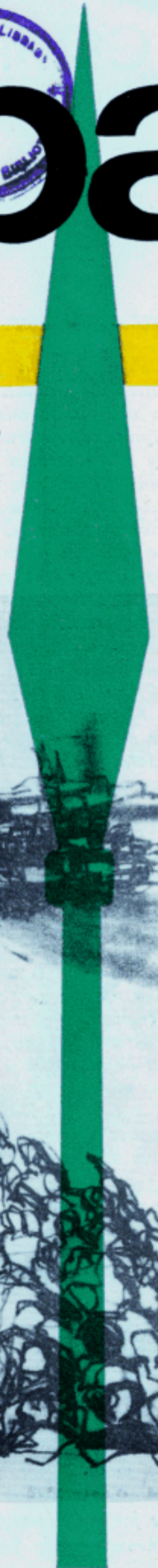


Sechababa



Official Organ
of the African National Congress
of South Africa

VOL. 1 NO. 3 MARCH 1967



COMMENTARY

A REVOLUTIONARY PHASE UNFOLDS

The South African political crisis has deepened with the elevation of Johannes Balthazar Vorster to the premiership. Even the elusive calm and confidence which the unlamented tyrant Dr. Verwoerd brought to the ruling Nationalist Party has now been shattered. Indeed, the mystery of his assassination thickens into a heavy cloud of suspicion that the secret police under the control and guidance of Vorster engineered the murder of Verwoerd to make way for the implementation of more extreme and brutal racist policies. There is a ferment of conflict within the leadership of the Nationalist Party which reflects itself in various ways. It will be recalled that the "granite wall" approach which Verwoerd claimed was the basis of his policies suffered a serious tremor in 1960. Verwoerd was shot in the head and the Prime Minister's position was temporarily in the hands of Paul Sauer. So great had been the mass indignation and anger of the oppressed African people against the heartless massacre perpetrated at Sharpeville that the South African government could not maintain public order except by resorting to a declaration of a state of emergency and police rule. Even this device of mass repression was found to be inadequate, thus forcing Paul Sauer to make his New Deal Speech at Humansdorp in April 1960 in which he admitted that the policies of his government were not entirely satisfactory.

That fraudulent New Deal speech may have led the chicken-hearted up the garden path, but within the ranks of the Nationalist Party itself it was scorned and despised. When Dr. Verwoerd finally left hospital to assume the reins of power he made the well-known speech in which he promised the country more apartheid not less. And that took the wind out of the New Dealer's sails. It did more than that for police tyranny went on the rampage against all opponents of apartheid.

With the passing of Dr. Verwoerd the most recalcitrant and sadistic elements of the Nationalist Party have rallied around Vorster. Already White mine workers are on a firm drive of extreme repression of the African workers.

But the Rhodesian U.D.I. crisis is fast threatening to embroil the South African racist regime in a direct confrontation with the African revolutionary liberation forces and the pressure of the United Nations.

In this whole movement towards government by open fascist methods our people have resolved to meet fascist violence by armed struggle. There is no other honourable choice for our oppressed people other than the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid regime. White supremacy over

the African peoples of Southern Africa is now beleaguered and opportune conditions have arisen throughout this sub-continent for the masses to move forward along the revolutionary path and liquidate the evil fascist White minority dictatorship.

PACK OF HOUNDS

Salazar, Ian Smith, Vorster and the pack of hounds who have allowed themselves to become the running dogs of these fascist-minded tyrants, are all conspiring in a mad and desperate rush to preserve White privilege in South Africa by force of arms. The mounting brutality which they have unleashed against our people shall be repelled with forceful ferocity no less in measure and gravity than that which is now the lot of the oppressed and exploited people in South Africa. Nowhere on earth and in history has a nation ever agreed to perpetual domination by another nation. The African people are no different from the other nations of the world and will defeat the imperialist system of colonial bondage.

International imperialism is fully aware of our determination to emancipate our countries and have feverishly begun to groom their own African stooges in Southern Africa. A revolutionary phase now unfolds in which all people must be rallied against apartheid, colonial domination, naked fascism, and police terror.

We call upon South African freedom-fighters everywhere to re-dedicate themselves to the struggle for freedom, national liberation and human dignity in our country. Many bitter and bloody battles lie ahead but there can be no doubt that our cause will triumph. Let our watch-word be struggle, struggle, struggle for the motherland until our oppressors are vanquished.

We call on democrats the world over to rally to the cause of the oppressed African masses in South Africa — and to support anti-apartheid movements in their respective countries in the struggle to get their governments to implement United Nations decisions calling for economic and diplomatic boycotts of the fascist regime of Vorster.

We urge leaders of sport and sportsmen everywhere to refuse to participate in events at which Apartheid sportsmen are allowed to compete. We appeal to all cultural organisations to organise their members against appearing before Apartheid audiences in South Africa. Isolate Apartheid South Africa!

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A GREAT STEP FORWARD



Message from the Deputy — President of the African National Congress of South Africa, *Oliver Tambo*, to His Excellency *Mwalimu President Julius Nyerere*, on the occasion of his announcement of the nationalization of all banks in Tanzania.

In the name of the African National Congress of South Africa and on behalf of millions of oppressed and struggling people in my country, I take great pleasure in addressing this message of solidarity to you, to TANU National Executive, and to the Government and People of Tanzania. We have always fervently held the conviction that the people of Tanzania by following the road of unflinching struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will not only achieve the revolutionary tasks and ideals of the African Revolution but will also render Africa the inestimable duty of affording her sons and daughters an opportunity to learn from Tanzania's experience and example.

The programme of socialist construction enshrined in the Arusha Declaration will go down in the annals of African history as the decisive clarion call to defend national sovereignty against neo-colonialist counter-revolutionary subversion and to move African revolutionary forces towards the full realisation of political, social and economic independence. This is a great revolutionary step forward. It has struck fear in the hearts of the enemies of Africa's freedom.

The Arusha Declaration comes at an opportune historical period and is a telling blow to the imperialist offensive which swept across Africa last year bringing untold humiliation to African nationhood and human dignity. We particularly wish to commend you and the TANU National Executive for the clear enunciation of the basic elements of socialism in African conditions in which public ownership of the means of production is based on self-reliance and democratic government. The principle of nationalisation has also been placed in vivid perspective showing the only way in which national resources and the heritage of the people can be restored to them.

In conclusion allow me to convey to you our heartfelt congratulations and good wishes for success in the implementation of the historic Arusha Declaration.

(Sgd) O. R. Tambo
DEPUTY-PRESIDENT
AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS
TEMPORARY
HEADQUARTERS
P. O. Box 680
Morogoro, Tanzania

THE WILL TO FIGHT

A report on South Africa by youth leader THAMI MHLAMBISO who recently arrived in England after serving one year's imprisonment

The story of human relations in South Africa is a painful one, punctuated with nasty and violent confrontation between the white minority Government and all who respect human values and human dignity. In the past five years the Nationalist Government has enforced some of the worst forms of repression and injustices against the peoples and have imprisoned the majority of the most prominent and respected leaders of the non-white peoples and scores of white democrats who oppose the tyranny of Apartheid. Following a period of almost ninety days as an awaiting-trial prisoner, though at times kept for weeks in solitary confinement with no reading or writing materials, I was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for having taken part in the activities of an outlawed organization, namely, the African National Congress.

It is however not my intention to attempt to explain how I personally suffered humiliation and degradation in the hands of the South African police, and prison warders. South African prison conditions are known to be about the most appalling in the world. It will however benefit us all if I explained something about the spirit and courage of those men and women who are now waging the war against apartheid and those that are languishing behind prison bars, fighters whose indomitable courage and confidence in the future will not sag in the face of such brutal assault of their liberty by the Government and its infamous gestapo — the Special Branch which in some quarters is called the Security Police.

UNSWERVING DEDICATION

Those in prison and those of the ANC continuing underground are brave men indeed, and it is this unswerving dedication to the cause of freedom from poverty and oppression that makes them declare so boldly even when re-charged for political offences for which sentences of imprisonment had been served, that they would still do exactly what they did if they were to be given the opportunity. This note rings throughout political trials since Nelson Mandela declared during the Rivonia trial, at a time when a death sentence was possible, that he stood by his beliefs and would not change them even if it meant being sentenced to death. It is this attitude that has dismayed reactionary "political" magistrates who have been compelled to acknowledge the fact that the convictions of these men are such that no form of punishment can serve as a deterrent.

