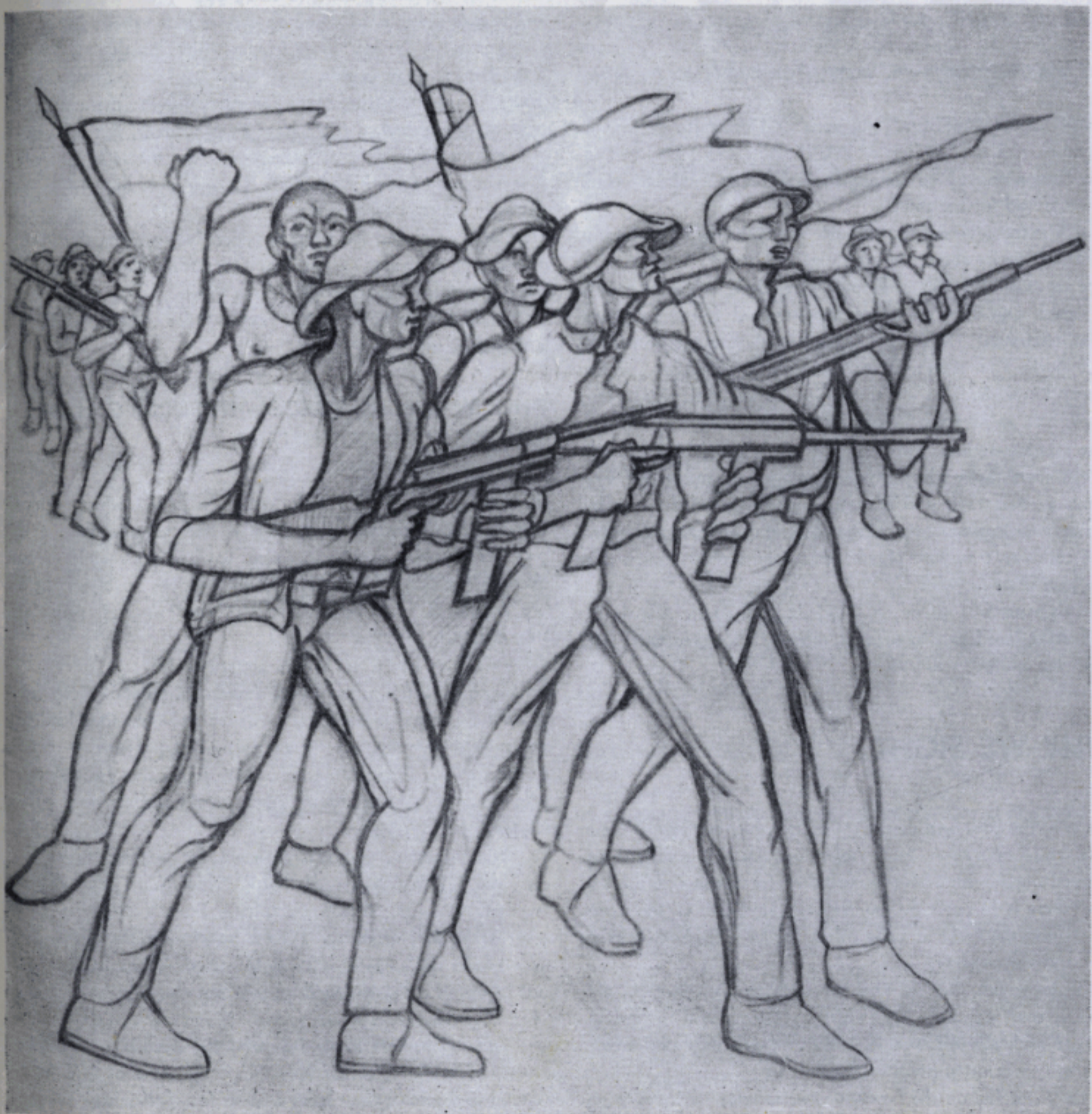


Sechababa

Official Organ of the African National Congress of South Africa - February 1968 - Vol. 2 No. 2



The ANC underground, in thousands of leaflets distributed inside South Africa, announces ...

WE ARE AT WAR!

The full text of the leaflet, which was printed in the vernacular as well, is reproduced hereunder.

"On December 16th, 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, made it known that we, the oppressed people of South Africa, would fight for our rights. We made this known not only with words. Dynamite blasts announced it.

From August 13th, 1967, our men of Umkhonto We Sizwe, together with our brothers of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) have been fighting the oppressors in Matabeleland Wankie and further south.

The Vorster government, through the radio and newspapers, continues to lie about this fighting.

The truth is very different from what these newspapers have reported. Our men are armed and trained freedom-fighters, not "terrorists." They are fighting with courage, discipline and skill. The forces of the Rhodesian racialists suffered heavy losses. So also did the white soldiers sent to Rhodesia by Vorster to save the Smith regime from collapse.

The freedom-fighters have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Apart from those who have been ambushed and killed, hospitals at Bulawayo and Wankie are crowded with wounded Smith and Vorster forces. Several South African helicopters and military transport planes have been brought down over the past three months.

The fighting will go on in Rhodesia and South Africa. We will fight until we have won, however long it takes and however much it will cost.

WHY WE FIGHT

To you, the sons and daughters of the soil, our case is clear. The white oppressors have stolen our land. They have destroyed our families. They have taken for themselves the best that there is in our rich country and have left us the worst. They have the fruits and the riches. We have the backbreaking toil and the poverty.

We burrow into the belly of the earth to dig out gold, diamonds, coal, uranium. The white oppressors and foreign investors grab all this wealth. It is used for their enrichment, and to buy arms to suppress and kill us.

In the factories, on the farms, on the railways, wherever you go, the hard, dirty, dangerous, badly paid jobs are ours. The best jobs are for whites only.

In our own land we have to carry passes; we are restricted and banished while the white oppressors move about freely.

Our homes are hovels; those of the whites are luxury mansions, flats and farmsteads.

There are not enough schools for our children; the standard of education is low, and we have to pay for it. But the government uses our taxes and the wealth we create to provide free education for white children.

We have suffered long enough.

Over 300 years ago the white invaders began a ceaseless war of aggression against us, murdered our forefathers, stole our land and enslaved our people.

Today they still rule by force. They murder our people. They still enslave us.

ONLY BY MEETING FORCE WITH FORCE CAN WE WIN BACK OUR MOTHERLAND

We have tried every way to reason with the white supremacists. For many years our leaders and organizations sent petitions and deputations to Cape Town and Pretoria, even overseas, to London and the United Nations in New York. We organised mass demonstrations, pass-burnings, peaceful stay-at-homes.

What answer was given by the government?

Strikers and demonstrators were shot in cold blood. New acts of oppression and injustice were heaped upon us. Our leaders and spokesmen were banned, gagged, jailed, banished — even murdered. Our organization, the African National Congress, was outlawed. Our meetings, journals and leaflets were prohibited.

