

Sechaba

Official Organ
of the African National Congress of South Africa

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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 mouth-piece 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 your journal, which by the very nature of the cause it espouses is in constant need of funds.

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Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1

EDITORIAL

A BISHOP AND POLITICS

Reprinted from „Spotlight on South Africa“, Vol. 5 No. 27

In the hottest, driest, dustiest corner of South Africa, the Kimberley District, an Anglican Bishop has been waging a long and lonely struggle for the right to help his congregants. For his trouble, he has now been deported from the country where kindness between White and Black is a sin.

Kimberley is known only because of its diamonds. Otherwise it is a straggling sort of town, hundreds of miles from the more fertile areas of the country, and decades away from the twentieth century.

It is a typical 'border' town, for it is situated on the fringe of a large African 'reserve' and is the seat of the Native Commissioner. Far to the north in the even more remote and waterless semi-desert there are rich sheep farms owned for a century by white Boers. They, and the diamond mines, draw their labour from the taxes-drained 'reserves'.

DARED TO HELP

The man who lived in this feudal atmosphere was Bishop Crowther, sometimes called the "political Bishop" by Afrikaner politicians. No doubt, like his predecessors Bishop Reeves and Father Huddleston, he has raised his voice in sharp condemnation of the wickedness that is known as 'Bantu Policy.' But he has also done more than this: he has actually dared to help the people of Kimberley when they were in desperate need.

Some years ago, the North-West Cape was stricken with the most severe drought for a long time, and the African people, as is their God-given right in our country, were starving and destitute. Bishop Crowther took it upon himself to raise some money, loaded several lorries with water, food and clothing, and made his way towards the heart of the reserve area.

But the authorities thought otherwise. The Bishop was banned from the reserve on the grounds that his relief measures were political interference with the peaceful life of the people there. He was threatened with arrest, and the police physically barred his way. So the promised help lay in the lorries while the accusations of 'politics' were flying about the Bishop's head.

The charge of 'politics' is an old ruse in South Africa. It has

been thrown at each and every clergyman, teacher, sociologist, in fact at every commentator who dared to criticise any aspect of South Africa's state of beatitude.

ALL IS 'POLITICAL'

No doubt the charge can easily be proven, for in a country where one requires a change in the very constitution before the majority can express their views, any complaint is undoubtedly political.

If it is a breach of the law to enter a certain area to buy bread, then clearly to try to ease your hunger by so doing is to be political. If the reserve in which thousands of people are forced to reside becomes waterless, then the desire to look for water becomes political. In such a situation a visit to a priest becomes political and so politics becomes enmeshed with life, and all are finally and utterly 'political'.

But to be 'political' is a condition that has its dangers. If people interpret their daily calamities in political terms, they are also driven to seek their remedies in the same terms. This is what has happened in South Africa and this is why we are optimistic and confident about the future of our country. Politics has come to us the hard way.

POLITICS AND STRUGGLE

It has come by way of thirst, starvation, arrest, and the constant reminder that every complaint is a manifestation of revolt. So the idea of revolt has been given us by the oppressor, and we have taken to nursing it for the beauty and promise it holds for us and our children.

Do not despair, those who have dared to show some humanity in the arid hatred that hangs over the South African veld. We have long learnt that everything is politics, and by politics and struggle we shall overcome those who first raised it as a bogey. Soon the day will be ushered in when man's deeds and merits are to be the only criterion in judging who the undesirable really is: those who uphold the banner of justice and righteousness, or those who seek to enslave their fellow man eternally and who flout with impunity all that mankind cherishes and has striven for through time immemorial, namely, peace, freedom, and the brotherhood of man.

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»SPOTLIGHT«

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

We publish a weekly news digest, "Spotlight on South Africa," in addition to the monthly journal "Sechaba."

Should you wish to receive "Spotlight on South Africa" each week, please take out a postal subscription. The rates are: —

DAR ES SALAAM — 4/50; AFRICA — 22/50 (3 dollars); CONGO — 15/— (2 dollars); EUROPE AND INDIA — 30/— (4 dollars); ASIA, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, USA — 60/— (8 dollars).

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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 Gu'inea, 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, Maqoma, Cethawayo, Moshoeshe 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! Amanda Ngawethu!

Maatla ke a Rona! Power to the People!

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



O.R. Tambo, Deputy-President of the A.N.C., together with Nelson Mandela, in 1962.

When the 90-Day clause became law in South Africa, there was extensive protest both inside and outside the country. Considerably less opposition was aroused by the even more iniquitous 180-Day clause. A near-silence has greeted the passage of perhaps the most horrifying piece of legislation ever to reach the South African Statute Book: the new so-called Terrorism Act.

RULE BY TERROR



Earlier victims of the regime's police — assaulted in prison or while awaiting trial in the apartheid jails.

THIS IS THE 'TERRORISM ACT'

This Act fulfils a double purpose. It gives the State virtually unbridled powers of repression — both inside and outside the courts . . .

INDEFINITE SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

Its provisions with regard to arrest and detention can be said, without exaggeration, to give the police total licence. Any policeman of or above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel is empowered to arrest any person without a warrant. (After such an arrest, the Commissioner of Police will inform the Minister of Justice of the arrest "as soon as possible.")

The arrested person can then be detained in solitary confinement and interrogated — indefinitely. The Act places no limit whatsoever on the period for which a person can be detained.

The Minister refused to insert any provision in the Act by which the next-of-kin (or any other person) should be in-

formed of an arrest. In terms of the Act, a person can in fact 'disappear without trace' in exactly the same way that Hitler's victims in Germany did. No person other than the Minister of Justice or an officer in the service of the State can have access to a detainee or be entitled to any information relating to or obtained from a detainee.

The Act at first appears to offer the dubious benefit that a detainee will be visited once a fortnight in private by a magistrate, but even this is qualified by the phrase "if circumstances permit." Who is to judge whether "circumstances permit"? Presumably the police — and presumably if a detainee were so disfigured by torture that even a hardened magistrate might feel a pang of conscience, "circumstances" would definitely not "permit."

The Act, of course, specifically provides that a detainee can have no access to the courts and that no court can pronounce on or have jurisdiction over him or her.

CHILDREN INCLUDED

If the provisions of the Act are examined, it will be seen that the emotive word "terrorist" can apply in fact to any opponent of the South African regime. This Act is not intended to be invoked only against active freedom-fighters striving to overthrow the regime by armed struggle. If it were, why should it cast its net so wide?

The Act empowers the police to arrest anybody whom they suspect of "terrorism," or whom they suspect is likely to commit "terrorism," or who is likely to know anything about "terrorism" — also anybody whom they suspect of harbouring or concealing or assisting "terrorists."

Refusing an amendment by Mrs Helen Suzman that the Act should not apply to children, Mr Pelsler the Minister of Justice declared that children who participate in "terrorism" should be treated just like adults.

WHAT IS 'TERRORISM'?

Defining terrorism, the Act refers to "acts committed with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic including South West Africa, or conspiracy or incitement to this end."

It also refers to receiving "training which could be used to endanger the maintenance of law and order." Speaking of terrorists, Mr Pelsler said that "everything which goes to sow disorder and anarchy falls within the framework of the planned activities of these people." This means that the provisions of the Act can apply to, for example, slogan painting, attending political study classes or taking part in a peaceful demonstration. That this is so is shown clearly by the Act's definition of the procedure to be followed when an accused is (eventually) brought to court.