What is it then that sustains these men and women that must always be kept under lock and key? I was with them in eight of the worst South African prisons. They were being beaten, kicked and assaulted almost daily. They were

starved and tortured, their human dignity meant nothing to the beastly prison warders. It emerged quite clearly that they are principled and superior as opposed to the lesser men that took charge of them. But perhaps the most important factor to them and to us all is, these men and women are only a few of the thousands among the masses who will never give up the struggle for freedom. I lived with these men, I suffered with them. All are of great strength and character.

On my release from prison I became aware of the methods now employed against the people by the Vorster regime. One may be puzzled when one learns from the Government propaganda machine — the South African Broadcasting Corporation — that Kaizer Matanzima, the so called Prime Minister of the Transkei, has been addressing meetings in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, something unheard of in the past. In fact these meetings are arranged in collusion with Government officials by their henchmen — people that

Thami Mhlambiso addressing a meeting of workers in Durban, South Africa



have never played any significant role in the liberation movement. They are known to be on the side of the Government hence the publicity and prominence they are given. Real revolutionaries and freedom fighters do not attend such meetings because they know that attendance of such meetings earns one strict Special Branch surveillance. These meetings are boycotted and only a handful of "yes-ment" attend.

UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The underground movement has been rendered a severe blow by the Government with the assistance of the Special Branch and a network of informers. The people are now regrouping and organising from what is left. The mistakes of the past will not be repeated. The underground movement true to any organisation of its kind, issues leaflets from time to time, and the people know where these come from. In December 1966 a bus company in Port Elizabeth decided to increase bus fares. However, in the African Village of New Brighton bus fares were not increased in fear of the reaction of the people. The underground movement issued a leaflet that set out to explain clearly to the people what the fare increases meant to the workers as a whole. It was pointed out that such exploitation can only be terminated by united action against the Government. The Special Branch were searching high and low for the source, but their efforts to induce the people to inform were futile. There were no arrests made. Other leaflets urging people to re-group and re-organize were circulated at different times throughout the villages.

Although on the surface there appears to be no activity, and the people appear to have accepted their lot, there is a seething undercurrent of anger and resentment against the Government. The big question on the lips of all, even though at present in whispers, is the organizing of armed revolt. The powder keg on which the regime rests will blow up given the slightest jolt. Knowledgeable Congressmen inside the country await the clarion call of Umkhonto Wesizwe, whose men, though few at present, inspire a great deal of confidence among the African masses for the battles that lie ahead.

ROAD TO FREEDOM IS VIA THE CROSS

No one has illusions about the future. Everyone knows that the coming period will be hard and tough, but freedom fighters and supporters are convinced that, even though initially an armed struggle may not get immediate widespread response, the people will soon awake in the tradition of the Pondoland peasants who revolted against Bantustans and cattle culling, the great struggles of the women in Natal against dipping-tank taxes; and the courageous fight of the peoples of Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland against enforced removals from their land.

The will to fight, is there; the need to sacrifice in the true spirit of earlier freedom fighters in South Africa is ever present; what is awaited is the call for action. The vicious and openly fascist attacks by Vorster and his political police have clearly closed the door to a peaceful change in South Africa.

A blood-bath is inevitable . . . the people are increasingly aware that many sons, fathers, mothers and daughters will fall in the coming revolution. They accept that the road to freedom is via the cross. ■

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, African National Congress, 49 Rathbone St., London W. 1

»SPOTLIGHT«

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

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

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

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Address: "Spotlight on South Africa", African National Congress of South Africa, P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

MAN ON A STRING

Historians in a later age may well find something paradoxical in the progress of Ian Smith's palace coup — from verbal revolution under high-sounding watchwords of 'liberty' and 'independence' to puppet in a South African noose.

For this is the reality of Smith's "independence". With each month that passes, with each tightening of the screw of international sanctions, Smith and his government become more dependent on South Africa, more subservient to it. Not without reason. They are dangling dangerously over a pit of disaster with only the South African lifeline, cautiously paid out by Vorster, to keep them from a fall.

South Africa's lifeline is compounded of several strands, only one of which is the undisguised moral support extended by the apartheid regime to its Rhodesian neighbour. In a bleak and friendless world, where not a single government can be found to give formal recognition to Smith's regime, goodwill and encouragement from South African whites has been a morale booster for Smith.

STEPS IN COLONIZATION

The more important and accordingly less publicised strand is the South African petrol supply, which began to flow across the border soon after U.D.I. when Britain closed the normal sources of supply from Mozambique. What little publicity there has been was chiefly devoted to the primitive start of this traffic — to the rather dog-eared trucks with home-made tanks aboard, and chalk-written slogans of South African-Rhodesian friendship. This flow alone would scarcely have kept Rhodesian cigarette lighters going. But behind the screen of this public traffic, a far more important vast private traffic has gone on. Months after U.D.I.,

Rhodesia's petrol rationing is still at relatively comfortable levels. Vast drama has been concentrated around a single tanker turned back from Mozambique; none at all on the steady flow of tankers which everyone now knows are crossing the borders at Beit Bridge, constantly, daily.

Oil is the lifeline of such an economy as Smith's white Rhodesian — an economy of large-scale ranching, of mining and crop processing. That lifeline has passed into South Africa's hands; and what little "independence" Smith may once have had has passed with it. As the pressure of international sanctions grows slowly, Smith's prospect of free flowing oil supplies for Rhodesia grows more remote. Petrol stringency is with Rhodesia for a long long time ahead. And if Smith did not take any long-term steps to meet it, South Africa has. It is reported from South Africa that petrol storage tanks are being built at various points to hold hundreds or thousands of gallons of petrol. (See "OIL BUILD UP", Page 6 — Ed.) It is being rumoured around that these tanks are 'stock-piles', to carry South Africa herself through if sanctions or boycott are ever extended to her. It would be naive to accept the story. South Africa's petrol consumption cannot be maintained even on a war-time emergency basis from stockpiles which cannot be replenished as they are used up. But Rhodesia, with its tiny white population, its petrol consumption minute by world standards, can. The South African stockpiles are not for home use, but for Rhodesia's. This is long-term planning, for the long-term take-over of Rhodesia's petrol life-line. Steps in colonization.

SMOKE SCREEN

Smith's farmer-dominated Rhodesian Front lives — or dies — mainly by tobacco. Publicly, for international

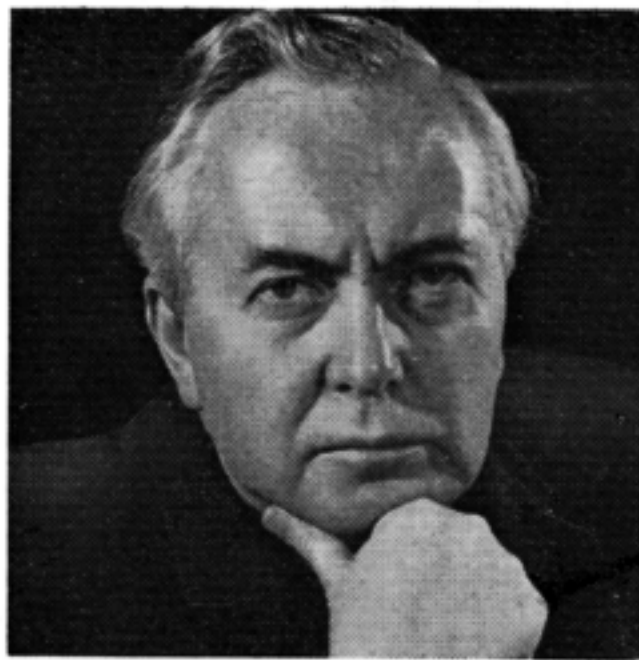


consumption, the Vorster regime has declared that it will not involve itself in the Rhodesian affair — neither by imposing sanctions nor by giving extraordinary aid to Smith. The private face is different. Rhodesian tobacco farming has been rescued from bankruptcy by South Africa — and another thread of Rhodesian "independence" has passed into South African hands. It is reported from South Africa that, since U.D.I., imports from Rhodesia have risen by R30 million (£15 million). The increase comes mainly in South Africa's import category "tobacco and beverages".

A similar increase, under the same heads, is recorded in South African exports to other countries.