The Nazi Vorster, who was interned for helping Hitler, is now the Prime Minister of South Africa. This man is the murderer of Mini, Mkaba, Khayingo, Bongco, Saloojee and other brave sons of Africa. He has condemned Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni, Kathrada, Fischer and many others to rot away in jails for life.

They have declared war on us. We have to fight back!

Our *Indian* brothers know full well the hardships and bitterness of white baasskap rule. Since the time of Mahatma Gandhi and before, they have had to face persecution — attempts to deport them to India, Ghetto Acts, Group Areas and other forms of oppression.

The South African Indian Congress fought back. Led by men like Yusuf Dadoo, Monty Naicker and Nana Sita, the Indian community marched hand in hand with the ANC for liberty, for the rights of all South Africans.

Our *Coloured* brothers know how even the few privileges they were allowed — crumbs from the master's table — have been taken away from them. Votes, skilled jobs, trade union rights — one by one they are being taken away. Now apartheid madness is conscripting the Coloured youth into labour camps and jails for pass offences. The ghetto walls grow higher. That is why the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) pledged its support to the Freedom Charter and why its leaders are driven into jail or exile.

And what of the *white* minority? For years they have been misled by racist politicians, domineers and fascists who told them they were the superior race. They have followed the Vorsters and the de Villiers Graafs, and now they are being called upon to fight and die in defence of apartheid. Let them ask themselves: is it worth it? Has it brought anything but uncertainty and fear, isolation and contempt, at home and abroad. Is this a future to fight and die for — a life in an armed camp, surrounded by the hate and anger of the oppressed non-white people?

The African National Congress, remembering also the Bram Fischers and the Denis Goldbergs, calls on white South Africans to take their place on the side of liberty and democracy, the side of our freedom-fighters — now BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

We are fighting for democracy — majority rule — the right of the Africans to rule Africa. We are fighting for a South Africa in which there will be peace and harmony and equal rights for all people.

We are not racist, as the white oppressors are. The African National Congress has a message of freedom for all who live in our country.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

The battle has begun.

In Rhodesia we have met the oppressors with guns in our hands! That was the start. Soon there will be battles in South Africa.

We will speak to them with guns, again and again, now here, now there, until their day is done and apartheid destroyed forever.

We call on you to be prepared.

Stand up and speak out against Vorster and his Nazis.

Don't collaborate with them! Take courage from our immortal freedom-fighters who died in the name of freedom for all.

OUR COUNTRY WILL BE FREE. We fight for all South Africans, for you and your children and your children's children.

PREPARE TO SUPPORT OUR FIGHTING MEN!

Pass this message to your friends and relatives, throughout Southern Africa — in Botswana, Lesotho, South West Africa or Swaziland; in Rhodesia, Mozambique or Angola, and in every corner of South Africa itself.

HELP THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS! MAKE THEIR PATH EASY! Make the enemy's path hard!

WE ARE ANSWERING THE WHITE OPRESSORS IN THE LANGUAGE THEY HAVE CHOSEN!

THIS IS A WAR TO DESTROY APARTHEID, TO WIN BACK OUR COUNTRY FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE!

WE SHALL WIN! FORWARD TO VICTORY OR DEATH!

AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MATLA KE ARONA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

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COVER: Our cover design this month is by Barry Feinberg, South African artist and Congress activist. Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1. Director of Publicity - Alfred Kgokong. Managing Editor - Joe Matthews. Editor-in-Chief - Mandla Nkosi.

THE PEOPLE ARE JOINING THE GUERRILLAS — AND THE FIGHTING GOES ON

Oliver Tambo brings news from the Fighting Front

"We can defeat the oppressors. We cannot fail." That is the message that Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress, brought from the battle-front when he spoke to *Sechaba* and to friends, colleagues and supporters of the organization, when he visited London on his way back to Lusaka after attending the October Revolution celebrations in Moscow and visiting a number of countries in Africa.

This was our President's first trip abroad since the news broke in August last year of the first engagement by ANC-ZAPU guerilla forces against the armies of Vorster and Smith. And he conveyed to us something of the sense of triumph and excitement, the dedication and the deep determination that has inspired all those directly involved in this historic operation — an operation that has already destroyed forever the myth that apartheid was 'impregnable'. For a force of well-trained, courageous and determined young men has inflicted heavy losses on the juggernaut, and caused panic both in Salisbury and Pretoria.

TARGET: SOUTH AFRICA

Describing the close co-operation between Smith and Vorster that has led not only to South African soldiers and police taking part in the defence of the Rhodesian white rebel regime, but also to the appearance of a set of laws on the Rhodesian Statute Book that might have been lifted straight out of South Africa, the Acting President told us: — "It is very proper that the first shots fired by our people in decades, should have been fired against those who have shot us at Sharpeville, assaulted our women, tortured and killed our comrades."

Vorster would like to continue the fight in Rhodesia, well away from South Africa itself, but "we shall choose the ground" said Acting President Tambo, "And I suspect a rude shock awaits him."

The endurance of Smith and his ability to resist pressures is due to the South African Government's support. "Therefore



the target of our efforts is principally South Africa itself. And South Africa is aware of this. But I don't think they can really do anything about it. The time has come for racism and fascism and colonialism in our area to be overthrown, and this is the beginning of the end."

THE MASSES AROUSED

Comrade Tambo, who has been in close touch with the operation from the start, told us the fighting was still continuing, although no news has been published in the press — the news editor of the Inter-African News Agency, which first broke the news of the August battles, has indeed been tried in Salisbury for publishing a "false report" likely to create "fear, alarm and despondency!"

That the fighting is still going on months after the August battle means in fact that "the masses are participating — the people have joined the guerillas. When the guerillas dispersed to go to their target areas, particularly rural areas but in some cases urban areas, there were people ready to shelter them."

The penalty for harbouring "terrorists" in Rhodesia, as in South Africa, is death.

"In South Africa," the Acting President told us, "the masses have been aroused. They look forward to the time when there is going to be an armed struggle on a rising scale in South Africa."

And this of course is what the Republic's Government fears — that once guerilla units reach their targets in the Republic, the spirit of rebellion will spread like wildfire. Their first reaction to the arrival of guerillas in Rhodesia was to send troops there to try and halt them before they ever reached the Republic.

Their second reaction was to arrest thousands of known or suspected ANC activists throughout the country — and notably in areas such as the Northern Transvaal, with a history of repeated peasant revolts in recent years.

Since our President's visit, pieces of news have filtered out of South Africa; there was a press report that police in Potgietersrust found a "quantity of explosives" when they arrested an African at a tin mine, for instance; another report quoted the loss of a quantity of explosives from another mine; thus there are indications of movement below the surface, despite all the government's heavy precautions.

DEFEND SOUTHERN AFRICA!

In addition, Comrade Tambo believes that pressure on the white supremacist regimes by the guerillas is now so great that more drastic measures, including strafing by aircraft, must be expected in the near future. "They are getting very worried," he said, "and they are willing to try anything."