The Act states that if it were proved during a case in which a person was accused of terrorism, that his actions had the effect or were likely to have the effect of embarrassing "the administration of the Affairs of State," it would be presumed that he did so to endanger the maintenance of law and order within the Republic unless he proved beyond reasonable doubt that this was not true.

Under this provision it is clear that a person who, for instance, published an article critical of government policy, could, legally, if this criticism were alleged to be 'embarrassing' to 'the administration of the Affairs of State', be convicted of terrorism.

PRESUMED GUILTY

The Act reverses all previous South African legal precedents by its naked admission that the onus of proving innocence is on the accused. In other words he is presumed guilty. And the likelihood of his being found guilty is re-inforced by the fact it is not even necessary for the State to show that his "acts" had been "wilful" — only that they were "likely to have been wilful."

Never, under the provision of any previous Act on the Statute Book, has it been so easy for the State to secure a conviction. What, we must ask next, will be the fate of a convicted person?

The penalties are those which apply to Treason. The death sentence can be imposed. A convicted person must be sentenced to an obligatory minimum of five years imprisonment. Replying to criticisms of this limitation on the freedom of the judiciary, the Minister cynically made it clear that anyone convicted under the Terrorism Act would be someone the State wanted "put away" for at least five years.

THE LAW STANDS CONVICTED

One point emerges with paramount clarity to anyone studying this Act. It is impossible to imagine a measure which could stand more blatantly convicted of injustice, on the basis of its own text and leaving interpretation aside. Its passage through the House of Assembly, the shocking failure of the so-called official opposition to recoil from it in horror, are sad proofs of the fact that, as far as the representatives of the White electorate are concerned, the Nationalist Government is now wholly free to finalise South Africa's metamorphosis into a Fascist State. In fact, the Terrorism Act has finalised that metamorphosis.



Young Indian demonstrators in Durban. Under the Terrorism Act, not even children are exempt from terror.

The "official opposition" United Party confined their criticisms to a few minor amendments, raised at the committee stage. Their main concern was with the previously mentioned limitation of the freedom of the judiciary with regard to the statutory minimum sentence. This concern was not, alas extended to the liberties of the Act's victims. The United Party supported the final reading of the Bill. Only Mrs Suzmann, the sole Progressive Party MP, fought the Bill from its inception until its passage. This she did regardless of the shouts and jeers with which she was bombarded every time she spoke.

WE CALL ON YOU

The ANC, the future government of South Africa, through Sechaba the official organ of the South African people, here records its total condemnation of this iniquitous piece of legislation.

We consider that it gives the State and the Police a blanket licence to torture, to imprison and even to execute any person who opposes them in any way.

We note the provision which makes the Act retrospective taking effect from 1962. This has enabled 37 freedom-fighters in South West Africa to be charged under the Act already. We feel that it may also enable the State to bring charges against people already serving prison sentences for other 'offences'.

We will fight this Act by every possible means both inside and outside South Africa. We have no doubt that many Congress men and women will fall foul of this abhorrent measure. But this will not deter us from our chosen task of overthrowing South Africa's fascist regime and establishing a free, democratic government.

We call on our supporters everywhere to act now. We are convinced that world opinion and the world press are not fully aware of this Act's provisions and implications. We ask



A police raid at dawn on an African home. The new Law brings added terror — an arrest now may mean disappearance without even the possibility of being traced.

our readers to make these known, through demonstrations and protests through articles and letters to their newspapers, through meetings and through delegations to influential bodies. We ask them to counteract the erroneous idea currently being bandied about that the Vorster regime is adopting a "softer" line. In fact, legislation is becoming ever more brutal, injustice ever more open, oppression ever more hard. There is endless evidence for these truths, but they could hardly be demonstrated more clearly than by the terror of the Terrorism Act.

1. RHODESIA MOVES INTO APARTHEID

The Rhodesian regime is moving toward an apartheid policy according to Rhodesian members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Christian pacifist organization has issued a statement saying that the basic problem lies in the attitude of the majority of Europeans, who desire to maintain white domination. The Smith administration is the result of this attitude and has brought in discriminatory legislation and social segregation, says the statement.

There is little or no opportunity in education, employment or land tenure for Africans, multiracial places of entertainment are few, and Europeans (Whites), with increasing hardness, are discouraging Africans from availing themselves of these places. Arrests and interrogation, and withholding of information from families and lawyers, have become "regular features in the life of Africans in town and country."

Africans have no representatives in local government and no political influence nationally. In rural areas the Government employs district commissioners and tribal chiefs. The latter are not allowed to hold political meetings.

Looking to the future, the Fellowship feels that the Rhodesian regime may adopt a Republican Constitution and introduce further repressive legislation, and that a worsening economic situation will lead to increased unemployment.

2. FREEDOM-FIGHTERS IN ZIMBABWE

Death sentences passed on six freedom-fighters have been altered to imprisonment by three judges of the Appellate Division of the High Court in Salisbury. A seventh freedom-fighter's death sentence has been confirmed. The seven were convicted in the High Court of shooting Mr R. Jenje, a pantechnic driver, on 18 September on the road between Chirundu and Makuti after he had refused to give them a lift.

They were also found guilty of possessing offensive weapons and material, including carbines, self-loading rifles, pistols, a rocket launcher and six rockets, 48 grenades, anti-personnel mines, dynamite and more than 3,000 rounds of ammunition.

No extenuating circumstances were found.

Giving judgment in the Appeal Court, Mr Justice Macdonald said that the men were all members of the 'terrorist' gang which crossed into Rhodesia from Zambia. Sentences of death on six of them were altered to 20 years' jail each for four; the two youngest had their jail sentences reduced to 15 years each.

ROBERT RESHA on the dangers of a

RACIAL WAR

Speaking at a mass meeting called on the occasion of June 26, South Africa Freedom Day, by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Robert Resha, National Executive member of the African National Congress, in the course of a lengthy speech urging the British Government to disengage itself from the apartheid regime in South Africa, said: —

"By sanctions we are not asking you to take up guns and send your armies to South Africa to do the fighting for us. By sanctions we mean that Britain, the United States, France, Western Germany, Italy and Japan must disengage themselves from their involvement in South Africa. We maintain that it is their trade and their investments which bolster the South African economy, make the South African government more formidable, and assist it to maintain its apartheid policy. Indeed it is these very apartheid policies of oppression and exploitation of the Africans that guarantee high profits to the overseas investors.

SUPPORT OF ARMS

"We maintain that by their trade and investments these countries have consciously or unconsciously entered the arena of conflict in South Africa on the side of the white racist minority.

"If Britain, USA and others do not impose sanctions, we fear that when the chips are down — in the violent clash between the white racist minority on the one side and the Africans and other non-whites on the other — these countries will be

supporting South Africa with arms in their hands to defend their vital interests. For let us make no mistake, the struggle in South Africa cannot be anything but a racial conflict. Already the fascist regime is engaged in a tremendous arms build-up and is enlisting virtually every able-bodied white person in its army of aggression against the African people. Every day brings a manifestation of this aggression in the form of armed police raids on African townships . . .

NO CHOICE

"Then, when the government considers the right moment has come, it will issue a simple order to the whites: "Kill the Kaffir." What is the liberation movement expected to do, faced with this situation? Could it be expected to sit down, fold its arms and look to the heavens for help? Or could it be expected to mobilise the people to meet government force with force? To me, the issues are clear: if the ANC carries out its historic mission, it must issue a precise, exact and unambiguous order: "Kill the white man."

