

Sechaboa



Official Organ
of the African National Congress
of South Africa



Bastion of White Supremacy

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COVER : The cover drawing is by Harold Strachan, now serving one year's imprisonment in South Africa for writing a press article exposing prison conditions. He wrote the press article on his release from a prison sentence of three years.

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SECHABA



SECHABA is the official organ of the African National Congress, the vanguard organization in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. It will be published monthly and will contain reports on apartheid in South Africa and views and facts of conditions under apartheid.

This journal fulfils the need for the world at large to fully appreciate the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa against fascist apartheid tyranny, and will reflect the policy of the African National Congress, which seeks to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

As the cost of producing this journal far exceeds the amount that will be received through sales, we appeal to all democrats to contribute towards the publishing costs.

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Sechaba, 31a John Adam Street, London WC 2, England.

"SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA"

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:—

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SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The African National Congress takes this opportunity to congratulate the South Vietnam Liberation Front on the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the founding of this revolutionary body for the liberation of Vietnam from the puppet regime and the expulsion of U.S. imperialists.

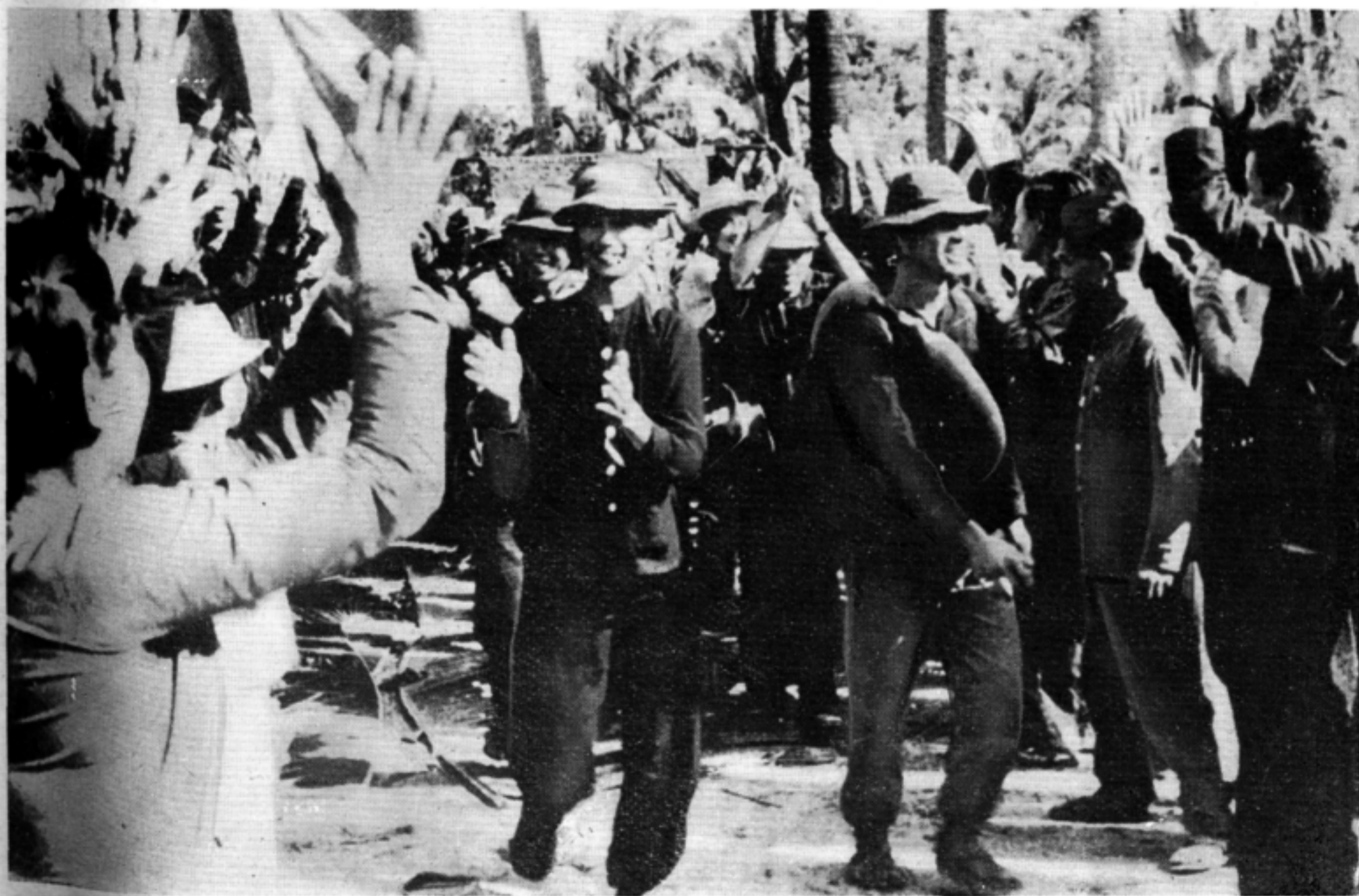
The South Vietnam Liberation Front has scored epoch-making victories against the oppressors and foreign invaders both in the political and military fields, and is today the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. We are convinced that imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people will meet with a shattering defeat that will consolidate world-wide revolutionary struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We greet the valiant people of Vietnam and wish them

strength and success in their arduous task of expelling the imperialist invaders from their motherland. History is on their side as their cause is just and will triumph in the end.

We call on progressive and democratic forces everywhere to give greater moral and material assistance to the Vietnamese people both in the North and the South. Humanity must not allow the U.S. policy of aggression to continue any longer in Vietnam and other parts of the world. World solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. imperialism is a positive contribution to the struggles waged everywhere by oppressed and exploited people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The ANC will always remain in solidarity with people who fight the biggest enemy of humanity — U.S. imperialism.

**LONG LIVE THE SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION FRONT!
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST
IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM!**



A DEVIL IN AFRICA

African National Congress letter to Mr Joseph Palmer United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

We are aware of the meeting of U. S. envoys in East, Central and Southern Africa at which you recently presided in Addis Ababa. We feel that you are the proper person through whose good offices it may be possible to convey our feelings and demands to the U. S. Government, for you serve that government in the important position of United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

It has been reported that senior U. S. government officials such as Mr Edmond C. Hutchinson connected with U. S. Aid to Africa also participated in the meeting. It transpires that among your deliberations you touched on such matters as United States policy in the light of current African affairs. It also appears that you addressed yourselves, however indirectly, to the question of support for the Organization of African Unity and the U. N. Economic Commission for Africa which is reported to be "a cornerstone of American policy in Africa".

May we stress that we accept the view that there is a devil in Africa that thwarts the revolutionary forces who are dedicated to a forward-movement of all oppressed and exploited people in Africa in their struggle for final and complete emancipation and the achievement of national sovereignty and majority rule in all territories still groaning under the jackboot of fascist White domination and naked colonialism as in South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Mozambique and Angola, etc. Even though such a monster hampers the people of Africa in their struggles, we are sure that all true sons and daughters of Africa will continue their fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that our cause will triumph. We understand the deeper aspirations of the people of these territories and would advise your government not to impede our efforts directed towards the attainment of the national goals of the oppressed, exploited and humiliated people of Southern Africa.