There is only one possible explanation. South Africa has bought heavily on the Rhodesian market. (Since statistics are banned in Smith's market places, *there is no way of knowing whether she also bought at crisis-depressed prices, thus adding a good business motive to good apartheid politics.*) Rhodesian tobacco either found its way into cigarettes for South African consumption, to be replaced on the foreign market by increased South African exports; or Rhodesian tobacco left South Africa repacked and reprocessed under South African labels. There are — conveniently — no South African statistics of "re-exports" — not since U.D.I.

Have Rhodesian sugar crops, chrome, asbestos and other products fared differently? There are no figures. There are only the inferences which can be drawn. Mr. Wilson, with all the advice of all his statisticians, assumed Rhodesia's economic death-rattles within 'weeks, not months.' Not even Whitehall could estimate so wide off the mark. Somewhere, somehow, Rhodesia has been bailed out. The Rhodesian economy is — apparently — still solvent, still functioning. The farming backbone of the Rhodesian



class supporters disappear before even imperfect and incomplete sanctions. The South African "take-over" proceeds unnoticed even by the puppets dangling on the end of the South African string.

SHADOW BOXING.

One cannot know whether this outcome was foreseen by any of the parties to the events — either by Smith, or Wilson. But Mr. Wilson has paved the way for that take-over by removing all restraints from South Africa. He has refused, from the outset, to contemplate the use of force — or even the threat of force — against the Smith regime. He has refused, and still stubbornly refuses to contemplate any move which would carry the fight against Smith into the corner of his South African backers and promoters.

South African politicians and financiers can read a go-ahead signal when it is blazoned in headlines in front of their eyes. Wilson has assured them *they* have nothing to fear. *They* will not be called to account for their support of Smith. They have gone ahead. Rhodesia and its Smith regime are being taken over. Smith's white-minority bid for independence ends in puppet subservience to white South Africa.

It is not a new thought that the struggle against apartheid is also a struggle against Smith. But increasingly, as time goes on, it becomes clear that the struggle against Smith cannot be carried on without a struggle against South African apartheid. This knowledge, as it increases, must lead to closer and closer relations between the anti-Smith and the anti-Vorster forces, to ever closer co-operation between the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe and those of South Africa — to the unity of the people in arms against the "unity" of puppet and puppeteer rulers. ■

Front government is still mainly tolerably satisfied. Prosperity for the white Rhodesian is reduced, but it is still — by world standards — very colonial luxury.

Someone has put up the bail for a condemned regime. There is only one possible source.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM

It is an old adage in Africa that political domination and the flag follow on the heels of trade. New times, new fashions. There is no need for Vorster's armies to follow on the heels of his tobacco buyers and petrol salesmen. His political system and attitudes are being taken over voluntarily by the Smith regime. For all the bold talk of 'liberty' — Rhodesia moves steadily to become a pale mirror image of South Africa politically. A new constitution is to be devised which, so Smith says, will "... acknowledge our different communities and provide safeguards which will enable the different communities to live according to their own wishes." The words may be Smith's; but the ideology is Verwoerd's, on which the whole concept of apartheid and Bantustans has been developed. Increased powers are already being accorded to the chiefs

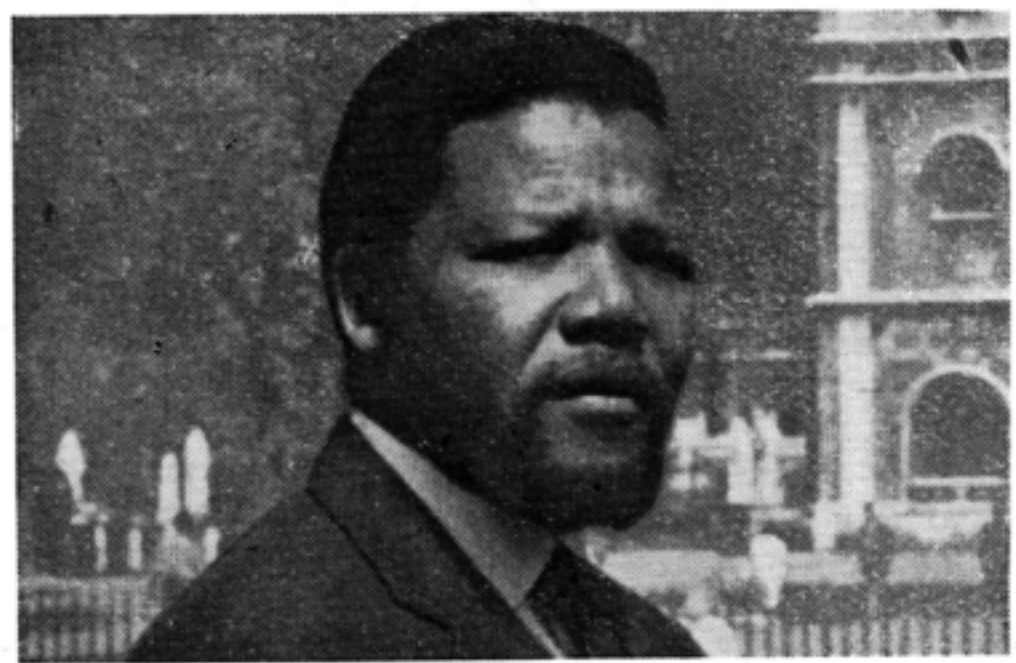
— a pale copy of South Africa's Bantu Authorities. "Security of state" has become the supreme justification for every injustice; the security police have been elevated above the law; censorship and book-banning are spreading out; education is being bent to reduce African education towards a second-class, servant orientated, "Bantu Education." Detention without trial, Group Areas — so politely called "Land Apportionment" — all the trappings of apartheid South Africa, from which Rhodesia once moved slowly away.

It would be comfortable to be able to believe Mr. Wilson's claims that partial sanctions, unenforced, will reverse all this, and bring the Smith regime down. But only the naive will be able to persuade themselves to such belief. Certainly sanctions have some effect. But their effect is not decisive in destroying the rebel regime. Their effect will be to reduce Smith's independence of action, and thus — whether it was so intended or not — to make him ever more dependent upon South Africa. The process started by U.D.I. with talk of "independence" and "sovereignty", ends in puppetry. The sorry remnants of white Rhodesian "liberty" and of the "independence" of Smith's regime and his white settler-

Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe



Nelson Mandela of South Africa



NO OIL FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Your Excellency,

We are deeply perturbed by the news that the Iranian National Petroleum Company has entered into a contract to supply South Africa with oil in 1967. Apart from the staggering volume and magnitude of the order, which is estimated at the phenomenal figure of 600,000 tons of crude oil, the decision by an Iranian Company to enter into trade agreements with South Africa in the face of its open defiance and contempt is most shocking, and we feel it our duty to protest at this demonstration of hostility to the just cause of our people.

You will recall, Sir, that at the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa held in London in April 1964, it was the general consensus of opinion among all the economic experts that an oil embargo on South Africa would have the most devastating effect against the fascist government. This opinion has since found concrete expression in the U.N. resolutions adopted at the 17th, 18th and 20th sessions of the General Assembly, which called for sanctions against South Africa, including, in particular, an oil embargo. The Report of the Security Council's Committee of Experts submitted in February 1965 convincingly demonstrates that the world community has within its hands the means to make apartheid unworkable.

Your country, as an oil-producing fountain of the world, can help to break apartheid, in deference to the wishes of thousands of millions of people, including we believe, Iranians themselves, who abhor racism and White domination. Consequently, your country can try and destroy this evil system by not supplying South Africa with a commodity that is vital to its maintenance.

Oil received by South Africa will be fed into the Ian Smith rebel regime in flagrant defiance of the recent Security Council resolution on Rhodesia, which South Africa has already declared its intention to violate. To make oil available to South Africa in these circumstances would therefore amount to participating in the intensification of police and military tyranny, racial persecution and the naked oppression of our people in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa. The effect would be to strengthen White minority rule and colonial domination in South Africa.

We appeal to you in the name of all the oppressed people of South Africa to revoke any licence that may have been granted to the Iranian National Petroleum Company to supply oil to South Africa and to prevent any indirect method of fulfilling such a contract. We request that you emphasise to the company the urgency of applying an embargo on the sale of oil, petroleum, and petroleum products to the Republic of South Africa as well as on all assistance in the refining and distribution of petroleum goods, in order to secure the implementation of the resolutions of the Security

Full text of a letter
from Duma Nokwe,
Secretary-General
of the African
National Congress,
to the Prime Minister
of Iran, Jan. 1967



Council, the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and above all the demands of all oppressed people in South Africa itself and the world over.

