

Sechaboa



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of South Africa



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COMMENTARY 1

BANDA'S TREACHERY

by ALFRED KGOKONG, Director of Publicity, A.N.C.



Hastings Banda
of Malawi:
cordial
relations
with
Vorster.

Dr Banda and his government, by fawning at the table of the White minority fascist regime of South Africa, has brought untold humiliation to Africa. In an editorial published on 10 February 1967 in our news bulletin ('Spotlight on South Africa', Vol. 5 No. 6) headed "The Voice of Esau", we drew our readers' attention to the treachery we felt was about to be committed against all the struggling people of Southern Africa.

At that time we warned, and now we repeat, that it is our duty as freedom-fighters for the liberation of the oppressed people to express strong disapproval of any conduct, whether private or public, by a Head of State or the man in the street, that contributes to an acceptance of apartheid or the entrenchment in power of the South African White racialists who practise it. Dr Banda and his regime have ignored our warning and force us to condemn their cordial relations with the Nazi-minded Vorster regime. In strongly deprecating the step Dr Banda and his government have taken, we hope that they will learn from the example set by Tunisia and Morocco, who refused to participate in the 22nd international cross-country race which was held in Barry near Cardiff on 18 March, because an all-White South African team also took part. Tunisia and Morocco have upheld the spirit of the OAU in their withdrawal from the race.

Dr Banda and his government have violated the OAU and U.N. resolutions calling for sanctions against South Africa. We expect the leaders of Africa to take stern measures at the next OAU summit to stop such disregard of voluntarily adopted resolutions by member-states. ■

COMMENTARY 2

HEROIC VIETNAM

Edited extracts from a statement made to the General Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization by ROBERT RESHA, Member of the African National Congress Executive.



In the past, we have praised and exalted the heroic Vietnamese people for their daily successes against United States imperialism. Indeed praises may inspire confidence for the freedom-fighters of Vietnam to know that they have friends who sympathise with them. And in the past we have issued scores of statements condemning American aggression in Vietnam. We have condemned the use of poison gas against the people of Vietnam and wanton bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We have called for the evacuation of American personnel and equipment from Vietnamese soil. Yet we find that far from withdrawing from Vietnam, the United States is increasing its manpower and war materials in Vietnam and is building more bases in satellite countries near Vietnam, for the purpose of stepping up aggression.

United States imperialism is free to call on its henchmen in Australia, South Korea, Thailand, New Zealand, Phillipines etc., to send manpower and arms for its dirty war of aggression against the peace-loving people of Vietnam. At the same time U.S. imperialism seeks to twist, distort and deny the just character of the valiant and patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people and the leading role of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. They have gone further. U.S. imperialism has the brazen audacity to smear and slan-

der the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by calling it an aggressor. With characteristic callousness and utter disregard for humanity, U.S. imperialism has undertaken a new step in the escalation of the war of aggression by bombing the densely populated residential areas of Hanoi and constantly shelling the coast of Vietnam.

U.S. BLACKMAIL

In a desperate attempt to isolate the Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is now engaged in an insidious political bargain wherein they are pressurising some African states to keep silent on Vietnam, in return for which the United States promises to support the African states on the issue of South West Africa. We must categorically denounce and condemn this immoral intrigue whereby Africa is expected to desert and betray Asian brothers struggling for National Independence and sovereignty, to which we ourselves aspire.

We of the liberation movement have no money or materials to offer to the people of Vietnam. Nor can we send volunteers to Vietnam much as we may like to do so. But we can assist the people of Vietnam by developing armed struggles in our areas where conditions demand the use of violent action. In doing so we would be weakening the enemy and not allow it to concentrate in one area: for, let us make no mistake, the

enemy is one whether it be the United States in Vietnam and Latin America, Britain in Aden and Rhodesia, or Vorster, Salazar and Smith in Southern Africa — they all serve the same policies of exploitation, subjugation and enslavement of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

BURY THE MONSTER

We pay the highest homage to the fighting people of Vietnam. We pledge our support, confident that together we shall eventually bury the imperialist monster. We have always supported the just demands of the Vietnamese people and we here affirm our unreserved support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. We fully support the five-point stand of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the four-point declaration of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as well as the latest statement of the Foreign Minister of the D.R.V. on the solution of the Vietnam problem. We salute the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by their dauntless President Ho Chi Min for their courageous adherence to principle. Their stand is an inspiration to all people struggling against imperialism. We maintain as always that the demands of the Vietnamese people are the only stable and lasting basis on which peace could be restored to that long-suffering, troubled and heroic land. ■

SOUTH WEST

A MAJOR PROBLEM FACING THE U. N. AND THE PEOPLES

"Slow start by United Nations Committee on South West Africa" said a British newspaper headline on 13 January 1967, reporting on the Committee of 14 which is to recommend to the UN practical means of taking over the administration of South West Africa. (The UN Committee has to submit a report to the General Assembly.)

The people of South West Africa have spent more than twenty years watching UN Committees get off to "a slow start" and then, the start having been made, and a strong resolution of condemnation or even of intent to act having been passed by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, we have had time after time the dilemma of UN decisions being undermined or locked in the persistent refusal of the Big Powers of the west to act against South Africa's illegal theft of the former mandate.



INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACIES

The South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), in the editorial to the November and December issues of "Namib Today", says:

"The passage of the resolution to terminate the mandate does not in any way imply the end of the problem . . . It has merely taken a different course which could be extremely dangerous . . . The major problem facing the United Nations is how to implement the resolution. The UN has passed more than 73 resolutions on SWA since its inception . . . The behind-the-scenes manoeuvres of the Big Powers constitute an obstacle to a successful implementation . . . The current resolution is in no way significant unless it is fully carried out."

And, in a further article on the UN Committee: "The United Nations is infested with political intrigue and international conspiracies of all types. Its various Committees are victims of the same political intrigue . . . There is no guarantee that the work of the Committee . . . will be free from political influences from certain nations . . ."

The futilities in the long-drawn-out debate about the future of South West Africa were never more glaringly exposed than in the judgement last year of the International Court of Justice, which wriggled out of expressing an opinion after years of argument and the expenditure of thousands of pounds — much of it African States' money.

NEVER AGAIN

Never again resort to the Court or legal quibbles, vowed the African States.

Achkar Marof of Guinea said of the Judgement: "I never expected the case to be decided on legal principles alone. Nevertheless, I'm glad. This will convince all Africans — all of Africa — that there is no ground for belief or hope that this issue can be settled by reasonable means."

It was the pressure of African States at the United Nations which led to the General Assembly Resolution No. 2145 which stated: ". . . the mandate conferred upon his Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the territory, and henceforth South West Africa comes under direct responsibility of the United Nations."

HORSE-TRADING

Britain abstained from the vote and has boycotted the Committee of 14 set up to devise ways and means of achieving UN administration of South West Africa. This is consistent with her record of affording the South African Government constant protection. There was no doubt at the time that the SWA issue last came before the UN that Britain was going in for some shady horse-trading with Verwoerd, and private assurances of support for one another over the Smith regime in Rhodesia and over South Africa's confrontation with the UN over any attempted enforcement decision, were going back and forth. (Britain uses the argument that in tackling Southern Africa she prefers to deal with Rhodesia first, leaving SWA till later and avoiding a direct clash with South Africa for as long as possible; but seeing that there is no "tackling" of Rhodesia, that excuse falls lamely to the ground.) Britain's refusal to serve on the Committee of 14 is a reliable augury of her stand when the Committee reports to the General Assembly.