But the worst immediate risk is that the Southern African whites may strike savagely at Zambia in order to preserve their position. "I believe this is a very serious danger. If Vorster and Smith feel they can get away with this, I am afraid there are no fine words that will stop them. And if they do start northwards, they will not stop at Zambia."

The Acting President called on all those who support the struggle for South African liberation, and particularly to all those South Africans abroad, "our trusted colleagues", who "see the day when we can all go back to our country as more important than any temporary advantage we can gain in our brief sojourn abroad" — to involve themselves wholeheartedly in the task of gaining support for the freedom struggle, and to campaign to prevent imperialist collaboration with white terror in the south.

He appealed for vigorous campaigning against a British sell-out on Rhodesia; for international guarantees to Zambia that her territory will be protected against Smith; and that there will be no relaxation of the embargo on the supply of arms to apartheid.

He believes that there is even a serious possibility of imperialist military intervention on behalf of the Southern African racists, in defence of Western economic interests, and he sees the prevention of such a development as the major task of democratic forces abroad.

"We look to you, from the South," he told us.

Photos: MPLA guerillas somewhere in Angola.



1. Explosives Found Near School

South African Police have been investigating the discovery of a large quantity of dynamite and gelignite by six boys of Johannesburg's Jeppe High School. The explosives were enough to blow up the school house.

The explosives were discovered by the boys during an exploration trip of an old mine property. They found the explosives in two boxes in a shack near a disused shaft.

This discovery follows several instances of lost and found explosives and explosive chemicals in South Africa.

2. S. A. Whites in Rhodesia

A white South African Constable, Stephanus Johannes Benjamin Smit (21), of Burger Street in Pretoria, is the latest named white death in the South African regime's dirty war against African freedom-fighters.

He died, according to an official report, as a result of an accident while "on anti-terrorist duties in Rhodesia."

3. Apartheid Pusher in Israel

One of Israel's best-known soldiers, Brigadier-General Herzog, recently challenged the Israeli Government and called for a revision of Israel's relations with South Africa.

He echoed similar calls from an increasing number of groups to their government that Israel should drop its stand against apartheid purely because the Jewish people were always victims of racial discrimination.

No doubt this is part payment for the support Israel received from South African Jewry and from the Nationalist Government in its recent war with the Arab states.

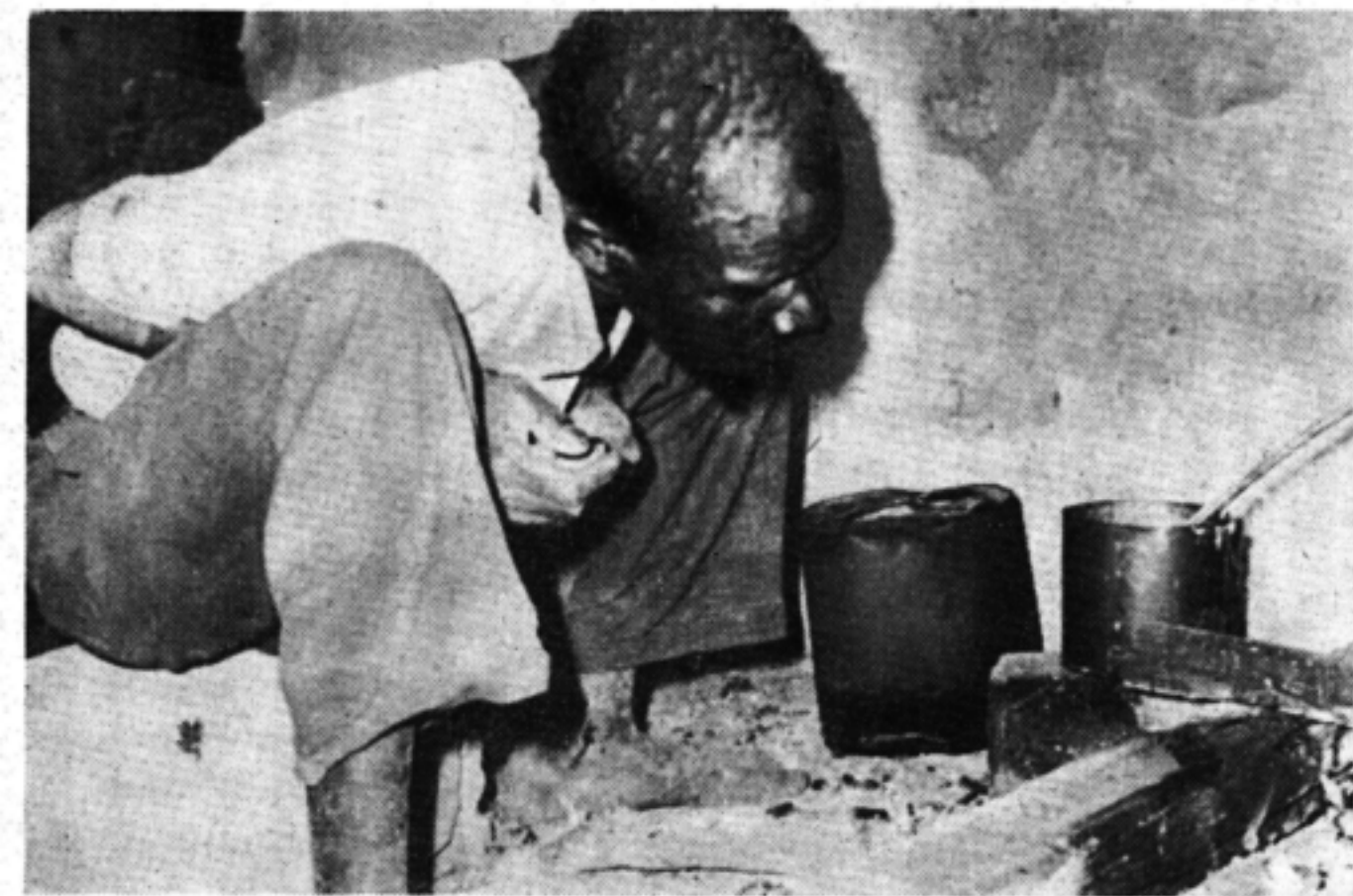
But what have Brigadier Herzog and others who support him to say about the avowed fascist Prime Minister of South Africa, Balthazar Vorster, who during the last war, when millions of Jews were exterminated by the Nazis, was interned for his support of Hitler and Nazism?

Lest the Brigadier think that Vorster has changed, let us remind him that only last November Vorster, in his official capacity as Prime Minister, unveiled a monument at the grave of Dr J. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the Ossewa Brandwag, which still functions as an open fascist movement in the country.

In brushing aside criticism of his continuing association with the Ossewa Brandwag, which incidentally actively endeavoured to sabotage South Africa's war effort against Hitler's gangsters during the war, Vorster stated: "A man must never disassociate himself from his history or be ashamed of it."

HUMAN WRONGS

A Survey of South Africa in Human Rights Year



Human Rights Year is the year we are living in now: a year in which the world re-affirms its faith in the concepts of freedom, equality and brotherhood, and a year in which men of conscience everywhere will seek to further these concepts and make them concrete.

