

Sechaboa



Official Organ
of the African National Congress
of South Africa



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MESSAGE FROM INDIRA GANDHI

India has always lent its fullest support to the cause of oppressed people everywhere and in particular against the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. We believe that the struggle must be joined by progressive forces all over the world in order to stamp out these crimes against humanity.

I am glad to know that the African National Congress (South Africa) are publishing a monthly political journal "SECHABA" to carry on the fight against the racial policies practised in South Africa and against the continuing exploitation by colonialists in the yet unliberated parts of Africa. My best wishes to this journal.

(Sgd) INDIRA GANDHI

New Delhi,

December, 15, 1966.



DEPUTY-PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Message from
Oliver Tambo,
Deputy-President,
African National Congress

We are happy to launch out SECHABA, the official organ of the African National Congress of South Africa. The need for a journal representing the true aspirations of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa is long overdue. We hope to fulfil this urgent need.

It is significant that SECHABA comes into being at a time of crisis in South Africa, a crisis affecting all the people of the country and their future. History may well record that SECHABA was born on the eve of a violent clash between the freedom forces on the one side and those of racism and fascism on the other.

SECHABA is to be the forum for the expression of the views and aspirations of all freedom-loving South African patriots, and in particular it shall be the mouthpiece of the oppressed, voiceless, landless and rightless African people of South Africa: the mouthpiece of the African National Congress.

In his message welcoming the birth of the journal, Brother Oliver Tambo, Deputy-President of the ANC, said: "Our voice is the voice of justice and truth, and will be heard long after the howls of apartheid propagandists shall have been silenced by the mighty blows of our fighting people."

SECHABA is not an ordinary journal or newspaper giving information on or writing about South Africa, nor is it a commercial enterprise cashing in on the world's keenness to know more about the atrocities perpetrated against the African population as well as other social groups in South Africa. Its junction and task is not merely to dramatise or take a bird's eye view of the South African situation. But to expose to the world the horrors and racial tyranny suffered by Africans, Coloureds and Indians. This SECHABA can do, for unlike other journals it is not an observer but an active participant in the struggle for freedom, human dignity and free press in South Africa. The journal is the platform for all authentic liberation movements and the freedom-fighters in the whole of Southern Africa. It is equally the forum for all democrats and freedom-loving peoples the world over. In our columns we shall publish our readers' points of view on the African Revolution in Southern Africa.

The White racist regime is engaged in desperate and frantic military preparations in defence of apartheid inside South Africa and against the United Nations in South West Africa. Virtually every white person in South Africa 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 submit to Verwoerd's dictates and will not submit to Nazi Vorster either. The people have decided to meet armed repression with armed revolt.

South African policies have ceased to be a domestic affair concerning the South African people alone. It is foreign investments and trade that bolster up the South African economy

(Continued Page 16)

There are many signs that the South African conflict is sharpening and about to enter its final revolution.

The conflict is one between the bloodstained defenders of white supremacy and their victims, the fourteen million subjected Africans and other non-White population groups. To sustain the confidence of their supporters in South Africa and that of their foreign shareholders and investors, the White racist regime and the white press strive to present a picture of stability, prosperity and contentment. But their own behaviour shows how far from the truth this picture is. Internally, South Africa is seething with resentment and hatred of the regime, with its intolerable theory and practice of apartheid. Despite every imaginable form of repression and terror, the spirit of resistance and revolt is alive and growing rapidly.

Serious factors of instability, fraught with danger to the maintenance of the monstrous structure of minority domination, are developing on the borders of the country. The United Nations have formally decided to deprive South Africa of the mandate to South West Africa which has been illegally annexed by the Pretoria regime. Vorster's declaration that his government will not surrender this vast stolen territory, but will defend it by force, is a challenge to the authority of the U.N. which it can hardly ignore, if the U.N. is to survive at all. The brazen declaration of independence by the White Rhodesians, with the connivance of Britain and the open support of Pretoria has precipitated a crisis for South Africa's immediate northern neighbour which has become a major issue of African and international politics. Independence for Lesotho and Botswana, involving inevitable growing contact between these States and the African and world communities is a potential threat to White domination. Even more so are the armed conflicts now going on both in South Africa's eastern neighbour Mozambique and to the north Angola, wars of national liberation against South Africa's closest ally, fascist Portuguese colonialism.

The rulers of South Africa know how vulnerable and shaky is the position of their regime as the bastion of racialism and imperialism in Africa. They are feverishly militarising the White population, transforming the economy on to a war basis, stockpiling the essential imports, attempting to indoctrinate the public with extreme fascist ideology. Their reign of terror is stepped up. Over 8,000 political prisoners are in jails and every day brings fresh cases of victimisation and persecution. The choice of Balthazar John Vorster as Prime Minister, Verwoerd's notorious hangman and a man so disreputable for his Nazi views and activities that even the ruling Nationalist Party found him unacceptable as a candidate for parliament ten years ago is a symptom of the desperation of the governing circles. (Continued Page 16)

THE CREEPING WAR

THE NEW TREND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

For perhaps two years — since about the end of the Rivonia trial — there appears to the casual observer to have been calm on the South African scene, where previously there was turmoil, mass protest and upheaval. In Rhodesia too, as the constitutional crisis has matured and come to boiling, there has been an apparent aura of calm and quiet over the home front, in contrast with the disquiet and turmoil abroad over Rhodesian affairs.

The reasons for the seeming quiet are several. There are the obvious ones: the security laws and persecutions, which have thrown many thousands of the most articulate and conscious of the peoples of both countries into jails, frightening some of their followers and supporters into silence and blanketing their opposition. Only rarely does that opposition burst out to be heard in the world outside. There are the less obvious but yet significant reasons: the censorship which has clamped its grip on all Southern Africa, so that ever less and less that is damaging to the Smith-Vorster regimes is allowed to leak out. And the self-censorship in the press of the western world, which generally plays the 'establishment' game of preserving an appearance of calm in this most vital trade and investment area, and does nothing to shake the props from under one of the centres of international stock-exchange and financial manipulations.

But these alone cannot explain the situation. Only the most reckless optimists can claim that, were it not for

censorship and self-censorship, Southern Africa would be providing a steady flow of reports of mass struggle and epic resistance. It would not. The surface calm, though more ruffled than it is made to appear, exists. There are few overt struggles, few overt demonstrations of mass resistance. Smith, Vorster and their apologists and publicists everywhere seize on this reality to claim that the people are, in reality, happy; that the governments have crushed subversion finally and forever; that Southern Africa is a stable peninsula in an unstable continent.