We would particularly request you to convey to the United States Government our desire that your country and its government should realise that the people struggling for national independence and human dignity, whose lives have been subjected to the most inhuman servitude by Portuguese colonialism, White domination and racial discrimination, have chosen the path of armed struggle against their oppressors and will not tolerate any plotting and interference in their fight by the U.S. or any other foreign power.

We would particularly call upon your government to desist from granting military and economic assistance to the Portuguese colonialists and to the racist regimes of Ian

Smith and J. B. Vorster in various ways, especially through the agency of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and World Banking and finance bodies. These regimes stand condemned in the eyes of Africa and the world and you could do well to make your assistance available to the dependent states struggling against poverty, illiteracy and disease in Africa, Asia and Latin America, rather than waste your resources supporting White racist dictatorship and puppet regimes whose mission is doomed.

But the most urgent issue to which we would draw your immediate attention is the demand of all right-minded democrats everywhere for the cessation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The barbarous bombings of Hanoi have outraged the conscience of humanity and constitute a crime against mankind. Your government's pretension to peace is irreconcilable with the death and destruction which U.S. air-raids bring to the people of Vietnam. Our view as well as that of all progressive, revolutionary and democratic people everywhere is that your action in Vietnam has no juridical or moral basis, for it is a flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. We are concerned by the devil-may-care attitude which your government has adopted, for it threatens to plunge the whole world into a Third World War. We know that such a war would be fought out using thermo-nuclear weapons of mass destruction. As Africa struggles for peace and seeks friendship with all the peoples of the world, we call upon you to stop your aggression against Vietnam and thereby help the people of the world to pursue their national life free from the threat of world nuclear conflagration.

We believe that this is a just and timely demand on a matter of great public urgency to the international community. Furthermore, we hold the view that international tension will lessen and peace and security improve when your government stops aggression in Vietnam and Santo Domingo, and its various intrigues in Africa.

The situation facing the peoples of Southern Africa and Vietnam could be improved tremendously if you would give consideration to our demands as set out in this communication and we trust that you will demonstrate your intentions by attending without delay to our urgent demands.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed:) Alfred Kgokong

Director of Publicity

African National Congress (South Africa)

BASTION OF WHITE SUPREMACY

**PART ONE:
SOUTHERN AFRICA
AS A SINGLE
REGION**

An edited version of the speech delivered by *J. B. Marks* to the Seminar "Africa: National and Social Revolution", held in Cairo at the end of October 1966.

Photo: J. B. Marks (left), banned President of the African National Congress (Transvaal) and leader of the African Mine Workers' Union (South Africa), greeting Alfred Nzo on his release from prison during the South African State of Emergency in 1960. Alfred Nzo is at present one of the ANC representatives in Cairo.



THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The liberation of Southern Africa remains the most important and urgent question on the agenda of the African revolution. As long as the most highly developed part of the continent with its enormous human and material resources is under the control of imperialism and local white minority governments it will not be possible to consummate our revolution.

All over Africa the central issue is that of the struggle of the people for complete independence and social progress. The achievement of these aims is opposed by imperialism, neocolonialism and internal reactionary forces and groups which are allied to or utilised by international imperialism. The first step of formal political independence has by and large been achieved without the people resorting to armed struggle except in the case of Kenya and Algeria. But there is a part of Africa which will perhaps constitute the most difficult problem. This is the white-ruled southern part of the continent, where an alliance of white fascist racialists and imperialism is determined to perpetuate the most ruthless oppression and exploitation of the people.

SOUTHERN AFRICA AT PRESENT

Southern Africa can be regarded as comprising Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, South West Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland and the Republic of South Africa.

The Republic of *BOTSWANA*, the Kingdom of *LESOTHO*, the Republics of *MALAWI* and *ZAMBIA*, have achieved independence under majority rule.

MOZAMBIQUE and *ANGOLA* form part of the Portuguese colonial empire. The Portuguese fascists proclaim that these countries are part of metropolitan Portugal and are "provinces". Again according to the Portuguese fascist political theory of "assimilation", Africans whom the fascists regard as "civilised" are citizens with such rights as the authorities permit. In fact the Portuguese colonies are white-ruled colonies in which the majority are subjected to ruthless oppression and exploitation.

ZIMBABWE and *SWAZILAND* are colonies of Britain. Swaziland will in due course gain independence as a Kingdom with Sobhuza II as Head of State. Zimbabwe has been siezed by a group of white politicians led by Ian Smith. For years the country has been governed contrary to the interests of the people by this white minority, with the support of Britain. Now a rebellion has been staged by the white minority with British consent or tolerance. Thousands of Africans and their leaders are detained in prisons and camps and a fierce struggle is being waged for freedom.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA is a territory which has been illegally annexed by the Republic of South Africa, and is in fact subject to imperialist rule by that country. The Republic of *SOUTH AFRICA* is regarded by the world as an independent state with a seat in the United Nations and all the attributes of sovereignty. But for the majority of the people there is neither freedom nor independence. There is only racialist and the most brutal fascist oppression and exploitation. South Africa is not merely the most reactionary citadel of imperialism in Africa, it is also the most reactionary seat of subversion and counter-revolution against the African people.

SINGLE GEO-POLITICAL AREA

The variety of political conditions obtaining in these countries is not the subject of this report. Here we seek to make a brief survey of Southern Africa when considered as a single geo-political area or region. In spite of the variety of conditions — economic, political and social — the countries of Southern Africa, in certain important respects, can be treated as a single area for the benefit of our strategy and tactics in the fight for freedom. The justification for doing this lies in the fact that the Southern African region forms a very close economic area whose centre is the mining and industrial power of the Witwatersrand in South Africa.

The whole region revolves around the commercial activities of which Johannesburg is the main headquarters. Their finances, trade, communications, labour and common products make it logical to treat these countries as a geo-political area. In fact imperialist strategy treats the whole area as a single unit.



IMPERIALIST STAKES

To begin with, the economic stake of international imperialism is very large in Southern Africa. Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan have vast interests in Southern Africa. Dominant among these is Britain.

It is estimated that over £ 2,000,000,000 sterling is invested directly by the imperialists in this region of Africa: *more than the rest of the continent put together*. South Africa alone accounts for £ 1,500 million of the total.

Zimbabwe has a foreign capital investment of £ 375 million of which some £ 200 million is British, and £ 175

million South African. Zambia similarly has millions in foreign capital invested, particularly in its great copper mining industry. A partner of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, Britain has a variety of interests in Angola and Mozambique in concerns ranging from railways, mining and sugar plantations, to shipping and clearing agencies and banking.