"This is what we fear. This is the reason why we are calling upon these countries to disengage themselves from their involvement with South Africa. In this racial conflict, the guns carried by the whites will have a simple target — the black man. The pistols, rifles and machineguns carried by the Africans have no intelligence and will not differentiate between a white South African, an English industrialist, a German technician or an American tourist."

Robert Resha, Executive Member of the African National Congress, addresses the June 26 meeting organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London. Others from the left are, Patrick Wymark (actor), David Steele MP (Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement), Abdul Minty (Secretary of the AAM), His Excellency Mr A. Simbule (High Commissioner for Zambia), and Canon John Collins (Chairman of the Defence and Aid Fund).





ANC volunteers demonstrate in old Sophiatown during the 1959 Potato Boycott Campaign, with Chief Lutuli leading.

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

A discussion article by **JOE MATTHEWS**, Managing Editor of *Sechaba*, on methods of struggle in South Africa, supporting the

METHODS OF STRUGGLE

The history of South Africa is rich in examples of different forms of struggle used in the fight for freedom.

For centuries the people of South Africa fought wars of resistance against the European colonists. These wars reached their greatest intensity during the nineteenth century. The various African peoples — the Zulus, Basotho, BaPedi, Mpondomise, Batlaping and others — fought gallantly to preserve their land and independence.

In these wars of resistance, despite great heroism, skill and courage, the people were defeated. There were many factors that contributed to the failure of the wars of resistance to preserve the integrity of the African people. Among the factors were such matters as the political economic and social structures of the African tribes, which would take too long to go into here. But a vital factor was the absence of unity among the Africans. They fought as separate tribal or nation-

al units. Although attempts were made to unite all Africans, notably by the great Moshoeshe, these did not succeed. Added to their disunity was the fact that the Africans did not possess modern techniques and weapons of war.

By 1880 the White colonists had established their rule over the whole of South Africa.

Already new organizations were beginning to appear among the people. These were organizations which sought to unite Africans into a single nation on the basis of modern political programmes. Among these was the Ethiopian Church Movement which was the first to raise the banner of African Nationalism.

BAMBATA REBELLION

In 1894 Mahatma Gandhi who was later to become world-famous as the leader of India, formed the Natal Indian Con-

gress as a vehicle for his "experiments with truth." Gandhi introduced and developed a technique of struggle based on non-violent mass civil disobedience. Under his leadership the Indian people fought against the poll-tax and restrictions on travelling within the country. These campaigns achieved partial success in South Africa. An important feature was the use by Gandhi of the strike weapon as part of civil disobedience. The techniques of non-violent mass resistance were to be widely used in South Africa through the years. In 1906 the 'Bambata Rebellion' broke out among the Zulu people. This was the last of the wars of resistance fought in the old style. The rebellion was put down by the colonists after a grim struggle.

AN.C. FORMED

In 1912 the African National Congress was founded. The campaign which preceded the formation of the ANC stressed the fact that the Africans were defeated because of their disunity and lack of modern means of organization. The main object of the ANC was to build a united nation to fight for its rights in South Africa.

During its first years the ANC utilised methods of agitation and propaganda. Delegations and petitions to the authorities both in South Africa and Britain were frequent. But now and again the movement adopted more militant methods of struggle. After the first world war a spate of strikes and boycotts broke out, especially in the Witwatersrand area. The best known of these strikes was the famous "bucket strike" of municipal workers in 1919. More significant was the strike of mineworkers on the goldfields.

RIGHT TO WALK ON PAVEMENTS

During the following years the ANC, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), and the Communist Party made use of a variety of methods of struggle. Widespread agitation and propaganda were made use of. The courts of law were used, especially against employers of labour to obtain proper working conditions and to combat assaults and

TURNING POINT

In 1946 the South African Indian Congress started a civil disobedience campaign against various laws designed to ruin the Indian people economically as a prelude to their repatriation to India. During the same year the African Mine-workers Union called a strike of mineworkers which was supported by one hundred thousand workers. This strike was in many ways a turning point in the history of the liberation movement.

From that point onwards mass movements of one kind and another occurred in South Africa. The election of the worst section of the ruling class — the Nationalist Party led by Dr Malan in 1948 — intensified opposition to the racist state. Notable among the campaigns of the African National Congress and its allies was the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. This campaign was a large-scale application of civil disobedience.

Between 1950 and 1961 great nation-wide strikes were organised by the African National Congress in co-operation with the Congress of Trade Unions, The Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats. Hundreds of thousands of workers participated in these campaigns. One more instance of agitation worth referring to was the Congress of the People campaign in which the demands of the people were gathered from all over the country. This culminated in the vast congress which adopted the Freedom Charter — the common programme of the ANC and its allied organizations.

WE WILL BUILD A POWERFUL ARMED REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT . . .

Throughout the years of struggle a great deal of violence was directed by the rulers of South Africa against the people. All governments in South Africa have rigorously observed the principle of excluding knowledge and use of modern weapons from Africans. Even those Africans in the police force were not allowed to be armed. There was no basis on which our people could acquire military supplies. In other

ATOMIC REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

new that a "revolutionary situation" is not necessary for a people's revolutionary struggle to be waged successfully.

unlawful dismissals. Civil disobedience was used to obtain the right of Africans to travel on passenger trains in all provinces and to walk on pavements. Powerful demonstrations against the notorious pass-laws led to numerous clashes with armed police, resulting in hundreds of Africans losing their lives.

In 1935 one of the biggest agitations in our history occurred in protest against the removal of Africans in the Cape Province from the common roll. This agitation was not followed by mass action and failed to prevent the passage of the laws taking away African franchise rights.

During and after the second world war the liberation movement expanded rapidly. The growing cohesion among Africans was supplemented by solidarity with other national groups such as the Indian and Coloured people. The trade union movement was more widespread, and significant numbers of people even among the White minority began to challenge the racial structure of South Africa.

countries under the rule of foreign imperialists, some of the oppressed were incorporated into the army and police forces where they obtained knowledge of military techniques. The rulers of South Africa know they are so hated that they dared not take that chance.

UMKONTO WE SIZWE

The situation was radically altered by the advance of Africa to independence. The formation of Umkonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) on 16 December 1961 marked the first time the African people decided once more to take up arms against the White minority government since the early wars of independence.

This historic decision whose consequences will dominate the South African scene for many years to come was not arrived at lightly. The perspective of waging an armed revolutionary

struggle was based on a careful assessment of all conditions inside and outside the country. The fact that a certain disruption and loss of personnel occurred by reason of the reaction of the oppressors does not invalidate the decision which is undoubtedly correct, as confirmed also by experience.

ARMED UNITS

It is quite clear that all forms of legal struggle have been used by the liberation movement which has acquired much experience as a result. The opportunities for mass struggles of a peaceful character have shrunk virtually to nothing. The people have no alternative but to resort to a revolutionary struggle employing mass actions coupled with revolutionary armed units. The elimination of opportunities for conducting non-military mass struggles successfully is not by itself a sufficient factor relating to the prospects of revolutionary struggle.

In making an assessment as to the prospects of revolutionary struggle, many factors have to be borne in mind. In our day such an assessment cannot be confined only to the factors operating within the country. International factors play a very vital role. The position of neighbouring areas, for example, or the environment in which the struggle takes place; the objective and subjective factors — economic, social and political — in the country.

