with Mr Lutuli's attitude towards violence:

From page two: "How long he maintained this ideal — the belief that racial suppression could be overcome without violence — is a controversy that will exist as long as his name is a part of South African history . . . Possibly Mr Lutuli's attitude did change under pressure from his followers."

From page one: "Late in life, it has been said, Lutuli approved the use of violence in the African political campaign." These quotations give the impression that Lutuli held one view in the 1950s and abandoned it for another, under pressure, in the 1960s. I am in a position to say, from at least a dozen conversations with him (between 1957 and 1960), in which this particular issue was either touched on or thrashed out, that such an impression is misleading. From first to last his attitude was consistent . . .

He maintained that there are certain situations in which violence is morally defensible — not good, or desirable, but justifiable. But he saw such action as a desperate last resort. His attitude was: "For God's sake, let us avoid it here!" He always recognised, however, that it might not, in the long run, be avoidable. His analogy was: if one could defend one's family from a violent or mad man in no other way than by knocking him down, then one must knock him down.

Publicly, he advocated only non-violence and dialogue because these were what he passionately wanted South Africans to believe in; but privately he maintained that Stauffenberg was right in trying to destroy Hitler. He himself dedicated his later life to the attempt to open a vital dialogue in South Africa to avoid violence, which he deeply feared and detested in anybody. But his condemnation of violence was conditional and qualified. It was the situation that changed, not Lutuli's basic attitude. Mr Vorster's ban stopped the dialogue.

Briefly, he believed that violence was abhorrent. Nevertheless, if it had to be employed, as a last-ditch defence against the wanton cruelty of migratory labour, broken homes, ghettos, pass arrests, night raids, 180 days, and the starvation of minds and bodies, it should either be employed massively only with a real chance of success; or with restraint as the final means of trying to warn of trouble ahead, and then against installations, not people.

At this point in his thinking his repugnance for violence was reinforced by his clear recognition that no violent course of action remains either predictable or controllable.

— CHARLES HOOPER



A LETTER FROM MRS LUTULI

Friends,

My family and I wish to convey our heartfelt thanks to all the friends, relatives and neighbours for the prayers, kind thoughts, telegrams, telephone calls, written messages and floral tributes received during our bereavement.

Lastly we wish to thank all those who attended the funeral of my late beloved husband. It is my most sincere belief that his ideas and ideals will one day be realised and achieved.

NOKUKHANYA LUTULI

Private Bag,
Groutville,
Natal,
South Africa.

IN MEMORY OF CHIEF

A special Sechaba supplement on our beloved leader was included with our August issue. In case any reader has not received a copy of this supplement, please write in for one. You are kindly asked to include the cost of postage.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

WHITE, BUT REFUSED

Eleven-year-old Sandra Laing, who was White, then declared Coloured, and then again re-classified as White, does not quite know what is happening to her.

Sixteen months ago she was sent home from a Piet Retief boarding school where the school authorities would not allow her to remain.

Having gone through the agonising process of being first declared Coloured

and then months later re-admitted as White, she now faces a new problem.

Four Catholic convent (White) schools in South Africa have refused her application for admission.

A fifth school is 'considering' her application.

MORE WHITE BABIES

There were not enough White babies being born in South Africa to fill the "skilled worker gap," according to the

general secretary of the South African Boilermakers Society, Mr T.P. Murray. Non-Whites would have to be trained to fill the gap.

The Society estimated that 10,000 skilled jobs each year are not being filled either by young people starting out in trades, or by White immigrants.

The Building industry alone is at present trying to recruit 2,000 skilled workers in Holland.

In a special article on manpower shortage, Mr Murray stated that an estimated 33,000 skilled jobs become available yearly. These jobs, "whether we like it or not," would have to be filled by Indians, Coloureds and Africans — "a huge labour reserve on our doorstep that has yet been virtually untapped as far as skilled work is concerned," he said.

(Note: Job Reservation in South Africa prevents Non-Whites from taking up skilled jobs — Editor.)

ETIQUETTE

Advice on White behaviour towards Non-Whites was given by the Assistant Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr H.J

REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

Waste To Teach Africans

South Africa was doing as much for African education as the African could absorb, said the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Mr Blaar Coetzee, in a speech delivered at the opening of an African school in Cradock. "If the Government did more for African education than it was doing at the present, this would be a waste of time and energy," he said.

"In the Republic, with the exception of the Transkei, 80% of all African children of school-going age attend school," he said. "That figure compared with 67% in Ghana, 52% in Kenya, 43% in

Nigeria and 56% in Swaziland," he added boastfully.

Coetzee's monstrous assertions are an insult not only to the African people but to the intelligence of seriousminded people everywhere.

Firstly, when he excludes the Transkei from his South African figures, he is excluding nearly 17% of the total African population.

Secondly, when he says that 80% of potential pupils are at school, he fails to add that 96% of these are in primary schools, mostly in the very lowest classes, and that less than 2% reach Matriculation level.

What are the conditions for those Africans even to get into the struggle for rudimentary education? For the majority, these conditions include grievously overcrowded class-rooms; the double-session system, so that many only attend school a few hours each day; sometimes as many as 100 pupils in one classroom; and a total lack of textbooks.

Nearly half the teachers have had only Std.6 education plus teacher's training. These facts have not been sucked from our thumb, they are figures quoted at different times in government documents.

Further facts on education (particularly highlighting the unbelievable gap between White and Non-White education) can be obtained in the article "Let the Facts Speak", in last month's issue of *Sechaba*.

Inevitably, Blaar Coetzee parroted the routine comparison with conditions in other parts of Africa. Even if his figures are correct, he should remember this: many developing countries, after being plundered for generations and centuries by the imperialists, are using all the limited resources at their command to create a well-educated nucleus which will more speedily foster the intellectual and economic development of the rest. If any further evidence is needed, Coetzee's statement blatantly belies the

van Zyl, when he addressed the Natal (White) Youth Congress of South Africa recently.