MOVEMENT OF LABOUR

The labour required in the enterprises represented by this vast stake of imperialism is supplied by the underdeveloped countries to South Africa and to Zimbabwe. The Kingdom of Lesotho has approximately 120,000 of its citizens at any one time working on the mines, farms and industries of the Republic of South Africa. Over 80,000 of them work on the mines. The Republic of Botswana has about 25,000 of its people labouring in South Africa.

In terms of a Convention entered into between Portugal and South Africa, an average of 100,000 Africans are recruited each year by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines from Mozambique. In exchange South Africa pays £2 per labourer and allows the Portuguese authorities to collect taxes in South Africa. Apart from this annual quota another 200,000 Africans from Mozambique are working in the Republic of South Africa and in Zimbabwe.

There is thus a vast movement of labour — an exploitation of labour particularly by the mining industry of South Africa. Over 60% of the labour in the mining industry of South Africa comes from outside the country. This is a matter of vital importance.

ECONOMIC BANDS OF STEEL

Apart from supplying labour the Portuguese colonies, particularly Mozambique, handle a vast quantity of exports and imports to and from the Transvaal province of South Africa. In terms of the Portuguese-South African Convention already referred to, 47.5% of the sea-borne import traffic to the area of Johannesburg as well as exports of 340,000 cases of citrus fruit must pass through Mozambique railways and be handled at the port of Lourenco Marques. The vital importance of the ports of Lourenco Marques, Beira and Luanda to the economies of Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and the Witwatersrand explains much of the politics of the Southern African region.

For the rest, trade, finance, banking, insurance, communications, show the close links and dependence of these countries on one another. One of the tasks of states as they achieve independence is the struggle to break out of the

stultifying embrace of these economic bands of steel whose control is in the hands of the white minority and their allies the imperialists. *Zambia is engaged in such a painful struggle today.* The economic interdependence of these countries is reflected in the way political events in each country affect the others.

ZIMBABWE — MOST CRUCIAL ISSUE

Nowhere is this more graphically illustrated than in the continuing crisis of Zimbabwe. This is the most crucial issue facing Africa today. Taken by itself the problem would perhaps not be so intractable. But the fact is that every move taken on Zimbabwe affects South Africa and/or the Portuguese colonies. The determination of the Republic of South Africa to resist the emergence of an independent Republic of Zimbabwe means it is no longer possible to view this problem entirely in isolation. The freedom of Zimbabwe is closely bound up with developments throughout Southern Africa. The same applies to events in Mozambique, and other parts of the region.

When the African states and liberation movements declared in November 1965 that the imposition of sanctions against the illegal Smith regime would fail, it was because they knew that the Republic of South Africa and Portugal would help Smith. The dishonesty of the imperialist powers in pretending otherwise has been a big lesson for Africa. And it is not the last time that these methods of evasion and delay will be used by the imperialists. The Zimbabwe crisis has exposed more clearly than ever the deep complicity of Western and particularly British imperialism in the enslavement of the Africans of Southern Africa. It is of course not the first time that a British Government in the interests of super-profits has betrayed the rights of an African majority.

FORCE A SHOWDOWN!

In 1910 in South Africa a similar intrigue was resorted to by the British Government. The Zimbabwe crisis has also revealed the design to hang on at all costs to the whole area as a bastion or fortress of white supremacy and imperialist control. In the end Africa and the whole progressive world must force a showdown on the urgent question of Southern Africa and support the freedom-fighters of Southern Africa who are waging the struggle in the numerous sectors of the region. Otherwise, they face the imminent danger of an imperialist counter-offensive launched from the South. (PART TWO of this report will appear in the next issue.)



Political prisoners who include doctors, lawyers, workers and unquestioned leaders of the people are today on Robben Island and in other South African prisons dressed as these prisoners are. Stories of brutality and gross inhumanity are reported from the various prisons.

RELEASE

On 5 December 1966 in Friends House London, the Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners in South Africa, launched by the International Defence and Aid Fund, formally began in England.

Though a panel of speakers which included Rusty Bernstein, Caroline de Crespigny, Albie Sachs and the director of the Campaign, Dennis Brutus, gave a graphic account of prison conditions in South Africa, the meeting was ignored by the London press. But the Campaign has had considerable publicity in South Africa — particularly from the Sunday papers — and can already count up one success: the release of the Hoffman Report after a lapse of two and a half years during which this Red Cross report was treated as confidential and efforts to have it published had all proved unsuccessful.

There have been frequent revelations in the past about conditions in South African prisons; and the work for the release of political prisoners has been going on for a considerable period. But it has received a fresh impetus from the information at first-hand from Mr Dennis Brutus, an ex-prisoner from Robben Island, and from the Defence and Aid decision to back on a far greater scale the demand for the release of these prisoners.

It may yet be that the Defence and Aid Campaign will prove a major element in the fight against apartheid, just as the Defence and Aid Fund has made easily the most significant contribution to the massive work for the defence and aid of political prisoners and their families.

Publicity for the Campaign has been steady and widespread. In the course of his visits to Jamaica, the United States, and latterly Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow, Mr Brutus gave publicity to prison conditions in radio and television programmes and in public meetings.

But the most important steps taken in the course of the Campaign were in Scandinavia. Mr Brutus was invited to address meetings which turned out to be extremely successful. In addition, press conferences and television appearances were arranged in Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen. But most important, he was able to meet officials in the Governments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. He was able to put to them the two-fold plan of the Campaign

There are 8,500 political prisoners in Vorster's jails (one in every 2,000 of the total population of South Africa). In relation to respective populations, in any one day in South Africa there are as many political prisoners as there are total prisoners in Great Britain.

8500

POLITICAL PRISONERS!

at this stage: to expose prison conditions and to ask for a U. N. investigation commission to go to South Africa — with or without the approval of the South African Government. The main demand of the Campaign is, of course, the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

As ancillary moves to support the Campaign, Defence and Aid has also made contact with representatives of the International Court of Justice and World Council of Churches, and informed them of the Campaign.

In a twelve-day trip through Africa, Mr Brutus was able to speak to and secure the support of a number of influential persons. They included Mr Oscar Kambona, Secretary-General of TANU, Tanzanian Minister of Regional Affairs and Chairman of the African Liberation Committee, Mr Tom Mboya, Kenya's Minister of Justice, and Mr Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organization for African Unity, from whom he was able to secure unqualified backing for the Campaign. He was also able to have discussions with Mr Oliver Tambo, Deputy President of the African National Congress, who welcomed the

Campaign and assured Defence and Aid of the full backing of the Congress.

According to organizers, all this was part of the work of slowly building up support and momentum for the Campaign in Africa and other parts of the world before it is taken to the United Nations.

The work at the U. N. is likely to fall into separate phases. It is expected that Dennis Brutus will testify at the U. N. in the course of his lecture tour of the United States. Later will come detailed discussions on the formulation of the resolution and its formal tabling at the U. N.