THE CHANGING DAYS

Those who argue thus are deceiving themselves with dangerous illusions. For the surface calm in Southern Africa is not a sign of stability. It is perhaps better likened to the calm in the centre of a tornado, a calm which marks the passing from fierce buffeting on one side of the whirlwind into an equally fierce, perhaps even fiercer, battering from a different direction.

Southern Africa's calm marks the passing from one era of struggle to another. It is the interregnum between the old struggles of mass peaceful agitation, propaganda and demonstration, to the new struggles of military character. Southern Africa is passing into the phase of civil war. And the calm is the accompaniment of the change.

There have been heralds of the new era for several years. In Rhodesia, spasmodic sabotage, usually with home-made Molotov cocktails, has occurred almost

since the dawn of the 1961 Constitution. In South Africa, organized sabotage opened in December 1961, and broadened out, as the evidence of many trials has revealed, into a large-scale campaign of acquiring military equipment and building a military liberation force outside the country under African National Congress command.

INTO WAR

The change has been piecemeal and unspectacular. It has not been particularly remarked by the world outside, even though it has been recognised by the authorities in all Southern Africa, who have placed all their territories on a virtual war footing, complete with massive military training and mobilization schemes, stock-piling, building of strategic roads, multiplying security laws and regulations, and unrestricted government-by-decree not far removed from martial law.

In South Africa and Rhodesia the change began with sabotage. But in Angola it came more dramatically, with full-fledged guerilla war. After more than three years, the war is still on; considerable sections of the country are under guerilla control; the Portuguese force required to maintain the war grows greater as the years pass. Angola is fully in the war.

Mozambique is following the pattern of Angola. For perhaps two years guerilla operations have ranged along the northern frontiers, and are developing in scale and in the spread of territory

They were prepared to die

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Nelson Mandela



Minutes after this photograph was taken, Suliman 'Babla' Saloojee, the man on the stretcher, was dead. He had hurtled from the 7th floor of Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg.

No one will ever know the full story of what was done to 'Babla' before his death. He had been a 90 Day detainee, held in solitary confinement for interrogation. A case of suicide, the South African police say

Suicide under torture is murder

NELSON MANDELA

It is now two and a half years since Nelson Mandela spoke those famous words in his defence at the Rivonia trial. What he said then was in no way an exaggeration. He and the other accused were expecting a death sentence. Members of the Special Branch were openly bragging that at least three of the Rivonia men would be executed. But, as a result of a brilliant legal defence and passionate pressure and protest from all over the world, the sentence pronounced was not death but life. *Life imprisonment* is something very close to living death in the dreadful isolation of Robben Island. And that is Mandela's fate until freedom comes to the whole of South Africa. What gives him the courage to endure meanwhile? The answer lies in the strength of his convictions and in the fact that he has always acted according to those convictions. If he were able to send a message to this first issue of SECHABA it would be a message of encouragement. It might well be expressed in the words which he used in the Rivonia trial: "The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism . . . Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live." *This is our struggle.*

VUYISILE MINI

Vuyisile Mini too was prepared to die — and did so. Together with Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba, he was

executed at Pretoria Central Prison on 6 November 1964 — for fatally shooting the traitor Siphon Mange who had betrayed underground activities of the resistance movement. Like many others in history, engaged in a life-and-death struggle, Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba regarded their action as a moral and political duty. Speakers at the United Nations and people all over the world felt the same. But, as the ANC announced on the day they were executed: "In typical Nazi-style, the date of execution was deliberately kept secret to forestall world-wide protest . . . The barbarous execution today of our heroes Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga, who were leading members of the African National Congress, is a shocking act of murder which will never be forgotten nor forgiven by our people." Mini was widely known in the Eastern Cape for his dedicated work in the ANC and as a Trade Union leader. He was one of the accused in the Treason Trial. He was a warm and humane person with a vivid sense of humour, and a happily married family man. He died with the strength and courage with which he had lived. For the two days preceding their death, Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga sang freedom songs — right up until the time of their execution. *We shall not forget them.*

BRAM FISCHER

Bram Fischer is another who has been prepared to give up everything else for his beliefs. Indeed, as an Afrikaner, the son of a Judge President and the grandson of a Prime



Minister, as a brilliantly successful lawyer, he had 'everything to lose' by identifying himself with the aspirations of the African masses. 'Everything to lose' — except his integrity. For many years, Bram Fischer fought in the courts, defending political accused : it was he who led the defence team in the Treason Trial and the Rivonia Trial. Then he decided he must do more. When he went underground he said: "I can no longer serve justice in the way I have attempted to do during the past 30 years." No longer young, hunted by the police, suffering from a blood disease, he lived the life of an outlaw fully aware of what the consequence might be: "If in my fight I can encourage even some people to understand and to abandon policies they now so blindly follow, I shall not regret any punishment I may incur." Now, serving life imprisonment, Bram is with other whites who have abandoned their privileged position in South Africa to face years of imprisonment on the basis of their support for the aims of the Congress Movement. Such men and women, prepared to endure to the utmost for their faith in non-racial democracy, will surely have a vital part to play in a future free South Africa. *Our struggle is theirs, too.*

BABLA SALOOJEE

The photo on the previous page was taken just after Babla 'fell', or as many people who know him say, was pushed, to his death from the 7th floor of Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg. The picture shows his body being removed on a stretcher while Captain Swanepoel of the Special Branch glares at the photographer. Swanepoel has been responsible for the torture and brutal interrogation of hundreds of political detainees. He personally broke the ribs of another Indian Congress member (now on Robben Island) with a rifle butt. This was the man who was interrogating Babla to the end. It is not hard to imagine what experiences Babla must have suffered at the hands of Swanepoel. Walter Sisulu described Babla as a man who could always be relied on to carry through any job he was given. Babla was a backroom worker, modest and shunning the spotlight, loyally performing routine tasks. In addition he ran great risks planning escape routes for refugees. And, in the last resort, he became one of the heroes who were prepared to die. *We must continue their struggle.* ■

In a speech at the Orange Free State congress of the Nationalist Party last October, the Minister of Agricultural Technical Services and Water Affairs, Mr J. J. Fouché (former Minister of Defence), said the question had been asked why the new Prime Minister had been so spontaneously accepted not only by his political followers but also by his political (white) opponents, and even in the outside world.

The reason was obvious, said Mr Fouché. "It is the times we live in. We Nationalists knew we needed an unrelenting man. Therefore we have chosen him and for the same reason the people of South Africa have accepted him."