Dr van Zyl said inter-racial contacts were now occurring at an official level as leaders from African States visited the South African Government. Most Whites knew how to behave towards domestic servants or delivery workers. But there are thousands of highly-developed Bantu (official designation for 'Africans' — Editor) in this country, Dr van Zyl said.

"How are we to behave towards them? Shall we greet them with a handshake? Shall we offer such a man a chair in our office? How are we to address him?" he asked.

Dr van Zyl said his advice was that *if the contact were necessary and in the local or national interest*, a White was in duty bound to treat non-White professional men "as he would his colleagues out of any other population group."

WAAR'S JOU PAS JONG

This dreaded phrase meaning "Where is your pass, boy?" haunts all Africans during the day or night. Most Africans

avoid policemen rather than face the humiliation (and often the possibility of arrest) involved in having to produce their passes and be interrogated in a public place.

Figures published last month showed that in one year nearly 36,000 Africans were prosecuted in Johannesburg alone for contraventions of influx laws and trespass, sections of the pass laws. This figure, of course, is a mere fraction of the total for the whole country, which runs to something like 160,000 prosecutions and 85,000 "endorsements-out" annually.

NICHOLSON FREED

Miss Ann Nicholson, the young art student and former member of the banned Congress of Democrats, who was sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act in the original Fischer Trial, has been released from jail. She served her full sentence of two years three months.

Immediately after her release she was served with banning orders which placed her under 12-hour house arrest and

precludes her from any gatherings of more than one person, including social gatherings.

MRS CARNESON LEAVES

Mrs Sarah Carneson, wife of the former editor of the banned *New Age*, has left South Africa on a one-way exit permit. Her husband Fred has still 4 months to serve of his 5-year prison sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mrs Carneson has no option but to leave South Africa to save the health of her 14-year-old daughter on the advice of a Cape Town psychiatrist, who told her that the only hope her daughter had of recovering from a complete mental breakdown was for her to leave the country.

The nervous breakdown followed her mother's arrest and prosecution for attending an Old Year's Eve party in Cape Town last year, in contravention of a banning order served on her in 1962.

The Court accepted that Mrs Carneson went to the party to chaperone her daughter.

claim to a *moral* basis for the Government's so-called "separate development".

Dispute Among Brothers

If we are to believe numerous newspaper reports over past months, South Africa's ruling National Party is once again being 'torn apart' by internecine feuding.

The source of the present dispute was the emergence in strength of the so-called Hertzog group. Vorster himself deemed it necessary to warn party members against supporting the "extreme right-wing" faction.

But does this mean that the racists are in the process of tearing one another apart? That a disunited National Party is tottering on the brink of collapse? Or is it yet another example of the "broedertwis" (dispute among brothers) that has periodically raised its head?

The *Rand Daily Mail* saw it — correctly — as the latter, going on to say it was a struggle between the "enlightened" and the "conservative" wings of the Party!

The Johannesburg *Star* agreed. The "conservatives", it stated, are those who wish to retain the "old" apartheid ideology, while the "enlightened" sections are prepared to "move with the times".

In a leading article, *The Star* went on to quote Progressive Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman as saying that nothing had changed, except for the worse. The *Star* disagreed, pointing out that "top management is more pragmatic, less doctrinaire". Mrs Suzman, however, put her finger on it. Nothing has changed or will change, except for the worse.

For squabbles and movements one way or another as a result of 'broederwis' are essentially "White" politics. The effect on the fundamental issue, apartheid, is non-existent.

The Sunday Times, thrashing about in the vain and somewhat ludicrous hope that the United Party (the official White opposition) will carry the day, committed the common error of "White" politics: it disregards, in the field of politics, the existence of the mass of the people.

This latest 'broedertwis' has its antecedents. Every time since 1948 that a Prime Minister has died, there has been a similar incident: a supposedly brutal struggle for power between the 'liberals' (from the Cape) and the 'extremists' (from the Transvaal). In all cases, both parties to the dispute agree about a fundamental fact: that apartheid and White domination should continue. All their fight is about is the means towards that identical end, an end also

shared, incidentally, by the 'opposition' United Party.

The real dispute in South Africa is, of course, not how the masses should be ruled, but when they will end their oppression. It is therefore ridiculous to look at a bit of 'broedertwis' and conclude that major upheavals are going to occur.

One more interesting point: the victor of the previous disagreements about apartheid strategy has always been the hard-liner. Whether or not this will be the case this time cannot be foretold. All that is certain, however, is that conditions in South Africa will, at best, remain as rotten as they are.



The tentacles of passes and forced labour are extended to the Coloured people under the ...

COLOURED CADETS BILL

by Alex La Guma

For more than a century the African people of South Africa have been forced to leave their homes to engage in work for Whites, on farms, in the mines, in industry and in homes. As the pass-law system became more and more brutal under successive governments maintaining cheap Non-White labour and upholding White political and economic superiority, millions of Africans have been forced in to a life of appalling poverty and police terror raids for passes and permits.

Today the tentacles of this vicious system are commencing their inevitable reach into other sections of the Non-White communities, their suckers preparing to seize and grip more and more lives in the stranglehold of enforced labour at the cheapest rates, police searches and labour transit camps. For the South African government has recently introduced a so-called Coloured Cadets Bill.

MORE WHITEWASH

Mr. N.F. Treurnicht (MP for Picketberg) explained the Bill as "a measure that would prevent their (Coloured people's) children succumbing to bad habits and eventual delinquency... A good start to incorporate the Coloured youth in a positive labour plan."

It needs only to compare Mr Treurnicht's watery whitewash with the gallons which have been used over the years to glorify the Bantu Administration Act without success. No amount of colourful descriptions have been able to hide the festering horror of South Africa's pass laws for Africans. And it needs only to glance at the words which have become notorious in South African legislation: "registration", "empowered", "penalties", "compulsory", to realise that an existence under the pass laws now awaits the Coloured people unless they gird up their loins to fight it.