For us, Human Rights Year has a particular significance, both deep and bitter. For we have the distinction of being 'citizens' of the country which contravenes more essential human rights in more ways and with more deliberate intention and ruthless cruelty than any other country in the world.

To compare the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with South African conditions is to look at it in a mirror. Life in South Africa almost point by point reverses the premises of the Declaration. In fact, a recent publication by the International Commission of Jurists is based on an item-by-item analysis in these terms.

In compiling this article, we have drawn extensively on that work: *"For the Rule of Law — Apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa — A Study by the International Commission of Jurists, 2 Quai du Cheval-Blanc, Geneva, Switzerland."*

We believe it to be valuable at this moment, when our forces are engaging

the racists in the South, to re-state the contraventions of basic Human Rights which have driven us to take up arms. The rightness of our cause, indeed, could hardly be demonstrated more clearly than by the facts emerging from such a re-statement.

We will therefore examine the apartheid system in terms of eleven of the main sections of the Declaration.

THE HUMAN BEING

Article 1. "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Article 2. "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The whole system of apartheid, by definition, is in direct contradiction with these articles. There is no pretence, even, at the sham of 'separate-but-equal' facilities. Legislation (which will be outlined in the course of this article) is specifically designed to enforce inequality.

This is basically illustrated, for example, by the system of racial classification embodied in the *Population Registration Act*; also by the provision

Above: No comfort for the old. Below: Women protest against Pass Laws.



of separate facilities which need not be equal, under the 'Reservation of Separate Amenities Act', 1953. The further entrenchment of fundamental discrimination will become evident from what follows.

IMPRISONMENT

Article 3. "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

Article 5. "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Article 9. "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

S. A. Government provisions enabling them to deprive people of liberty without trial include: —

1. Proclamation 400, authorising arrest and detention for questioning for an indefinite period in the Transkei area. This is not an emergency provision but part of the permanent law for that region.

2. 90-day detention, now abolished, though capable of re-introduction at any time. This is unlikely however, since more ruthless versions of the same procedure have been introduced. Thousands suffered under 90-day detention.

3. 180-day detention, under the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1965, empowers the detention for repeated successive periods of 6 months, of people said to be "potential state witnesses" in political trials. Often they are detained in connection with no trial, or are themselves charged after detention. (See e. g. the trial of Fred Carneson, Cape Town 1966).

4. Banishment of Africans under the Native Administration Act of 1927. Many have been forcibly removed from their homes to remote areas never to return.

5. Detention of a prisoner after completion of his sentence under the so-called Sobukwe clause of the General Law Amendment Act 1963.

6. House Arrest under the General Law Amendment Act 1962.

7. Indefinite detention, without access to any person and without notification even of next-of-kin, under the Terrorism Act of 1967.

Regarding torture, an ever-growing body of evidence exists — at least



Common sign on S. A. business premises — the 'please' is optional.

three detainees have died while in detention as a result of police methods of interrogation. Others have been beaten, kicked and subjected to electric shocks. Between 1960 and 1963, 103 White and 74 non-White prison officers, and 97 White and 80 non-White police officers, were convicted of irregular treatment of prison inmates. Where there are allegations of torture of political prisoners, the authorities almost invariably refuse to take proceedings.

It should also be noted that prolonged solitary confinement in itself constitutes an extreme form of mental torture; many cases of mental illness have resulted from its use in South Africa. Regarding arbitrary arrest, not only detainees are subject to this. It is the common practice towards Africans under the notorious 'Pass Laws'; and "idle and undesirable" Africans can be arrested without a warrant and if unable to give a "satisfactory" account of themselves, can be detained for up to two years on a farm colony or other institution approved under the Prisons Act: Native Laws Amendment Act 1952.

LEGAL RIGHTS

Article 6. "Everyone has the right to recognition as a person before the law."

Article 7. "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination."

Article 8. "Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law."

Article 10. "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him."

It is impossible to contend that Africans are recognised as persons, and the Population Registration Act perpetuates a system under which all are most emphatically not equal before the law. Nor is justice equal when such extremely disparate sentences are imposed on Whites and Africans in respect of offences against members of the other race.

It is denied also by, for example, the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956, which prevents Africans from applying to the courts for an interdict restraining illegal removal, and also forbids them a remedy in the courts against the execution of an unlawful banishment order.

The courts have no jurisdiction over detainees under the 90-day, 180-day and 'Terrorist' Act provisions; and there is no legal recourse against being "listed" as a Communist or banned or placed under house-arrest.

Secret trials have been held, especially in the Eastern Cape. The 'Terrorism' Act provides for trial without a jury. It also contravenes Article 11 of the Declaration which states the right to be "presumed innocent until proved guilty," as it lays the burden of proving innocence on the accused. In addition it violates the second section of Article 11, which declares retrospective legislation to be a contravention of Human Rights.

RESIDENCE

Article 13 (1). "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state."

Article 13 (2). "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

The whole system established by the Group Areas Act and the various laws

culminating in the *Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964*, denies the fundamental right of freedom of movement and residence to South Africans. In the words of the Commission of Jurists: "The movement and residence of the African labour force is regulated to meet the industrial and agricultural requirements of the European."

The Indian and Coloured communities have been treated with similar ruthlessness, being forced to remove from properties which they have occupied in many cases for generations and which have now been declared part of "European" areas.

South Africans have no right to leave their country. Applications for passports, for instance for African students, are frequently refused. Opponents of apartheid are only permitted to depart on "one-way" exit permits.



Mrs Paulos Mopeli, who died in banishment. Her husband, Chief Mopeli, is still in exile. Photo on next page shows living conditions.

MARRIAGE, FAMILY

Article 16 (1). "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family."

Article 16 (3). "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State."

Under the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949*, marriages between Whites and Non-Whites are illegal. Partners to mixed marriages entered into before that date become guilty of an offence under the *Immorality Act* if they continue to cohabit.

In 1967, the *Mixed Marriages Amendment Bill* was passed, making null and void marriages contracted abroad between White South African males and women who could be classified as Non-White under South African laws. Such South African males would be liable to conviction under the *Immorality Act* if they should return to the country.

As regards family life, the restrictions placed on Africans not living in the reserves render family life impossible for the vast majority of workers.

PROPERTY

Article 17 (1). "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association, with others."

Article 17 (2). "No-one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

Only Whites are allowed to own 87 per cent of the territory of South Africa. Africans cannot acquire freehold rights even on trust or tribal land.

Arbitrary deprivation of property for the implementation of the *Group Areas Act* continues constantly and steadily. The most recent example is the appropriation by the Whites of District 6 in Cape Town, traditional home of tens of thousands of Coloured people.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Article 19. "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Article 20 (1). "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association."

Article 27 (1). "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community."