BOASTING OF STRENGTH

Many people, and this is especially so among the reactionaries, make the error of considering only the purely military factors in the South African situation. Thus we hear much boasting from the white supremacists about the number of

troops, guns, helicopters, aircraft, tanks, armoured cars and techniques of the professional South African White army. Also people speak of such factors as terrain, communications and so on, which are allegedly favourable to the White Supremacy state. These are undoubtedly very important factors. But they are not the only or even the decisive factors.

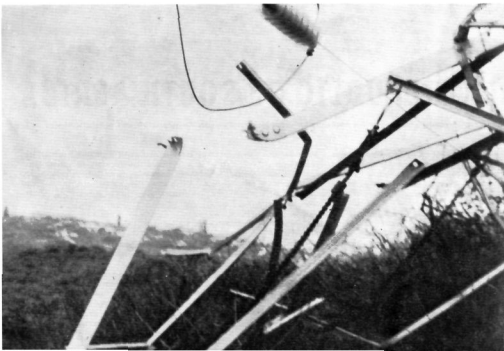
The duty of revolutionaries is to examine all the factors that operate including the military, political, economic, social and moral — both internal and external. At this stage in the South African struggle it is the prospects of conducting a revolutionary armed struggle that have to be considered. It is not necessary in our situation to decide whether or not there is a revolutionary situation in the country. In fact there does not exist a revolutionary situation in South Africa at the moment. There is much confusion on this issue because of a persistent lack of precision in the terms used by some commentators.

SUCCESSFUL INSURRECTION

A revolutionary situation has been described by the great revolutionaries as essential for an *insurrection*. It is in a revolutionary situation that an insurrection breaks out which results in the more or less speedy collapse of a reactionary regime. In Russia fifty years ago the Socialist revolution broke out on 7 November 1917. Within ten days the bourgeois regime had collapsed. The revolutionary situation had been recognised and utilised by the revolutionaries to seize power in a successful insurrection.

But there is the case in which conditions exist for the organization of an armed revolutionary struggle extending over a period of years. *The climax of such a relatively prolonged struggle is a revolutionary situation, and an insurrection in which the revolutionaries take over from the collapsing re-*

An electric pylon blasted by Umbhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) during the Sabotage Campaign.



actionary regime. In other words, a "revolutionary situation" is not necessary for a guerilla or peoples revolutionary struggle to be waged successfully. What is required for a peoples armed struggle is that there is a ripening or developing revolutionary condition in the country — a general political and social instability. Examples of this are the position which obtained in Algeria at the start of the armed struggle in 1954; the situation in China after 1927; Cuba in 1956; and Cyprus in 1953.

A CLEAR DIVISION

South Africa is a country in a continent that is going through revolutionary change. Regimes that have ruled the continent for generations have been replaced by indigenous governments. The waves of this process are now lapping on the shores of the country. South Africa is not going to be an exception to the African revolution.

Within the country, polarization between the rulers and the governed has reached a point where there is a clear division between the forces of democracy and those of reaction. The majority of the people are kept down by force exercised on behalf of the minority. The contrast between the conditions and wealth of the minority, and those of the majority, are stark. The minority, fully aware of the coming struggle for power, is now relying openly and unashamedly on naked force to maintain its rule.

A JUST WAR

The revolutionary armed struggle of the people is and will remain a just war, supported by the overwhelming mass of the people. This is a permanent feature of the struggle which is fundamental for developing eventual military superiority. The people suffer from weaknesses of a military nature arising from lack of modern weapons and techniques. But these are not permanent. People can and will acquire knowledge and techniques and are doing so. Then there is the factor of a correct political line and guidance of the revolutionary struggle. The South African oppressed people have great experience of struggle and are highly politically conscious. This is an advantage the importance of which will count heavily in the long run.

It must be emphasised that our struggle is not one between two states fought by professional armies of paid soldiers. Our struggle is one between a professional army of the oppressors and the movement of liberation of the majority within the same country.

Whilst our struggle will bear some characteristics of other struggles, it will also exhibit its own. Our task is to utilise the undoubted political and moral superiority of the liberation movement to gradually turn our political force into military force and gradually shift from military weakness to military superiority. This is a process that will develop over a period. The time may be long or short — we cannot be dogmatic about it. We must arm the people not only with modern weapons but with revolutionary skill and ideas. Above all South African revolutionaries must master the problems posed by the South African revolution. The tendency to draw relevantly and irrelevantly from other struggles by analogy should not be encouraged. True, we must be ready to learn from the revolutionary experience all over the world. But in the end the creative thinking of our own revolutionaries is required to be applied to the South African revolution. As we proceed and act, further problems will emerge which will demand solution if our struggle is to be successful.

The African National Congress is convinced on the basis of all-round analysis that the South African oppressed people can and will build a powerful armed revolutionary movement capable of defeating the Apartheid state and leading to a People's Democratic Republic of South Africa sooner than many people think.

BHANA DEFIES GROUP AREAS ACT

Mohamed Suliman Bhana, banned member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, was found guilty by Mr J.A. van Dam on two counts of contravening the Group Areas Act. He was fined £50 or one month, and sentenced to a further four month's imprisonment suspended for three years. A condition of the suspension is that Bhana must vacate the premises before 30 August. The magistrate also ordered that if Bhana refuses to leave he should be ejected at State expense.

Twenty-seven year old Mr Bhana chose to go to jail rather than pay the fine.

In a statement from the dock Bhana said he saw no reason why he, a respectable citizen of the Indian community, should accept alternative accommodation in Lenasia (which is an Indian township established 22 miles from the city — Editor).

He added: "I feel that the Group Areas Act was an unjust Act and was the ruin of the Indian community."

He was interrupted by the magistrate who said he did not consider the court as a forum for making a political speech. Mr van Dam said that whatever Bhana might feel, the court was not the correct place to discuss the merits of the Act.

Cross-examined by Mr Bhoolia (for Bhana), Mr Bothma, an inspector of the Dept. of Community Development, said he could not dispute or confirm that it was the policy of the department to remove Indians from Vrededorp (a Johannesburg suburb until recently occupied in the main by Indians). Mr Bhoolia said many Indians from Doornfontein, Lower Market Street and Fordsburg would say that they had applied for houses in Lenasia for years without success. He said in mitigation that no Indian would come to court if housing was available near by. Many Indians who had moved to Lenasia had found that the cost of living had risen to near starvation level.

Summing up, the magistrate told Bhana: "It is quite clear from what you have said that you stand in absolute defiance of this Act. It is the duty of the court to see that the Acts of Parliament are complied with. You have not attempted to comply with this Act. On the contrary, you have openly defied the law and you said you intended to continue with your defiance."

SECHABA COMMENT

The South African Indian Congress warned the Indian people early in 1950, when the Group Areas Act was passed, that this unjust law spelt the economic ruin of the Indian community.

Since then, thousands of Indians have been forcibly moved from their homes; whole towns have been denuded of Indian residents; areas pioneered by Indian settlers a hundred years ago, such as Cato Manor and Vrededorp, have been declared White; churches, temples, mosques, schools valued at millions of pounds and built by funds contributed by the community have been lost to the people.