REGISTRATION, COMPULSORY WORK

The Coloured Cadets Bill provides for registration of all Coloured men between the ages of 18 and 24, and the training in employment of all those not at school and those who are unemployed.

Thus apart from already having to carry an Identity Card which places a person in his racial category, the Coloured man, whether he is employed or not, will have to register and *will obviously have to carry some sort of document which will prove this* — as does the African.

Having been registered, these men can be called upon to enter a compulsory work training camp, where training can "include any work done inside or outside the work-training centres". Penalties for disobeying call-up orders or failure to register will range from fines to imprisonment or both fine and imprisonment.

A selection board will be empowered to "exempt" those who are engaged in full-time study at school or university, and those in permanent employment serving apprenticeships. Thus, as applies to Africans under the Bantu Administration Act, Coloured men exempted will have to carry a farcical "exemption document", which he will in any case have to show to anybody in authority, for example a policeman, to prove that the pass-law does not apply to him!

MINISTER'S DISCRETION

But, the Bill also adds, the authorities concerned are *not compelled to exempt* anybody whether he is studying full-

time, or is working in permanent employment or studying as an apprentice.

At the same time, it is not the selection board who will be empowered to decide how many people shall be forced into the compulsory labour training camps, but the Minister of Coloured Affairs who will have sole discretion. Neither does the Bill distinguish between a youth who might honestly be unemployed and seeking work through the normal channels, and one who might be a delinquent. The labour camps await all and sundry who might be gathered into the Minister's net. It means in effect that Coloured men will not be in a position to seek work of their own choice — they will be forced into a work category decided upon by those who run the labour camps.

The Coloured man will have no say in his own destiny.

NO PARENTAL CONTROL

The Coloured Cadets Bill likewise removes all parental control over Coloured youth, except where property rights and consent to marry are concerned. Thus parents will have no more say over the future of their sons. Under this Bill any hopes of economic advancement for young people hang forever in the precarious balance of forced-labour authorities and camp commandants.

'RE-TRAINED' — FOR UNSKILLED WORK

What lies immediately behind the Coloured Cadets 'Forced Labour' Bill? Mr Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, stated that the legislation was intended as a means of filling the labour gap in the Western Cape caused by the Government's decision to expel 5% of Africans from the area each year until all Africans are finally expelled from the area.

Thus it means clearly the replacement of African unskilled and poverty-line labour by Coloured labour. It means the relegation of Coloured workers to the grinding economic position that Africans have endured for generations.

Coloured workers, for example, finding themselves retrenched from higher-paid skilled or semi-skilled jobs (a position they have tenuously held due to historical factors), can find themselves forcibly engaged in labouring work at the lowest wages. Trained workers forced out of employment through Job Reservation (which determines that certain skilled jobs are for Whites only), will find themselves forced into labour camps where they will be "trained" for unskilled labour.

CALL FOR FARM LABOUR

For a long time farmers of the Western Cape have been clamouring about the shortage of farm labour. In June 1964 for example the Cape Argus complained: "Western Cape Farmers Badly Hit by Labour Shortage. Alarming Loss of Coloured Labour." Again in August 1964 the same paper reported: "The Winter Rainfall Union and the Cape Province Wool Growers Association have on the agenda a motion asking for the appointment of labour committees to make a study of labour matters in Regional Union areas. The motion says positive steps must be taken to create conditions that will not only keep labourers there but will draw these people from elsewhere."

In February 1965 the paper reported that "a steadily rising shortage of Coloured labour on farms in the Western Cape is forcing a relaxation of influx control of farming industry..."

In June 1964, G.A. Theron, M.P.U. Ceres, had stated at Tulbagh in the Cape: "I would like to see the thousands of Coloured 'won't-works' in the cities transported to the Platte-land."

The Coloured Cadets Bill dooms thousands of Coloured youths to a future as permanent unskilled workers, and as farm labourers toiling for the miserable pittance of £2 or £3 a month. It requires only an amendment to the law to extend the forced labour regulation age beyond 24 years, and to extend it to Coloured women as well.

GREATER UNITY IS CALLED FOR

The Coloured Cadets Bill will place every Coloured person in the front line of humiliating demands for passes by patrolling policemen. It places every Coloured home in the line of police raids.

The Coloured people cannot submit meekly to the degrading life under the pass laws. The Coloured people cannot submit willingly to regimentation by forced-labour officials, to work-camps and police raids.

The threat of this new kind of slavery for the Coloured people calls for greater unity with the African people, and renewed and unified struggle to end forever the whole rotten system of cheap labour, indignity, frustration and poverty.

South African Coloured Peoples Congress

A pamphlet on the struggle of the Coloured people of South Africa and the role of the South African Coloured People's Congress.

Price 1/-d.

*Obtainable from:
S. A. C. P. C.
49 Rathbone Street,
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WELCOME VALLEY —

A LIVING HELL

Following the exposure (Sechaba Vol 1 No 8) of South Africa's concentration camps in the rural areas, we are now able to publish the first personal eye-witness account of conditions in such a camp. It is the story of the horror that is Welcome Valley; a story made no less brutal by the absence of machine gun posts and barbed wire. It is the story of men and women, young and old, condemned to eke out a livelihood in the desolation of a "transit camp." One of those men is MAHLUBI LIVINGSTONE MRWETYANA, and this is his story — as told to The World Campaign For The Release of South African Prisoners.

WELCOME VALLEY

It's official name is Ilinge Township, but it is wryly called "Welcome Valley" by those who are forced by the apartheid regime to live in this basin formed by bare, eroded hills.

In the valley itself, near the sun-scorching sprawling township, red-blanketed women scratch the near-impotent soil or tend their stunted, anaemic crops. The menfolk — those fortunate enough — toil in the open in the surrounding areas, building and repairing roads and dams. The unfortunates — the 'surplus' labour and those considered too old, ill or infirm for the backbreaking work — sit and wait vainly for the next vacancy in the labouring gangs; a vacancy which might give them the chance to take away just over £8 every month.