There is no doubt of the desire of African States to do all in their power to back the fight against apartheid; what is needed is that this general desire to help is given focus in precise terms: something attainable which is yet sufficiently explosive to serve as a possible focal point for the exertion of significant pressure on the apartheid regime. It is likely that the Campaign will unfold in just this way, and it is hoped that all democrats will give the Campaign their unqualified support. ■

One of thousands of slogans painted on walls all over South Africa, demanding the release of ANC leaders.



LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

RACE CLASSIFICATION (1)

Eleven members of a Cape Town family have been classified 'White' — and the 12th, as Coloured.

Appealing against his classification as a Coloured to the Race Classification Board, the man (whose name was not revealed in the S.A. press) said that he is married to a White woman. They have a daughter who attended a White school and two sons who are in an Afrikaans school.

He is a member of the Automobile Association which has only White members and attends cinemas, concerts and social functions for Whites.

In support of his appeal a doctor said that his sallow complexion was due to treatment he was receiving for diabetes.

RACE CLASSIFICATION (2)

Mr and Mrs Abraham Laing are white South Africans. Their daughter has now been classified Coloured by the Race Classification Board. About eight months ago, 11-year-old Sandra was returned to her home from the white school she had been attending by the school principal, vice-principal, and a policeman. The Supreme Court is due to hear an application made by Sandra's parents early this year.

RACE CLASSIFICATION (3)

Mr George Oche, a former policeman in South Africa, now has a job

as an Inspector with the Population Register. His job is to investigate the lives and associations of South Africans about whom there is doubt as to their race. He has to ask neighbours and friends whether a 'doubtful' person is White or Coloured. He has to start an investigation which in his own words often makes him "sick in the guts."

As a retired policeman he received £9 per month. As an Inspector with the Population Register he receives £70 per month. "That's about it" he told a *Sunday Times* reporter.

PRIEST ATTACKS DEMONSTRATORS

An angry Roman Catholic priest seized and tore up anti-Pass Law posters when a group of Catholic laymen staged a demonstration at a Roman Catholic church in South Africa. The Bishop had refused to join with Protestant churches in displaying the posters, which drew attention to the separation of African families at Christmas time because of Pass Laws. The last line of the poster read: "Our laws keep thousands of South African families apart."

POLICE SHOT: PRISONER DIES

Two voluntary police reservists were shot dead in Johannesburg last month. They were Eric Anderson and D.F. Pirie. The men were shot with Anderson's personal automatic by one of three Africans they had stopped and wanted to arrest.

Three Africans were arrested a few days later. *One died from head injuries when he is alleged to have tried to escape by diving through a cell window.*

APARTHEID BLOW FOR GOLF CHAMPION

The talented Durban-born Indian golf professional, Sewsunker "Papwa"

Sewgolum, has been refused permission to compete in this month's Western Province open championship in Cape Town.

Papwa's manager said he has received a letter from the Department of Planning turning down the entry. No reasons were given for the refusal.

Last month Papwa — former Dutch Open champion — had his entry refused for a sponsored tournament in Johannesburg. This follows the Government's aim of total sports apartheid.

Missing the two events will be a great blow to him, as he hoped to make enough money on the South



African circuit this season to enable him to travel to the United States. He has been invited by the American Professional Golfer's Association to tour its circuit.

(See feature "Boycott Apartheid Sport" by Dennis Brutus in this issue).

ONLY ENGLISH POSTERS ALLOWED

The Pietermaritzburg City Council refused the Black Sash (organization of S.A. women) permission to include



a poster in the Zulu language when it held a vigil in Maritzburg to mark Human Rights Day in December last year.

NEGROES "NOT HUMAN"

Voortrekkerpers — the publishing company of which the South African Prime Minister Vorster is chairman — will do everything in its power to get the ban on its book "White Man Think Again", rescinded, announced 'Die Transvaler', which is also published by Voortrekkerpers. The book was banned by the Publications Board after a complaint had been received.

Written by Anthony Jacob, a Rhodesian, the book states that Negroes are incapable of evolving and "are not human beings in the sense that we normally convey by that term". All races must be reduced to servitude to the White race and there should be "outright White world supremacy", according to Mr Jacob.

S.W.A. FIGHT CARRIES ON

The Commissioner of the South African police, Lt General J. M. Keevy, confirmed last month that freedom fighters are still active in South West Africa. Referring to a freedom-fighter who was shot and injured in the Tsumeb district, he said that the police are making a widespread search for others who are moving South.

THE COST OF SUPPRESSION

Portugal spent over £ 50 million — almost twice its first estimate — to fight freedom-fighters in its African "provinces" last year. Defence expenditure this year will be increased by over £ 10 million to £ 43 million.

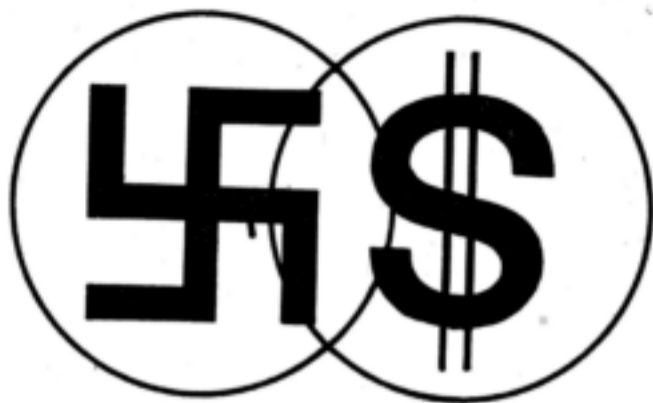
The budget showed that in 1966 only £ 30.3 million was earmarked for defence in Africa but expenditure for over 100,000 Government troops fighting the people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea rose to £ 53.5 million.

U.S. INVESTORS Vs KENNEDY

Senator Robert Kennedy has placed thirty American businessmen, inclu-



ding Charles Engelhard, the millionaire with huge financial holdings in South Africa, in a difficult position by asking them to discuss with him better working and living conditions



for non-whites in their South African plants.

The businessmen fear that if they snub him they may pay for it if he becomes President. However, if they accept Mr Kennedy's request, they will risk offending the South African Government, which could retaliate — especially against those who are repatriating earnings.

Kennedy's letter stated that on his recent trip through South Africa he was concerned to note "the extent to which the U.S. is identified with repressive and discriminatory practices of the South African government."

Among the suggestions he made for improving workers' conditions in South Africa were recognition of, and collective bargaining with, African Labour Unions; and pay scales which would guarantee all workers, regardless of colour, a subsistence wage. (African Trade Unions are not recognised legally in South Africa and strikes are illegal).

A MILLIONAIRE SPEAKS

"The policy of South Africa as expressed by the new Prime Minister is as much in the interests of South Africa as anything I can think of or suggest. I am not a South African, but there is nothing I would do better or differently." —Charles Engelhard, American multi-millionaire.

PEOPLE MUST LEAVE, SCHOOLS REMAIN

The demolition of homes in the Lady Selborne township in South Africa is now nearly complete. Nearly 40,000 non-whites have been forced to leave the area since it was declared a White Area under the Group Areas Act.