We look forward to your direct support and intervention in this matter, for you shall thereby help to liquidate the apartheid policy that has been rightly condemned by the whole of civilised mankind. (Sgd) DUMA NOKWE

In order to boost the morale of the white populations of South Africa and Rhodesia, and to reassure investors, the South African Government is at pains to publicise efforts being made to counter any effective oil boycott against the country.

They have initiated a crash programme to build storage tanks to hold, according to their propagandists, two years supply of crude oil, which in effect means storage for 3,000 million gallons.

In addition the British and American oil companies with refineries in South Africa are reported to be importing crude oil at the rate of 5.6 million gallons a day.

The opening of the £ 9 million Caltex refinery last year brought South Africa's total of refineries to five and reports indicate that yet another larger refinery is being planned.

In the meantime the hunt for oil in South Africa has increased. Big operators such as the Mobil Consortium (Mobil, Shell, B.P. and Total); Total on its own as well; Esso (Standard Oil of New Jersey); and three other American giants, Placid, Atlantic-Richfield and Superior have obtained concessions to search for oil.

All these efforts could never succeed against an effective boycott more especially since almost all crude oil supplies come from the Arab States at present.

It has come as a shock to see reports that the Iranian National Petroleum Company has agreed to supply South Africa with crude oil to the tune of 600,000 tons in 1967.

In a strongly worded letter to the Iranian Petroleum Company, Mr. Duma Nokwe, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa, drawing attention to decisions of the United Nations on the subject of economic sanctions against South Africa states:

"If you proceed to honour your oil contract with South Africa, you shall not only have outraged the conscience of humanity but will have directly plunged your country into the quagmire of racial tyranny on the side of the White oppressors. We advise you that you stand to lose more should you ignore our warning to stop all trade relations with South Africa especially the supply of oil."

BASTION OF WHITE SUPREMACY

PART TWO: THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE AND RESISTANCE



The first part of this report by J. B. Marks, banned leader of the African National Congress (Transvaal) and the African Mineworkers Union, appeared in the last issue

Rhodesia has 3,500 in the regular force, 6,400 para-military forces with 28,500 in reserve. The airforce has 900 men and six squadrons of first class aircraft.

It must be expected that the imperialist supported Institute of Strategic Studies may underestimate for propaganda the actual forces commanded by the Unholy Alliance. But their own admissions are significant enough. Concentrated in Southern Africa against the liberation movements and independent states are formidable military forces under the control of desperate and ruthless men who know they are doomed to defeat by history and will therefore fight to do the utmost damage before they disappear.

The struggle for the defeat of such dark forces who are supplied and supported by the imperialists requires a cool and realistic assessment based on serious political and military considerations by the leadership of the liberation movements in each country, if we are not to suffer avoidable set-backs. Often people who are not prepared to think carefully about such matters expect the freedom fighters to engage the enemy without proper organisation, planning,



equipment or bases in friendly neighbouring states. Too often liberation movements are lectured and instructed to "go and fight!" Our people everywhere in Southern Africa have fought and will continue to fight for their liberation but on one condition, namely, that we fight with modern arms in hand. We are no longer prepared to call on our people to fight with sticks and stones as they have done for decades at the costs of thousands of lives. Last year in South Africa 111 people were killed in this way. Surely it is not too much to expect that our friends in Africa and all over the world will at least ensure that the peoples of Southern Africa are trained by the thousands and fully armed to fight the enemies of all progress on our Continent. Armed counter-revolution must be faced with armed revolution.

The break-up of the Central African Federation and the emergence of independent states in Malawi and Zambia represented a big reverse for the forces of imperialism and White reaction in Southern Africa. This is the case despite the well-known economic dependence of these states on

Imperialism has a great stake in Southern Africa and has shown ample evidence of determination to protect those interests at the expense of the freedom and independence of the majority of the peoples. The four million Whites are the social base on whose support the imperialists rely for their oppression of 40 million non-whites. In the Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa, the Whites not only occupy all the key positions in the political, social and economic fields but also are the backbone of the military forces without which this disgraceful situation would not last one single day. The powerful military and security system is not only defensive but is an offensive arm for subverting African States in the neighbourhood and suppressing freedom movement. With the help of imperialism, military and intelligence information is exchanged and utilised for the protection of the White fortress. It is against the deployment of such vast resources that the freedom movements in each unliberated part of the South has to fight with very haphazard help from liberated Africa. What is needed is greater commitment, co-ordination and planning in full consultation with the leadership of the national movements in each country.

According to studies of the Institute of Strategic Studies entitled the Military Balance 1965-1966 the military forces of the Republic of South Africa are second only to those of the United Arab Republic in size. And it must be remembered that these forces are drawn exclusively from the White minority in the country. There are 25,000 regular troops. Para-military forces amount to 29,600 police plus 6,000 reservists. There are also 51,000 commandos organised in 210 units. The air force which total 4,000 men has at least 100 front line aircraft, 250 Aircraft attached to the commandos, 60 helicopters and 200 Harvard aircraft with 300 in reserve.

Portugal according to the same study has over 100,000 troops in Africa with 30,000 in Mozambique, 20,000 in so called Portuguese Guinea and 57,000 in Angola. She has 14,000 men in the airforce with 350 aircraft.



the White ruled countries. Nothing can alter the determining facts of the situation which is one of 40 million Africans fighting for freedom against oppression. As far as the White supremacists are concerned any authority by Africans anywhere in Africa is anathema and sticks in their throats.

The main revolutionary force however is not so much independent states as the masses of labouring people in Southern Africa who know what white supremacy and racialism means. These millions who toil in the mines and plantations of Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, have moved from one country to the other and share much solidarity. They are the vanguard of the struggle for the elimination of racialism and the economic interests which profit by the present set-up. Those who are in the free countries of Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, wish to see their brothers and sisters free in the remaining areas of colonialism and white rule in the South.

But it is not only the basic sources of labouring people and farmers who share these aspirations. The intellectuals businessmen, students and youth and even chiefs have suffered from the humiliations of race oppression. All these forces together under the leadership of the working people constitute a broad front of national liberation movement embracing people of different ideologies and beliefs, religious and non-religious, communist and non-communist to achieve not only the first step of formal political independence but also the further tasks of economic and social reforms.

In all the countries now remaining under White minority rule armed struggle is the only perspective left for the people. Throughout the area the main task is the preparation for and the launching of revolutionary armed struggles. Quite clearly much opportunities arise for close co-operation among all freedom fighters and their organisations. This does not mean that the conditions in the different countries are the same or that the strategy to be followed is identical. In fact it cannot be so. It is important always that the independent political and military leadership must be developed in each separate country. But in order to prevent the enemies from concentrating their forces against each liberation movement ways have to be found to build up and strengthen the struggles in all countries in co-operation. One theory that must be combated is that which thinks that the fight can be conducted in each country in complete isolation from the others. Nor can we accept the idea that the problem can be tackled in one country at a time. Nobody can tell where the revolutionary breakthrough can occur next. Therefore the fight must be intensified in all countries of Southern Africa where imperialism rules. Imperialist occupation of Africa began in the South. Let it now end in the South. ■