In the sense that he has not changed his opinions since during the last war he defiantly proclaimed his pro-Nazi views, Mr Vorster is certainly an unrelenting man. He has shown South Africa that he can be relied upon to defend White Supremacy to the death. He is not interested in experiments or compromises or fancy theories on the race question. In his eyes the white man must stay boss, and anyone who disagrees must be swept out of the way and, if possible, destroyed.

The unanimous election of Vorster as Premier was made possible by the withdrawal of the so-called "moderates" Schoeman and Donges from the contest. No man who has taken part in the murder of human rights and the destruction of human beings, as has every man who has sat in the Nationalist Cabinet since 1948, can be rightly called a "moderate". In the eyes of the majority of South Africans, and of the peoples of the world, they have been willing accomplices in a type of genocide, and the blood guilt rests as heavily on them as on their leaders.

Nevertheless, we can safely agree that the election of Vorster represents a swing to the right. What is significant is, not Vorster, but the swing. Vorster is where he is because the majority of Whites want it that way. Without Vorster, they would still want it that way, and would find someone else to represent them if he were absent.

In fact, the history of White Supremacy shows a striking absence of loyalty to leaders for their personal qualities. The path of Nationalist Afrikanerdom is strewn with corpses of those who strayed into compromise. Botha, Smuts, Hertzog, Havenga — all, despite their enormous contributions to their cause, were destroyed the moment they went "soft". Nor is this a peculiarly South African feature. It is common to White Supremacists everywhere. In Rhodesia, we have seen Welensky, Whitehead and Field rejected the moment they weakened. In Algeria the ultras branded even de Gaulle as a "liberal" and a traitor when he realised the time had come to pull out.

FUHRER VORSTER

BY
BRIAN
BUNTING

In South Africa, Malan, Strijdom, even Verwoerd, are already forgotten. Vorster holds the stage, but he too will remain only so long as he keeps pace with his people. Right-wing forces are pressing hard on every front, their most recent victory being in the Mineworkers' Union (all-white), where the "moderate" Nationalists were pushed out in the General Council elections last November because they had sanctioned an experiment in the advancement of African labour.

(The newly-elected right-wing Executive of the Union is reported to have taken a Ku-Klux-Klan oath on assuming office. The Union's interim Secretary-General, Mr Fred Short, vowed to defend the interests of the white workers "unto death".)

Fouche is right when he says "It is the times we live in". As the pressures on the Nationalist Government from inside and outside the country grow, so the swing to the right will be accelerated. The White Supremacists consider compromise worse than death, and seek their salvation in force because they are unable to face the consequences of reason.

It is the more distressing to find that sections of South African opinion formerly opposed to Nationalist extremism are joining in the task of making Vorster presentable to the outside world. Overnight the English-language press, which used to regard him as a monster, changed its tune and started singing his praises as a "reasonable" man, a man you could talk to, a man with the common touch, unlike that remote visionary Verwoerd with his dangerous hallucinations about independent Bantustans. The United Party (official white opposition) started once more to think about the possibilities of a coalition. The South African Information Bureau and its ally, the South African Foundation, trying to repair the harm to South Africa's image caused by both the assassination of Verwoerd and the election of Vorster, poured out a flood of soothing propaganda attractively bottled for the consumption of overseas businessmen.

Vorster himself, in a speech to the Durban Parliamentary Debating Society last November, said the Government was planning to undertake a large-scale campaign to inform other governments and international organizations about what had been and was being done for the non-whites in South Africa. "We have perhaps hidden our light under a bushel too much" he said.

On these campaigns of brainwashing, the South African Government and its allies are spending millions, and are gaining converts in conservative circles in Britain, America and Western Europe. It is becoming fashionable to accept that, in a continent where the independent African governments

are "making a mess of things", the white-ruled countries of the south are, by contrast, stable and reliable.

The right-wing offensive in South Africa calls for intensified efforts on the part of anti-apartheid forces everywhere. Vorster must be exposed as the Nazi he is, not only because of his past, but because of the brutalities which are being perpetrated by his regime right now — the detentions without trial, the jailing and banning of the people's leaders, the breaking up of homes under the pass-laws, the deliberate stunting of the minds of non-white children through twisted education, the denial of opportunity, training and skilled jobs to those whose skins are not white.

More — we must fight against the illusion that South Africa's race problem is purely a "domestic matter". Apartheid is an insult and an injury to Non-Whites, not only in South Africa but everywhere. South Africa denies freedom, not only to her own people but also to the people of South West Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. South Africa is the mainstay of the illegal Smith regime which denies freedom to a further 4 million Africans. South African capital is becoming even more deeply imbedded in the economic body of Africa, undermining the independence of the new African states. Behind South African money come South African ideas. When a Vice-President of Kenya resigns his post to become chairman of Rothmans (Kenya) Ltd, part of Anton Rupert's tobacco empire, we can see how insidious the danger has become.

South Africa is not only working with the imperialists in Africa, she is becoming an imperialist power in her own right, spending millions on her military and police forces, and working hard on the development of atomic weapons.

This is the true image of Vorster — an image of death and destruction to the peoples of Africa, a threat to the independence of African governments — which must be got across to the people of the world.

Vorster must be shown up for what he is: the greatest peacetime criminal in Africa, and one of the greatest in the world, a menace to humanity and the brotherhood of man.





World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

1963 was the year of the Rivonia Campaign, to save the lives of our leaders - Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg and their comrades - charged with organizing armed rebellion against the apartheid State.

As a result, in October of that year the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution by a record 106 votes to 1 (South Africa), demanding the release of all South African political prisoners.

This great victory provided the necessary impetus for the demand to be taken up by as many individuals and organizations as possible throughout the world and to run such a campaign, the Anti-Apartheid Movement sponsored a permanent organization; the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, which has since campaigned throughout the world on behalf of some 8,500 political prisoners now in South Africa's jails.

Mr Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal MP, became the dynamic secretary of the Committee, Humphrey Berkeley (then a Conservative MP) its chairman, and Dick Taverne (Labour MP) completed the all-party parliamentary representation on the committee.

A petition in support of the UN resolution was organized and circulated throughout the world. This petition rallied 100,000 individual signatures, and organizations representing almost 200 million people also pledged their support. Internationally famous academicians, artists, writers, trade unionists, jurists, religious leaders and politicians, including several heads of state, all declared their support.