"USE FORCE"

When the Committee of 14 began its sessions it had before it a proposal from the South West Africa National United Front (SWANUF) for the sending of a UN military force to South West Africa to expel the South African administration. SWANUF has asked the Committee to recommend the use of force in accordance with Chapter 7 of the Charter, which provides for such measures in the event of a breach of, or threat to breach, peace. The SWANUF resolution called on the United States and the Soviet Union, both of them members of the Committee of 14, to contribute military units complete with air and naval support "for the expulsion of the South African apartheid and racist colonial regime."

AFRICA

OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

APARTHEID ENTRENCHED

Meanwhile in South West Africa itself the South African Government's apartheid and police rule are more deeply entrenched than ever. For the Whites, and it is the Whites alone who benefit from the financial boom, life has never looked better. There is a record rise in the price of copper, a record rise in production of diamonds, record fish catch and canning profits, a record surplus to the budget. British trade with South West Africa, in addition to her trade with South Africa, is bigger and better than ever.

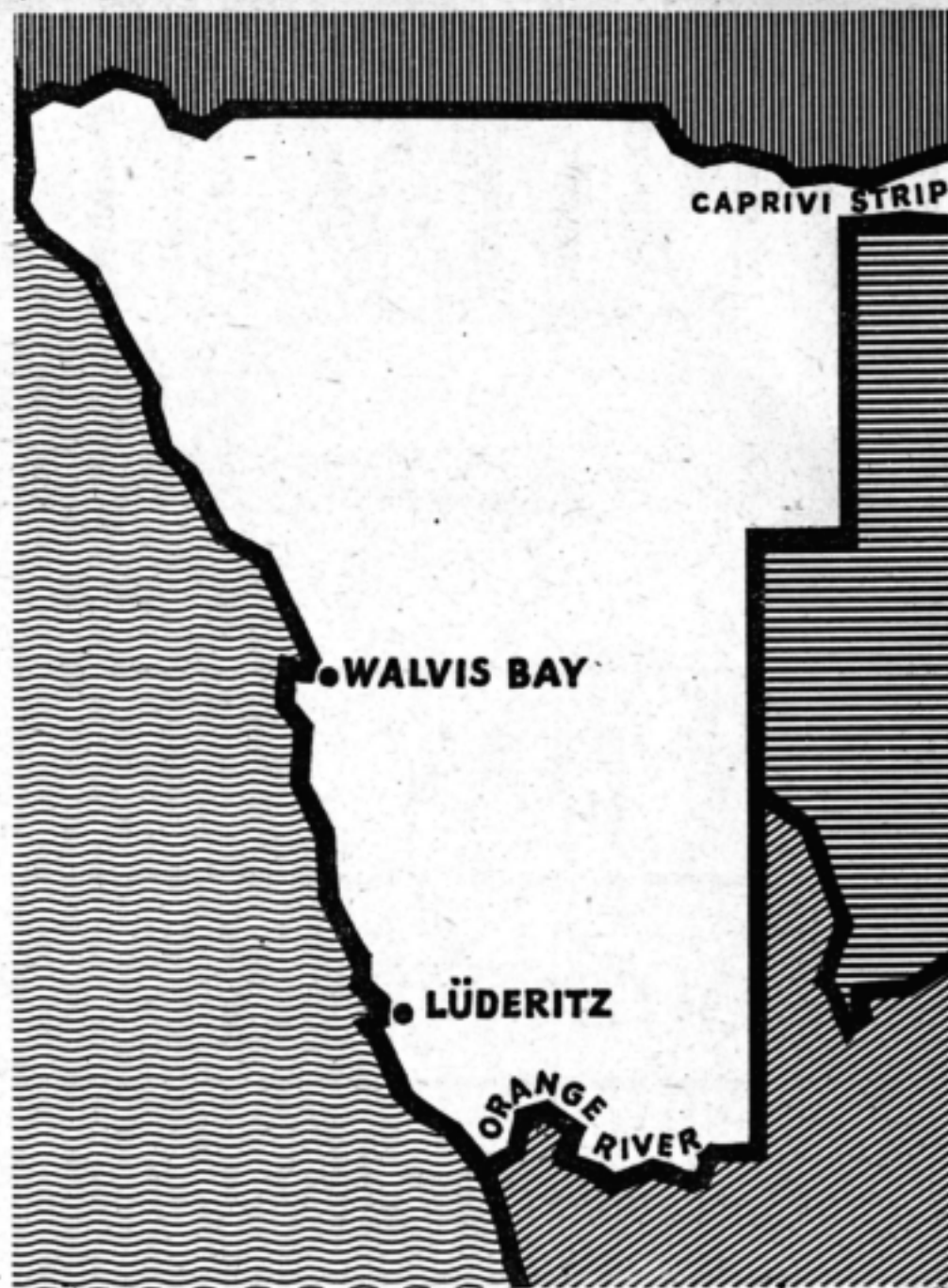
The Government has by now spent an estimated £10 million buying up White-owned farms (at record profits for the White farmers who move off and settle in comfortable areas somewhere else), ready for the division of the country into eleven 'Bantustans', doomed to economic stagnation and misery. The advance to full Odendaal Commission apartheid has become a headlong rush.



SWAPO FIGHTS BACK

Since 21 July when the South West African People's Organization announced that its leaders were returning home to liberate their country by force, freedom-fighters have made a number of attacks in the north of the territory. South Africa's response has been to extend her own security legislation to the territory. The Suppression of Communism Act has been made retrospective to 1950; arbitrary detention under the 180-day law applies to South West Africa. Official figures have not been released but several dozen leading political figures and freedom-fighters, including Herman ja Toivo, Nathaniel Maxuilili, John Ja-Otto and Jason Mutumbulua, have been arrested and, it is reported, are being detained in Pretoria. The gruesome pattern of detention under the 180-day law is only too well known: torture of victims by the Security Branch to find informers to build the State case, then prosecution on serious capital charges under a system rigged to destroy the African freedom struggle.

The reality of White Supremacy power in South West Africa and the whole of Southern Africa must be squarely faced.



South West Africa is, or should be, a crucial international issue on its own merits. It is also crucial to the future of the whole sub-continent. The Rhodesian debacle is part of the confrontation with Vorster, for behind Smith stands Vorster and a victory for either is support for the other.

All Southern Africa is part of the same freedom fight. The stirring progress of Frelimo guerilla fighters in the north of Mozambique, striking formidable blows in Southern Africa's first armed struggle, will need allied supporting struggles in other parts of the South. The African States, singly and in the OAU, will not rest secure while the Vorster-Smith-Salazar garrison supplies mercenary armies and the economic power to block African advance.

WHAT CAN FORCE ACTION IN THE SOUTH?

- A SHARPENING OF AFRICAN STATES' POLICIES ON ISSUES LIKE SOUTH WEST AFRICA, WHICH MUST MAKE THE POWERS OF THE WEST CHOOSE BETWEEN THE AFRICAN STATES AND THE WHITE DICTATORSHIPS IN AFRICA.
- THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD SHOULDERS WITH THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA; FOR ALL ARE VICTIMS OF THE SAME VICIOUS OPPRESSION AND ONE CAN NEVER BE FREE WITHOUT THE OTHER.
- THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA GIVING EVERY SUPPORT TO THE FREEDOM ASPIRATIONS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. WE FIGHT TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXIST SIDE BY SIDE IN FRIENDSHIP AS FREE PEOPLES.