£8 per month is £2 per week or less than 7/— per working day, in an area

where food and clothing prices are roughly comparable to those in Britain, and where one return bus trip to the nearest urban centre (Queenstown 9 miles to the east) costs 5s 6d.

And the spending of a day's wages on a bus journey to Queenstown can often be a matter of life or death, as Queenstown is the nearest centre where medical attention can be obtained.

To miss the daily bus means to travel by taxi at fares ranging from as low as six shillings return during the day to £1 7s 6d single at night.

THE DUMPING GROUND

This is the squalid reality of Welcome Valley; the reality behind the apartheid officialese facade: "Ilinge Township is a place for resettlement for displaced people." It is indeed a resettlement area: few of those living in it arrived there by choice. They were placed there by the racist regime either because they were considered "undesirable" or because they had served their purpose.

This latter category forms an important part of the township's population, for the valley acts as the dumping-ground for those who, through age or infirmity, can no longer hold down jobs in the industrial and commercial complexes of modern South Africa. They are the men and women who are no longer of any use in producing vast profits, and like a collection of old machinery they have been tossed onto the scrap heap to end their days amid the dry hills and the one-roomed wood and corrugated-iron shacks of the township.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Among the "undesirables" moved to the valley are many political prisoners who have completed their sentences. Mr Mrwetyana fell into this category. Jailed for two years because of his support for the African National Congress, he was issued with an order restricting him to the Glen Grey area and was "settled" in Welcome Valley.

For Mr Mrwetyana the limbo of the valley was to be an experience of months rather than years. He was lucky, and arrived in Britain earlier this year to take up a university scholarship. Behind him he left the men, women and children who must exist from day to day in the valley of desolation.

Among them are three fellow political prisoners from his home town of Uitenhage, Alfred Dlamini, Andili Mali and Howard Cuntu.

On their release after more than two years in prison, they were taken in a car by Security Branch policemen and left stranded in Lady Frere, 37 miles from Welcome Valley, with only £1 10s between them.

With no means of returning home — a single ticket to Uitenhage costs £1 8s 6d — they made their way to the police station where they were referred to the Chief Magistrate. Reporting to the Magistrate, they were told that they had not been issued with rail warrants to get them home as their home was in fact not Uitenhage but Welcome Valley.

ISOLATION ARRANGED

Everything had been arranged, said the magistrate. They would each be offered

a one-roomed shack at a rental of £1 4s a month and would be given construction work which would enable them to earn £8 5s a month. In addition, each would be given one week's rations consisting of corn, corn meal, beans, condensed milk and salt.

Faced with this situation, which the men say is a worse form of existence than prison since there is always doubt about where the next meal is coming from, the three left the magistrate and, hitch-hiking and walking, returned to Uitenhage.

Within days of their arrival — during which time Mr Mali had found a job — they were summoned to the location superintendent's office and informed that they had forfeited their residential rights by spending more than 6 months in jail. Their "only home," they were told, was Welcome Valley.

NO FAMILY REUNION

Again, by the standards of Welcome Valley, they might be considered lucky.

All three are young and single, and they at least had the opportunity of seeing their families before being removed. Even the meagre satisfaction of a family reunion after years in jail was denied some. A man Mr Mrwetyana remembers only as Kwezi was transferred straight from Robben Island prison to Lady Frere, dumped straight from prison into Welcome Valley and left to fend for himself or rot.

Even more tragic is the case of Eric Vara, sentenced to jail with three other Cradock men in 1963 for their support of the ANC. Mr Vara, according to fellow prisoners, was in good health when he left Groen Punt prison under police escort at the end of his sentence. Some time later he was found by relatives lying unconscious in a street near his home.

Today Eric Vara is in Welcome Valley. A sick man — he is believed to suffer from tuberculosis and asthma — his mind is beginning to wander and he has on several occasions attempted sui-

cide. Sharing his shack he has his pregnant wife and two young children.

WAITING IN HOPE

These are but a few of the personal tragedies of the 'Glen Grey resettlement area,' but they epitomise the whole. The circumstances are all similar — the only difference between one case and another may be the person's name. Or perhaps the age, like Mr Tshatshu who, at 69, sweats and labours on the dams and roads with men young enough to be his grandchildren.

There are sick men like Eric Vara or men like Pan Africanist Congress member John Hashe, whose wife is ailing and needs frequent medical attention. Rather than be parted again, Mrs Hashe has joined her husband even though it means suffering for her.

But in the midst of the squalor, poverty and degradation, a spirit of resistance still flares, and even those who can only sit and wait, wait in hope.

They do not wait in vain, however!

Scene in a South African township — but conditions in the so-called transit camps are far worse than these.



THE GROUP AREAS ACT

... is cruel, callous, grotesque, abominable, unjust, vicious and humiliating, says

NANA SITA

Photo: Police guard, and assist, as old Sophiatown is demolished and the people shifted



Indian spectators wept openly in the Pretoria Regional Court last month during a bitter outburst against the Group Areas Act in which the former President of the South African Indian Congress, Mr Nana Sita, called the proclamation "a crime against humanity".

In an impassioned plea from the dock, the 69-year-old leader, who appeared with his wife Pemi Sita, on a charge of illegally occupying premises in an area declared for White occupation only, told the magistrate: "I shall willingly suffer whatsoever sentence you may deem to pass on me."

The grey-haired follower of the Gandhian philosophy of Satyagraha (passive resistance) has already been jailed twice for refusing to vacate his house and the family shop in Hercules, Pretoria.

Reading from an 18-page prepared statement, which evoked strong protests from the prosecutor, Mr Sita, outlining the history of the Indian community in South Africa, said that the Nationalist Government had violated several con-

tracts between the Indian people and previous governments in passing the Group Areas Act.