YOUTH IN THE

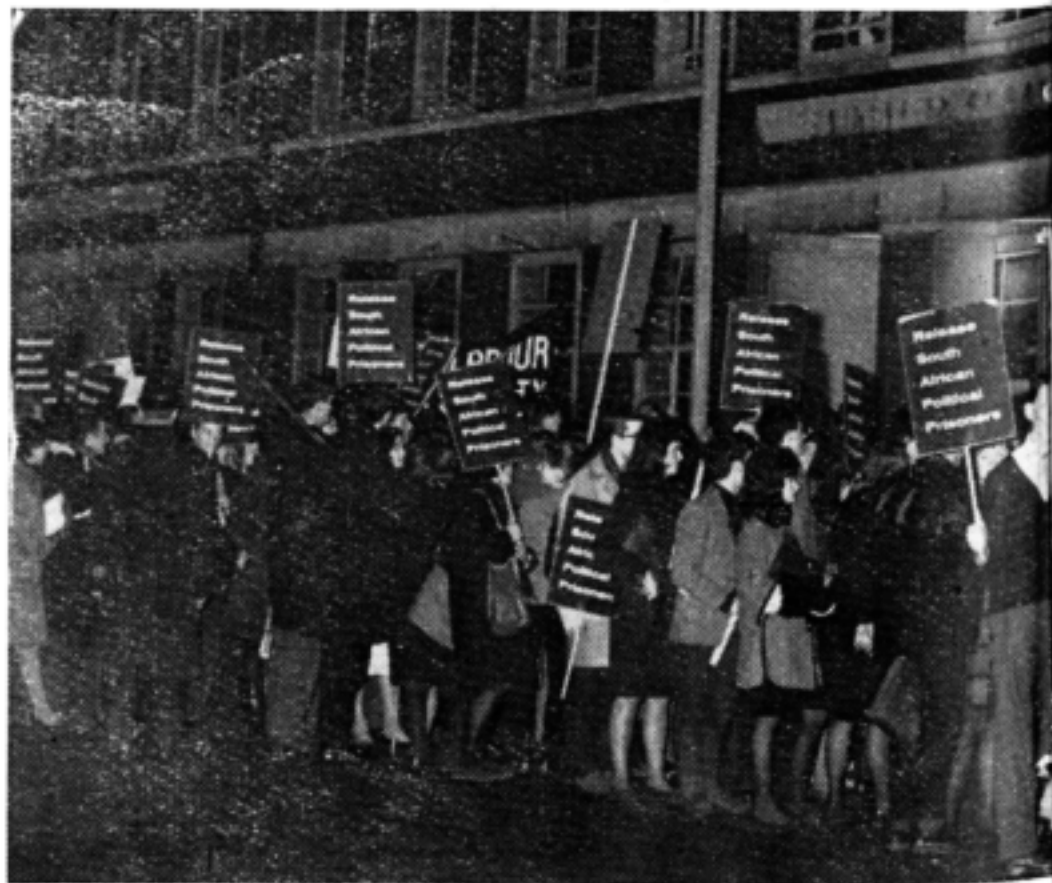
TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA

The South African crisis is still one of the major issues that concern progressive peoples throughout the world. For our direction, we have the longstanding call made by our liberation movement asking the world to disengage itself from support of apartheid by imposing boycotts of various kinds.

Since the late years of the last decade a vigorous campaign against the South African government has been conducted throughout the world. Support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in general has come from people drawn from various political persuasions and philosophies, all united in their hatred of racism. In the course of the campaign various demands have been put forward and various tactics used. The demands have encompassed a consumer boycott, general economic sanctions, the breaking of diplomatic ties, an educational and cultural boycott, the call for the release of political prisoners, legal defence for such prisoners and help for their families. Similarly, different tactics have been used to realise these demands. On all occasions methods of struggle suited to both mass movements and pressure groups have been used. In strengthening mass action, it has also been considered correct to specialise the issues by ways such as getting students and intellectuals to take up, for example, the issue of Bantu Education; trade unions, the rights of workers in South Africa; and playwrights, to refuse to have their plays performed before segregated audiences.

The success of the campaign as a whole can be measured in various ways. What has, however, equally engaged our youth and students has been methods by which the campaign can be made even more widespread and effective.

It is in these conditions that the A.N.C. Youth and Student Section was set up. In drawing up a programme, the Section has had to review the history of the campaign. Strategic aims and the value of certain tactics have had to be re-assessed. It may be important here to point out that the Section is aware that the international cam-



STRUGGLE

WITH AFRICAN YOUTH AND STUDENTS

By Thabo Mbeki - President of the
A. N. C. Youth and Students Section

campaign must of necessity remain subsidiary to the revolutionary struggle being conducted at home. This however has not been taken to mean that we must slacken our agitation against overt and covert support for the South African government by the world at large.

OUR OWN PEOPLE

Our most principled and disciplined force outside South Africa is undoubtedly our own people. It is therefore to our own people that the Section had first to turn. Three conditions had to be satisfied. The first is that the Section had to make sure that our own people belong to it and can turn to it for help.

Secondly, we have to ensure that our own forces actually have that high level of consciousness. To this end the Section is organizing study classes. These classes will cover such subjects as the African Revolution, African Socialism, lessons of military coups in Africa, neo-colonialism, the role of United States imperialism, N.A.T.O. and the peace movement in Europe, and the history and lessons of our own struggle in South Africa. The Section seeks not solely to organize study groups, but will seek to make these as interesting as possible by such means as *arranging joint discussions with other youth and student groups in the countries in which we are working.*

Revolutionary consciousness has to be tested and developed in actual struggle. This is the third condition. The Section will therefore attempt to ensure that its membership participates fully in the international struggle against apartheid; takes part in the day-to-day work, be the first to criticise their own shortcomings and seek to correct these, and inject into the campaign the urgency of the need to end apartheid which every day commits more brutal crimes against our people and is systematically changing South Africa into a fully-fledged fascist state.



The author at a celebration with Walter Sisulu (right) now serving life imprisonment

APARTHEID'S BACKERS

The Section also recognises the involvement of the peoples and governments of Western Europe and America in the perpetuation of apartheid. This has its corollary in that these governments will use all means, direct and indirect, to befuddle all organised opposition to their pro-apartheid policies. Among the youth and students, our most disciplined and unwavering support has always come from those sections that have within their own countries maintained a continuous, principled and progressive stand against reactionary policies of their government and against imperialism. The issues in these countries have varied from such matters as the question of peace to support for the peoples of Algeria and Vietnam against foreign aggression and domination.

We therefore seek to build the closest contacts with these progressive people, particularly youth and students, on the basis of a correct understanding of individual and mutual problems. To build up such contacts and to work jointly with these people as we visualise, we again require that our people as members of the A.N.C. should be in the forefront.

For our first campaign we hope to ask the youth and students of the world to commemorate June 26th - Freedom Day - by meetings, demonstrations and other forms of public action in support of the struggle against apartheid.

These demonstrations and meetings will not only express solidarity with the struggling peoples of South Africa; it will be a day on which we will remember those who have fallen in the struggle against apartheid tyranny. It will be a day on which South Africans everywhere will be called upon to re-dedicate themselves to the liberation of our motherland.

ISOLATE FASCISM

More, we shall, throughout, seek to isolate the South African government, and expose its friends whoever they may be. The responsibility we have to our youth and students at home makes us realise that we cannot relax our efforts to complement them in their disciplined and glorious struggle against a well-armed and well-supported government, aided as it is by traitors and counter-revolutionaries, and by Imperialist forces who seek to make South Africa a springboard for their nefarious plans to keep Africa in perpetual neo-colonialist subjugation. ■



ON THE QUESTION OF A UNITED FRONT

Reprint of an editorial
in *Mayibuye*
published by the
A.N.C.
Lusaka office

Several recent issues of 'Unity Newsletter', produced by the dissident element within the disunited 'Unity Movement' have called for the formation of a United Front of all South African Liberation organizations. We do not doubt that the question has been raised in all seriousness by these gentlemen and we shall not, therefore, question their motives.

We do, however, suggest that they live in a clouduckoo land, oblivious of the present state of affairs in the various organizations. They purport to lay down a common basis upon which such a Front can be formed — ignoring past attempts at united action, reasons for their failure etc. Incidentally, their common basis for unity comprises of 10 points — seemingly, a hearking back to the almost magical

'Ten Point Programme' of which they made great play in South Africa, to the puzzlement of everybody.

We agree that united action by all sectors of the oppressed in South Africa can only hasten our liberation. Disunity plays into the hands of the enemy. But a United Front demands a high level of discipline and integrity from its participants. It calls for absolute honesty and frankness, for unity in action and for the maintenance of maximum security of organization. We shall show, very briefly, that these criteria are met neither by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) nor by the Unity Movement (UM). In addition, both organizations have been fatally weakened by leadership and organizational crises. In the circumstances, can the A.N.C. even begin to contemplate a United Front with them?

Not that A.N.C. is in principle opposed to the formation of United Fronts.

On the contrary, in the past, the A.N.C. has not hesitated to form United Fronts with whatever organizations were involved, at that particular time, in the struggle against oppression. As far back as 1948, the A.N.C. attempted to form a common organization with the All-African Convention. This move was sabotaged by Tabata, the most recent President of the Unity Movement, now based in Lusaka, who denounced the proposed merger. In 1955 the A.N.C. formed a fruitful Alliance with the S.A.I.C., C.P.C., S.A.C.T.U. and C.O.D. (This alliance, popularly known as the Congress Alliance, still exists — Ed. Sechaba).