UNITY IN ACTION

MAY DAY

in South Africa

and the unity,

forged in struggle,

between the


African National

Congress

and the South

African Congress

of Trade Unions



May Day has its origins in the stirring events of May 1886 when 340,000 workers in Chicago, Illinois, downed tools in support of demands relating to their conditions of employment. At that time in our country the Witwatersrand gold mines had just been opened and the basis was being laid for the rapid industrialization which was to follow. It is significant that as early as 1893 the white mine workers on the Witwatersrand responded to a call which had been made by the 1889 Paris Congress of the first Socialist International, calling on workers everywhere to observe May 1st as a day of struggle for workers' rights.

In 1907 the South African Trades and Labour Council decided to initiate a campaign to force the authorities to recognise May Day as a public holiday. It was not until the 20s under the Labour-Nationalist Pact government that this was conceded to certain categories of workers. But the corrupting influence of white domination soon made its impact on the organized white workers. What little there was of class consciousness and of a socialist workers' tradition which some of the immigrants had brought with them from the factories of Western Europe, was soon bartered away for the privileges which a white skin attracts in South Africa. Workers' solidarity remained nothing more than a memory. After all, this great day of international solidarity called, in the first place, for solidarity within our country between white and black workers. But the gulf separating them was being widened continuously.

DOCILE ACCEPTANCE

Little wonder then that the campaign which was inspired by the Broederbond in the 30s against the observance of May Day — describing it as 'foreign', 'Communistic' and 'anti-South African' — had as its climax the docile acceptance by the white trade union movement of the virtual ban of May Day as a workers' holiday. The present Nationalist Government has consistently refused to give the force of law to industrial agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act which made provision for May 1st as a paid holiday. In some cases white privileged workers' groups did not even wait for government action. In 1964 the white artisan staff of the S.A. Railways voluntarily decided to give up May Day as a holiday because of its "communist associations".



But for the masses of the non-white workers, May Day has always been a day of importance and will continue to be so. Almost without a break, until it became legally impossible to continue, the non-racial section of the trade union movement — in the earliest days the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and later the South African Congress of Trade Unions — inspired mass observance of this workers' day. Because, in South Africa, the exploitation of the non-white workers as a group, and especially of the African workers, cannot be divorced from their oppression as a national entity, May Day had importance not only for the progressive trade union movement but also for the African National Congress.

18 WORKERS SHOT

Thus it is no accident that in 1950 the Transvaal A.N.C. jointly with other organizations chose May 1st as the day on which to call a general strike on the Witwatersrand in protest against the Nationalist government's attacks on freedom of speech and the people's organizations. The response of the workers was magnificent. And, as in Chicago in 1886, the response of the government was typical of men who stand in fear of the power of the mass of the people. In Sophiatown (the African area which, under army and police supervision, was later bulldozed into the ground to make way for white occupiers) the people were mowed down by police bullets. 18 Africans were killed.

MAY DAY AND FREEDOM DAY

It was as a protest against this massacre as well as against the proposed Group Areas and Suppression of so-called Communism legislation, that the ANC initiated a national campaign which culminated in a nation-wide stoppage of work on 26 June 1950. Thus there is a bond — forged in struggle — between the day of workers' solidarity and our Freedom Day, June 26th.

Photos. Above: Section of a mass meeting in support of May Day strike, 1950. Right: George Mbele, organizer of the Natal ANC and now serving five years, is chaired after a May Day meeting in Durban, 1956. On his left is Dr G.M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress.

There were no mass public demonstrations in South Africa on May 1st this year: not because there is nothing to demonstrate about nor because May Day has no meaning. The Police State has long ago made it next to impossible for the people to register their protest and anger by traditional methods such as mass meetings and processions. But in this way the white oligarchy in South Africa is daily making more certain the fact that a hail of bullets rather than a chant of slogans will usher in the beginning of the inevitable transformation. ■



THE MAN WITH A SILVER TONGUE

PEN PICTURE
OF SOUTH AFRICA'S
NEW PRESIDENT,
DR. T. E. DONGES

The first State President of the South African Republic, Mr C.R. Swart, having announced his intention to resign, the Nationalist Party has nominated the man who is destined to become President at the formal ceremony on the sixth birthday of the Republic, 31 May 1967.

He is Dr Theophilus Ebenhaezer Donges, the Minister of Finance in the present Vorster government. Aged 72, Dr Donges has been a leading figure in the Nationalist Party for over 40 years. Though the highest office in the party's list — that of the premiership — has eluded him, he has now been "kicked upstairs" into the position of President as a reward for faithful services in the past.

Dr Donges was born in the Transvaal town of Klerksdorp in 1895, son of a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church of German origin. He was educated in the country town of Robertson in the Cape, and won a bursary for further study at Stellenbosch University, where he obtained the degree of B.A. and M.A. with distinction. Another scholarship took him to London in 1921, where he gained his LLB with honours and was called to Middle Temple. In 1923 he continued his studies at the London School of Economics and finally obtained his LL.D. at the University of London.

Returning to South Africa in 1923, Dr Donges was appointed editor of the first English-language publication of the Nationalist Party, the "*South African Nation*". Later in the same year he was appointed assistant chief editor of the Nationalist daily "*Die Burger*". Five years later he left journalism to return to the bar, and rapidly built up a flourishing practice, becoming a K.C. in 1939.

INFECTED BY NAZISM

During the period of the 30s and the second world war, Donges, like all the Nationalist leaders of the time, became deeply infected with the Nazi racialist poison. Together with Dr. Verwoerd he was one of those who played a leading role in the agitation against the immigration of refugees from the Hitler terror in Germany, and at a public meeting in 1936 went on record with the statement: "The Jew is an insoluble element in every national life."

The Nationalist agitation was not without effect. The United Party government led by Smuts and Hertzog was put on the defensive and attempted by administrative action to hold up the flow of refugees. In many instances entry permits which had been granted to the relatives of Jews already in South Africa were cancelled. Many German Jews who might have found safety in South Africa were to perish in Hitler's death camps as a direct consequence of this foul agitation started by the Nationalist Party and enjoying the active support and participation of the man who is now to become State President.

RESPONSIBLE FOR TRAGEDY

Dr Donges entered Parliament in 1941 and in 1948, after the Nationalists came to power, was appointed Minister of the Interior. In this capacity he was responsible for some of the most vicious racial laws placed on the Statute Book by the Nationalist Government. Among them were:

1. The Population Registration Act, establishing a racial register of the population who would have to carry identity cards for purposes of race classification.
2. The Group Areas Act providing for the establishment of ghetto areas for the various Non-White races and the wholesale removal of Non-Whites from the best White areas.



South African Coloured Peoples Congress

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

Price 1/-d.

*Obtainable from:
S. A. C. P. C.
49 Rathbone Street,
London W1. England*

3. The Separate Representation of Voters Act, providing for the removal of Coloured voters from the common voters' roll — a right they had enjoyed for over a century.

These laws brought tragedy and chaos into tens of thousands of homes, especially to Non-Whites who were forced to abandon businesses and homes where they had lived all their lives, and to so-called borderline Whites who were in danger of being re-classified Coloured. Every year a number of suicides occur among victims of these laws whose lives are so transformed that they can no longer face the future.

In 1958 Dr Donges was appointed Minister of Finance, the most powerful position in the Cabinet after that of Premier. He had been leader of the Nationalist Party in the Cape Province since 1939, and on two occasions leader of the South African delegation at the United Nations.

THE SILVER TONGUE

For all his brilliance as a lawyer and debater, however, Dr Donges has never won the respect and love of his friends, though he has fully earned the hatred of his enemies. Known as "the man with the silver tongue", he was perhaps too clever to suit the more blunt spirit of the majority of Afrikaner Nationalists, who like to call a spade a spade.