Mr Bhana's stand in the face of this onslaught is highly commendable. His sacrifice is not in vain for the day of reckoning is not far off.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

67,000 TB CASES

NEARLY 67,000 NEW CASES of tuberculosis were notified in South Africa last year — an average of 180 a day — says the South African National Tuberculosis Association. "We are horrified — the figure is still staggering," stated a leading article in the official journal 'Sanata News'. Similar figures were recorded in the last two years. "From the economic point of view alone this is disastrous" the article continued. "A minimum period of close on two years' regular drug treatment is recommended for each case by the medical profession . . . The residue of the 67,000 cases discovered in 1964, and the 1965 and 1966 totals represent tens of thousands of otherwise physically able persons."

ANOTHER WHITE TOWN

ABOUT 6,000 AFRICAN and 300 Coloured people will have to leave Stutterheim under a Group Areas proclamation. The whole town has been declared a White area.

The Africans will be re-settled in an area outside the town, but as no Coloured area has been designated, it is not known what will happen to the Coloured community. What little African-owned property there is within the municipal area will be sold to Whites. (Stutterheim is a small town in the Eastern Cape near East London.)

ANOTHER POLICE ASSAULT

THE STATION COMMANDER at the Vaaldam Barrage in the Transvaal told a Vanderbijlpark magistrate yesterday that when he walked into the charge office one night the floor and walls were spattered with blood.

A White policeman was hitting an African repeatedly in the face.

John van Loggerenberg, 19, was fined

£45 (or 45 days) on two counts of assaulting Mr Jackson Sibola and Mr Paulus Dubasi. Mr Sibola said that he and Mr Dubasi were outside a cafe at the Barrage when an African youth ran past. He was being chased by Van Loggerenberg who overtook him and struck him.

"We intervened and the youth got into a motor car and drove away. The policeman then asked Paulus Dubasi for the youth's name and address.

"The policeman turned on me, grabbed me and hit and kicked me all over. I bled from the mouth and nose. I went to the charge office to lay a charge against the policeman. He asked me why I had done so and hit and kicked me while I was wiping the blood off the floor."

Mr Dubasi said that he was in charge of a convoy of cars which had stopped when a lorry hit a tree. He was arranging for a tractor to pull the lorry out of a ditch when Van Loggerenberg arrived, rolled up his sleeves and said he was looking for one of the drivers.

"I said I was in charge of the convoy and suggested he should tell me what the trouble was. He swore at me and told me to get out of the way."

"He asked me what the name of the African driver was. I told him I did not know, I only knew his work number. He started to hit me with his fists on my face and said he would get the address from me."

Constable S.G. Puth told the court he was in the charge office when Van Loggerenberg began to assault Mr Sibola. He hit the African so hard that he fell against the wooden partition, which collapsed.

Sergeant D.J. Faasen said that when he entered the charge office he saw Van Loggerenberg assaulting Mr Sibola. He was hitting the man repeatedly in the face.

The floor and walls of the charge office were spattered with blood.

NO BLACK JEWS

"Anyone can become a Jew, provided they make formal application and are then circumcised and agree to abide by Jewish law," said Rabbi A.S. Super of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation, Johannesburg, commenting on the formation of an African Jewish Church.

"From a purely theological point of view, no problem exists, but practically, I don't think I would support an application from an African," he added.

Rabbi Super explained that all Jews were entitled to the same privileges, and were afforded certain amenities in their own communities. For obvious reasons inherent in the laws of the country, it would be impossible to absorb an African into the community in the same way.

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies rejected the application for acceptance by the new African group.

SCHOOLBOYS ON PATROL

Final-year White high-school boys should go with police on patrols for two to three hours a week, Prof. P.J. van der Walt, head of the Department of Criminology of the University of South Africa, said in Pretoria recently. Speaking at a symposium on the prevention and combating of crime, he asked why boys should not be trained from an early age in the bigger cities to assist in the safeguarding of lives and property.

He also said there was no reason why schoolgirls should not be brought into such a scheme.

"It must be remembered that the majority of the urban population is non-White and the Africans in the city have become de-tribalized, and their morals, habits and decent behaviour of the tribalized African have gone overboard since they mixed with the White man."

WOMEN WANT GUNS

Thirty-six women students from the all-White Stellenbosch University in South Africa paraded through the streets in glamorous uniforms and carrying placards demanding:

"Give us Military Training instead of Domestic Science."

They were in 'deadly' earnest, says a report in News Check. (Our italics)

"There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community, and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze."

— Dr Verwoerd

APARTHEID AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dr Verwoerd made the aims of the Bantu (African) Education Act quite clear when in 1954 after successfully passing the Act, he made the above statement.

That then is the basis of the South African policy on education. There are no multiracial schools or universities. There is complete apartheid in S.A. education. Let us now look at some facts. All figures quoted are derived from official S.A. government or U.N. sources. Bear in mind that the non-white population totals 15 million and the white 3 million.

GENERAL APPLICATION

Whites — Education is free and compulsory up to the age of 16.

Asians & Coloureds — Education is compulsory from 7 to 14 "where there is a demand for it and where accommodation permits." There is a relatively small general grant from national tax sources, but donations by parents towards books and facilities are demanded.

Africans — Education is not compulsory and the financial demands made

LET THE FACTS SPEAK

upon the African parent are so high that schooling, especially secondary, is prohibitive.

EXPENDITURE BY STATE

Whites £75 per child per year
Asians and Coloureds £30 per child
Africans £6.91 per child

(from stats. 1964-65)

TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO in 1963 was 52.2% lower in the African schools than in White schools.

SALARY RATIO

Comparing similarly qualified African teachers to White teachers, the salary ratio in 1965 was 9:41 for men and 9:37 for women. This was further accentuated in 1966 by increases given to White teachers.

QUALIFICATIONS

All Whites are fully qualified. Of the 26,500 African teachers employed, 3.4% had a university degree, 3.4% a Std. 10 pass, 36% a Std. 8 pass, and the bulk 57.2% had reached only Std. 6 (primary level).



PUPILS GAINING MATRIC (STD. 10)

Whites	15.39 %	of the population
Asians	1.37 %	of the population
Coloureds	0.54 %	of the population
Africans	0.13 %	of the population

UNIVERSITY ENROLMENT

Whites	52,360	Coloureds	215
Asians	2,648	Africans	2,647

(1965 figures)

According to figures supplied by the Minister of Bantu Education in the House of Assembly, 11 Feb. 1964: —

197 Africans	obtained degrees	in 1959
186	"	" " 1960
182	"	" " 1961
105	"	" " 1962
109	"	" " 1963

OUR POLICY

The Education Policy of the African National Congress of South African, as enshrined in its policy document, The Freedom Charter, states: —

"The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened! The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished."

Educating For Ignorance: Gardening is a compulsory part of the syllabus under 'Bantu Education.' The circled photo above shows children learning in the fields because of insufficient school accommodation.



37 MEN FROM SOUTH WEST AFRICA

37 African freedom-fighters who, according to the State, entered South West Africa "with the intention of creating a violent revolution," appeared under heavy police guard in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court. They were committed for trial in the Supreme Court.

In terms of the new Terrorist Act (see article in this issue), all 37 of the accused face the death penalty. Allegations were that the men took part in 'terrorist' activities in South West Africa during the period from June 1962 until June 1967, and that some were members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which had sought to take over the government of South West Africa.

The charge sheet mentions an incident in the Grootfontein district, where a farmer was shot and wounded by 'terrorists.' It is further alleged that a band of men attacked a settlement at Oshikango, setting fire to a number of buildings in which people were asleep, and shooting the Bantu Commissioner (governmental overseer), Mr Neville Burmeister.