A joint campaign with the P.A.C. in 1961 for a National Convention, was treacherously betrayed by members of the P.A.C. who withdrew at a vital stage of the campaign preparations. In fact, the P.A.C. then treacherously tried to scab the strike by distributing antistrike leaflets.

The most recent front was that formed by the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. outside South Africa. This front was brought to a halt by the A.N.C. because of the chicanery, back-biting, opportunism and dishonesty of the P.A.C. who used the Front to disarm the A.N.C. and then to attack it in public and in private. The P.A.C. has never ceased to villify the A.N.C. and its members. The A.N.C. is, at the same time, said to be both 'communist dominated', and 'conservative'. The most recent issue of *Azania News* mentions "Stooges rewarded with the Nobel Prize", a most deplorable reference to Chief Luthuli, whose sacrifices in the cause of liberation are well known. This particular issue also refers to an "Oppenheimer — Luthuli coalition" (sic!), and hurls calumny on the brave Bram Fischer. Enough said! Do the editors of 'Unity Newsletter' seriously expect us to unite with this parody of an organization? Today the P.A.C. is

CONGRESS ALLIANCE THE REAL UNITED FRONT



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(Albert Luthuli, President)



S.A. INDIAN CONGRESS
(Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, President)



S.A. CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
(Steven Dhlamini, President)



S.A. COLOURED PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
(Reg September, Secretary)



S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
(Ben Turok, Secretary)

split into several factions . . . With which, sirs, do we unite?

As for the Unity Movement, the Editors of 'Unity Newsletter' should know very well the nature and strength of this organization — they were, until recently, themselves part of the 'Organization'. They know full well its sectarian and dogmatic nature. They know the 'strength' of their membership. The Secretary-General and the National Organiser were recently arbitrarily expelled by the President. This is only possible in an organization composed of leaders without a mass base.

Where then is the political honesty of the President of the Unity Movement, when he lays claim — in a letter to the Committee of Nine — to a membership of 500,000? Is it really honest to refer to the A.N.C. as a splinter organization of the Unity Movement? Have these Rip van Winkles of politics been sleeping since 1936? Do they not know South African history over the past twenty years and the part played by the A.N.C.? Yet these political ostriches dare to suggest to the Committee of Nine that the A.N.C. would have died a natural death if it were not for the support given to it by that Committee. Whom are they trying to deceive?

In South Africa, to justify their abandonment of the struggle, they constantly questioned the readiness of the masses and hid behind slogans like "We build a Nation" when, in fact, they were doing nothing of the kind. They were a party to the campaign against train apartheid in 1947, but withdrew when the time for action came — again claiming that the masses were not ready.

Since then, the Unity Movement has split into several factions, until today it exists in name only, having collapsed among the ruins of its own disunity. When disillusioned members like Dr. Neville Alexander attempted to give a new direction, they were expelled. Today the Unity Movement uses the fame of Dr. Alexander for its own purposes. How dishonest can you get?

Two weeks after the issue of the 'Unity Newsletter' dealing with the United Front, appeared 'APDUSA Newsletter' (also published by the Unity Movement — Ed. Sechaba) with an article entitled, "Two ends, Two Struggles, Two Unities". It would be logical to assume that this article was stimulated by the 'Unity Newsletter'. But the official 'leaders' of the U.M. having expelled the Editors of 'Unity Newsletter', can hardly deign to recognise their existence. So, these archdeceivers dishonestly begin their article by stating that "there is pressure from the rank and file of those organizations that are outside the U.M., that a move must be made to come together". They and everybody else know from where the call for Unity came, but they have become such pathological liars that they think they can fool the world.

In this very article, the APDUSANS act as agents-provocateur. They quote "your men who have received training sit idly in camps amidst their rusting equipment. When will you get on with the job for which they came here in the first place?"

Whose dirty work are they doing in posing such questions? Can one entrust such men with matters of security? Can one trust such men at all?

We have no illusions about the difficulties facing the S.A. Liberation struggle. Unity of the oppressed is essential for a successful outcome. The A.N.C. is dedicated to carrying on the struggle on the basis of a unity of the oppressed. But it spurns the spurious unity with organizations like the U.M. and the P.A.C. who stand exposed in disarray! ■

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WORKERS' UNITY

THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKING CLASS

by Phyllis Altman

"I consider this a meagre starvation wage", said a South African Judge in January, 1967, reviewing a sentence on a Coloured farm labourer. The man had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment and ordered to pay £2.17.0 in compensation to his employer from whom he had stolen a goat. On review, his sentence was reduced to four month's imprisonment, three months suspended.

The wages paid to this worker were £1 a month in cash, a fortnightly bucket of meal and a third share of a beast. This is not an uncommon wage for the farm workers of South Africa;

a well-organised system of providing convict labour to farmers. White farmers combine to build jails on their farms. Half a million Africans are arrested each year in terms of the pass system and it is from this group that the farmers obtain their labour.

These Africans have committed the *technical* offence of not having the right documents, or have not been able to produce a current tax receipt on demand. They are given the choice of serving a six months prison sentence or working on a farm. They are, in fact, press ganged into the service of the farmers. They work under armed guards and are locked up at night

courageous anti-fascist newspapers were finally silenced.

A white miner receives a wage of £127 a month, while an African mine worker receives £7 a month, plus accommodation in a compound, where he sleeps on a concrete bunk and a diet scientifically worked out to keep him fit. The African miners are recruited mainly from the "independent" Transkei, from Lesotho and Botswana and, in decreasing numbers, from other African States. The cost of their boots is deducted from their wages. In terms of the "Mines and Works" Act they cannot obtain Certificates of Competency, though recently an experiment to enable them to do slightly more skilled jobs is being sabotaged by the powerful white Mineworkers' Union.

African mine workers are forbidden to organize into trade unions, the Chamber of Mines and successive South African governments claiming that they are not sufficiently civilised to understand the principles of trade unionism. In 1946, when 71,000 of these migrant workers came out on strike they were shot, baton charged and driven underground, stope by stope. Special mine police guard the mines and the compounds and arrest for trespass is the fate of any trade union organizer.

If a white miner is killed in a mining accident, his widow receives: —

(a) a lump sum of £40 for family medical expenses. (No such immediate lump sum Payments are made to African mine-workers.)

(b) The widow of a white miner receives a pension of £13.11.4d. per month, with an extra £6.15.8d. payable monthly for each child.

(c) On re-marriage, the widow receives two years pension in a lump sum (total £325.12.—) while allowances for the children continue until they reach the age of 17.

Over and above this, white miners contribute to a Provident Fund and in cases of fatal accidents, the con-



the workers who harvest the maize, pick the fruit and make the wine which is exported to every country in the world. Farm workers, like domestic servants, are subject to the provisions of the "Masters and Servants" Act and are liable to criminal sanctions for breach of contract. There is no agreement covering their conditions, rates of pay, hours of work and they are thus entirely at the mercy of the individual employer. In the Cape Province it is customary for part of the cash wage to be paid in cheap wine.

On the fruit farms of the Cape it is not unusual to find Coloured children as young as ten who are alcoholics.

Wine warms an empty belly.

Apart from those farm workers who are under contract to farmers, there is

and at week-ends, often without adequate facilities for water or for sanitation. They are dressed in maize sacks. An I.L.O. report has correctly described this system as slave labour and the Africans themselves refer to it as being sold to a farmer. In the rich potato belt of the Transvaal, many of these labourers have been flogged to death by farmers or by brutal overseers.

The Guardian and its successors, the Clarion, the People's World and New Age constantly exposed the scandalous conditions of this convict labour and this is one of the major reasons why punitive action was taken against these newspapers. By banning, arrest and imprisonment of members of their editorial boards, by arrest and intimidation of the street sellers, these



PHYLLIS ALTMAN worked for a number of progressive organizations in South Africa, before being appointed assistant general secretary of SACTU (S.A. Congress of Trade Unions). She held this position for seven years until served with banning orders, in terms of which she had to leave her job immediately. In addition she was forbidden to enter any educational institution; to teach (she is a qualified teacher); to enter any factory and was confined to Johannesburg for five years. She left South Africa on an exit permit in mid-1964 and is presently working for the Defence and Aid Fund.

tributions with benefits, are paid to the widows in a lump sum.

This compensation could not be called generous, but it appears extremely generous when compared to the compensation paid to the dependants of African mine workers.

The dependants of African miners receive a total payment of approximately £180. This is the only compensation which is paid to the dependant at the rate of £3 or £4 per month!