South African law effectively prevents the expression of any opinion advocating the end of apartheid in any real sense. Newspapers can be banned (and have been), banning orders are imposed preventing people from writing any material for publication. The words of banned people cannot be quoted. Savage prosecutions follow such revelations as the articles on prison conditions published in the *Rand Daily Mail*. In addition, censorship of books, films and publications from overseas is rigid. Freedom of association is effectively prevented by the vast body of laws which restrict the movements of Africans. The Minister can prohibit social gatherings at private houses if Africans are to be present. Meetings of more than ten Africans are prohibited unless the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs is obtained. Individuals are prevented from attending any gatherings by means of banning orders.

All South Africans are virtually unable to attend any cultural or sporting events which are attended by members of any other racial group.

THE FRANCHISE

Article 21 (1). "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives."

Africans have no vote, except in the Transkei for the Transkeian Assembly — a body heavily pre-weighted by government-appointed representatives. Only Whites can be elected to Parliament. The Government's statements that Africans will be given political rights in the Bantustans remain totally nebulous promises.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Article 23 (1). "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment."

Article 23 (2). "Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."

Article 23 (4). "Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests."

The complex of *Job Reservation* laws enables the Minister of Bantu Administration to prescribe classes of work in which Africans may not engage. Even in the fields of employment which are open to them, they can only seek employment through labour bureaus, and retain it only for so long as the labour bureau authorises them to do.

rican — and the education which receives under the *Bantu Education Act* was defined clearly by Dr Verwoerd: —

"Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live . . . It is therefore necessary that native education should be controlled in such a way that it should accord with the policy of the State."

Bantu Education has rightly been described as education for servitude. It seeks to impart simple skills, and to

level. In African areas, conditions are of course far worse.

The infant mortality rate of African children in South Africa is one of the highest in the world, 400 per 1,000. (Compare this with Nigeria — 70 per 1,000; Ghana — 90 per 1,000; and Whites in South Africa — 27 per 1,000.)

In eight major urban areas alone, some 10,000 non-white children die each year of malnutrition. The total mortality rate for all races in the age-group 1 to 4, shows that African children are dying at 25 times the rate, Coloured



The "*Coloured Cadets*" Act of 1967 has now also created a labour force of compulsorily-recruited young Coloured men. All Coloured males of 18 years must register for this training.

Equal pay, of course, does not exist in South Africa. Where members of different races are allowed to do the same work, the Whites are paid at enormously higher rates. Only White trade unions are eligible for recognition. African labour is prohibited from striking, and disputes must be settled by State-controlled 'machinery'.

EDUCATION

Article 26 (1). "Everyone has the right to education . . ."

To achieve even a primary school education is a difficult task for an Af-

rican — and the education which receives under the *Bantu Education Act* was defined clearly by Dr Verwoerd: —

(*Editor's Note: See also figures in "Our Role as Students" in next issue, and Sechaba Vol. 1, No. 9.*)

LIVING STANDARD

Article 25. "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family."

The South African Institute of Race Relations has estimated that in Johannesburg (where wages are the highest in the country), 87 per cent of African families live below subsistence

children at 15 times the rate, of white children.

So much for the South African Government's claims, irresponsibly propagated abroad by such bodies as the South African Foundation, that they are doing so much for the "Bantu."

It is significant in this context that one of the first acts of the Nationalist Government was to abolish the small African School Feeding subsidy, while of course retaining the large subsidy for well-fed white children.

Facts like those quoted above speak only too loudly for themselves. Comment becomes superfluous. We in the ANC only wish, here, to appeal to all those concerned that the designation of 1968 as Human Rights Year should be a meaningful one, to put their efforts behind us in our attempts to right this horrifying range of Human Wrongs once and for all.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Apartheid in S. W. A.

There is increasing resentment among young Ovambos of discriminatory laws, practices and circumstances, says Muriel Horrell, research officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in a booklet "South West Africa."

Ambitious young people have no voice in government and no opportunity of suggesting or introducing reforms. All their affairs are directed by officials in remote Pretoria, the booklet states.

This leads to feelings of frustration and bitterness, and among some to a desire for self-assertion and retaliation and for the achievement of their objectives by violent means. "It would be a rash man who attempted to forecast the future of South West Africa," stated the booklet.

Honorary Whites — Up to a Point

The South African artist, Laurens Wiesner, arrived in Tokyo recently to be re-united with his Japanese wife, Mikiko Kanno. Apartheid laws in South Africa have kept them apart. The artist and his wife were married in Tokyo in February last year, when Mr Wiesner made his third visit to Japan. Six months ago he tried to arrange for his wife to come to South Africa, but was unsuccessful. He said he could not help but forsake his country when he thought of his wife waiting for him in Japan.

Japanese in South Africa have for some time been declared "white" so that businessmen may not suffer any indignity while on visits to South Africa. Japan rates fourth in the list of South Africa's export markets, importing £ 48.4 million worth of South African goods yearly and exporting to South Africa goods worth £ 45.6 million.

In the case of Mrs Wiesner, however, this honorary equality does not appear to apply.

Africans in Last War

Replying to the South African regime's decision to deprive African war pensioners of their pensions on the grounds that they had not participated in actual battles, an anonymous writer in the Johannesburg *Star* of 3 December 1967 states: —

"I wish to say that on 23 November 1941, when the Fifth South African Brigade was over-run at Sidi Rezegh by the 19th and 21st Panzer and the 90th Light Divisions, African batmen and stretcher-bearers were on the field. "When the previous afternoon the Third Transvaal Scottish were committed to a frontal assault on the enemy positions at Point 175, the African stretcher-bearers moved in with the attacking infantry and distinguished themselves.

"As men fell these bearers would collect the wounded and, as if on parade, turn about, break step as per the book, and carry the casualties out of the line . . .

"Accurate machine-gun fire from the ground and air together with artillery fire brought the attack to a halt and on the following afternoon, when the Panzers and 90th Light overran the brigade, the African stretcher-bearers and batmen were still there.

"Who in the face of these facts can say that "Africans did not actually do service in the fighting on the battlefields?"

Churchmen — S. A. Style

A popular young Indian doctor, Ismail Botha, who has an almost all-White practice in the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking town of Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal, may be driven out of the district because of a campaign by leading churchmen to force

the Government to withdraw a permit it has granted to Dr Botha to live in the White area of the town.

The Church leaders have organized a petition against Dr Botha's permit, and as a result the Lichtenburg Town Council has appealed to the Government to revoke the doctor's permit.

Racial Churches

A church ceased to be a church in the true Christian sense when it became racially exclusive — as in the case of his own church, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk — Professor Albert Geysler, professor of divinity at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in a statement.

He was addressing the inaugural meeting of the Pretoria branch of the Institute of Race Relations, and said that when that happened a Church became merely a club, "an exclusive Whites-only club."

The Church was the Lord's and was not an instrument of political or other prowess. God was one, and his people could only be one people. It was an unfortunate fact that more often than not a split in a Church was due in South Africa to racial or political factors.

"The unfortunate thing today is that we give too much credence to our local traditions and likes and dislikes" said Professor Geysler.

More Night Schools Close

The S. A. Government has ordered the Cape Non-European Night Schools' Association to close its two remaining schools, St Mark's and Retreat.