TRAINING CAMP

Accusations that some of the men received training "elsewhere" in guerilla warfare and the use of firearms and explosives, and that training camps were set up in Ovamboland where these men could teach others, are also contained in the charge sheet.

The State alleges that after receiving training the men armed themselves with foreign weapons and ammunition and entered South West Africa "with the intention of creating revolution in the territory."

NO LEGAL DEFENCE

Asked if any of the men had arranged his own legal representation, one of the accused, Jason Daniel Mutumbulua, stated that this was impossible "as we are all thousands of miles away from home."

He asked that the trial be heard in Windhoek where they would be able to obtain attorneys to defend them. The Magistrate explained that the Government had ordered the trial to be heard in Pretoria and that it could not be transferred. Mutumbulua replied that if the State was not prepared to transfer the trial, he would have to ask on behalf of all the

men for the appointment of *pro deo* counsel. None was prepared to conduct his own defence.

THE 37 FREEDOM-FIGHTERS

While armed police guarded every entrance to the courtroom, the men were led into the dock where they stood shoulder to shoulder, four deep.

Each carried a copy of the 11-page indictment listing the charges against them, and each had a number pinned to his lapel. Some wore neat jackets, others were dressed in tattered shirts and jeans, some were barefoot.

The men charged are: —

Eliaser Tukadeleni, Johannes Otto Nankudho, Simeon Shihungeleni, Julius Israel Shilongo, Lazarus Zachariah, David Hamunine Shimeufeleni, Joseph Helao Shitjuvet, Eino Kamatu Ekandjo, Festus Nehale, Nglidipojesapa Haufiku, Immanuel Augustus Shifidi, Kaleb Tshipahura, Rudolf Kadpikwa, Abel Haluteni, Betual Nunjango, Michael Ifingiliwa, Moses Matias Elia Kanyuele, Malakia Shivute Eshena, Johannes Guaniipupu Otto, Jason Daniel Mtumbulua, Toivo Hermann Ja Toiva, Matteus Joseph, Jonas Nashivela, Nathanael Lot Homateni, Philemon Shifilifa, Simeon Namunganga Hamulemo, Shinima Nailenge, Ndjaula Tshaningau, Saheus Phillipus Itika, Ebhram Kamatu Kapopo, Simeon Ipinge Iputa, Naftalie Amangulu, Petrus Simon Nilenge, Rehabeam Olavi Nambunja, Johannes Samuel Shiponeni, Petrus Kamati, Immanuel Gottlieb Nathaniel Machuerille.

SAVE THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN INVADERS — SUPPORT THEIR JUST STRUGGLE LED BY SWAPO

● **SECHABA** urges all organizations and individuals who believe in the right of the peoples of South Africa to full freedom and democracy and to an end to the colonial rule of South West Africa by the South African fascist regime of Vorster and the National Party, to immediately rally support for the cause of the South West African people and their organization, SWAPO.

SECHABA calls for the mounting of a world-wide campaign to save these gallant freedom-fighters from the gallows of the foreign invaders of South West Africa.

MARCELLINO DOS SANTOS,
Foreign Relations Secretary of FRELIMO,
writes of freedom-fighter FILIPE MAGAIA

HE DIED FOR FREEDOM

From the first months of the year 1962 the struggle to create an organization which would embody all the Mozambican nationalists constituted a basic task of authentic patriots. The historical event which started off this situation was the arrival in Dar es Salaam, from November 1961 up to May 1962, of comrades coming from the interior of Mozambique. These comrades had spent their infancy and youth under a colonial machine. But not passively. Around the 1950s, the formation in the whole of Mozambique of nationalist groups, some cultural, others co-operatives, and also political groups, began on a mass scale.

These political groups were secret and generally not numerous — they would number about 15, 20 or 50 nationalist. They were many, independent of each other, ignoring the existence of others, but aware of them.

Filipe Magaia was a member of one of these groups, and the role played by him was extremely important.

He was born on 7 March 1937, and from his youth he was a nationalist fighter. After having been one of the leaders of the Nucleus of African Secondary School Students of Mozambique, he was one of the promoters of these nationalist groups who worked underground.

For this reason, Magaia knew jail more than once — the last time was in April 1961. After being released, he was forced to leave the country in February 1962, and came to join the Mozambique Nationalists who were then in Tanzania, at that time Tanganyika.

The militant life of Mozambican reality had given to the recently arrived comrades from the interior, a political capacity and a dynamism of action which distinguished them from ordinary refugees and enabled them to play an active part in the organization of all true patriots under the leadership of FRELIMO.

The role played by these comrades in order to unite the Mozambican nationalist organizations in existence up to that time was fundamental. Among these comrades, the role played by Magaia was the most prominent.

Magaia was one of the chief organisers of the meeting where the Mozambican nationalists were welded into FRELIMO in 1962. He was also one of the architects of the 1st Congress of Frelimo which took place in September 1962.

At this time, Magaia requested comrade president Eduardo Mondlane to authorise him to go to Algeria where the first FRELIMO militants were going to be trained in the art of guerrilla warfare. It was a gesture of complete devotion to the cause of Mozambican independence, and also a gesture of profound modesty, which expresses one of the fundamental features of Magaia — because in 1962 Magaia was already the most highly trained of perhaps all the militants of FRELIMO, and his name was well-known in Mozambique.

On his return from Algeria, Magaia was elected member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO and Secretary of the Defence Department. Thus having been one of the founders of FRELIMO, Magaia remained one of the pillars of the Mozambican Revolution.

He assumed responsibility for the military organs of FRELIMO when he became head of the Defence Department.

In the Central Committee, in the political and military committee, in the forests of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, Magaia knew how to fulfil his mission. He lived the tough life of guerrillas. He saw enemy bombs falling next to him, he saw



The ANC dips its banner in memory of this gallant son of Africa, Comrade Filipe Magaia.

the suffering of the people and their courage. He survived long marches without sleep, hungry and thirsty — the daily life of a guerrilla. He was an example to the fighters and always ready to sacrifice and the last to share in the water.

On 11 October 1966, on one of his many missions into Mozambique, Comrade Magaia died as he lived — in battle — with the following words on his lips: "Revolution, my brothers! Revolution!"

His death shall be avenged! Mozambique shall be freed from the fascist grip of Salazar in our lifetime!

NAZIS, APARTHEID, AND WEST GERMANY -

A REVIEW

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic has recently published a memorandum entitled "*The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance*" which is bound to have profound effects on the evaluation of the situation faced by the progressive forces in Southern Africa.

With meticulous detail the memorandum traces the links between the Nazis and the leaders of the South African Nationalist Party before, during and after the second world war. Making use of documents and archives captured after the defeat of the Hitlerite war machine, the memorandum shows the part played by the Nazis and the monopoly firms that backed them in the evolution of the Apartheid policy of South Africa. One such document is a report of an economic study commission of the 'Reichsgruppe Industrie' which visited South Africa in 1938 on behalf of the Hitlerite government. This report outlined a plan for the building and control of state enterprises by the Afrikaner (Boer) Nationalists. Among the men involved in the outlining of policy for South Africa was a certain Dr Strohm who after the war became West German ambassador in South Africa. There, he was able to resume an old partnership with his friends Dr Verwoerd and Eiselen, who were busy implementing the policy of apartheid.