Similarly African mine workers who contract PNEUMOCONIOSIS are given a lump sum compensation and the mine owners accept no further responsibility for them. White miners receive a monthly payment and, in addition, are given free medical attention and regular X-Ray for the rest of their lives.

Factory workers in South Africa receive wages on which they cannot support their families, although they are fully employed. The Johannesburg City Council in a publication entitled "Your Bantu Servant and You" stated that the minimum wage on which an African urban family can live is £24 a month. At the time of publication it was paying its own workers £13 a month. This *minimum* wage is far above that paid to the majority of non-white factory workers.

African workers are expressly forbidden by law to take strike action. If they do they are subject to a fine of up to £500 or to imprisonment of up to 3 years or to both fine and imprisonment. Since this Act was passed in 1956, thousands of African workers in every Province in South Africa have been gaoled and fined for 'illegal' strikes and trade union organizers of SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions) have been jailed and fined for 'inciting' the workers to strike. 200 of 1,000 non-white babies die before they reach the age of 1 year. For whites, the figure is 27 per 1,000 live births. 40 people die every day

in South Africa of tuberculosis; often TB of the bone, the disease of starvation. There are 350,000 new cases of TB every year; this in a land of sunshine, where butter, eggs, meat and fruit are produced for export. This is South Africa, the wealthiest and most highly industrialised State in Africa and the 12th most highly industrialised State in the world.

Apartheid is an intricately worked out system of economic exploitation, obscured by philosophic and theological concepts of race and colour. Apartheid based as it is on punitive legislation, starvation wages and land alienation is able to offer overseas investors an average annual return on capital of 27%. — British, American, French, Italian, West German, Japanese and other overseas investments today amount to approximately two thousand million sterling pounds.

Although South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961 and is an independent Republic she still receives Imperial Preference, in her trade relations with the United Kingdom. In

("SACTU!" the second part of this report on workers' unity, will appear in the next issue of Sechaba.)

Port Elizabeth busmen on their way to court (in 1962) to face charges for having taken part in a strike



a shrinking world for capital investment, profit is protected with the gun and the boot, with jail and lashes. In what other country today, if workers take strike action, is the factory surrounded by armoured cars and pick-up vans? However just the cause of the workers, immediate arrest is their fate.

United Nations resolutions, adopted by every Member State, with the exception of South Africa and her partner, Portugal, year after year condemn the theory and practice, but the cosmic profits reaped by the West make these resolutions meaningless. The nations of the West are the active partners of white South Africa — the ugly word "collaborator" is not too ugly for their hypocrisy.

In 1955, the South African Congress of Trade Unions — SACTU — appeared on the South African scene, born out of the determination of the African workers to win those trade union and human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter. ■

THE TIME HAS COME

On the night of 16 December, 1961, a public holiday known as the Day of the Covenant to Afrikaners, a series of explosions in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth hailed the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). A proclamation issued by Umkhonto stated:

"This is a new, independent body formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations . . . We believe our actions to be a blow against Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule. In these actions we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country, Black, Brown and White, whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalists . . . The people's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices . . . submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa."

The adoption of methods of armed struggle "to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations" came after a long period of non-violent struggle by the non-whites of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, for the overthrow of white supremacy. It is not known to what extent members of the Coloured (mixed blood) population participate in Umkhonto, but the statement that it "includes in its ranks South Africans of all races" is enough to assure us that non-Africans are taking part in the armed struggle in South Africa today.

At the same time it is possible to point out Coloured people arrested and imprisoned for sabotage who have been associated with other minor movements such as the National Liberation Front and the African Resistance Movement, as well as others who apparently acted individually. For these people, patience was not endless.

Today it should occur to the Coloured community as a whole, as it did to the African people, that the time has come for the acceptance and support of new methods, those of armed struggle, for their emancipation from the yoke of white supremacy and the attainment of a status of equal and unconditional citizenship in South Africa.

The history of the Coloured people's efforts for the extension of the meagre political rights which they possessed in the past, and for the right, with other racial groups, to live as citizens of a truly democratic state, is one of struggle in the face of an opposition holding the reins of government and the State for itself exclusively and determined to surrender nothing, while maintaining the Coloured community permanently in the position of inferiors.

Whatever illusions some Coloured politicians might entertain about eventual "fair play" on the part of the white-supremacists, it should be quite clear that from the very inception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, successive ruling governments showed no intention of including the community in direct and equal participation in the affairs of their country.

NEW FORMS OF STRUGGLE FACE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLOURED COMMUNITY

First of a series of four articles
by Alex la Guma

The South African constitution was the exclusive creation of whites of which there were those representing the former Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics who accepted as a matter of principle that "the people will not permit the equalization of Coloured with white inhabitants". The "people" meaning whites only and "coloured" all non-whites. Likewise, the present Republic was established in 1961 without participation or consultation of the non-white population.

Prior to the establishment of the Union, the Coloured men of the Cape had been granted franchise rights which, even though on paper only, granted them direct representation. When the four provinces were united in 1910, it was agreed as a compromise to the Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Orange Free State that there were to be no non-whites in Parliament. Those in the Transvaal, OFS and Natal who did not have the vote would not get it.

Some Cape liberals protested at this arrangement and Mr. W. P. Schreiner led a deputation of Coloured men, including Dr. A. Abdurhaman, to London to petition the British Parliament, without success. This was the first, in modern history, of many peaceful deputations to governments for the preservation of rights. They were all in vain.

In order to further entrench white supremacy in South Africa, white women were given the vote in 1930.

TYPICAL CYNICISM

When the Nationalists came to power in 1948 they had a majority of only three in Parliament. Apart from the fact that they are against the non-whites having the franchise anyway, it was clear that the Coloured men's vote in the Cape and Natal, had gone against the Nationalist party, and these votes had to go.

The Nationalists with typical cynicism therefore claimed that a two-thirds majority of both houses was not needed to change the entrenched clauses of the Constitution which guaranteed Coloured men the vote, since to place them on a separate voters roll and give them four White MPs as representatives would not mean diminishing their rights.

The Coloured people replied with a massive campaign led by the Franchise Action Council. They acted on the standpoint that while current rights were not satisfactory, they were not prepared to retreat from that position to one of further political inferiority, but rather demanded the extension of their rights. Mass meetings and a general strike of workers in 1951 could not move the Nationalists.

A deputation led by the late George Golding went to Pretoria to see the Prime Minister. When confronted in Parliament by so many statements made by himself, Havenga, Stals and other Nationalists that the Coloured people should remain on the common roll, Malan merely waved them aside as "the dead hand of the past".

POLITICAL TRICKERY

In spite of protests, the Bill to remove Coloured voters from the common roll was passed. Then four Coloured voters, Messrs. E. A. Deane, W. D. Collins and two others instituted Supreme Court proceedings to declare the Act invalid. Their action was upheld in the Supreme Court of the Cape and again in Bloemfontein when the government appealed. The law was thrown out.

The Nationalists then simply passed a law setting up Parliament as a High Court to try constitutional matters of this kind. This "court" declared the Separate Representation Act legal. Coloured voters again took the Act to court and won their case again.

The Nationalists then passed the Senate Act and increased the Senate from 48 members to 80 and filled extra seats with their members. They then called a joint session of both Houses and obtained the required two-thirds majority. This time the courts ruled in favour of the Government.

Thus by means of the crudest bits of political trickery, in the face of every protest, the Coloured voters were removed from the common role.

The Nationalists are by no means satisfied with even the mock rights which the Coloured people possess today. Since the institution of separate representation by four White Members of Parliament, the Coloured voters have consistently returned non-Nationalist candidates to Parliament and the Provincial Council of the Cape. The latest acceptance of Progressive Party members, even though they stand for equality only on certain conditions, has irked the Government to the extent that it will now not tolerate Whites (i. e. anti-Nationalists) from "meddling in Coloured politics"; and threatens to abolish even the present farcical representation.

THIRD CLASS CITIZENS

Along with the emasculation of standing political rights and the enforcement of "seperate development" have come other methods of reducing the Coloured people still further to a status of thirdclass citizens.

It was the United Party government, while claiming to champion the cause of the Coloured people, which brought into existence the Coloured Advisory Council, and the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD), thereby manifestly proclaiming that the Coloured community is a sort of orphan or retarded child who must receive some kind of seperate and special treatment in the same way as the SPCA cares for homeless animals.