In 1953 for example, Dr Donges, despite his record of anti-Semitism, was able to attend a tea-party commemorating the golden jubilee of the Jewish community of the Cape country town of Worcester and declare: "There is certainly a kinship between Jew and Afrikaner".

When it fell to his lot to tell the Indian people that it was Government policy to get rid of them, he was able nevertheless to reassure them that "repatriation (to India) will be applied in a friendly way." (Because of India's refusal to co-operate, the Government was never able to enforce this threat.)

Explaining his re-classification procedures, which brought humiliation and tragedy to so many innocent victims, Dr Donges said: "Race classification removes uncertainty. My officials have been instructed to classify with the utmost humanity. The idea is not to be hard."

He was too clever, too smooth-tongued. Twice he allowed his name to go forward as a candidate for the premiership — once after the death of Dr Malan and again after the assassination of Dr Verwoerd. Twice he was rejected. Now his elevation to the Presidency will remove him from the sphere of politics altogether, and convert him from policy maker into mumbler of commonplace banalities.

His highest ambition will never be realised: but he ought to find plenty of scope for his silver tongue. ■

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LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

A SOUTH AFRICAN AT THE HINGE OF FATE

The room, on the second floor of a building in Victoria Street in Cape Town, is bleak and underfurnished. The walls are painted grey and it looks like the magistrate's court in a country town.

This drab place is where the lines that divide race from race are finally drawn. It is the meeting place of the Race Classification Appeal Board.

A rather frail, sallow-faced man with spectacles and a grey business suit sits on a steel chair at one end of the austere chamber. Beside him is a pregnant woman with long black hair. She is trying to control their three-year-old boy who, if this appeal fails, becomes the consequence of an offence under the Immorality Act.

The man is classified as Coloured and the woman as White. They met six years ago. They are living together, but she learned only recently that he was classified as Coloured.

His future at stake

The man is nervous because the Board is hearing his appeal against his classification, and all the most important things in his life are at stake.

In front of him sits the advocate, Mr Brian Bamford, and the attorney, Miss Vivian Malan, who will argue his case. To the right sits a lawyer representing the State.

Across the room, behind a row of tables, sits the tribunal which will decide the man's race. The chairman is Mr A. Barnard, a practising advocate and former magistrate. He is assisted by two retired magistrates who sit on either side of him.

The chairman is an amiable, paternal man, who starts proceedings by gently requesting the man to move a little to the left so that the Board can see him.

Seeing him is important. For the first question which the Board has to decide

in order to satisfy the terms of the Population Registration Act is whether he *looks* White.

Plain to see

In simple, lucid words the Chairman explains the law to the man. As he speaks he and the other two Board members gaze at the man across the room.

The Chairman describes the first requirement of White status. "Some-one must be obviously White. It must be plain to see," he says.

Then it depends on whether he is generally accepted as White, where he lives, where he works, where he worships, where his children go to school.

A few more minutes and the first hurdle has been crossed. The Board has decided that the man looks White. It took about eight minutes.

The respectable barber

"Now the question of acceptance must be decided," says the chairman.

The first witness to testify for the man is a barber from Salt River. Lawyers regard hairdressers as among the best witnesses. The barber's shop, they say,



is a White sanctum and if a man's barber says he's White it must make an impression on the Board.

"I cater for Whites only," says the barber in a thick Mediterranean accent. "The appellant has been coming to me for about two years and I take him for a White person. I don't know his mother and father."

The State's representative observes that many Coloured people live in Salt River. "How do you know whether your clients are White?" he asks.

"If a man comes in and he looks White and he is nicely dressed I cannot ask him for his identity card. I am not a policeman," says the barber. "I get a lot of dark-complexioned customers. As long as they look respectable I cut their hair."

Next, a director of companies who employs the man as a salesman. He first met the man in 1959 and has always regarded him as White. Sometimes the man has visited his home to discuss business over tea and a cigarette. The director's wife has accepted the man as White. On one or two occasions they have had lunch together at a White restaurant.

Then comes one of the ultimate tests. The director tells the Board that the man uses the White lavatory at work.

Friends and wife

A cafe proprietor enters the witness box. He has known the man for twenty years and has always taken him to be White. They were children together and lived on the same street. It was occupied by both Whites and Coloureds. The man lived at the White end, he says. The man's mother was White and his father "very White".

Other friends of the man come and say the same thing. Finally the woman enters the witness box to testify that the man whose child she bore is White. Both her parents were White, she says. About six years ago she met the man at a party for Whites and they started going out. She regarded him as White. They wanted to get married. The little boy had been born as a result of the relationship. They lived together at the home of the man's White niece. "I know she's White because I've seen her card", says the woman.

No, she does not know of the man associating with Coloured people, she says in reply to a question by the State's representative.

She was a Roman Catholic and a member of a church attended by both Whites and Coloureds, who sat on separate sides

of the centre aisle. She always sat on the White side.

1951 census form

The chairman begins to sum up. The 1951 census form completed by the man's father, he says, listed the race of his family as "South African," and later on as "Mixed". The race of his last child was given as "mixed". He says that when the man applied for an identity card he used the form for Coloured people. He had given his own race as "mixed," his father's as "mixed" and his mother's as "white."

On the man's birth certificate in 1927 the father had given the race of both parents as "mixed."

On the basis of these forms, says the Chairman, the Secretary of the Interior had classified the man as Coloured.

The Board decides

"But now we have an abundance of evidence to show that you are accepted as a White person," he says. Therefore the Board agreed that his classification should be changed. The Board members leave the room. The man rises and nervously lights a cigarette.

"I'll have to get used to this", he says. "It has been a great strain. Never knew what might have happened. There are more avenues open to me now. We plan to get married." The man, the woman and the small boy leave. The man is ruffling the boy's tousled hair as they walk.

He had waited 18 months for his case to be heard. He has to pay £200 in lawyer's and counsel's fees. But now he can exchange the card that identified him as a Coloured man for one stating that he is White.

His race has just been officially changed



by the three representatives of the South African state.

(From an article by Tertius Myburgh published in the STAR, South Africa)

POLICEMAN CANES AFRICANS

A former Hartbeesfontein police constable, Jacobus Johannes Nel, was last month found guilty of assaulting six African prisoners by hitting them several times with a cane, slapping, kneeling and throttling them.

In evidence against him another constable, Solomon Mere, said: "We arrived at Leeudoringstad at 11,25 p.m. Nel drove into a back yard of a house from which the sound of music was heard. I came to the conclusion Nel was going to a party.

"He got back into the police van at 1.15 a.m. smelling strongly of liquor. On our way back Nel said that we had to call at Dominion Reefs, as he wanted to "pick up a few quick cases". He stopped at a house and went into the servant's quarters where we found several Africans in a room. Nel told me to stand guard at the door while he awakened the (White) owner of the house. The owner said that only one African had permission to sleep on the premises.

"... Nel started hitting the Africans with his cane ... Later he asked the prisoners if they knew of any other Africans sleeping illegally in servant's quarters. They said they did not.

"He then ordered one of the Africans to get out and told him to lean against the police van with his hands above his head. He then started caning the man." Nel was fined £10 on each charge.

PRETORIA SEES AFRICAN DRINK WITH WHITES

Police temporarily suspended the liquor laws at a Pretoria hotel one day last month to allow Mr Abel Sikunane, Principal in the Botswana Ministry of Home Affairs, to drink with his White colleagues who were accompanying him on a delegation from Botswana.