When sentence was passed a year later, in June 1964, on the Rivonia trialists (one accused was acquitted and the seven others sentenced to life imprisonment), the petition forms were formally presented to U Thant at a special ceremony at the United Nations by the former Archbishop of Cape Town, Joost de Blank.

Although the sentence of life was a heavy one, democratic forces the world over heaved a sigh of relief, as there had been a very real danger of these leaders being sentenced to death. World Campaign played no small part in saving their lives.

The announcement of the sentence was the signal for protests everywhere, and London was one of the main centres of this activity. More than 50 MPs - Labour, Liberal and Conservative - marched from the House of Commons to South Africa House where they handed in a letter of protest at the severity of the sentence.

With an international foundation to the general campaign firmly laid, protests continued: against the trial and subsequent execution of Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayinga (Vorster, then Minister of Justice, announced that he had received more than 2,000 letters of protest at the death sentence on these three men); against the trial of Neville Alexander and those with him; against the trial of John Harris, executed in April 1965; against the trial of Bram Fischer; and against the innumerable trials in the Eastern Cape and in other parts of the country.

A new stage has now been reached in the campaign for the release of political prisoners. International Defence and Aid has launched a prisons campaign, to expose the conditions under which political opponents are imprisoned or held without trial. The general demand for their release is included in this campaign, and the driving force behind this new effort is Mr Dennis Brutus, who was recently released from Robben Island.

World Campaign has pledged its active support for this campaign and has called on all its supporters to rally behind the International Defence and Aid exposure of inhuman treatment being meted out to South Africa's prisoners of conscience. ■



THE WORLD IS AG

The International Movement of Solidarity with South Africa

The world-wide movement of protest against the atrocious theory and practice of apartheid and white minority domination in South Africa, and of solidarity with its victims, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of our times. It has involved millions of people in every part of the world, not only in international forums such as All-African, Afro-Asian and Latin American meetings, the United Nations and similar high level bodies, but also in scores of national and local organizations in every continent. So, far from a short-lived or temporary campaign, the international anti-apartheid movement has steadily grown in extent and depth, in a sustained and expanding intensity over the past quarter of a century.

Vast sums have been and are being spent by the South African government and its millionaire backers organized in the South Africa Foundation and similar bodies, in counter-propaganda to justify and prettify apartheid. Yet world opinion decisively rejects all their false arguments, and recoils from this tyranny with loathing and disgust.

There are many reasons for this deeply significant movement.

It was at the very time when the world was in revulsion at the crimes of the Hitlerite Nazis, fully uncovered at the end of the second world war and springing from the insane "master race" theory evolved by German imperialism, that the South African Nationalist Party, the party of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster, chose to proclaim the very same theory as the state religion of white South Africa.

It was at the very time when hundreds of millions of people of Africa and Asia were asserting their rights to independence and self-government, proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, that the South African neo-Nazis chose to intensify



AGAINST APARTHEID

South Africa

their oppression of millions of Africans in an African country. Apartheid is an intolerable insult to every African and Asian, for it assumes their inferiority. It is a theory intolerable to every humanist, scientist and democrat, and to all who uphold the rights of man; to the principles of socialism and trade unionism upheld by millions throughout the world; to the ethical faiths of human brotherhood implicit in all the main religions, whether Moslem, Christian, Hindu or Buddhist.

But all these important factors would not themselves have resulted in such a huge movement of solidarity were it not for the indefatigable and brilliant work of the oppressed people of South Africa themselves, through their liberation movements, to bring the true facts about our country to the attention of the peoples of the world and their leaders, and to call for international action in support of South African freedom.

It was the African National Congress of South Africa, through its representatives at the All-African People's Conference at Accra in 1958 who first called for the economic and diplomatic isolation of the racist authorities, which has developed into a mighty movement for sanctions against apartheid.

It was the South African Indian Congress which first requested the Indian Government to raise the urgent question of discrimination in South Africa at the United Nations in 1946.

Since then, the "South African question", in one form or another, has featured on the Agenda of the General Assembly every year for the past 20 years. The Security Council has recognised since 1960 that the situation in South Africa

(continued over)



Anti-Apartheid Movement

In April 1959 the annual conference of the African National Congress – its last before the organization was banned in March 1960 – launched a boycott of 'Nationalist' goods. It called on the people of South Africa to boycott potatoes (products of the infamous farm labour system) and Rembrandt cigarettes (products of the 'fastest-growing Nationalist industrial enterprise, Anton Rupert's tobacco company that now controls one of the world's biggest international cigarette concerns). At that last conference, the ANC called for international support for the boycott, and this appeal met with a response in London. The Committee of African Organizations, representing political movements and student organizations from all over Africa, had recently been formed, and among its members were South African supporters of the liberation movement. And it was this committee, led by a Nigerian president and a Tanganyikan secretary, that made one of its first public tasks the launching of a boycott in Britain.

"Boycott Slave-Driver Goods" was the title of its first leaflet, which quoted the ANC's conference resolution, and called on trade unions, co-operatives and members of the public to act in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. On South Africa Freedom Day (26 June 1959), Julius Nyerere as President of the TANU addressed a public meeting in support of the boycott, together with the Rev. Michael Scott and leading figures from the African national movements represented in London at the time.

Out of the CAO's initiative a broader organization, the Boycott Movement, was set up towards the end of that year, with Tennyson Makiwane, now in charge of the ANC's Lusaka office, as Director. Christian Action provided funds for the appointment of a full-time organizer. The first of the Movement's early triumphs was the agreement of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress to support a one-month boycott of South African goods in March 1960. Boycott Movement speakers addressed hundreds of meetings all over the country. Co-operative stores withdrew South African goods from their shelves. And then on 21 March came the Sharpeville massacre. Public indignation against South Africa in Great Britain increased a hundred-fold.

The Boycott Movement, called into being only to run this campaign, developed in mid-1960 into a permanent British solidarity organization, the Anti-Apartheid Movement. In 1961 it responded to the call of the South African United Front for economic sanctions against South Africa; and in the following years its twin main objectives were the imposition of international economic sanctions and an arms embargo against the apartheid state. It made representations to the United Nations and organized public opinion; and in March 1963 Harold Wilson, as leader of the Labour Party, pledged the Opposition to the arms embargo at a Trafalgar Square rally. The Anti-Apartheid Movement took the initiative in calling the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa in May 1964, where official and unofficial delegates of 40 countries agreed that economic sanctions were feasible and necessary. His Excellency Mr Diallo Telli, then Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and now Secretary of the Organization of African Unity (who was an observer for the UN at that conference), paid the following tribute to the Movement, as "one of the most active and effective factors in the general international struggle against the dangerous and criminal racial policy" of the South African regime.