One of the biggest problems for evicted parents has been the accommodation of their children in schools in

the areas to which they were moved. There are not enough schools at either Ga-Rankua or Mamelodi. Some parents sent their children back to schools in Lady Selborne by bus and taxi, but their efforts were frustrated by high transport costs.

In any case, only four schools remain in Lady Selborne, all of them lower primary. Five other schools have been closed.

LESOTHO VISITOR FOR VORSTER

Chief Jonathan, the Premier of Lesotho, met Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa last month. He has declared that his regime will not associate itself under any circumstances with a boycott or sanctions against the Smith regime in Rhodesia. Last month Chief Jonathan carried out a virtual coup in Lesotho (formerly Basutoland), putting King Moshoeshoe II, the popular Head of State, under house-arrest, and arresting leaders of opposition political parties.

S.A. POLICEMAN IN LESOTHO

A South African policeman (not named) was charged jointly with a trooper of the Lesotho Mounted Police in Maseru in November last year. The South African policeman failed to appear when the case was called. He was said to be a member of the

QUOTE

"Rights are getting out of hand," — Vorster

stock-theft unit of the South African Police.

Evidence was led that the two policemen had gone to a village in Lesotho to arrest Mr Molapo Manyehliisa for stock-theft. There they assaulted Mr Manyehliisa by hitting him with the butt of a rifle and kicking him. He suffered two broken ribs.

The magistrate ordered an official inquiry into the presence of the South African policeman in Lesotho.

BISHOP REFUSED RESIDENCE

Bishop A.H. Zulu is the first African bishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa. He is also the first bishop of Zululand and Swaziland not to occupy the official residence 'Bishopshurst' in Eshowe: his application to live there has been refused by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

BOYCOTT

The fight against apartheid in sport has always been one of the more rewarding ones; it is one in which the issues are fairly simple and the targets are fairly obvious; it is also a field in which there have only been two clearly conflicting groups — those for racial discrimination in sport and those against. And, perhaps most important, it is one where success could be achieved in a number of fields — and where successes *have* in fact been achieved.

SUCCESES

Those who have been active in fighting sports-apartheid can point to the expulsion of all-white South African Table Tennis Unions and the international recognition instead, of the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board; the suspension of the all-white Football Association — which was excluded from the World Cup — and of the S.A. Olympic Association, which could not take part in the Tokyo Olympics. Also the deprivation which probably hit racial sport the hardest in South Africa: the loss of the All Black rugby team from New Zealand who would have had to be all-white if they were to tour South Africa.

These are some of the successes in past years. But the pace has accelerated in recent months.

COMMONWEALTH GAMES

Since August of last year we have had further developments: at the Commonwealth Games in Jamaica it was possible to line up the support of many of the countries in the Commonwealth against racialism in sport — and this has been shown at the Congresses of world sports bodies since then. At Budapest there was a strong challenge to racial South Africa in Athletics — a challenge only warded off because of the tough line taken by the President of World Athletics, the Marquis of Exeter, who would not permit extended discussion of the matter. In the long run, he agreed that the question of racial discrimination in athletics in South Africa should be placed on the agenda for the next Congress; it is most unlikely that the racialists will survive the next onslaught.

Dennis Brutus, President of the South African Non-Racial Olympics Committee (SAN-ROC).

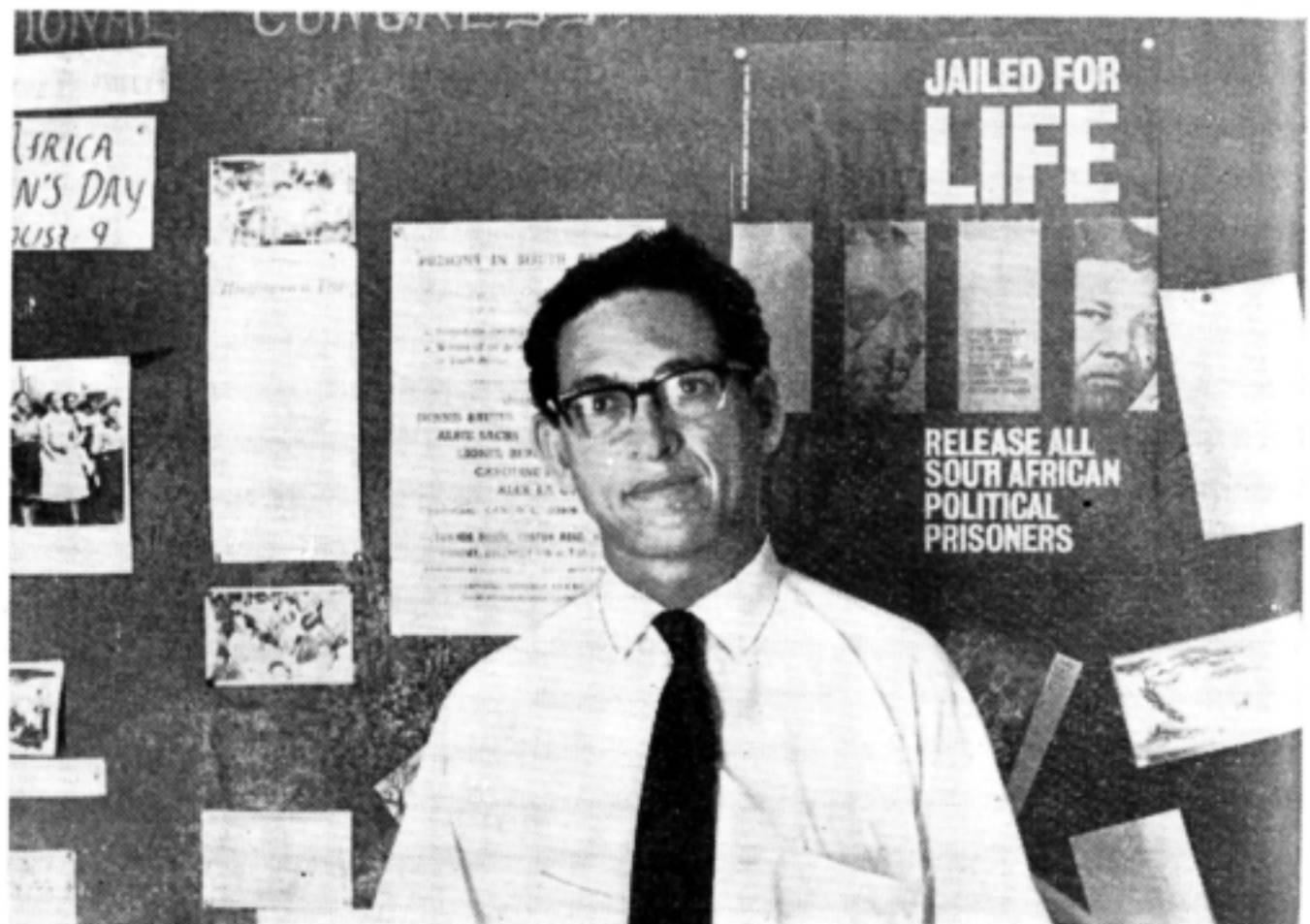
WORLD GYMNASTICS, WEIGHT-LIFTING

Soon after this, the racialists were challenged again, this time at Dortmund, at World Gymnastics. Here, after attempts to kill a motion had failed, a fierce clash developed, which ended with a 20-14 vote against the expulsion of South African racialists. The issue will come up again at the next Congress, for it was agreed the matter should be investigated. This time the fight will be tougher.