The association resolved to disband. It has been in existence for 22 years. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Blaar Coetzee, gave these reasons for the decision to close the two schools: —

- * They were in White areas and any further extension of permission to continue them would give them "permanence" and make "tens of other schools" expect the same;

- * the classes caused crowding together of Africans in White areas, and they had had plenty of time "to shift to the Bantu residential areas";

- * facilities already existed in Langa and Nyanga for night schools.

Mrs D. M. Wilson, chairman of the Night Schools' Association, said: "Permission has never been granted for alternate schools to be set up in the townships, and the 'facilities' that he speaks of in Langa and Nyanga are two primary night schools originally started by this association."

Telephone Apartheid

The following letter and reply appeared in the Johannesburg *Star* recently: Sir,

I should very much like to know why this so-pure-White Government — in every other respect fanatically particular to practise apartheid — does not extend this rule to the use of public telephones?

— "Lily White"

* "It is the department's policy to provide independent call office facilities at public places where separate amenities exist for Whites and non-Whites," replies the Post Office.

"This policy is strictly observed in call offices at public premises such as post offices, railway stations, airports, sportgrounds, showgrounds, etc., where provision is made for separate access and use of available space.

"Where call offices are provided along public streets it is obviously impracticable to provide separate facilities."

Out of Work — Out of Home

The South African 'Bantu Administration' Department has published draft regulations stiffening the already ferocious "endorsing-out" law.

The regulations, if adopted, will compel municipalities to evict Africans from their homes if they have been out of work for a month.

The regulations require location superintendents to 'keep a sharp look out' for Africans who are either out of work, or won't work, and serve them with a month's notice of eviction in the event of their failing to prove, within that time, that they have found employment.

Other reasons for which Africans can be deprived of their houses in municipal areas, say the regulations, are: —
1, accepting work in another local authority area without permission of the one he lives in, even if it is only for a month;

2, ceasing, in the opinion of the superintendent, to be a fit and proper person to live in the township;

3, being sent to jail without the option of a fine for more than six months.

Women tenants who re-marry or enter into customary unions or live as concubines, could easily lose their homes under the draft regulations. When a residential or site permit has been given by virtue of the holder being an employee or a representative of a recognised church, school, State or local authority, he could be evicted when he ceased to hold such position.

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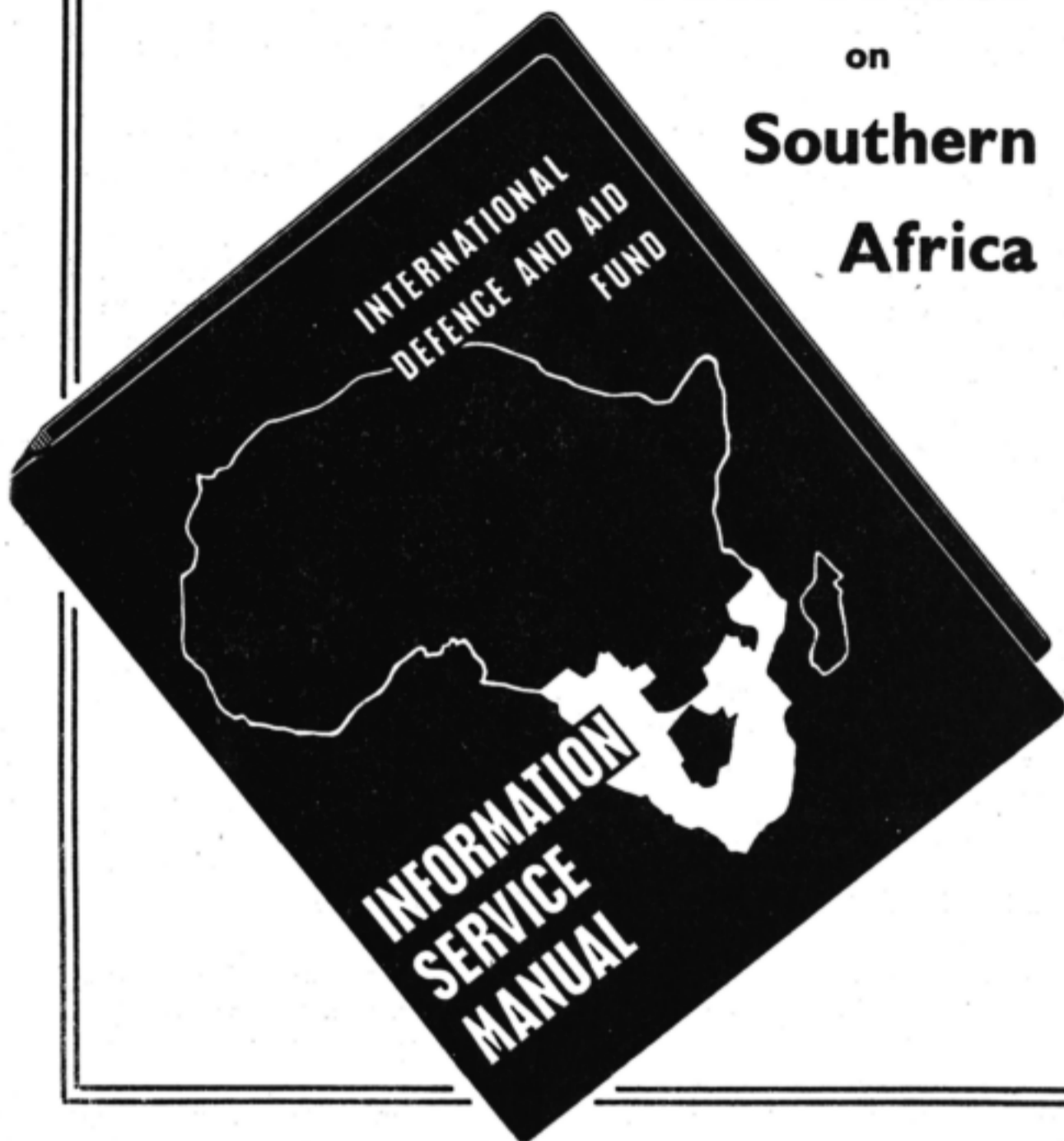
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REPORT AND COMMENT FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA

Imperialists Opening New Front in Southern Africa

by PILANE-NDEBELE, Editor of the Zimbabwe Review, organ of ZAPU

Whilst the imperialists are bombing and strafing villages in Vietnam, they are simultaneously opening a new front of aggression in Southern Africa. Whilst those colonial powers face reverses and defeat elsewhere, and their violence is halted by resistance movements, they have seen it fit to make Rhodesia a new theatre of operations. Rhodesia is *de jure* a British colony, but the fact is that it is an outpost of racial supremacy.

Rhodesia's crisis is *not* a result of the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) by Ian Smith. The essence of the conflict is the existence of a minority dictatorship. Successive British governments have not only condoned this system, but have actively sustained it. The Wilson administration has gone further — it has attempted to legalise it. Negotiations between Wilson and Smith have proved to be both fraudulent and hypocritical. Britain has abdicated its responsibilities. On the other hand the minority dictatorship will not voluntarily abandon its position.