One of these, he said, was the Samto-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 (Gandhi was at that time leader of the Indian people in South Africa), in which General Smuts as Minister of the Interior had assured the (British) Indian Government that the Indians in South Africa would be administered in a just manner and with due regard to their vested rights. Another was the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 in which the South African government undertook to ensure that local Indians will be able to develop to their full potential.

"But the present government, through the Group Areas Act, is pursuing a fixed policy of ruination of the Indian community — socially and politically." "It is the avowed policy of the authorities that life be made as intolerable for the Indians and conditions of living so unbearable that they will be forced to leave of their own accord," stated Nana Sita.

Relatives and friends in the public gallery of the court listened moist-eyed as Mr Sita recounted the untold hardships and abject misery of Indians evicted under the Group Areas Act. "The Act is cruel, callous, grotesque, abominable, unjust, vicious and humiliating," he stated.

"It brands us as an inferior people in perpetuity, condemns us as uncivilised barbarians. It degrades the race to which I am proud to belong, a race which has produced eminent men and women in all walks of life..."

"One day the framers of this Act will stand before a much higher authority for the misery and the humiliation they are causing..."

Concluding his speech, Mr Sita said he considered it his sacred duty to resist injustice and bear the full brunt of the law.

"I am 69 years old and suffering from chronic arthritis," he said. "But I do not plead in mitigation. I am ready for the sentence."

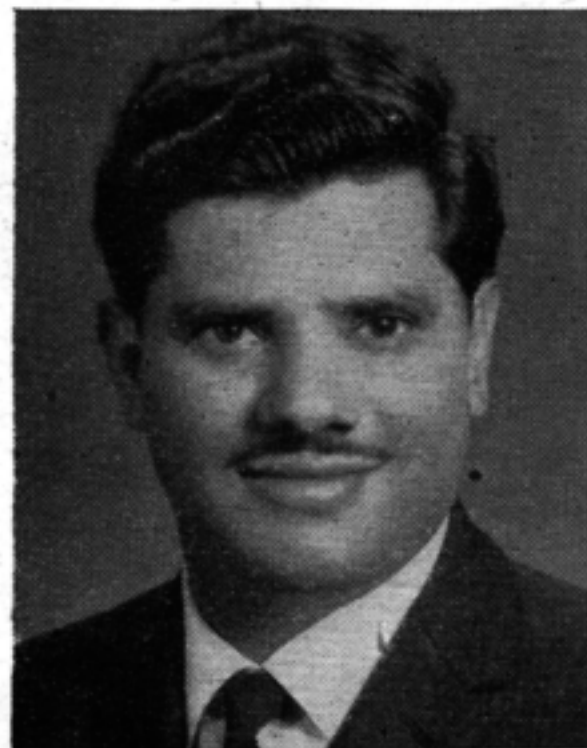
GROUP AREAS DEFIER LOSES JOB

In our last issue we reported the case of a young Transvaal Indian, Mr M.S. Bhana, who chose to go to jail rather than move from his home in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, which has been declared a 'White area' in terms of the obnoxious Group Areas Act.

According to information which has now reached us, Mr Bhana who is a banned member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, has lost his job. Because of the stringent restrictions placed on him by the fascist government of South Africa, he will find it practically impossible to find another job.

Meanwhile he is still staying at his 17th Street home in Vrededorp, pending an appeal against the magistrate's order that he should be forcibly moved at State expense if he fails to move voluntarily after serving his sentence of one month. Mr. Bhana was released from prison late last month.

Sechaba salutes this gallant freedom-fighter!



NANA SITA

UNCOMPROMISING FIGHTER AGAINST APARTHEID

by The Editor

Who is Nana Sita? How does he fit into the struggle of the oppressed peoples in South Africa? How does his philosophy of non-violence fit in with the policy of the African National Congress of meeting the violence of the fascist government of South Africa with revolutionary violence by the people?

Mr Sita who is 69 this year has lived in Van der Hof Road in Hercules, a Pretoria suburb, for most of his life; for 54 years to be precise.

Little is known of his earlier life except that as an adult he was always active in religious and social welfare work among the small Indian community of the city. Toward the end of the last war he became active in the Transvaal Indian Congress, rising from an ordinary member to Vice-President in a short while. When Dr Yusuf M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was banned in 1952, Nana Sita was elected in his place.

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

Up to this time and for some time later the policy of the Indian Congress was one of non-violence. However, when this policy changed in the mid-sixties and the Indian Congress in alliance with the vanguard Liberation Movement, the African National Congress, decided to meet the violence of the State with violence, Nana Sita, although he was a dissident, remained within the Congress.

Unlike his many colleagues in the Indian Congress, he believed in non-violence as a principle. To others in the Congress, non-violence was a tactic to build the movement and gain concessions and freedom if possible.