In October came the next round. At the World Weightlifting Championships in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, a successful fight forced the matter of racialism on to the agenda after the Secretary, Oscar State of Britain, had announced that he would not permit any discussion. Twenty-two countries signed a demand for debate and forced through a decision to send a Commission to South Africa to investigate; it will be headed by Nazarov of the Soviet Union who is a vice-president, and other members will be Jean Dame of France and Wally Holland of Britain. So the fight continues.

UNITED ACTION NEEDED

Some victories have been gained. But they are nowhere near those that ought and can be obtained. The chief reason for the lack of effective fighting thus far has been the lack of co-ordination — and the illusion that mere expressions of sympathy can win fights. What is needed is the united action of all who are opposed to racialism in sport, lined up behind a simple clear resolution about which there can be no equiv-



APARTHEID SPORT

by Dennis Brutus

cation or confusion. It is for this reason that extensive discussions have been taking place with representatives of various countries through their sports delegates.

It is for this reason that a determined effort is being made to get unified support for a simple unequivocal resolution.

THE BAMAKO RESOLUTION

Such a resolution was adopted in Bamako last December. At the Constitutive Conference of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, held in Mali and attended by the representatives of 19 African countries (and two officials from SANROC as observers), a resolution was adopted which can become the foundation of the final assault on racialism in sport. Now that the African countries have agreed on the line on which they will fight, all they need is the support of other countries to carry the day. (Main points of the Bamako Resolution appear alongside.)

It is especially important that they secure the support of the Asian countries and the Socialist countries. Perhaps one ought also to add that "a great sporting country like Britain should also support the Resolution". But the record of Britain is one of consistent support for apartheid in sport. And the United States are not much better. Still, we believe we can muster enough support. And in time we may even get Britain and the United States to take a real stand against racialism in sport.

What we can expect is that a large number of countries will join the African countries in making it clear that they will not tolerate racial discrimination in sport and that they will not wink at the racist practices of South Africa's apartheid sportsmen.

TEHERAN DATE-LINE

And so when the International Olympic Committee meets at Teheran in May to discuss the question of South Africa, and when efforts are made to lift the suspension imposed on South Africa so that the racist sportsmen can take part in the Mexico Olympics in 1968, there will be such massive and united opposition that the world bodies will have to choose between the large mass of sporting countries on the one hand and a handful of racist sportsmen on the other. There is no doubt which way the world sports bodies will choose, given such a choice.

In the meantime the build-up for concerted action goes on. A great deal still needs to be done and much help is needed. But by the time the Teheran meeting comes round, the forces should have been gathered together sufficiently. We can look forward to a great fight in this important arena. But the outcome — thanks largely to the Bamako Congress — should be a victory for the non-racial sportsmen and prepare them for further greater advances in their campaign for an international boycott of Apartheid in Sport. ■

EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM OLYMPICS

Main points of a resolution adopted unanimously at the Bamako Conference of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

- 1 *That the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa affirms its total opposition to racial discrimination in sport which is contrary to the Olympic Ideals.*
- 2 *That the Supreme Council congratulates the I.O.C. for its decision to suspend the South African Olympic Association from the 1964 Olympic Games and requests the I.O.C. to maintain this decision until racial discrimination has been completely eliminated from Sport in South Africa, where racial discrimination is enforced by government edict and where sports bodies risk prosecution if they defy the law.*
- 3 *Requests the I.O.C. to bring its decision to the notice of the International Sports Federations and ask them to act in compliance with the decisions of the I.O.C. taken in 1964.*
- 4 *Requests the I.O.C. to consider at its Teheran Congress the possibility of inviting representatives of the Supreme Council to join as Observers the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the I.O.C. to carry out an on-the-spot investigation of the administration and practice of Sport in South Africa, before this Commission makes its final proposals to the I.O.C. Further it is felt that any new premature decision by the I.O.C. would be equivalent to applying sanctions against African sportsmen.*
- 5 *That should the South African Olympic Association fail to comply fully with Olympic Rules, this Supreme Council shall request the expulsion of that body from the Olympic Movement and all international Federations.*
- 6 *That the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa invites its members to refrain from participating in the 1968 Olympics if a racial team from South Africa is invited, and calls on all National Olympic Committees to support this decision.*

they were
prepared
to die

WALTER SISULU

It is hard to think of anyone more truly a man of the African people than Walter Sisulu. Born in the Transkei in 1912, he had a very limited formal education at his local mission school. He formed his political convictions as a worker: on the gold-mines, in a bakery, on a newspaper. He joined the A.N.C. in 1940 and, on its formation, became secretary of the militant Youth League. In 1949 he was elected Secretary-General of the A.N.C. He was active in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, was a Treason Trialist and was detained during the 1960 emergency. In 1963, while on bail pending an appeal against a six-year sentence for furthering the aims of the A.N.C., he went underground to work for the liberation movement, and was arrested in the Rivonia raid. Walter's spirit and courage remained unruffled during the months of detention and legal proceedings which followed. Before he was charged, the Special Branch offered to release him if he would give evidence. But as he said during his trial: "I would never give evidence against my colleagues." He faced the prospect of death, but was sentenced to life imprisonment. He has now been on Robben Island for two-and-a-half years. He has a wife and five children; his wife, ALBERTINA, a leading member of the ANC Women's Section, and his eldest son MAX, were both detained under the 90-day no-trial clause.

LOOKSMART SOLWANDLE

On hearing of Looksmart's death, someone who knew him well said: 'But he was so strong and he was always smiling'. That sentence explains something of the incredulous horror with which his friends and colleagues heard the news that terrible day in 1963. Looksmart was being detained under the 90-day clause and at first the Special Branch surrounded the circumstances of his death with a cloak of mystery. Then they said that he had hanged himself with his shirt from the bars of his cell door. Those of us who knew Looksmart's powerful build and the height of a cell door found this statement hard to swallow. The inquest did nothing to



diminish our fears. The magistrate refused to allow detainees to describe their experiences in evidence. One man, detained at the same time as Looksmart, heard him being tortured on the day before his death and saw him afterwards leaning against a wall in a passage, looking desperately ill. Looksmart was a man of great courage, great personal warmth and total dedication to the cause of liberation. He will always be one of the heroes of our movement. He died for the cause of freedom and we have no doubt that one day we shall learn the true story of his death.