Out of the Sanctions Conference grew the South West Africa Conference of March 1966. Today, still co-operating with the Defence and Aid Fund on the one hand and the organizations of the South African people on the other, the Movement is part of a network of anti-apartheid groups and movements in Europe, Australia, the United States and Asia. Apart from numerous publications exposing apartheid, it publishes its own monthly newspaper on events in Southern Africa and the campaign against apartheid. During 1966 it was among the leading voices campaigning for majority rule in Rhodesia and an end to the Smith regime.

constitutes a menace to international peace and security. In 1963 and 1964 the Council called urgently for an end to the policies of apartheid and repression of opponents of those policies, and called upon all States to "cease forthwith" all supplies of arms and military equipment to the apartheid regime.

On 6 November 1962 the General Assembly called on all member States to take the following measures to bring about the abandonment of racial policies by the South African government: to break off diplomatic relations with Pretoria; to close their ports to South African shipping; to stop their own ships entering South African ports; to boycott South African goods and stop exports to South Africa; to deny landing and overflying facilities to S.A. aircraft.

However a number of States, particularly Britain, the United States, France, Italy, West Germany and Japan, have ignored all or most of these decisions; have maintained their diplomatic relations and extended their trade with South Africa; continued to supply armaments; have even helped the regime to construct its own armament industry; and have massively increased their investments of capital in the S.A. economy. Between 1959 and 1964 Japan increased its trade with South Africa by 182%, Italy by 83% and West Germany by 69%. But on the other hand a very large number of countries have in fact broken diplomatic and commercial ties with Pretoria altogether. This includes nearly all African countries, all the socialist countries and (with the exception of Japan and Ceylon) all the Asian countries. The Organization of African Unity, representing all the independent African countries, has virtually declared war on apartheid, and given most valuable assistance to our freedom fighters.

ANTI - APARTHEID MOVEMENTS

In addition to such important decisions on an international and state level, a number of national anti-apartheid movements and organizations carry on a wide variety of public activities and campaign ceaselessly against race discrimination and the suppression of democrats and resistance movements in South Africa.

In Britain the *Anti-Apartheid Movement*, including MPs of all parties, trade unionists, clergymen, students and affiliating many organizations, has branches throughout the country. Similar movements have developed in all the Scandinavian

countries, in Holland, France, Japan, Ireland and elsewhere. In the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, activities of a similar nature are carried out by their respective Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees.

Especial attention has been paid by friends of South African freedom abroad to the problems of those victimized by fascist legislation because of their resistance to white domination. An outstanding role in this respect has been played by the Christian Action's *Defence and Aid Fund*, under the chairmanship of Canon Collins.

The historic Rivonia Trial in 1963 led to the establishment in London of the *World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners*, whose call for public protests and demonstrations against this trial, and numerous other persecutions of victims of apartheid, have met with a tremendous response in every part of the world.

In several African countries, notably Tanzania, the United Arab Republic, Algeria and Zambia, the African National Congress maintains full-time offices which are given facilities to publicise the situation in our country through the press, radio and other media.

The African National Congress recognises that the principal battlefield against apartheid is the soil of the motherland. Ceaseless attention is paid to organizing and mobilising the vast potential strength of our people for every possible kind of mass struggle and resistance; for the revolutionary overthrow of this atrocious regime.

At the same time we are very sensible of the tremendous importance of the movement of international solidarity with our people, in all its forms, which has grown up and developed so mightily in the past twenty years. This movement not only inspires and encourages our oppressed people in South Africa: it also exposes and threatens to sever the powerful military and financial arteries of support from abroad, without which the apartheid regime could not continue.

The fight against apartheid is an international problem of the first magnitude. White and colonialist domination in southern Africa is as crucial a threat to the peace of Africa and the world as Hitlerism was in the thirties. It must be fought on every front, abroad as well as at home.

In this fight, the international solidarity movement for South African liberation has been and is a factor of profound significance. ■

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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Defence and Aid Fund

BY
CANON
L. JOHN
COLLINS,
PRESIDENT

For the African National Congress and its allies 5 December 1956 is, I imagine, a never-to-be-forgotten day. The nationwide swoop of the South African Security Police in the small hours of the morning and the consequent arrest and imprisonment of 156 of the leading opponents of apartheid on charges of High Treason not only marked the beginning of the Treason Trial that was to last for more than four years; it also demonstrated the lengths to which the Government of South Africa was prepared to go in order to destroy and to intimidate opponents of its policy of apartheid.

For me that never-to-be-forgotten day has an added significance: it was the prelude to the setting up of the Defence and Aid Fund. Among the arrested were men and women I knew, personal friends; of their integrity I had no doubt. As soon as I heard the news of the arrests I cabled at once to Ambrose Reeves, the Bishop of Johannesburg, to tell him that Christian Action would raise enough money to ensure the best possible legal defence for the accused and aid for their dependants; as a token of this commitment we sent £100 — I sometimes wonder whether Christian Action would have dared to make such an offer had we realised that by the end of the trial we would have to provide more than £70,000.

In 1958, after it had become clear that the Treason Trial was only the beginning of a ruthless campaign on the part of the South African Government to crush all effective democratic opposition to apartheid, the Treason Trial Fund

was turned into the Defence and Aid Fund, a general fund to "safeguard freedom in Southern Africa" — its terms of reference were so drawn as to allow for the provision of legal defence for the accused and aid for the dependants of a person or persons charged with any political offence under racially discriminating legislation. Since then, other national committees have affiliated with the original British committee to form the Defence and Aid Fund (International). A total of more than £500,000 has been collected and distributed, mostly for defence and aid inside South Africa.

The work of Defence and Aid is still in progress, despite the unwarranted banning by the South African Government (in March of this year) of the independent Defence and Aid Committees inside South Africa. Of course there are increased difficulties: we have lost what had been, for many years, a means of gaining information about the needs and distributing our allocations; and lawyers and others concerned are fearful of accepting our money, knowing that the Government of South Africa would not hesitate to arrest them on the charge of advancing the cause of a banned organization. Despite this, since the banning of the Committees more than £20,000 has been provided for victims of apartheid inside South Africa.

Our greatest difficulty — and one that is putting the Fund in jeopardy — is the response of the outside world to Mr Vorster's action in banning the Defence and Aid Committees. Is the outside world to bow to Mr Vorster's wishes and accept the principle that whatever organization he deems it expedient to

ban, must lose its confidence and support?