WE ARE TAKING ARMED ACTION TO END VIOLENCE

It is in this context that the people of Zimbabwe have decided that in order to achieve freedom and independence, mass armed struggle is the only solution. In adopting this line of action we are not adopting a philosophy of violence, but rather we are taking action to end imperialist violence directed against all the people of Rhodesia. We want to end the spectre of racism that now grips Southern Africa.

Faced by the growing resistance by democratic forces, the fas-

cist regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal have formed a military alliance against the liberation movements in Southern Africa. At this very moment South African military units are operating against the African people in Rhodesia. The Wilson administration has not only failed to take decisive action, but in fact it has condoned and encouraged these acts of aggression.

It is within the framework of such a political climate that the liberation movement has taken a firm decision to wage an armed struggle. We love peace, but there can be no peace when the foundations of 'peace' are unilaterally determined.

NO REFORMS BUT TOTAL OVERTHROW

We call on all progressive forces in the world to recognise the liberation movement as the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe. The years ahead will indeed be difficult years. They will be years of violence and bloodshed. This is the burden the imperialists have saddled us with. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) is meeting the challenge with the boldness it requires.

The vanguard of the struggle for national liberation, ZAPU, would like to make it perfectly clear that we are fighting *not* for reforms within the framework of minority rule, but that we are committed to the total overthrow of the imperialist fabric. The vast military technology and equipment at the disposal of a minority regime cannot survive long when it is faced with the mighty challenge of mass action and fraternal solidarity by all progressive movements and people.

SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PROP UP BANDA

Reports have reached us that about 150 White South African Police and military forces are operating on Malawi soil against the people of Malawi who have taken up arms to overcome Banda's betrayal of the hard-won independence of Malawi and of the African revolution.

It comes as no surprise that Banda glorifies the military 'might' of South Africa, nor that he is flagrantly flirting with the fascists and preparing to open diplomatic relations with them — in shameless violation of all the OAU's resolutions regarding relations with apartheid South Africa.

South Africa's military penetration of the African continent, which started with the mercenaries in the Congo, has increased by leaps and bounds during recent years. The history of the mercenaries is too well known to be repeated here.

What puzzles many people is that after their sordid history of brutal suppression of the people in South Africa, and their criminal operations against the people in the Congo, the White South African forces should still be invited by an independent African country to commit acts of murder and aggression against the African people.

One factor that has become crystal clear is that the Vorster regime has assumed the role of an international gendarme in Africa. It is increasingly appearing as the pillar and mainstay of fascist, reactionary and unpopular governments in Africa. But things are moving too fast for Vorster. The days of fascism are running out, both as an oppressive machinery in South Africa and as the mainstay of reactionary governments elsewhere.

SOUTH AFRICA SETS UP MOZAMBIQUE FUND

Administrator admits growth of guerilla movements in Southern Africa

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* carried the following report recently. Inverted commas round phrases are our addition.

"All indications were that the 'communist-led terrorist onslaught' on Southern Africa was entering a second and more serious phase, and it was just as well that South Africans accept the fact that some very big problems also lay ahead for this country, the Administrator of Natal, Mr T. J. A. Gerdener, said in Durban.

To fob 'terrorism' off as the actions of a few thousand disorganised and ill-trained insurgents was dangerous and irresponsible, he said, and it was time South Africans realised that if the 80,000 soldiers whom Portugal had in Mozambique and Angola had to be withdrawn tomorrow, South Africa would become involved in the terrorist war within weeks.

Addressing a meeting at which the Mozambique Soldiers' Comfort Fund was established, Mr Gerdener said there were several reasons why it was clear that 'terrorism' in Southern Africa had taken a new turn in recent months and could be expected to become worse in the months ahead.

Among them were:

- * The first 'terrorist' outbreak in Angola six years ago had now spread to three fronts in Mozambique, two in Angola and one in Rhodesia.

- * Whereas the original attacks were confined to one country in Southern Africa, they had recently spread to seven.

- * There was ample evidence that communist and guerilla war leaders from several countries had 'taken charge' of the training of 'terrorists' in Tanzania, Zanzibar, Zambia and Angola, and that they were working to a well-organised 'master plan'.

- * More weapons and ammunition had been off-loaded in Dar-es-Salaam in the past year — and particularly the past few months — than in the preceding five years . . .

- * 'Advisers' from Algeria, Cuba, China, Russia, Egypt and other countries had appeared at a number of places where they had not previously been seen.

- * 'Terrorist' activities were now financed from sources in a steadily growing number of countries, among them several Western democracies.

INCREASED WAR

All reports for the fighting areas indicated that the 'terrorist' activities were building up, that increased onslaughts could and must be expected within months, and that the 'terrorists' possibly had already between 20,000 and 30,000 trained men. All indications were that 'terrorism' was being turned into a war . . .

Pressure on Portugal, which through its soldiers in Mozambique and Angola had withstood the 'terrorist' onslaught since 1961, was steadily mounting.

The war had already cost that country millions of rands.

What this meant to this relatively poor country became clear when it was realised that the Portuguese had to keep five soldiers in the field for every one soldier in the whole of the South African Permanent Force.

Portugal could not be expected to keep its armies in Africa if it were forced to "de-colonise," and for South Africa the effects could be extremely serious. The 'terrorists' who had been held at bay by Portuguese soldiers for years would attack the South African borders — and that would lead to a serious confrontation which might involve the whole of Southern Africa.

Whether it was wise and possible for South Africa to extend its Rhodesian fight against 'terrorists' to the two Portuguese territories was a matter best left to the Government — but there was no doubt about the fact that it would have the fullest justification in doing so.

COMMENT

This statement, made at a public gathering by the Administrator of Natal, who is also a leading member of the Nationalist hierarchy, is indicative of the panic among the so-called invincible white Nationalist forces in South Africa.

Since 1961, when the first outbreak of civil war in Angola began, no mention was made of setting up any fund to assist Salazar. There is no doubt that secretly official government

These are the conditions which the MPLA and its militants will eradicate in Angola.



support by way of arms, intelligence and even manpower was and is still being given to the Portuguese regime.

But, with the beginning of the ANC/ZAPU onslaught inside Rhodesia and the impending armed struggle which all South Africans can see entering the Republic, panic measures of this type are bound to increase.

The insinuations that the peoples' struggles in Southern Africa are inspired and led by foreign communists, are dismissed by the ANC with the same contempt as President Kaunda expressed in his famous Luanshya Speech reported elsewhere in this issue.

South African reaction is obviously setting the stage for openly engaging itself physically in the Mozambique-Angola revolution, just as it has done in Rhodesia and in Malawi (see report 'S. A. Military Props Up Banda', in this issue).

In the meantime, South Africa's acting State President, J. F. Naude, is reported to have appealed to young (white) men to come forward and enlist in the South African Police.