Mr Willem Olivier, the hotel manager where Mr Sikunane stayed, told reporters that it was not the first time that a non-White had slept in the hotel. "We are prepared to accept people of standing", he said. "This is done discreetly. Of course, unless there has been a special arrangement with the police, no liquor can be served."

PRETORIA - NO COLLECTIONS FOR NON-WHITES

For more than a year the Pretoria City Council has banned street collections for



non-White causes without this fact having been reported in the Press or becoming common knowledge.

This was revealed for the first time last month at a Pretoria Management Committee, when an application was made by the Union of Jewish Women for a new street collection date for White charity. Mr A. Delpont, clerk of the Council, revealed that the organization's earlier request had been turned down because "they would have collected in aid of non-Whites".

LAWYERS TO BE DISQUALIFIED

The Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill which has been introduced in the South African Parliament will disqualify "named" Communists or persons convicted for offences under the Suppression of Communism Act from practising as advocates, attorneys, notaries or conveyancers.

The Bill will also empower the Minister to prohibit "named" Communists from receiving direct benefit of any kind from any organization specified in the Government Gazette without the consent of the Minister or a magistrate. Such order may also prohibit such person from participating in any way in the activity of any organization so specified.

The existing law only empowers the Minister to prohibit "named" Communists from becoming office-bearers or members of specified organizations.

The new provision is designed to deal with organizations such as *Defence and Aid*, which has been declared an illegal organization.

(Note: "Communists" are "named" by the Minister of Justice. A "named" person has no recourse to law, as the Minister has arbitrary powers of "naming".)



ARUSHA, AFRICA,

The historic ARUSHA DECLARATION, made public by President Julius Nyerere on 5 February to a crowd of nearly 100,000, is a decisive document, not only for the socio-economic development of Tanzania but for the whole of Africa. It brings sharply into focus the real mass social base for economic advancement and draws the appropriate conclusions as to the nature and direction of this development.

ENEMIES AND CARPERS

It is understandable that such a vital step in the direction of Socialism will inevitably anger the imperialists who, we are sure, will do everything to sabotage the effective implementation of Socialism in Tanzania. The sneers are already there: one American weekly described it as "tribal socialism." Some so-called socialists, on reading of the nationalization of the banks in Tanzania, sneered: "Hah, even the Labour Party in Britain nationalized industries. Was that socialism?" they ask. These gentlemen are the victims of their infantile brand of armchair pseudosocialism. We know them from South Africa. We remember how they used to brand leaders of the African Revolution, including Dr Nkrumah, President Nasser and others, as bourgeois aspirants, lackeys and agents of imperialism and so on!! These dogmatists overlook the fact that in Tanzania there are no big monopoly enterprises ready to take advantage of the cheap services of the nationalised sector, as in Britain.

"SOCIALISM" — USE AND MISUSE

The term 'socialism' has been much misused and abused. But whatever the path taken towards genuine socialism, its basic tenets are unchangeable. In essence, socialism means the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, with scientific planning of the economy and with political power vested in the workers and peasants. The question was, and is, Can the African states embark on socialism under present circumstances? — and not, Do the people of Africa want socialism? For there is no doubt that in the struggle against colonial oppression and for national liberation,

the people recognised that imperialism was their main enemy and that socialism offered a chance to break away from the economic bonds of imperialism. This fact was so much a vital part of the masses in Africa that even anti-socialists had to hide their sinister plans under the guise of socialism.

The phrase "African Socialism" has come much to the forefront since the wave of National Liberation first swept over Africa. Genuine socialists have accepted the phrase to mean that, while the basic tenets of socialism are unchangeable, conditions in Africa are different from those in other parts of the world, and the paths to socialism in Africa would, therefore, be different. However, reactionaries, imperialists and their apologists have grasped this term to suit their own purposes.

Thus in the foreword to Father B. Onouha's book "The Elements of African Socialism," Father John Maxwell, a Catholic priest, writes: "Private enterprise can prosper and at the same time be socially responsible. By bold and scientific legislation, we can take the sting out of capitalism and render it harmless . . ."

Father Onouha describes this as ". . . the capitalist monster subdued, purified and rendered marriageable to socialism . . ."

This is a crude illustration to establish the point that socialism is accepted by the masses of Africa; that this fact is recognised by anti-socialists and that they will undertake all manner of contortions and distortions to confuse and to mislead the masses. But leaving aside the imperialists and their apologists, the question of economic advancement seriously faced African leaders when their countries achieved political independence.

IMPORTING CAPITAL

A long history of colonial plunder had left their countries poverty-stricken and backward, with the whole economy centred on one or two primary products which had to be exported to the industrialised metropolitan countries. In turn, Africa, lacking money and industries, had to import capital and manufactured goods from these very countries. The ef-

fects of this state of affairs are nothing short of devastating, for international monopoly, controlling world prices, can drive down the prices of these primary products and raise the price of its capital and manufactured goods.

The Secretary-General of the UN Trade and Development Conference in 1964 estimated that by 1970 the 77 developing countries would lose, in ONE year, £7,000 million to the developed countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A., as a result of the rise in the prices of capital and manufactured goods. (*Idris Cox, "Socialist Ideas in Africa."*)

The choice was therefore obvious at the time of the achievement of political independence. Either continue as in the colonial past and thus continue to suffer imperialist exploitation with its concomitants of poverty and backwardness, or break sharply from the past and take the path towards socialism. There was no third way: the development of capitalism was not possible, for the newly independent countries lacked the physical and economic resources, the financial reserves, the colonies and the armed might to foster and develop an indigenous capitalism against the expected and inevitable opposition of imperialism. In addition, the political climate was such that terms like 'imperialism' and 'capitalism' were hated by the masses, and their opposition could not be ignored.

SOCIALISM IN AFRICA

On the other hand, the possibility of economic transformation through socialism was there. The mass social base at the time of independence comprised of the workers and the peasants. The African bourgeoisie on the other hand was weak and small (less than 5%). The African past was rooted in tribalism with its tradition of communal living: so the psychological prerequisites were there. Further, the classical contradiction between co-operation in production on one side and private ownership on the other was sharply underlined by the fact that in most instances the latter was vested in foreigners. Also, the struggle for national liberation had resulted in one single mass party, and the organizational framework was consequently there to carry the African Revolution through to socialism.

Several countries in Africa have already made their choice and have begun on the road to socialism. Ghana, at the time of the military coup, was in the process of carrying through its seven-year plan launched in 1963. Several overseas monopoly firms had been taken over, including shipping, cable and wireless, civil aviation, several diamond mines etc. The

AND SOCIALISM





monopoly of the United Africa Company over cocoa had been broken and a Cocoa Farmer's Co-operative Society set up. Several new state enterprises were established with the aid of socialist countries. In agriculture by 1965 there were over 100 State farms and over 1,000 co-operative farms. Above all, there was the gigantic Volta Dam scheme with its potential for the transformation of the Ghanaian economy.

ALGERIA, GUINEA, MALI, UAR

Similarly the Algerian Government after the victory over the French in 1961 had embarked on massive land reform and a radical change of the backward economy on the basis of socialism. Over half the agricultural land has been taken over already and more than 500 industrial enterprises nationalised. These are now managed by Workers' Councils. Egypt, having chosen the path of anti-imperialism and socialism, nationalised the banks and all major industries in 1963—65, and largescale land reform has been speeded up. The achievement of socialism is also the aim set by Guinea and Mali, and here too many French enterprises have been taken over, agrarian reform is on the way, and many co-operative farms are being developed.