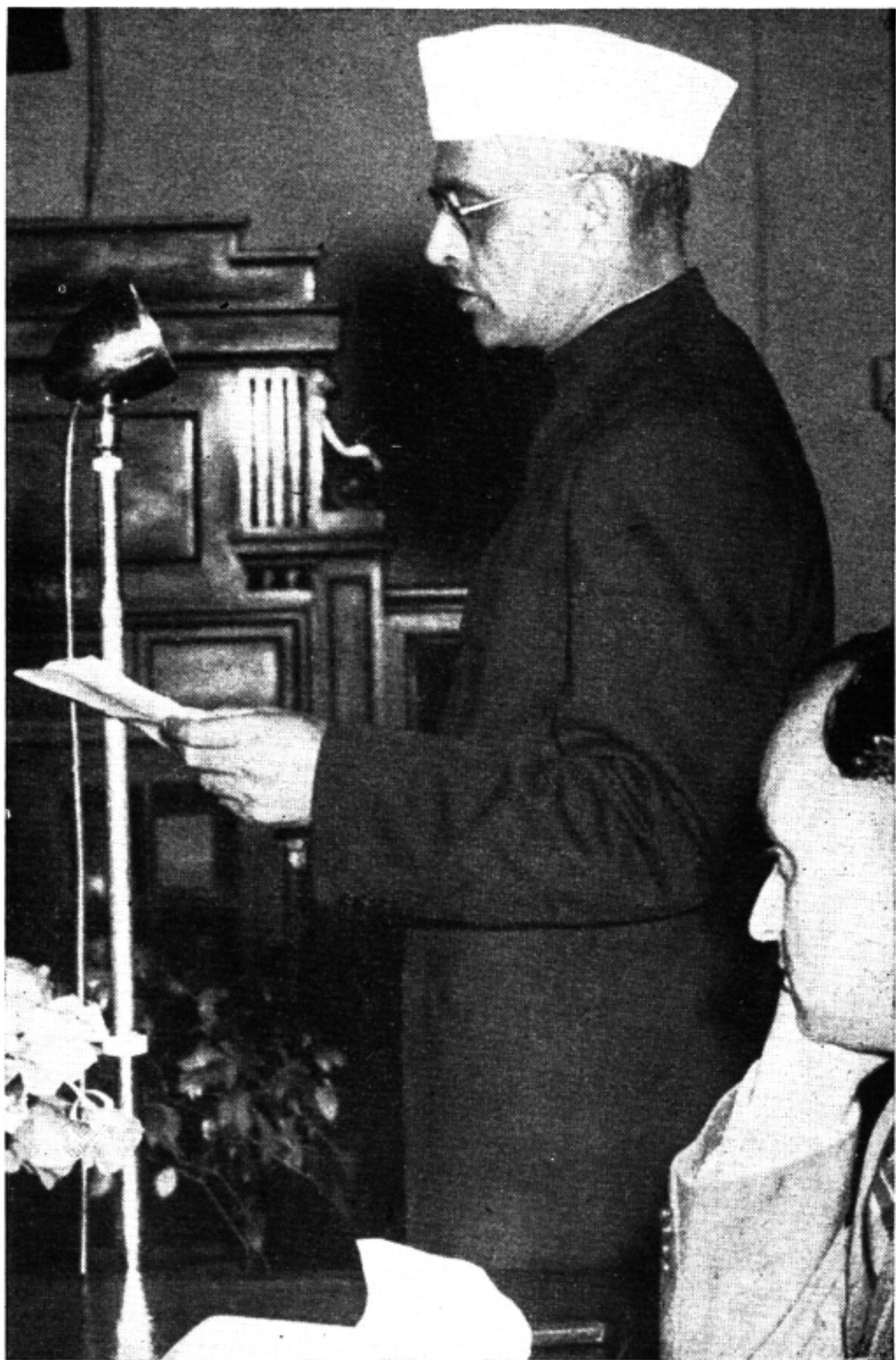


Photo : Nana Sita (with Dr Dadoo seated) addressing Passive Resistance Campaign meeting.

These contradictions did not affect Mr Sita's standing in the movement. Nor did it cause any serious problem within the Organization. Nana Sita, with his straightforward honesty and unbounded courage, was able to justify his stand together with the revolutionaries on the basis that it was the Government's violence that created the conditions for the people's violence.

Although he did not agree with anyone advocating violence he believed in working with anyone actively engaged in opposing the Government. And indeed he worked closely with the most ardent revolutionaries throughout his political career.

On the other hand Congressmen — both in the Indian Congress and the African National Congress — although disagreeing with him fundamentally, respected Mr Sita's views and supported his non-violent actions against the racist regime in South Africa.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

Nanbhai, as he is popularly and lovingly known among his friends and colleagues, first went to prison for his beliefs in 1946, during the campaign of Passive Resistance organized by the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses against what was known as the Asiatic

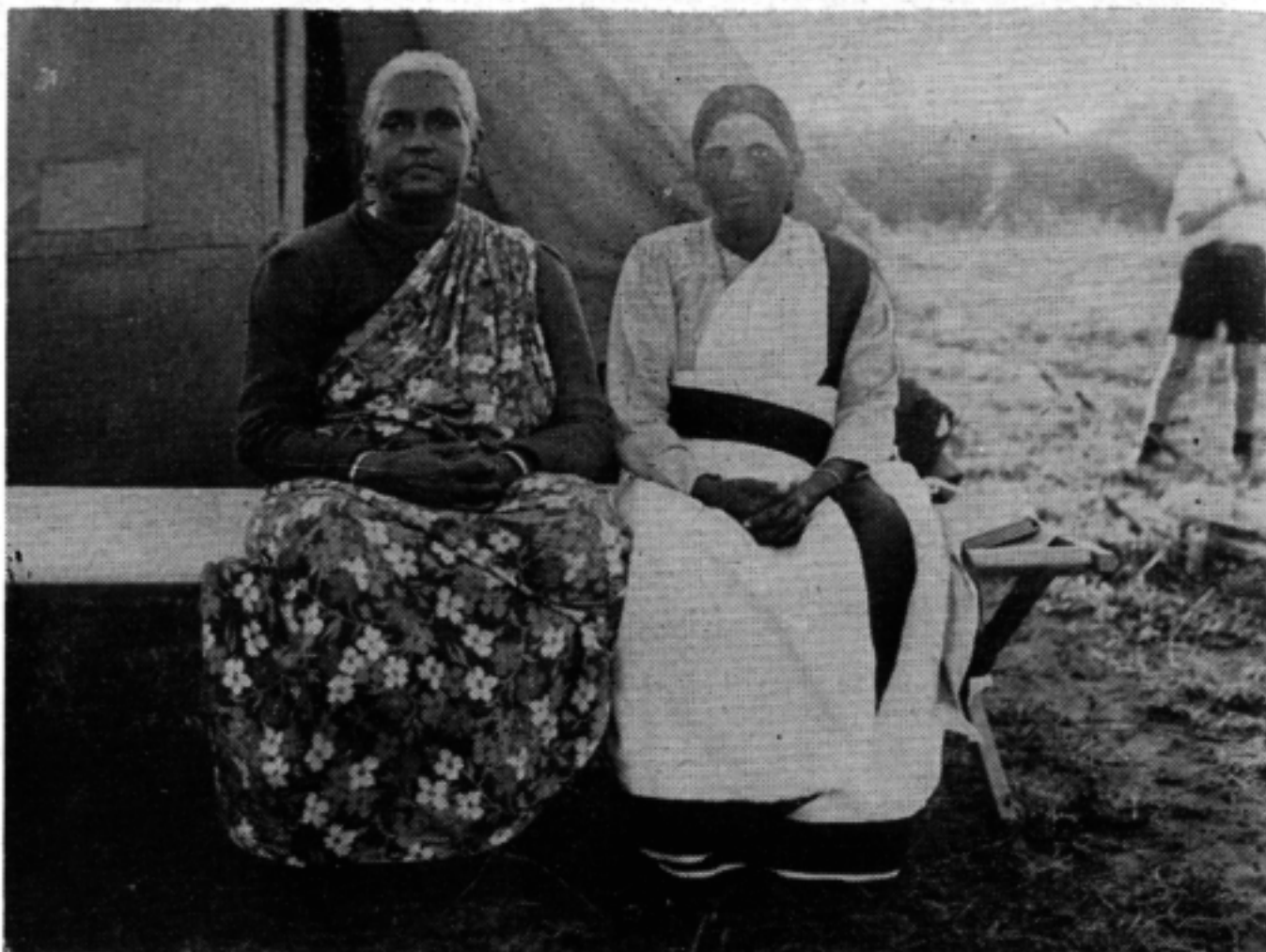
Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. This Act providing for the segregation of the Indian people into racially exclusive ghettos, was passed by the all-White parliament in the teeth of the united opposition of the voteless Indian population.