Defence and Aid is accused in pro-apartheid propaganda of being a subversive political organization. In fact, it is and always has been humanitarian. Any suggestion to the contrary is a lie, as Mr Vorster well knows. In South Africa, under the present regime, it is impossible to be humane in respect of the victims of apartheid without involvement in the political situation. It is because Defence and Aid does not discriminate; because it provides legal defence for persons charged with acts of sabotage; because it does not question a man's political affiliation; because it fosters the morale of those inside South Africa who resist oppression; because it regards apartheid as unacceptable in any circumstances and an affront to humanity; it is because of all this that it is accused of being political rather than humanitarian. But it is also because of all this that I believe it is worthy of the widest possible support of all who have a real regard for humanity.

As I have already said, Defence and Aid is in jeopardy. I believe it serves the cause of justice, of freedom and of peace in South Africa. It is proud to be a servant of the victims of apartheid, and so long as they require it to continue to function it will strive to do so. But it needs, if it is to prosper, the support and confidence of Governments, of organizations and of individuals outside South Africa. It is my hope, my sure hope, that the African National Congress will do all in its power to ensure that this support and confidence is forthcoming.

Mr Vorster and his colleagues must not be allowed to destroy the work of Defence and Aid. ■

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

JAIL FOR SOME

An African woman serving a sentence for having had relations with a white man, was released from jail in South West Africa last September. It had been discovered that the white man with whom she was alleged to have had relations, had been found Not Guilty and been discharged. The woman's conviction and sentence were set aside after this fact came to light. She had already served one month of her five-month sentence.



JUSTICE

Four white men in Johannesburg last year assaulted a Mr Petrus Maphala, knocking him unconscious. They then chased Mr Maphala's girlfriend into a side-street. There they pulled off her clothes and all four criminally assaulted her.

The four men appeared in court and were found guilty of assault. They were sentenced to six cuts with a light cane each.

3-YEAR-OLD IN COURT

A 3-year-old appeared in court in Wynberg in South Africa on a criminal charge of malicious damage to property. The police had ordered the parents of

the little boy to take him to court. This followed an incident when some children threw stones and broke windows in a house. The magistrate said: "What is a small one like this doing here? It is completely ridiculous." The prosecutor withdrew the charge and the magistrate ordered the children (there were two others aged 7 and 9) to be taken home immediately.

LABOURER DIES —

FARMER'S SENTENCE SUSPENDED

On 11 February 1966, John Bell (a white farmer) chained Stefaans Klaaste (a Coloured labourer) by his neck to a telegraph pole covered with barbed wire, and left him there through the night. It was alleged that Stefaans Klaaste was trespassing on the farm. In trying to escape from the chain during the night, he dislocated his vertebrae, causing paralysis, and died by asphyxia. The farmer was sentenced to one year in jail — *suspended for two years.*

POLICE RAIDS

Mass police raids are regularly organized in African areas. In one such raid 1,000 men and women were arrested, and special courts were held in police cells two days later, where 'offenders' were fined or imprisoned for breaking curfew and for 'trespassing'. The trespassers were men and women found in white areas without special permits to be there. The curfew breakers were those who were out after 9 p.m. without written permission from their employers. Fines imposed were generally £5 for trespass and £3 for curfew breaking. 45% of urban African workers earn less than £5½ per week. "We have to hold these raids" explained a police officer. "We have caught five or six house-breakers among the petty offenders."

After an attack on a police guard c the night of 6 February 1966, whi policemen decided to raid an Africa club in a suburb of Johannesburg. Th police rushed in with a police dog, an in the ensuing panic, ten people wer trampled to death. At the inques many witnesses gave evidence that th police had in fact assaulted the clu patrons and attempted to drive ther out. The magistrate at the inquest foun that the police should not have take a dog into the crowded club, and tha the dog should not have been orderd to bark and bite at those present Commenting on the attitude of th police to the Press who covered th incident, the Rand Daily Mail stated



"Our own reporter was, quite improperly, warned to publish nothing beyond the official police statement; and the Divisional Commissioner of Police said: "I have investigated the entire affair and I am perfectly satisfied that the police behaved properly. The allegations against us are infamous lies." " Ten people died.

492 POLICEMEN CONVICTED

In August 1966, Vorster as Minister of Justice reveled that 492 policemen had been convicted of crimes in 1965. This amounted to over 1½% of the total police force, (nearly ½% in "more serious crime" and over 1% in "less serious crime"). The breakdown of crimes is as follows:

Assault	273
Theft	62
Road Traffic Ordinance	55
Extortion	13
Culpable homicide	12
Housebreaking and theft	10
Defeating the ends of justice	7
Immorality Act	4
Suppression of Communism	2

SHOCK MACHINE EVIDENCE

In the mammoth trial of Johannes Theron, a former head warden of Cinderella Prison in South Africa, who has been charged with publishing false information about prisons, an ex-convict, Willie Sepeng, told the court how "people would scream and try to jump off the table" when being tortured with a therapeutic machine at the prison. The machine did not leave any marks, said Mr Sepeng. He himself had once been given the "treatment". "I was asked to climb on the table and the same was done to me. I am very much afraid of that machine. I jumped and screamed as much as the others." Asked by defence council whether he felt a "pleasant, prickling sensation", he replied: "Definitely not. It hurts. After the treatment you cannot stand up. You walk on your knees."

POLICE SHOOTINGS

Suspected offenders shot dead by police 1965: 70. Suspected offenders seriously injured 1965: 102.

THE YOUTH POLICE

South Africa has about 10,000 "Youth Police", white boys aged 12 to 18 who actively help the police with their work. Formed into cells with dramatic names like "The Lion Gang" and "The Midnight Leopards", the youths have powers of arrest. In 1966 four Johannesburg Youth Police spent their school holiday arresting an average of 15 Africans each day, mainly for pass and tax offences. These youth cells, formed on a basis similar to the notorious Hitler Youth, were initiated by the boy's magazine PATRYS. The magazine is published by "Voortrekkerpers", the publishing firm headed, until his death, by Hendrik Verwoerd.

THE SLIDING SCALE

160,000 people worked in the wholesale trade in South Africa at the end of September 1965. Yet the total earnings of the 92,000 non-white workers were less than 1/3 of the total earnings of the 68,000 whites. Calculating the earnings per person per month, reveals the following figures:

Whites	£94 per month
Asians	£38 per month
Coloureds	£25 per month
Africans	£19 per month

(From figures released 22. 4. 66 by the South African Bureau of Statistics.)