TANZANIA

The Arusha Declaration does not, thus, come in a vacuum. Socialism has been accepted and is being established in Africa. Tanzania has now openly and boldly chosen the road.

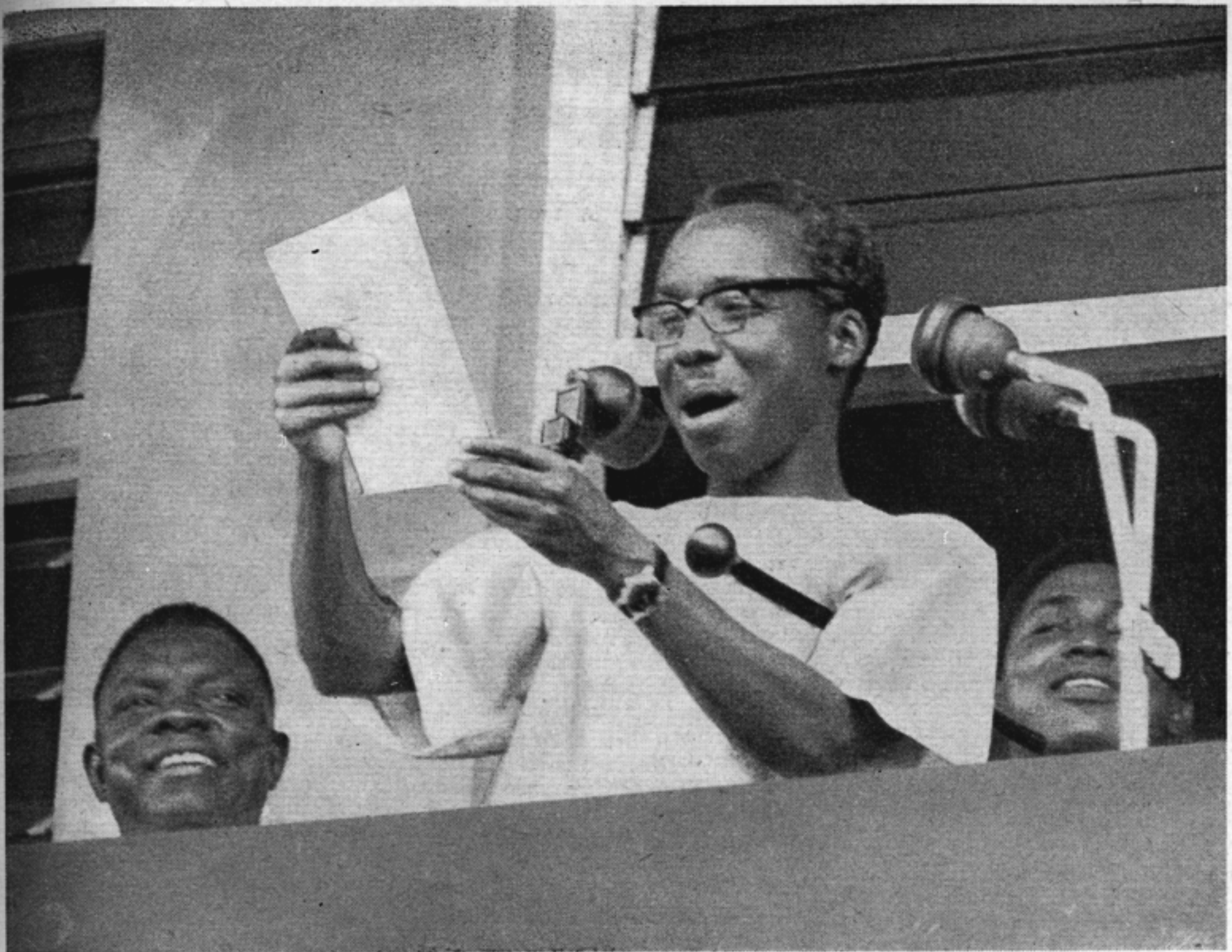
However, it must not be thought that 5 February brought about a sudden, dramatic revolutionary change in Tanzania —

as though the past had been altogether different. President Nyerere and TANU have a long, principled and honourable record of being always on the side of Africa, on the side of progress and the future. Did not Tanzania break with Britain over the Rhodesian issue, despite the loss of much needed financial assistance? Did not President Nyerere have the courage to openly expose the weakness of the OAU? Did not Tanganyika unite with Zanzibar at a time when the leaders of the Zanzibar Revolution were being villified on all sides?

The wheels of economic change had already been set in motion before the Arusha Declaration; thus, since independence in 1961, the number of co-operative societies has increased until today there are nearly one thousand, and the Tanzania co-operative movement is one of the most highly developed in Africa. In 1963 these co-operatives handled goods to the value of over £14,000,000, and they have their own Co-operative Bank. 40% of investments in 1963 were in the public sector. The growth of State enterprises has long been encouraged. The need for the socialization of the means of production has been recognised. Thus President Nyerere stated in 1965: — *"All countries calling themselves Socialist or Communist had one common aim, that is, the building of a society without classes. We have the same aim, but the methods to achieve it are different... Socialism means popular ownership of the means of production..."*

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

So, on 5 February 1967, we had the Arusha Declaration, boldly proclaiming to the world that "the policy of TANU



is to build a Socialist state", and stating *inter alia* that "all human beings are equal", that "in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production". The Declaration is too lengthy to quote further here, but the most important features are :

1. The stress on power and the control of the economy being vested in the workers and the peasants.
2. The recognition of socialism as an ideology to be implemented by the people who believe in it and practise it.
3. The effective control of all principal means of production, and the opening of the way for the collective ownership of the resources of the country.
4. The need to eliminate exploitation.
5. The need for vigilance in guarding against the temptations of feudalism and capitalism.
6. The need for self-reliance and hard work.
7. The need to work towards the liberation of all Africa.
8. The need to co-operate with other States in Africa in bringing about African Unity.

In pursuance of the Arusha Declaration and the policy of socialism, the Tanzanian Government has already nationalised : ten banks, eleven export/import and wholesale companies, eight major flour mills. The support of the masses for this policy was demonstrated by the joy of the thousands of marchers whom the President named the Green Guards.

THE WAR IS ON

The future will not be easy. Imperialism is watching, hawk-eyed, over-ready to stifle all signs of progress. The series of counter-revolutions in Africa during 1966 were severe blows

to the African Revolution. Democrats, progressives and socialists have to be doubly vigilant in protecting and advancing the Revolution. As the editorial in the Dar-es-Salaam "Nationalist" on 6 February put it : "The war is on. The war is on against the elements of capitalism, feudalism and servility in our society . . . The Arusha Declaration is a momentous blueprint in our history and gateway to the path to a democratic socialist society. Its full implementation will not be smooth. Indeed, we can anticipate that there will be those who will desire no alteration in the status quo, preferring the profits of the existing order. On them we have declared war. We intend to be vigilant."

Bravely spoken!

We in the ANC, struggling for a democratic non-racial South Africa, salute President Nyerere, the Government, the Party and the People of Tanzania on this historic advance in the realization of a world in which exploitation of man by man will forever be abolished. ■

(This article is reprinted from MAYIBUYE, organ of the African National Congress, Zambia office.)

Photos in this article: 1. President Nyerere delivers the historic Arusha Declaration. 2. Part of the huge crowd in the Arusha Declaration gathering. 3. Cycling workers in their own formation in the Arusha procession. 4. A section of the Tanu Youth League and Afroshirazi Youth League participating in the procession. 5. President Nyerere.