This opposition crystallised into a mass campaign in which thousands of people voluntarily courted imprisonment. Mr Sita was sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour for having occupied a plot of land in an all-white area.

In October 1947 during the same campaign he again led a batch of resisters including 24 women, his daughter and his brother, on to council-owned land, in a White area. On this occasion he was sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

When early in 1952 the African National Congress decided to launch the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, Nana Sita, who was on the Joint Planning Council of the African and Indian Congresses (the Indian Congress having joined the ANC in the Campaign), was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act with "furthering the aims of communism," together with Dr Dadoo; Dr J.S. Moroka, who was at the time President of the African National Congress; Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the ANC; Nelson Mandela, later to become the leader of Umkonto weSizwe (The Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC; and Ahmed Kathrada, leader of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress; and



When tents were pitched on resistance plot during the Passive Resistance Campaign

fourteen others. The last three are at present serving life sentences on Robben Island, the dreaded Alcatraz of South Africa.

All were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

The Defiance Campaign began as planned on 26 June 1952, with three batches of volunteers defying different unjust laws. One of the batches comprising 53 Indian and African defiers was led by Nana Sita.

Before being sentenced Nambhai addressing the Court said: "I do not plead in mitigation or for mercy. I have de-

cidied to go to jail so that my suffering and the suffering of the oppressed people of this land may ultimately bring about conditions which will make South Africa a happy country for all, regardless of race, colour or creed." He was sentenced to six months' hard labour.

GROUP AREAS DEFIANCE

The longest and perhaps the bitterest fight that Nana Sita has seen, and is still involved in, is his fight against the notorious Group Areas Act, under which the Government is forcing the Non-White people to move from their homes into separate racial ghettos outside the fringes of the 'White' towns and cities. He became personally involved in this fight when ordered in 1962 to vacate his home which he had occupied for over 40 years. He refused to comply with the order and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The next year he was again brought to Court on the same charge, was again sentenced, and returned to jail for six months.

The case dealt with in the article above is his third appearance in terms of the Group Areas Act, and at the time of going to press the case is still proceeding.

Nana Sita demonstrates the indomitable courage that is inherent in the oppressed peoples of South Africa: the courage that will undoubtedly be exhibited among great numbers when the people's war of liberation, led by the African National Congress, strikes for freedom in South Africa.

Recent picture of Nana Sita, his wife Pemi, and one of his grand-children



TIGER PAPERS AND PAPER TIGERS

„Rhodesia: Background to Conflict“ by B. Vulindlela Mtshali. (Hawthorn Books, New York 1967. Foreword by His Excellency Kenneth Kaunda, Pres. of Zambia.)

It was appropriate that Harold Wilson should send Lord Alport to Rhodesia recently to re-open the negotiations leading to the betrayal of four million Africans. Lord Alport is a Tory, Mr Wilson heads a Labour Government, but “the Rhodesian problem” is all the same to them.

British colonial policy in Central and Southern Africa has changed little in half a century. Under the slick phrases about morality, successive British governments have retreated steadily from the political responsibility created by white minority rule, while encouraging the investment and trade which strengthen white rule. Labour and Tory may come and go, but capital investments go on for ever, or so they hope.

PULLING THE TEETH

The next retreat is in the offing. Mr Leo Baron, formerly attorney to Joshua Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders, recently pointed out in the *Guardian* that the Constitution agreed upon by Wilson and Smith on board the ‘Tiger’ was even worse from the African point of view than the 1961 Constitution. And the 1961 Constitution, let us remember, was drawn up by Mr Duncan Sandys, one of the most reactionary British MPs, with full approval of Sir Edgar Whitehead, instigator of the vicious Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. The ‘Tiger’ settlement was of course a sell-out. Bad as it was, worse seems to be in the offing. Already Mrs Judith Hart, one of the few Ministers who was prepared to resign if the Tiger deal had gone through, has been shifted to a Ministry where her resignation would be pointless and irrelevant. Now Mr Herbert Bowden, Wilson’s right-hand man on board the Tiger, is rumoured for a transfer to the head of the Independent Television Authority. It could be because he is keen to see the Tiger settlement revived, whereas Wilson is now prepared to go even further in appeasing Smith.