Very revealing is the manner in which Afrikaner economic power was rapidly developed with the help of West German capital after the Boer Nationalists became the Government of South Africa in 1948. The Memorandum shows how in some cases funds belonging to the dreaded gestapo were transferred to South Africa when the defeat of Hitler became certain. These funds were used to build up some wellknown firms in South Africa whose sudden appearance after the second world war has always been a mystery. In addition to the infusion of capital in private firms, the Memorandum details the help given to

the giant state monopoly enterprises such as Escom, Iscor and Sasol.

Of vital importance is the conclusion in the Memorandum that the combination of West German capital, Afrikaner private capital, State enterprises and Afrikaner political control constitute the most powerful force in South Africa.

This conclusion is important because economic-political power in South Africa is still believed by many to rest ultimately with the British imperialists. This is based on the fact that Britain has the biggest single stake in South Africa with a capital investment of approximately £1,000 million. In the list of states with heavy capital investments in South Africa, West Germany always occupies a rather low place. The result of this has been to divert attention from West Germany as a dangerous enemy of the African people. The fact is that with their close links with the Afrikaners the West Germans have been able to conceal their actual investments by forming partnerships with apparently indigenous Afrikaner firms. Also the role of State monopoly enterprises which constitute a formidable part of the South African economy and are controlled by the Afrikaner Nationalist government, is often left out of account in the analysis of economic power distribution in South Africa. The old assumption that British capital constituted the dominant economic power in South Africa must now be examined much more carefully in the light of the sensational facts revealed in the Memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR.

SEARCH FOR LEBENSRAUM

The alliance between Bonn and Pretoria is not only a menace to the oppressed people of South Africa. Recently the world has become aware of the vigorous attempts of the Pretoria regime to

build an empire in Africa. With its economic resources and a huge military machine South Africa now seeks to expand into Africa. Starting with neighbouring African independent states which in one way or another are dependent on her, the apartheid state is pursuing a policy designed to create a series of client states in Central and Southern Africa. By a judicious combination of economic inducements and military threats, the South African regime seeks not only to halt the march of the African revolution southwards but to recolonise parts of Africa for its own benefit. The boldness and even the finesse exhibited by the regime in its efforts have put some people off-balance. It comes as no surprise however when the efforts of Vorster and his Foreign Minister Muller are seen as part of a West German-supported plan of expansion into Africa. In Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Malawi and other states the West German monopoly capitalists are extremely busy and they act in close co-ordination with the South African regime.

THREAT TO AFRICA AND WORLD

The irony of all this is that whilst Africa is unanimous in condemning apartheid and while much has been done to isolate and undermine the position of the racialists, the West German government is recognised and relations are maintained with it in Africa. A close study of this Memorandum should do much to dispel this illusion and set the whole continent thinking about the need for a re-appraisal of policy towards West Germany. This necessarily involves a recognition of the existence of a highly developed, democratic German state — the German Democratic Republic which has consistently supported the cause of freedom in Africa and continues to do so.

The partnership between Bonn and Pretoria is of even wider interest than

REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

Africa. Although the second world war ended over twenty years ago the peace treaty has not yet been signed. This has been prevented by the policies of the Western powers which, as they did before, have allowed the imperialist German ruling class to rebuild their power. The German imperialists are once more embarking on the disastrous path leading to war. Unable to develop weapons openly and directly in West Germany itself, the West German government is using South Africa as a base for the production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this sphere as well, the Memorandum is full of documented facts showing that the plots of Bonn and Pretoria are a serious threat to world peace. South Africa itself is not capable of any ambitions towards world conquest. But in partnership with West Germany and possibly an aroused Japanese imperialism, there is no doubt that a grave danger exists for the welfare and peace of mankind. Needless to say these are the dreams of madmen in the thermo-nuclear age; but oppressors and exploiters of peoples have a tendency to gamble recklessly.

Opposition to the joint plans of South Africa and West Germany requires close co-operation of all progressive forces in Africa and the world. In particular Africa could play a big role in smashing the Bonn-Pretoria axis by withdrawing recognition of West Germany and preferring to work with the German Democratic Republic.

The basis of such a policy exists in the common interests of the African and German people, to put an end to German imperialism and its wars of aggression.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic has done a great service in publishing the Memorandum on the Bonn-Pretoria Alliance. With the irrefutable facts contained in the document, an invaluable weapon has been placed in the hands of freedom-fighters. It is our duty to see to it that all government leaders and all politicians have a copy of the Memorandum in their hands as soon as possible. We owe it to Africa to ensure this.

(The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance is available on request from the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Thalmanplatz 8-9, Berlin, German Democratic Republic. It is available in English, French, Spanish or German. The English edition is also obtainable from Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1. Please include postage costs if obtaining your copy from the Sechaba office.)

Bishop Stradling on Bishop Crowther

Kimberley's Bishop Edward Crowther, recently expelled from South Africa, should not have spoken out against the race regime in the way he had, Bishop Leslie Stradling told the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* recently. "I believe the time for such protests is past, except on really special occasions," he said, hastening to add that he did, however, agree with Bishop Crowther's views on apartheid. What is implied in this statement is the doctrine of survival at any cost of the Anglican church as an institution.

This sell-out on principles, coated with a veneer of tactical expediency, has occurred in South Africa in the past. In the old Cape Colony, slaves were granted their freedom if they became Christians.

No Christians, said the church, could be a slave. And so it was — until the slave-owners began putting on pressure. The church vacillated and then gave in. Slaves who became Christians they said, would still become free — spiritually free.

That decision has been condemned by churchmen, and many have excused it by saying: "It happened a long time ago." True, but history has an unerving habit of repeating itself. Perhaps Bishop Stradling is to be the vehicle for a return performance.

Trial of Two Editors

The news flashed round the world recently that *Rand Daily Mail* editor Laurence Gandar and Joel Mervis of the *Sunday Times* were being dragged before the courts for their reports on S.A. prison conditions. Summoned with them were reporter Benjamin Pogrud, legal adviser Kelsey Stuart, and S.A. Associated Newspapers managing director Leicester Walton.

No one by any stretch of the imagination would consider the *Sunday Times* as an arch enemy of apartheid, and many people were shocked. The move against Gandar of the *Mail* also registered a shock, for although that paper has campaigned on a number of issues, it has failed — particularly since Mr Gandar was promoted to editor-in-Chief — to take a consistently firm line.

Why this shock should have been registered is strange. When the *Guardian* and *New Age* were banned, Congress said it would be only a matter of time before even the mild critics, who were attempting to play the game according to the government's rules, would also be silenced.

Two other Jo'burg journalists, Desmond Blow and Bob Hitchcock, were arraigned over the same period. They were jailed for refusing to disclose information sources regarding a pro-Nazi incident in Hillbrow. (Reported in *Sechaba* No. 7)

Both these incidents show that the South African fascists are not only totally opposed to any form of criticism, they are also ready to take action against anyone who dares — however meekly — to challenge them.

The 'opposition' newspapers have been told by the African National Congress that this is the case and has been for many years, and yet they have continued to compromise.

The time for compromise — if ever there were such a time — is past. Newspapers like the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times* must realise that there are only two courses open to them: either they must support the government or they must oppose it. If they choose the latter course they are going to be persecuted, come what may. If they vacillate, they will also be persecuted. Even from a purely pragmatic standpoint, therefore, why keep pulling punches?