THE TIME HAS COME

Third in the series by ALEX LA GUMA on the struggle
of the Coloured people of South Africa

Sociologists cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that the rapid increase in crime and drunkenness among the Coloured community is linked with poverty and insecurity. Of the daily average of almost 70,000 prisoners in South African jails, approximately 11,000 are Coloured and Indian. A sociologist commenting on the crime incidence in Cape Town said: "It is poverty that forces both mother and father out of the house, leaving children unattended and often underfed. That is where juvenile delinquency begins: and the delinquents of yesterday are the rapists and murderers of today."

A large percentage of those who appeared before courts on charges of house-breaking and theft were youngsters — even as young as eight, said the sociologist. "They steal things to sell and with the money they buy food. And once they have started on this road it is not easy to stop them." (*Cape Argus*, 11 February 1965)

ESCAPE IN LIQUOR

In the same newspaper Dr O. D. Wolheim, for many years Warden of the Cape Flats Distress Association and former Chairman of the S.A. Council of General Welfare, stated that "the insecurity caused by the breaking up of settled communities, poverty and ignorance were among the main causes of the problem of lawlessness in the Coloured townships". Drunkenness was undoubtedly allied to insecurity.

"They seek escape and compensation in liquor."

The pattern of apartheid spreads into all spheres of life, and the spheres of culture and education are as important to the White Supremacists as that of politics. Hence separate schools, universities and special education for non-Whites under their various Ministries and departments. Separate and special education for the different racial groups can mean nothing else but preparation

of the minds of South Africa's youth for their special places in the apartheid society.

CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Nationalists boast of their Christian National state and their Christian National 'philosophy'. Vorster said once that in Hitler Germany it was called Nazism, in Italy Fascism, and he and his associates call it Christian Nationalism. So in 1949 an Institute for Christian National Education (ICNE), established ten years earlier, made recommendations for the education of South Africa's non-White children. On the education of the Coloured child, it stated: "The education of Coloureds should be seen as a subordinate part of the Afrikaner's task of Christianising the non-white races of our fatherland. It is the Afrikaner's sacred duty to see that the Coloureds are brought up Christian-Nationalist ... The welfare

and happiness of the Coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group and his being proud of it."

Education should therefore serve to make each group 'proud' of his place in the apartheid structure. Hence Coloured, Indian and 'Bantu' education in separate schools and universities.

But even if he had no objection to his children receiving this type of education, the position of the Coloured person today is such that he can hardly afford it.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the House of Assembly (2 June 1965) that between 86 and 90% of Coloured children of school-going age attended school. Of these, only 40% reached Standard 2, 27% Standard 5, and 2% Standard 10 (Matriculation).

Of Coloured persons enumerated at the 1960 census, it appears that only 19.4% of the total Coloured population had

Forced to move under the notorious ghetto law, the Group Areas Act.



passed Standard 5, and 0.54% (half a per-cent) had passed Standard 10. (*Calculated from 1964 Statistical Yearbook.*)

RESISTING OPPRESSION

The Coloured people have never taken their degradation at the hands of the White Supremacists lying down. In spite of political and social fragmentation in the community, the history of the struggle for justice and equality has shown a progressive development: from requests for reforms in the past, to militant demands for full and equal participation in the government of South Africa.

Descendants of slaves, the Coloured people have engaged in many active campaigns. With each stage in the development of political consciousness new forms of struggle have been adopted. We can point out examples like the strike of garment workers in 1931; the mass demonstrations and clashes with armed police arising out of the anti-segregation struggle of 1938; the general strike led by the Franchise Action Council in 1951; the strike led by the Coloured People's Congress against the establishment of the Verwoerd Republic in 1961; the campaigns against the CAD, Group Areas and population registration. Every one of these efforts gained for the community organizational experience and ever-increasing political consciousness.

But on every occasion they, like the African people, have been met by the armed might of the White state. Faced with the guns and troops of the police, army and security forces, they have been prevented from forcing their rulers to accede to their demands.

It has become abundantly clear to the oppressed non-Whites that the only way to achieve justice and democracy in South Africa is to seize power by force of arms. What other alternative is there for the Coloured people comprising 1,703,000 of the South African population?

HYPOCRISY OF UNITED PARTY

The voters of the Cape for a long time placed their faith in the United Party, hoping that in this 'opposition' to extreme reaction they would find a solution.

The United Party has pretended to be the champions of the Coloured people. They objected to the removal of the Coloured men from the common voters' roll, but only because they saw a section of their electoral support being cut off. Today, when the Coloured community is making greater demands for full and unconditional democracy, the United Party (the official White 'opposition' party in South Africa) offers only a return to the old order of things: the common roll, to vote for White representatives.

When the Group Areas Act was passed the United Party did not oppose it on principle, but asked that it be administered "with justice". Can an unjust law be administered justly? While pretend-

ing to champion the cause of the Coloured community, the United Party showed no compunction in conveniently shelving their Coloured 'policy' and contesting the 1965 General Elections under the slogan of 'White leadership over the whole of Southern Africa'.

When the Progressive Party decided to contest the separate elections for Coloured seats in the Cape Provincial Council, the United Party had no hesitation in joining the Nationalists in attacking the Progressives who stood for a small measure of equality, albeit with qualifications. Mr Abe Bloomberg, a Coloured's representative in Parliament, charged the Progressive Party with hypocrisy, "making 'eyewash' cocktail-party promises and using 'Coloured ex-communists' in its drive. Mr Bloomberg was immediately congratulated for his attack by a Nationalist MP, Mr J. W. van Statden." (*Cape Times, 9 June 1964.*)

De Villiers Graaff, leader of the UP,

Campaign by Coloureds against apartheid on Cape trains.



stated at Bredasdorp (*Cape Times*, 24 April 1965) that the United Party was still "prepared to accept the Coloured people as part of the Western group in South Africa", but he "prayed that their conduct will not make this impossible for us".

Indeed there is no difference between the United Party and the Nationalist policy towards non-Whites other than that of method. It is a case of 'anything you can do, I can do better'.

Colonel J. R. Bowring, United Party MP expressing 'United Party Viewpoint' (*Cape Times*, 14 June 1965) wrote: "In spite of the great difference between the United Party and the Nationalist Party policies, both have the same aim — the safeguarding and maintenance of White political control."

While Parliament remains in the hands of the White minority the non-Whites can expect nothing from it. The White electorate, determined to maintain their position of superiority, have rejected even the luke-warm 'democracy' offered by the Progressive Party, and have continued to share their votes between the upholders of apartheid and "white leadership".

COLOURED PARTIES

Within the Coloured community itself various groups suggest solutions to the problem, ranging from those who advocate militant action to those who call for acceptance of the status quo and making the best of whatever can be got out of it, or those who preach outright adherence to the Nationalist policy of 'separate development'.

In the latter category are such groups composing the Federal Coloured People's Party (led by Tom Swartz, former chairman of the now dissolved CCA), which hopes to serve as the 'government party' in the Coloured Representative Council. These elements we can dismiss.

Hoping to capture the Coloured Representative Council, or at least become the 'official opposition', is the 'South African Labour Party' under the leadership of Dr R. E. van der Ross. While claiming to be against apartheid, this 'Party' has no hesitation in adopting the outright opportunist line of "using the instruments available to us", without even challenging the system; saying this was the "only way the Coloured people can organize themselves under the pres-



Their playground is the streets: a scene from District Six in Cape Town.

ent system". (Dr van der Ross, *Cape Argus*, 14 November 1965.)