Meanwhile back in Rhodesia the review of the cases of detainees — which was to have been conducted jointly by the British Government and transitional Rhodesian government under the Tiger arrangement — has been completed by Smith’s henchmen. Predictably, the continued detention of virtually all detainees is regarded as justified. Of course it is not. It is an outrageous affront to the African people. It reveals the ruthless determination of the Smith gang to hold on to power and privilege at all costs. It represents, like UDI, what Mr Mtshali describes as “a temporary triumph of might over right”.

MATURE JUDGMENT

Mr Mtshali, of Zulu birth, and former student at Pius XII College in Lesotho, has brought to bear in his scholarly and

temperate work all the maturity of judgment that one would expect of a graduate of Dutch and American universities. In a careful and fair evaluation of the role of the OAU (Organization for African Unity) in the Rhodesian crisis, he shows how the crisis exposed the cumbrous structure of that organization, and the futility of its policy of trying to push Britain into decisive intervention by making threats which it could not carry out. Not that the policy was entirely misconceived: for “without some African pressure through the OAU, Britain conceivably might have found a solution acceptable to the settler regime but not necessarily to the Africans”. (p. 168)

Although a third of the book is devoted to a review of African and international responses to UDI, some of the opening chapters have interesting historical material. The co-operation over questions of land between the ANC in South Africa and African leaders from Rhodesia that took place before and after the first world war, surely has significance today. Then, both parties hoped for intervention by Britain on their side. Now co-operating again, they look to other sources, since Britain is against them. They look to Africa — though, as Mr Mtshali allows us to infer, not much more than moral support can be hoped for in this quarter. They look to world opinion — and here no reader of his book could doubt the extent of international sympathy for the African cause. But above all, they look to themselves — there is no lack of foresight. For when all is said and done, man has only one inalienable right, the right of revolution. This right, unlike land, votes, freedom, cannot be taken from any people. It is their right and their responsibility and the rewards will be theirs too.

On only one issue has Mr Mtshali gone beyond the limits of impartiality in seeking to reach balanced judgments. On the failure of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People’s Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) to reach agreement in accordance with the OAU’s directive, Mr Mtshali argues that the responsibility “lies with both groups” (p. 157). This is unfair to ZAPU. What must the majority do with their long established, popular and respected organization to placate a sectarian minority? The true story of the origins of the split remains obscure, and this book adds little to Nathan Shamuyarira’s account, but the ZANU leaders cannot escape the responsibility for the divisions of recent years. When the full story is known, it may well be that ZANU will be able to share that responsibility with the American imperialists, whose money they may also be willing to share.

The Smith regime is a paper tiger. It is made up of rags like the Tiger paper. Let the people organise, struggle, exercise the right that remains to them, and rise up and destroy this paper tiger. ZIMBABWE WILL BE FREE!



SECHABA

IS A VEHICLE OF TRUTH THE RACISTS WILL NOT TELL, SAYS

O. R. TAMBO

DEPUTY-PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

At the United Nations, representatives of the Governments and peoples of the world have, with one clear and unmistakable voice, condemned and denounced apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism. International and other organizations and institutions, although varying widely in their functions and objectives, have yet been united by a common hostility to the inhuman policies practiced by the white minority governments in Southern Africa.

But the only reaction shown by the white rulers to world opinion and to the persistent demands of the ruled, has been to resort to naked brutality in the methods of repression, to intensify apartheid and extend the area of its enforcement, and to increase the effectiveness of the machinery of exploitation.

There is now no longer any doubt that it will take a great deal more than strongly-worded resolutions — not to mention patient negotiations at round-table conferences — to rid Southern Africa of the terror of colonial and white minority rule. *What could have been settled in the past by a few, through calm and peaceful discussion, must now be resolved by the oppressed masses in wide-spread armed conflict.* In terms of the situation in Southern Africa, this development must be seen for what it truly is: *the beginning of a racial war in Africa which will rapidly escalate into an international confrontation of measureless dimensions.*

This makes it all the more important that the issues involved should be clear to all concerned, the true facts amply canvassed, and the world public kept fully informed on the development of this noble struggle for human dignity and majority rule.

Already the South African government is counting no expense too high in its bid to confuse, mislead and silence international opposition to its rabid racism, ruthless exploitation and brutal repression. At a cost of over £1,000,000 a year, the fascists of South Africa are flooding governments, organizations and individuals with propaganda material which seeks to present apartheid South Africa as a haven of peace

— not a powder keg; as an enviable paradise — not the world's blackest spot, whose rulers feel they need a military budget of £110,000,000 a year, a Sabotage Act, a Terrorist Act, a 180-Day detention law and a busy gallows in order to stay in power; as a country enjoying the benefits of so-called white leadership — not an island of desperate racist gangsters trapped in the rising sea of the African revolution. And already, the very word 'apartheid' is beginning to sound musical in the ears of those who have nothing but Vorster's sugar-coated propaganda pills to swallow.

The African National Congress journal SECHABA, published monthly, is a vehicle of the truth the racists will not tell, and an authentic source for the views and aspirations of the victims and opponents of white tyranny in Southern Africa. It is the mouthpiece of the poor, for, unlike our exploiters, we have no funds; but like them we have our friends and they are many. We wish to ensure informed support for our struggle in all its unfolding phases both in apartheid South Africa and in the whole of Southern Africa.

We appeal to you:

- if you are not already a subscriber, to become one;
- if you belong to an organization, to get your organization to take substantial quantities of the journal for distribution among its membership;
- to contribute whatever you are able to, towards the printing and publishing costs of our journal, which by the very nature of the cause it espouses is in constant need of funds.

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