This Council was supposed to "advise (the government) in matters affecting the Coloured people", but when even its lackeys in the CAC made "urgent representations" to the United Party government to extend the Coloured vote to the Northern Provinces, it was not prepared to accede. (Second Annual Report of the CAC).

The establishment of the CAC and CAD was met by public



above: Early mass meeting of Coloured people in Cape Town

middle: Demonstration against opening of Coloured Affairs Dept., in Port Elizabeth

Alex La Guma, South African author who spent four years under house arrest and two periods of 90 and 180 days in solitary confinement



outry on the part of the Coloured community, but as usual white supremacy turned a deaf ear to any opposition.

The Nationalist Government, taking over where the United Party had left off, extended the "Coloured Council" into a Council of Coloured Affairs under a complete Ministry of Coloured Affairs which would control the future of the community under apartheid. In order to give this new apartheid institution a semblance of democracy the people would be able to elect some members to the CCA, the majority being appointed by the Government.

Again the Coloured people demonstrated their rejection of this travesty of political rights. The Coloured people boycotted the elections and "candidates" who supported the Government policy were duly declared elected unopposed. They took their seats in spite of their rejection by the people. Such was the opposition to the CCA that the Government refused the public admission to its sessions and all meetings of the Council had to be held in private. ■

The courage of their convictions

GOVAN MBEKI

Here is an outstanding figure in the A.N.C. leadership — a man who is both a dedicated freedom fighter and the possessor of a powerful intellect. Govan Mbeki's life has always been intimately connected with the Eastern Cape. He was born and educated in the Transkei, and gained a B.A. and diploma in education at the University College of Fort Hare. He has written extensively on the Transkei 'The Transkei in the Making', a — having published a book of essays booklet on co-operatives 'Let's do it Together' and, most recently, 'The Peasant Revolt' which has been published by the Penguin Africa Library since his imprisonment. He is, however, more than a historian — having always been aware that only political organisation could further the aims of the African people. Accordingly he worked as Port Elizabeth manager and editor of *New Age*, the popular political weekly which the South African government forced out of production and he also helped to build the A.N.C. Eastern Cape Region into the strongest and most effective section in the whole country. He was detained during the 1960 Emergency. In 1962, he was charged under the Explosives Act, following the initial sabotage operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Eastern Cape. After five months in solitary confinement, he was acquitted. When a house arrest order was served on him, he went underground and was arrested in the Rivonia raid. Sentenced to life imprisonment, he is now on Robben Island. People who have seen him there report that his single-minded devotion to the liberation of the African people is stronger than ever.

RAYMOND MHLABA

Raymond Mhlaba was closely associated with Govan Mbeki in the work



Govan Mbeki being chaired after addressing a mass meeting in Durban, South Africa

which made the A.N.C. such a strong organization in the Eastern Cape. He is a widower with eight children. Born in 1920, he completed Standard 8 and then became a worker in the dry-cleaning industry in Port Elizabeth. Personal experience swiftly convinced him of the necessity for labour organization. He joined the Laundry Workers' Union and soon became an active trade unionist and dedicated member of the A.N.C. As a result of his untiring work, he was elected chairman of the New Brighton branch — the most important in the Eastern Cape.

In 1952, he was involved in leading the Defiance Campaign in the Eastern Cape which brought thousands of Africans into the A.N.C. When police persecution eventually made open political activity impossible for him, he went underground to carry on the struggle. He was arrested at Rivonia and subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. He is on Robben Island.

Raymond is essentially a man of action with great courage and strong qualities of leadership. He has exerted a profound influence on many Africans participating in the liberation struggle.

HAROLD STRACHAN

An artist and university lecturer, Harold Strachan was a keen member of the Congress of Democrats in Durban. He was charged with taking part in

the mass march of Africans from Cato Manor to Durban at the time of the 1960 Emergency. He was acquitted. In 1962, he was charged under the Explosives Act and sentenced to three years imprisonment. He served the full term, spending much of it in solitary confinement. On his release in 1965, he determined to expose the dreadful brutality and degrading conditions existing in South Africa's prisons. He fearlessly described what he had experienced and witnessed and the result was an outstanding series of articles in the *Rand Daily Mail* which aroused world-wide concern. He was immediately banned in order to prevent further revelations and subsequently charged. No one who read the accounts of his case will forget the convincing quality of the evidence for the defence and the crudely 'cooked' appearance of the prosecution testimony by members of the prison service and convicts who had obviously been subjected to intimidation. However — yet another refutation of the arguments of those who still maintain that justice can be done in South African courts today — Harold was convicted and sentenced to two and a half years, later reduced, on appeal, to 18 months. In Pretoria, his high morale is much appreciated by his fellow-prisoners, who are all aware that he has done more than any other man to bring about the recent improvements which have taken place in conditions in some prisons.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

124 HANGED

There were 124 executions in South Africa last year — 39 more than in 1965, according to official figures. Of these 89 were African men, one African woman, 32 were Coloured men and two were whites.

The death penalty is mandatory for murder without extenuating circumstances and is permissible for rape, child stealing and armed robbery.

IMMIGRANTS PLEASE NOTE

The Society for the Maintenance of Afrikaans considers unilingual immigrants "half-baked and dangerous" and says that immigrants must be able to talk, read and write both official languages (Afrikaans and English), otherwise they are "undesirable".

BOXER KNOCKED OUT

A 30-year-old South African boxer's career has virtually ended because the Government has changed his race classification from White to Coloured.

The boxer, Ronnie van der Walt — who was considered White until recently — will now be unable to fight a white opponent in any contest in South Africa.

RACE CLASSIFICATION

In reply to a question in Parliament, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. le Roux, said that last year the Race Classification Appeal Board had received 268 objections, and 17 people had appealed to the courts against their race classification. Seventy appeals to the Board had succeeded.

The appeals had been against classification as Coloured, Indian and African and for classification as White, Coloured and Malay.

WELFARE BODY ACCEPTS APARTHEID

The South African National Council for Child Welfare has agreed to enforce a directive from the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development that the three different non-White races should meet in separate sub-committees of the Council in future.

The Council, an all-White body amended its constitution accordingly. Before the amendment Indians, Africans and Coloureds met in one sub-committee once a year.

NO ENTRY

Yolande Breytenbach, beautiful Vietnam-born wife of South African author and artist Breyten Breytenbach, had to slip into Swaziland through Lourenco Marques in order to meet her husband's parents who live in South Africa because she is a non-White and is married to a White.

IS THIS CRICKET?

What happens when an internationally recognised all rounder in cricket, because of his colour, incurs the wrath of Apartheid South Africa? Does the M.C.C. stand firm or does it compromise its position on the altar of expedience. This question will be discussed over and over again in British cricketing circles and by the British public until a final decision is arrived at before M.C.C.'s tour of South Africa next Winter.

M.C.C. who have been preparing for the 1968/69 tour have been told in no uncertain terms by the S.A. Government that English star, Basil D'Oli-

viera will not be welcome as part of any team to tour South Africa because of his colour.

Instead of rejecting this impertinent intrusion into British sport, the M.C.C. have stated that the matter will be considered after the team is selected.

In reply to a motion signed by 220 M.P.s, the British Minister of Sport, Mr. Denis Howell said that he was confident that if, "*when the time comes*, any player chosen for the touring side were to be rejected by the host country, there would be no question but that the M.C.C. would find such a condition wholly unacceptable and the projected tour would be abandoned".

Has the time not already come with the arrogant stand taken by the South African government?

Let us face it. M.C.C. does not want to commit itself to an outright rejection of the baaskap proposal of apartheid South Africa.

One can draw only one conclusion from this attitude. M.C.C. hopes that D'Oliviera will not be in form during the selection of the English team or that D'Oliviera will say to them, whatever his form, that he will not be available for selection, in which case an all-white English team can be chosen to tour South Africa, however immoral such a decision may be.

We say to Basil D'Oliviera: you owe it to sportsmen the world over and particularly to sportsmen in South Africa to stand firm on this issue. Some years ago, the Rev. David Sheppard sacrificed his cricketing career, when he refused to play against the South Africans. This courageous one-man stand was hailed by all true sport-lovers and, in particular, by the non-white population of South Africa. You too must now make your stand. Do not abdicate your responsibility to the oppressed peoples of South Africa. You can make or break the tour. Break it!

We say to the British public: rally around the growing demand that the 1968/69 South African tour be cancelled, if for no other reason than that you owe it to D'Oliviera who covered himself and England with glory during last summer's Test series against world champions West Indies. ■