AHMED KATHRADA

Kathy, as he is always known, has been active in politics for more than twenty years. He is only 36 — but he is one of those people who, literally from childhood, have been passionately concerned with resisting injustice. It was at the age of fourteen that he first handed out pamphlets on the street corner, and at 16 he left school in order to devote himself to full-time political work for the Passive Resistance Council which was active before the Nationalists came to power. He was a founder of the Transvaal Indian Youth Volunteer Corps and then of its successor, the Transvaal

Indian Youth Congress. He played a prominent part in the Defiance Campaign, was an office-bearer in the Indian Congress, and was one of the accused in the Treason Trial. He was detained without trial for five months during the 1960 emergency. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest in his small flat in Johannesburg. At this stage he went underground. Kathy has been described as 'brave as a lion' and 'absolutely fearless'. Even at the moment of his arrest at Rivonia, he laughed and joked. With his vitality, intelligence and open contempt for the sham of South African 'justice', he made mincemeat of the Prosecutor at the Rivonia Trial. Serving a life sentence on Robben Island, he remains the same Kathy, according to those who have seen or visited him there.

'Kathy' Kathrada in one of his arguments with the police



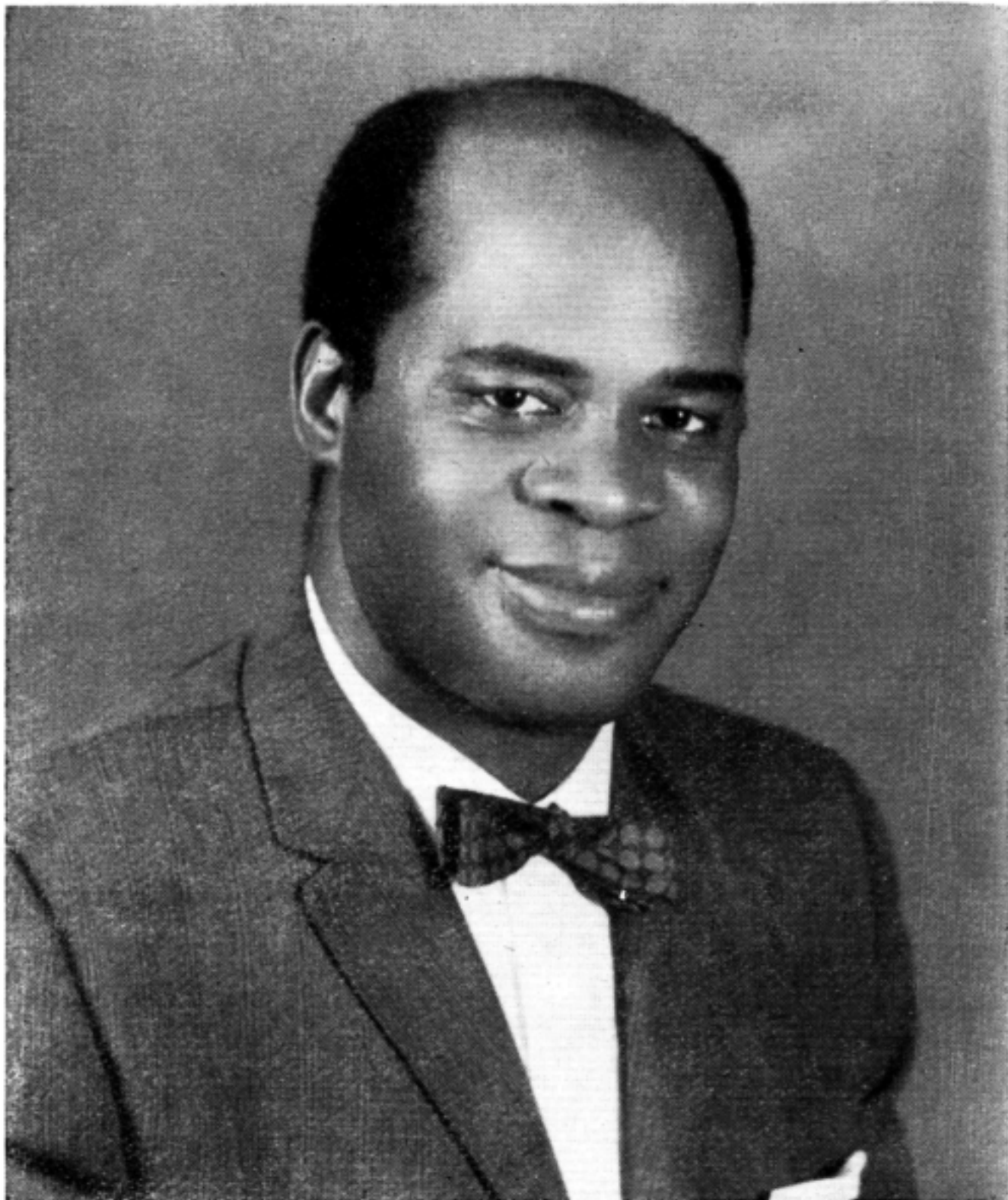
DENNIS GOLDBERG

It is deeply moving to realise the full heroism and political commitment of a man so modest and unassuming as Dennis Goldberg. Dennis is still in his early thirties and he was the youngest of the Rivonia accused. He qualified as an engineer at the age of twenty and the comfortable, privileged life which South Africa offers to a white professional man lay before him. But his concern for the oppressed majority of South Africans made such a life impossible for him. First in the Modern Youth Society, then in the Congress of Democrats, where he was active in preparing for the Congress of the People, he became fully identified with the African National Congress — and as a result of his political work lost his job as an engineer on the South African Railways. Detained during the 1960 Emergency, on his release he became a victim of constant persecution at the hands of the Special Branch and their allies who went so far as to plant a bomb in his garden. He went underground in 1963. Captured in the Rivonia raid, his courage remained indomitable. He nearly succeeded in escaping from prison — but was caught as a result of betrayal by another white prisoner. After this he was made to wear leg-irons. Sentenced to life imprisonment, Dennis has been a source of inspiration to fellow prisoners in Pretoria. His morale remains consistently high and his letters to his family show his deeply human qualities



and his unshakeable faith in the achievement of a free future for his country.

SECHABA



EDUARDO MONDLANE, President of FRELIMO

"In the name of the Central Committee of FRELIMO, and myself, we address to our comrades of the A.N.C. our fraternal greetings, and congratulations on the publication of *SECHABA*.

The struggle which the A.N.C. is waging in South Africa is marked by many great successes.

It is in South Africa, where one of the most important bastions of imperialism in Africa is found, that the struggle for a real economical, political and social emancipation is also the most difficult.

The sacrifices already made by you are immense, and most certainly more sacrifices will be necessary. But the determination already demonstrated by you makes us certain that the future will bring new victories which will enhance the greatness of the A.N.C. and the South African People.

That is why FRELIMO greets and congratulates the A.N.C. on the publication of *SECHABA*, certain that *SECHABA* will be one more important weapon in the common struggle which we are facing for the liquidation of colonialism, imperialism and of racism in the southern part of Africa, as well for the general liberation of the peoples of our Continent.