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
IN ACTION

WHEN SECHABA was launched in January, this year, O. R. Tambo, our Deputy-President, said:

"...The White racist regime is engaged in desperate and frantic military preparations in defence of apartheid inside South Africa...Virtually every white person is being enlisted in this army to defend white domination and fascism..."

"This show of force by Vorster's regime, it should be borne in mind, is incapable of intimidating the oppressed people, who have long refused to Verwoerd's dictates and will not submit Nazi Vorster either. The people have decided to meet armed repression with armed revolt...

"The African National Congress, while calling for international action against South Africa, is fully aware that the struggle in South Africa will be fought and won by the revolutionary anti-apartheid forces inside the country led by the African National Congress..."

THE BATTLE IS ON!

It is now history that on August 13, armed members of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress together their comrades-in-arms of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) engaged the armed bandits of white supremacy in Rhodesia, on their march into the apartheid laager of Vorster. Furious battles are going on in many areas.

Commenting immediately after receiving reports of the first battles, our Zambian Office in a "Flash" Newsletter state :

"... The first volleys for freedom have been fired by the people's guerilla army, Umkhonto We Seziwe... The armed struggle has started. Already, they have inflicted a heavy death toll on the enemy. Already, blood has begun to flow from the ranks of the oppressor as it has always been flowing from the oppressed. Already, a number of our brave young men have died, but not before they had shaken Rhodesia and South Africa ... Already, the history of Southern Africa has taken a new turn.

"But what we have heard are only the first shots in a struggle that will be long, fierce and costly in terms of human life. It will grow and spread in scope and intensity until it embraces, as one armed struggle under a unified command, the entire area of the racist and colonialist South..."

"We shall have 'Wankies' everywhere; we shall repay Sharpevilles with Sharpvilles; we shall make peace when the majority rules!"

STOP PRESS



SECHABA

All correspondence to be addressed to:
The Editor, Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.

Supplement to : Vol 1. No. 9

News From
THE BATTLE FRONT

Accounts of the fierce conflict that has erupted at Wankie on August 13 have been trickling out of Rhodesia despite the news black-out imposed by Smith and Vorster.

Our Zambian Office Newsletter states : "Informants tell of the near massacre of security forces in the first battles of the armed confrontation. It was a little Sharpeville in reverse...In a series of ambushes prepared with meticulous precision security forces trailing the guerillas frequently found themselves in the centre of a vicious hail of bullets from nowhere. Unable to explain their recurring misfortunes, in which they suffered heavy casualties, they have found an explanation.: word has been spreading among them that the guerillas 'are using drugs'..."

THREE HELICOPTERS DOWNED

In one action in the Wankie area, it has been confirmed that our fighting men shot down three helicopters bringing in re-inforcements. Two of these are reported to be South African. Many helicopters must have been brought down in the course of the two weeks of fighting that went on in this particular area. In another action in the same area, guerilla bullets ripped through a unit of South African troops, killing at least four of them.

The extent of the damage wrought by guerilla fire among the white terrorist forces and their mercenaries cannot be admitted by the Smith regime. But, if news correspondents and radio commentators state, as they have repeatedly done during the last few weeks, that this is the "fiercest and deadliest" clash so far experienced in UDI Rhodesia, with a claimed total of 23 guerillas killed and many wounded, it is inconceivable that all the ambushes laid by our forces against the enemy could have resulted in only two white and four non-white soldiers killed and only 12 wounded.

BULAWAYO REACTS

"Bayanemba!" (which means, "They are first class marksmen") has become a household word in cities like Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. Bulawayo is not far from Wankie and other battle areas. Reports from the city indicate that Bulawayo is seething - political feeling among the African people is running high, reminiscent of the days of active mass struggles before ZAPU was banned.

TENSION IN WANKIE

An African man, unconnected with the fighting, was shot dead for being on the streets during curfew hours (6.30 p.m. to 6.30 a.m.).

§ A new army camp has been established at St. Mary's Mission and, Colliery Compound No.3 has been converted into an army barracks.

§ Civilian patients have been moved from the new Wankie Hospital and this is now full of wounded soldiers.

§ Many white farmers have abandoned their farms.

§ After one surprise attack during which our guerillas inflicted heavy losses on the racist forces, our men seized a truck-load of arms and ammunition and drove off.

SOUTH AFRICA TAKES OVER

Vorster has finally admitted publicly (what we have been repeatedly saying) that white South African members of his fascist police and army are in Rhodesia to assist the hard-pressed local white terrorists against the combined freedom forces of ZAPU and the ANC.

This invasion of South African racists into the British Colony of Rhodesia appears to have been taken for granted by the British Government, who apart from a brief press statement have done nothing to expel these invaders.

Where does Britain stand on this all-important question?

Have the British people accepted U.D.I. in Rhodesia?

To quote our Deputy-President, 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.

Our own policy is clear and precise. We again quote our Deputy-President, who in an article published in our first issue ^{said} "To the African population, the Indian and Coloured communities, and also many White democrats, the answer to South Africa's problems is the creation of a non-racial democratic state, based on the principle that South Africa belongs to all those who live in it - both black and white.

"We are dedicated to this principle, and to this end we of the African National Congress and its allies the Indian Congress, Coloured Peoples' Congress and the Congress of Democrats are prepared to fight, and in the words of our leader Nelson Mandela, 'if needs be lay down our lives'."

ZAMBIA THREATENED

The Zambian Government has reacted sharply to the arrogant threats made against it by representatives of the illegal Smith regime, alleging that Freedom Fighters were armed and supported by Zambia. The Republic of Zambia has sent a note to the government of the United Kingdom calling for the expulsion from Rhodesia of the South African invaders. We re-iterate our firm conviction that Smith has no right whatsoever to speak in the name of Rhodesia. Only ZAPU, which has proved without any doubt that it represents the mass of the people of Zimbabwe has this right!

The hasty response by South Africa to the cry for help from Smith does not come as a surprise to us. It is what we, and indeed the world at large expected. Vorster needs a minority white regime in Rhodesia far more than he needs Malawi or Lesotho. He, and his predecessors, have always regarded Rhodesia as an essential buffer against the south-bound sweep of the African revolution. Rhodesia is seen by white South Africa, not only as a base to keep African independence pinned down north of the Zambezi, but also to subvert, harrass and even invade independent African states.

"IT TAKES POWER TO SEIZE POWER!"

--- O.R.Tambo

In an urgent message to all external offices of the African National Congress, Deputy-President, Oliver Tambo, reporting on the battles called for maximum effort by all South Africans. He ends on a confident and enthusiastic note :

"Our people in South Africa have heard the sound of fire, and know that it will be heard again - this time within their borders. Let us go forward to win more friends for our struggle, influence more people in our favour and strive for an effective isolation of the fascists.

"We urgently need funds and every available thing. We need to be strong and self-sufficient.

"It takes power to seize power.

"I am sure it is not necessary to underline, in your case, the fact that every one of us who is not actually engaged, at this stage, in combat is called upon to support our fighting organisation in every way we possibly can."

OWING to financial and organisational difficulties our printing deadline is about six weeks before an issue is produced. In order to keep our readers abreast of political events as they arise, more especially since our armed forces have now entered the field of battle, we have decided to produce this supplement whenever the need arises. Of necessity news published herein will be brief. Fuller reports will be published in subsequent issues of Sechaba.

WE appeal to all our supporters to obtain more subscribers for Sechaba and to contribute all they possibly can to keep the public informed of the unfolding revolutionary struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa.

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