STATION APARTHEID PUZZLE

Cape Town's new £8½ million railway station, has not only separate entrances and depots for whites and non-whites, but also a special depot for non-whites who are carrying baggage for whites.

In the centre of the "Whites Only" section of the station is a bookstall divided in two: one half caters for whites and the other half for non-whites; but non-whites are not allowed in that area.

The non-white entrance to the station has created considerable difficulties for the people who work in the centre of town. They have to walk right around the new white station to get to their entrance: and it brings them out on the same platform as the whites.

STARVATION PENSIONS

The maximum pension for a White in South Africa is £15 per month. For Coloureds and Asians it is £7 per month in cities and £5 15/- per month in rural areas. The maximum pension for Africans is £1 17/- per month.

The official Dietetics and Home Economics Section of the Department of Agricultural Technical Services in South Africa drew up a minimum diet table. These figures show that an African couple (with their £3 14/- per month pension) fall short on the cost of food alone by more than eleven shilling. Thus clothing, rent, light, fuel and washing are quite beyond them: and transport, medical services, recreation, tobacco and reading matter are undreamt-of luxuries. In other words, the old-age pension for Africans fails to meet an officially recognised standard of adequacy.

(From "Revised Social Pensions in South Africa — 1966", by Sheila Suttner, published by South African Institute of Race Relations.)

IMMUNISATION

Circular of the Hilton Health Committee, Hilton, Natal, South Africa: "All non-white persons, children and adults, must present themselves to the Hilton Health Committee offices for immunisation against polio, TB and smallpox on Monday, May 23, 1966. Europeans who are desirous of partaking will do so at their own risk as the team consists of laymen." — Signed by the Secretary of the Health Committee.

INSULT TO INJURY

People held under the 180-day law in South Africa, where they have no recourse to the courts and are not sentenced, have been paid by the State while detained. They have been deemed to have attended criminal proceedings as state witnesses for the period of their detention, even in cases where detainees have refused in court to give evidence. White 'witnesses' are paid 15/- per day, and African 'witnesses' 5/- per day.

QUOTE

"The United Party fights all who endanger White civilization ... The results of your (the Nationalists) dangerous Bantustan policy must in the end be the same as those for which Mandela and Sobukwe strive, namely the end of White civilization ... You must realise that we will preserve White leadership over the entire South Africa."

(Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the official White opposition Party in South Africa)

NANA SITA FIGHTS ON

by M. Mathealira

Nana Sita, an Indian shopkeeper and lifelong campaigner against apartheid, is 68 this year. A follower of Gandhi's principles, he was jailed twice in 1946—48 for his part in the Passive Resistance Campaign in South Africa, and again in 1952 during the nation-wide Defiance Campaign organized by the ANC.

But Nana Sita's longest battle has been against the South African regime's notorious Group Areas Act, under which the Government is forcing the division of South Africans into racial ghettos. Now, at his advanced age, Nana Sita is again to languish in apartheid's prisons: his sixth sentence and his third under the Group Areas Act. As a tribute to this remarkable and dauntless fighter, we recount a little of his story.

In December 1962, Nana Sita was sentenced in Pretoria to a fine of £50 or three months in jail, for failing to comply with an order to vacate his shop and home in Hercules, Pretoria, which has been proclaimed a 'white area'. He was warned by the magistrate that if he failed to comply with the eviction order, a further penalty of £50 or six months' imprisonment would be imposed.

He refused to pay the fine and elected to go to prison.

The following year found Nana Sita and wife, Pemi, still in occupation of their home, where they had lived for 40 years. Again the courts brought the frail, aging man to the decision: a fine or six months in jail. Nana Sita again went determinedly to his six-month incarceration.

The authorities, flummoxed by this uncompromising stand, did not act again until September 1965. Charged once more under the Group Areas Act, Mr and Mrs Sita immediately brought an action before the regional court, seeking to establish their right to be tried by a judge. The matter dragged on in a series of postponements until September 1966, when the Supreme Court dismissed the demand for the hearing to be held before that court rather than before the Regional Court. The Sitas lodged the application because they wanted to challenge the validity of the Group Areas Act.



Nelson Mandela with Nana Sita during the Defiance Campaign

Nana Sita's stand is not merely one of legal right but of principle. In his statement to the court in 1962, after exposing the Group Areas Act as designed to induce the repatriation of the Indian community, economic ruination and enforced inferiority of the non-white peoples, he concluded: "Sir, from what I have said, I have no hesitation in describing the Group Areas Act as racially discriminatory, cruel, degrading, and inhuman. Being a follower of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha, I dare not bow my head to the provisions of the unjust Act. It is my duty to resist injustice and oppression. I have therefore decided to defy the order and am prepared to bear the full brunt of the law.

"It is very significant that I appear before you on this, the tenth day of December, to be condemned and sentenced for my stand on conscience. Today is Human Rights Day — the day on which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by the world at the United Nations. It is a day on which the people of the world rededicate themselves to the principles of truth, justice and humanity. If my suffering in the cause of these noble principles could arouse the conscience of white South Africa, then I shall not have strived in vain.

"Sir, my age is 64. I am suffering with chronic ailments of gout and arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. On the contrary I plead for a severe or the highest penalty that you are allowed under the Act to impose on me." ■

REVIEW

by Alex la Guma

GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY



The man in the street in Southern Africa has always been puzzled by the contradictions in attitudes of governments and government leaders of the West in particular. The African victim of South Africa's pass-laws, the Indian and Coloured dispossessed under the Group Areas Act have flushed with pleasure at the condemnation, by world leaders, of the Nationalist Government's policies of apartheid. Then their joy has turned to consternation by the stand taken by these same leaders or their representatives in such forums as the United Nations.

To the ordinary person in South Africa, Britain, France and the United States have been countries where the rights of non-whites are upheld; they have been identified with non-colour-bar democracy in their countries.

Yet in November 1962, for example, oppressed South Africans were dismayed when 67 countries voted for sanctions against racist South Africa, and Britain, France and the USA all voted against. Again, in the Security Council in 1963, Britain and France abstained. When the UN voted for the end of the South African mandate over South West Africa, Britain did not see fit to support the resolution which would have meant a step forward on the road to freedom for the non-whites of South West Africa.

Speeches and promises made by Western statesmen in public have not been fulfilled when these same statesmen were confronted by the task of upholding what was believed to be their word of honour.