Long live the A.N.C. and the people of South Africa!

Long live the friendship and the solidarity among our people!

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!

WE SHALL WIN!"

Dr. Y. M. DADOO,

President

South African

Indian Congress



"The publication of *SECHABA* as a regular monthly journal is to be welcomed as a further source of information for the already powerful and well-sustained world-wide movement of condemnation of apartheid, and the ever-growing international campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

We are fully aware that the ending of the whole evil system of apartheid and the complete annihilation of white minority rule depends on the united struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves. We are confident that the African, Indian and Coloured peoples, and the small but determined band of white progressives, will emerge victorious under the revolutionary leadership of the African National Congress.

But at the same time we are not unmindful of the fact that international solidarity action is of the utmost importance and that no effort should be spared to build up adequate international pressures to prevail upon Britain, the USA, France, West Germany and Japan — the main props of the whole edifice of white supremacy in Southern Africa — to impose total economic sanctions through the United Nations.

I am confident that in the prosecution of this important task, *SECHABA* will play a useful role by bringing before world public opinion every known instance of injustice committed in apartheid South Africa and by laying bare the facts of apartheid oppression and the danger it constitutes to the security of Africa and the peace of the world.

Long live Sechaba!

Amandla! Ngawethu!"

REG SEPTEMBER, Gen. Sec. of S. A. Colored People's Congress

"We of the South African Coloured People's Congress welcome the appearance of *SECHABA*.

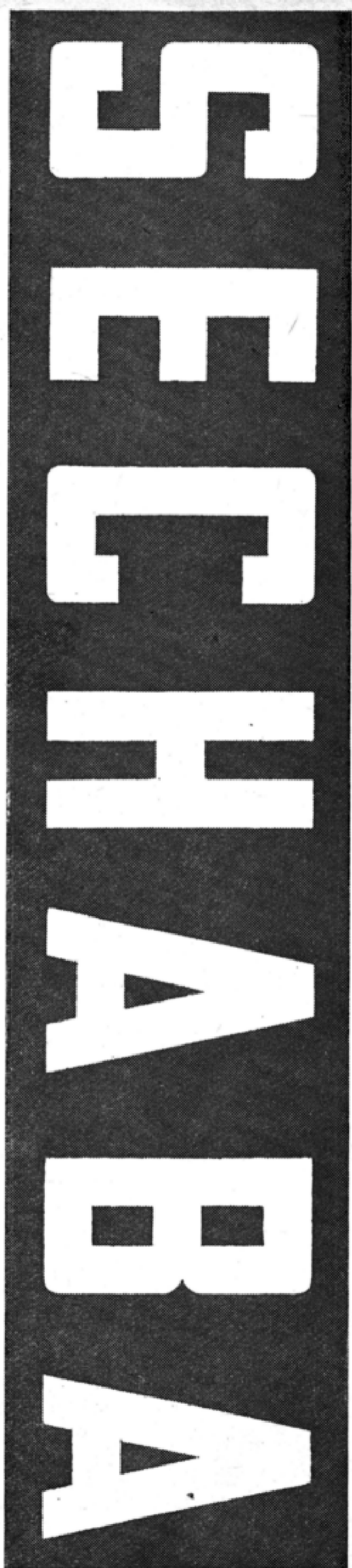
Our people in South Africa are experiencing increasingly harsh repression, as evidenced by the removal of the Coloured residents from their age-old home, District Six in Cape Town. The most recent extension of South African legislation of political control to cover South West Africa emphasises the arrogant colonialist and expansionist character of Vorster's fascist clique. Under these circumstances the world must expect the down-trodden and exploited in South Africa to strike back at times and in such ways as our movement back home sees fit.

Under these circumstances the world will place all the more reliance on the news and views presented by the African National Congress, our most senior and authoritative National Liberation organization in South Africa.

Our organization, the C.P.C — one which has placed the responsibility for external representation on the shoulders of the A.N.C. — pledges its fullest support in this new venture.

With fraternal greetings,

AMANDLA!"



**"his murder
shall be
avenged"**

THE LONG DROP*

by A.N.C. Kumalo

*Look down
from a headlong-height
into the long drop
and know how Babla died.*

*The long drop
a helpless fall
they said he jumped.*

*"That one?
He left by the window"
they casually boast
grinning into pain.*

*A man does not fall
like stone
there is blinding light
in the centre of an explosion.*

*The murderers
stand transfixed
above they abyss.*

* Babla Saloojee died after falling from the window of the office of the Security Police in Johannesburg, where he was undergoing interrogation while under detention.



JAIME RIVAZ SIGAUKE

FRELIMO freedom-fighter and people's leader, Comrade Jaime Rivaz Sigauke, was murdered by Portuguese agents in Lusaka whilst he was returning to the southern part of Mozambique from FRELIMO headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam.

At his funeral, which was conducted by the Reverend Simango (Vice-President of FRELIMO), Mr Robert Resha, African National Congress Director of International Affairs, speaking on behalf of all freedom-fighters, said that the cold-blooded murder by Portuguese fascists in an independent state was a challenge to freedom-fighters and to independent Africa.

"I have no doubt that Comrade Sigauke's death will be avenged and that Mozambique will be freed by FRELIMO from the fascist grip of Salazar," said Mr Resha.

The A.N.C. dips its banner in memory of this gallant son of Africa.

THE FACTS SPEAK

Statistics from South Africa

One in every five working whites in South Africa works in Government departments, provincial administrations and local authorities.

Among the 332,309 Africans employed by these three State groups, the average wage in 1966 was just over £15 per month.

The average wage of the 250,313 Whites employed in the three groups* was just over £78 per month.

(From figures released by the South African Bureau of Statistics)

* The figure includes 61,333 Coloureds and Indians, who are paid little more than African workers.

In 1965 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that the African's share of the net national income was £600 million, or about 20% of the total. Yet Africans are 70% of the total population of South Africa.

The death rate for White South African men of all ages is higher than the rate in Britain, France, Holland, the German Democratic Republic, West Germany or Canada. The South African figure of 13.2 per thousand is the highest and is also the only one that is increasing.

The two main causes of this high White death rate are South Africa's high accident rate and coronary thrombosis. A third of the deaths of men aged 20 to 49 result from causes involving violence. Cars, alcohol, and easy access to dangerous weapons are the main killers.

The number of deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver is three times as high as that of Britain. This is as a result of the heavy drinking pattern of white South Africans.

(From statistics of Dr H.T. Gonin, writing in the "South African Journal of Science")

MESSAGE from Canon L. John Collins of Christian Action

"Congratulations and very best wishes on the decision of the African National Congress to publish a monthly journal called SECHABA. There is so much false propaganda put out by the South African Government and its supporters outside South Africa, so much ignorance of what is going on inside South Africa on the part of the outside world, so much misunderstanding about the nature of the resistance to apartheid, that it is high time the truth were told."

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DEFENCE AND AID

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