Further, the Constitution of the 'Party' says that as there are legislative restrictions on the activities of political parties according to their membership, only people who would not prevent it from carrying out its avowed aims in regard to the Coloured people would be admitted.

Not only accepting the 'instruments available to us', but also racist 'restrictions according to their membership' of the apartheid dictates of the Nationalists as to what forms of representation and political organization they will tolerate!

The 'S.A. Labour Party' was also speedy in giving the assurance that everything they did would be above-board and that they did not object to Security Police surveillance, since they had noth-

ing to hide. But these assurances did not help.

Acceptance of the 'instruments available to us' was not enough for the Nationalists. No sooner was the 'S.A. Labour Party' formed than the Security Police were on its doorstep. Members have been arraigned and warned against 'furthering the aims of communism', and the treasurer resigned. People once active in politics were approached to join the Party and spy on it for remuneration.

So much for the Labour Party's kowtowing to the Nationalists with hopes that they could win anything for the Coloured community by waving about racist and opportunist policies and rejecting any unity with other groups. ■

(The final part of "THE TIME HAS COME" will appear in next month's edition of Sechaba.)

THEY ARE NOT AFRAID

Pen Portraits of Freedom Fighters

WILTON MKWAYI

Born into a peasant family in Middel-drift in the Eastern Cape, Wilton had little opportunity for education. But when he went, as a migratory worker, to Port Elizabeth, his outstanding natural qualities as a leader and organizer quickly became apparent. He joined the ANC and during the 1952 Defiance Campaign emerged as the top organizer in the New Brighton branch. He was imprisoned and on his release worked as a seller of *New Age*. Then he started work in the trade union movement where his organizing abilities soon bore fruit. At the same time he remained a peasant leader with great influence in the Ciskei area. He was one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial. During the 1960 State of Emergency he eluded arrest and left the country. Returning, he skilfully avoided the traps of the Security Police and became almost legendary in this regard, working underground undetected for a lengthy period. However in 1964 he was captured and charged with plotting the overthrow of the South African Republic and belonging to the High Command of Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). He was sentenced to life imprisonment and is on Robben Island.

MASANGO MAYEKISO

Born in the Transkei, Masango received little formal education. Employed as a worker in the textile industry in Port Elizabeth, he joined the Textile Worker's Union and was soon a keen trade unionist, helping to build an active organization. He also joined the ANC. Soon he was accepted as one of its outstanding members in the Eastern Cape. Eventually he succeeded Raymond Mhlaba as Chairman of the New Brighton branch. He played an impor-

tant part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and was imprisoned. In the next two years he was arrested on numerous occasions — he was a special target of police persecution. In 1956 he was an accused in the notorious Treason Trial, which continued until 1961. In 1964 he was charged and sentenced to three year's imprisonment for being a member of the ANC. Then in 1966 he was re-tried, this time for being an office-bearer in the ANC: an example of the travesty of justice so common in South Africa today: the imprisoning of a man again and again on almost identical charges. He was sentenced to a further 3 years. He is on Robben Island. There are reports that he has been beaten so severely in prison that his hearing has been affected. He is a small, quiet man of enormous courage. His wife works as a domestic servant in Port Elizabeth and he has six children. Will he be released when he has served his sentence or will further charges be framed against him?

DAVE KITSON

David Ian Kitson qualified as an electrical engineer with every opportunity to live the life of a successful white professional man. However, from his youth he recognised that this was not enough. In the last war he joined the fight against fascism, and was active in the days when the Springbok Legion was a progressive force in South African life. After the war he studied at Oxford at the Ruskin Working Man's College, where he was described as a student of outstanding ability. He returned to South Africa in 1959 and devoted himself, regardless of self-interest, to bringing about a change in the situation of the oppressed African masses through political action. Following the Rivonia Trial he was detained twice

under the 90-day clause; when his wife protested on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall with her two young children she was also detained. Dave's trial took place in November 1964 when together with Mkwayi, Chiba and Matthews he was charged with plotting to overthrow the South African Republic. He was sentenced to 20 year's imprisonment, which he is serving in Pretoria.

INDRIS NAIDOO

Indris Naidoo belongs to a family which has traditionally been active in politics. His grandfather was Gandhi's closest associate in South Africa and his father was adopted as a son by Gandhi. His uncle is General Secretary of the Mauritius Socialist Labour Party. Indris followed in the family tradition, joining the dedicated group of Indians in the South African Congress Movement — men who realised that any worthwhile political action involved full identification with the aspirations of the oppressed African majority. He became an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, meanwhile working as a clerk to support his family. In 1963, through the treachery of an informer, he and others were captured by Special Branch men while attempting to blow up a railway goods shed. Finding himself surrounded, Indris raised his hands but was shot in the shoulder by the notorious Captain Swanepoel — the shot narrowly missing the jugular vein. Without having been given any medical attention, he was taken to his home where, although he was almost unconscious, his family were not allowed to care for him or speak to him. His trial was notorious. All accused had been victims of the most flagrant police brutality and appeared in court with their injuries clearly visible. Indris was sentenced to ten years, which he is serving on Robben Island. When, soon after his arrival there, he complained of the shocking working conditions, he was court-martialled — without being given any chance to get legal representation — and given six lashes. He was twenty six at the time he was sentenced and is one of South Africa's bravest and most inspiring young political fighters. ■

READERS' FORUM



We thank all those hundreds of people who have written welcoming SECHABA. Much as we would like to, we cannot acknowledge them individually. We shall, however, print some of these letters from time to time, as space becomes available.

Dear Friend,

No South African Patriot can lack enthusiasm in welcoming the birth of Sechaba, the mouthpiece of the African National Congress and the African people in South Africa. I throw my hat into the air and dance with joy that the African's voice and views will be heard by the ordinary progressive people all over the world.

The important thing in the present period which must not be lost sight of, is the fact that Sechaba is the tongue in the body of the African National Congress. The tongue must speak and the body must act. No words, however good and sound, can be effective when the body is not acting. If the birth of Sechaba has brought a change in spreading the message of the African people, the year 1967 must be a year of great change. All emphasis must be changed, new methods and new language must be employed to combat apartheid. The African National Congress must read ideologically as well as positively. As the organization of the majority in South Africa, it must during 1967 declare political war on the Government established by the minority. Congress must declare to the world that the sectional Government set up in the country to oppress the Africans in 1910 is illegal and has been so since that time. Congress must instruct the African people in South Africa to disobey its laws because it is not their Government.

There are in 1967 thousands of Africans living in exile with no hope of ever seeing their fatherland again. The African National Congress must call a conference of them all somewhere in the African continent for the purpose of discussing unity, the formation of one body for the struggle for legal government in the country. Congress must form an African Government in exile as a rival to the sectional one operating in the country. The time has arrived for positive action and the Africans must be in the forefront of it. Without an African Government in exile there can be no point in professing to be the enemy of sectional Government.

N. H. NYADIOE-MOKGATLE
LONDON, MARCH 1967

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.

MINIMUM SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Africa: £1 per year airmail

Europe: £1 10/- per year

Asia: £2 per year

USA and Canada: \$ 6 per year

All postal orders and cheques should be made out to SECHABA and crossed.

Sechaba, 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:—

DAR ES SALAAM — 4/50; EAST AFRICA — 6/—; CONGO — 15/— (\$ 2); AFRICA — 22/50, (\$ 3); EUROPE AND INDIA — 30/— (\$ 4); ASIA, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, USA — 60/— (\$ 8).

The above rates cover a period of six months. We shall not be able to accept international postal coupons owing to exchange difficulties.