The oppressed African naturally asks in puzzlement, "How come?"

The African National Congress of South Africa, in its latest booklet "*Great*

Power Conspiracy", gives the explanation. In 43 pages of exposure this publication reveals how the accumulation of wealth in Southern Africa means more to the ruling classes of the western world than the lives of the subject millions of Africans.

Detailing the extent to which the Western colonialists gain profits from apartheid and race domination, *Great Power Conspiracy* shows, for example, that Britain today has over 1,000,000,000 invested in the Republic of South Africa, and some 200,000,000 in Rhodesia. In fact Britain's interest in South Africa is greater than in all the rest of the continent together.

A study of U.S. relations with South Africa points out that close connections exist between policy-makers in the U.S. administration and financial interests in South Africa. The extent of United States involvement in the exploitation of cheap labour in South Africa is shown in concrete terms of figures involving several millions of dollars and numbers of private companies. Apart from this, there are examples of banking loans from the USA, which assisted the South African economy during the post-Sharpeville crisis.

France is a new member of the conspiracy to uphold the racist regimes in Southern Africa. When Britain was compelled to impose sanctions against the illegal Smith regime, the reaction of the French Government was apparently to ignore them. French businessmen have continued to operate freely there, while between 1958 and 1962 French imports from South Africa rose from some 10 million to nearly 14 million per year. We are shown that by 1965 France rose to 7th position in the list of world traders with apartheid.

Thus Britain, the USA and France are three powerful allies for Southern Africa's ruling minorities. What is less known is the existence of a fourth ally, almost a secret ally — the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is well known that Germany and white South Africa first found common ground when the rise of the Nazis in the thirties found response in the Greyshirt, Ossewa Brandwag and Broederbond movements, members of which today rule South Africa. We are shown in *Great Power Conspiracy* that today the stake of the European Common Market countries in South Africa has reached £162,500,000. Among them, West Germany increased its share from £14 million to £28½ million. West Germany maintains the leading position among the EEC in trade with South Africa. At the same time, the Federal Republic's policy towards Portuguese colonialism in Africa is consistent with its policy on South Africa. Apart from its economic stake in the south of Africa, the West German supply of arms to Portugal has helped Salazar's war against the liberation forces in the Portuguese-held countries.

The African National Congress of South Africa has done an important service in producing *Great Power Conspiracy*. The 40-odd pages expose concisely the reasons for the double-tongue attitudes of those who profess the defence of a "free world", but whose highwayman interests mean more than the freedom and lives of Southern Africa's millions.

GREAT POWER CONSPIRACY. Published by the ANC of South Africa, P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Price 1/—.

(Continued from Page 1)

and make the South African government more formidable. It is common knowledge that for foreign trade to exist, investors must conform to the apartheid racist legislation of South Africa.

South Africa's biggest trading partners, namely Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan, have abandoned the moral principles and ideas of democracy which they so loudly proclaim at successive sessions of the UN with monotonous regularity, in favour of huge profits derived from cheap African labour.

World public opinion, however, has endorsed the ANC viewpoint: that apartheid is evil and inhuman and that all countries should comply with the UN decision for a total boycott against South Africa.

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.

We believe that sanctions are not a substitute for revolutionary action. They are supplementary to our own struggle. Today resistance, mobilisation, underground work are the inescapable activities which unite the revolutionary forces against apartheid terrorism inside South Africa. 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". ■

(Continued from Page 1)

The overthrow of apartheid in South Africa has been delayed because of the support and assistance of the powerful international financiers in Britain, U.S., Western Germany, France and other imperialist countries. They have accumulated vast fortunes out of the cheap labour and stolen wealth of our people, and continue to do so. Their direct assistance and the enormous influence their wealth enables them to exert on their own governments, has thus far shielded the fascist Pretoria regime from the sanctions and isolation decided upon by the great majority of the people and governments of the world who abominate apartheid and all it stands for.

Yet the world Anti-Apartheid Movement grows ever wider, deeper, stronger, covering every field. South Africa expelled from UNESCO; excluded from Olympic Games; condemned by governments of every shade of democratic opinion, by trade unions of all countries, by churches of every religion, by organisations of women, youth, peace, science and culture, and by millions of people throughout the world — these are the outside signs of the universal detestation of and protest against the anti-human and satanic doctrine of apartheid. Seldom, if ever, has there been such a sustained and widespread movement of solidarity in the world.

The African National Congress can fairly claim a large share of the credit for evoking this mighty solidarity movement. Against the huge resources of the South African government with its richly endowed 'information' — or rather misinformation — services, and such non-governmental bodies as the multi-millionaire South African Foundation propaganda agencies, we as the organisation of the poor and oppressed people could not hope to compete in respect of the volume and quantity of our publications, the number of personnel employed in publicity or the size of our external establishment. Yet the world has heard and listened to us and believed us, for our voice is the voice of justice and truth, and will continue to be heard long after the howls of apartheid propagandists shall have been silenced by the mighty blows of our fighting people.

With this, the first issue of SECHABA, we are launching a new and powerful weapon to carry the truth about South Africa, and the voice of the African National Congress into every corner of the world.

The African National Congress fights under a policy which alone will truly liberate and unite the people of our country: The Freedom Charter is the common programme of the A.N.C., the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats. The Charter expresses the aspirations of our people, regardless of colour, for the right of the majority to rule our country and regain their stolen birth-right, the wealth and the land of our country.

Our heroes have faced the gallows and Vorster's grim dungeons for the principles embodied in the Freedom Charter, in armed battle our freedom fighters will win the power to enforce these principles.

The hour of reckoning with the forces of racism is fast approaching in South Africa. We call, with confidence, on our millions of friends in all countries to help us in every way; to spread this our new journal far and wide; to give us that necessary political, moral and material support which will ensure the dawn of the day of our victory over the forces of evil — a victory which will rebound to the benefit of all peoples, a victory for the cause of liberty, peace and humanity. ■

Defence and aid publications on South Africa

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The appalling truth about prison conditions in South Africa. 2/—

WITNESS IN THE DARK by Suzanne Cronje
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I AM PREPARED TO DIE
The text of Nelson Mandela's famous defence speech at the Rivonia trial. 1/6

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"The cumulative effect of reading through this list is a terrible indictment of the inhumanity to man being visited daily upon eleven million captive peoples." — Editorial leader in *The Guardian*.

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For membership of the Movement and/or subscription to the anti-apartheid news, contact:

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