The Acting State President, presenting trophies at the passing-out parade of 1,500 White Police College students at the Loftus Versfield sports ground, recently said: — "The responsibility of the South African Police to safeguard not only the northern border of South West Africa but that of Rhodesia against infiltration of terrorists into South Africa is an unexpected drain on the manpower resources of the police." Vorster and his colleagues, including members of the white 'opposition' United Party and the so-called Progressive Party,



Militants of the MPLA (the Angolan people's national liberation movement) pictured with new recruits somewhere in the jungles of Angola.

have repeatedly stated that everything possible must be done to see that our South African Freedom Fighters do not enter South Africa itself.

They are in for the shock they have asked for.

TANZANIA: TOWARDS UJAMAA COMMUNITIES

In February 1967 President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania made public to a huge crowd the historic "Arusha Declaration." It was widely hailed as a milestone in the emergence of independent African states from the gloom of colonial and neo-colonial dependence. *Mayibuye*, organ of the Zambia office of the African National Congress, called it: "this historic advance in the realization of a world in which exploitation of man by man will forever be abolished." Only the imperialists mocked.

In September 1967 President Nyerere set out the guiding lines of the rural development aspects of the Arusha programme. His speech, "Socialism and Rural Development", is a masterly analysis of the relevance of Ujamaa to community life in Tanzania today. It deserves wide attention and close study. It is Arusha made practicable, socialism made relevant to the needs of the 96 per cent of the Tanzanian population who live outside of the towns, of the 4½ million Tanzanians who do not work for wages.

TRADITIONAL UJAMAA

The President starts with an account of the traditional practice of ujamaa in African family life. Three basic principles were involved: respect for one's fellow-men ("really a recognition of mutual involvement in one another"), community of property in respect of the basic necessities (nobody went without food or shelter), and the obligation of all to work. These principles were accepted without question, and generally applied with only a few deviant exceptions. But they did not create the sort of conditions of life which are desired

in Tanzania today, partly because there was acceptance of something which would handicap the country's development were it to be accepted today — i. e. the inferiority of women; and partly because of great poverty. There was an attractive degree of economic equality, but it was equality at a low level.

OBJECTIVE: SOCIALISM

The basic aim in Tanzania is to promote even, socio-economic development in the spirit of ujamaa. The aim is:

"To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which each can live at peace with his neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury."

"To create this kind of nation we must build on the firm foundations of the three principles of the ujamaa family. But we must add to these principles the knowledge and the instruments necessary for the defeat of the poverty which existed in traditional African society."

The Mwalimu goes on to show how colonial subjugation imposed on Tanzanian society the individualistic goals and methods of capitalism. The result is that today a few are making great progress materially, but at the expense of the many who remain poor, and who are in danger of joining the depressed "rural proletariat" or the urban unemployed. Cash-crop farming has destroyed the fabric of the traditional way of life; the danger here is that the beneficial morality of

ujamaa is being undermined by the grab-all tactics of capitalist development.

"In the rural areas of Tanzania it is possible to produce enough crops to give an agricultural worker a decent life, with money for a good house and furniture, proper food, some reserve for old age, and so on. But the moment such a man extends his farm to the point where it is necessary for him to employ labourers in order to plant or harvest the full acreage, then the traditional system of ujamaa has been killed. For he is not sharing with other people according to the work they do, but simply paying them in accordance with a laid-down minimum wage . . . Thus we have the beginnings of a class system in the rural areas."

This sort of development may lead to a good increase in the national wealth of a country, but it does not raise the standard of living of the mass of the people.

CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

There is, however, an institution which may help to rectify this, and it is the co-operative. Already in Tanzania a large part of the farm produce is marketed by co-operative societies. These societies eliminate the wasteful role of middlemen, whose parasitical function is to pay as little as possible to the farmer and to charge the consumer as much as possible. But co-operatives by themselves cannot alter the pattern of uneven capitalist development. They might merely, as in the USA, serve to safeguard the interests of one group of capitalists (the landlords and farmers) against another (the merchants): —

"It is only if the agricultural production itself is organised on a socialist pattern that co-operative marketing societies are serving socialism."

THE UJAMAA VILLAGE

How then is agricultural production to be organized? More than half of President Nyerere's address is devoted to this question. Lack of space prevents a full summary here, but some important principles of general importance emerge. Ujamaa villages must be encouraged to develop. They can start, but should not remain, as extended family villages. The essence of their collective lives must be co-operation, not competition.

Individual initiative and enterprise must be allowed to develop alongside of the communal effort. Great flexibility must

be allowed in planning for the varied climatic, social and agrarian conditions that are found in Tanzania (and indeed throughout independent Africa).

Living together and working together are the basics of socialist rural development. Community activities, both productive and social, need to be organized by the members of the community themselves. Irrigation, health and educational services need to be contributed to by individuals from their own efforts, but also by the group from its collective effort — and the group as a group should control and manage these services in the same way that the family was traditionally a semi-autonomous self-sufficient entity within the broader community.

BY PERSUASION AND EXAMPLE

Knowing well that a peasant needs to recognise for himself the value of an innovation before he will adopt it, the President stresses the need for persuasion in putting across the idea of socialist rural development based on the principles of ujamaa. He says: —

"It is vital that whatever encouragement Government and TANU give to this type of scheme, they must not try to run it; they must help the people to run it themselves."

And just as the government will not impose on the people, the people should not impose on each other.

"Village democracy must operate from the beginning; there is no alternative if this system is to succeed."

Hard work and mutual support within the village community must do the job which other countries have looked to injections of foreign capital to do — and which they have learned to regret.

APPLAUSE OF AFRICA

President Nyerere deserves the applause of all sons of Africa for his sterling efforts to lead his country away from the shadows and snares of the neo-colonial and capitalist paths.

His concern for democracy, for equality, for social justice, and for African independence should be shared by all who love Africa and loathe imperialism. He has shown how the best elements in Africa's past can be knitted together with modern knowledge and technology to make a better future in which all can find fulfilment.

ZAMBIA: PRESIDENT KAUNDA HITS BACK

Addressing Zambia, Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa said recently: ". . . If you want to try violence, as you have advised other states in Africa, we will hit you so hard that you will never forget it . . ."

President Kaunda of Zambia made a brilliant analysis of the political situation in Southern Africa when he challenged Vorster in his speech at Luanshya recently. Dr Kaunda was in excellent mettle, his oratory and deep conviction shining throughout his epoch-making speech.

For the first time in the history of South Africa, a White Prime Minister was proved a liar by an African Head of State. For the first time, a challenge was made to the White racist regime to dare pull down a national flag in an independent African state. When President Kaunda made this

challenge, the African masses throughout Zambia felt the inspiration of his selfless leadership.

COWARDLY RAVINGS

Quite correctly and in no uncertain terms, President Kaunda described Vorster's threats as the cowardly ravings of a political idiot. Zambia reasserted her policy of non-racial democracy based on Humanism, and her determination to continue supporting all Africans dedicated to the cause of the total liberation of Africa.

Zambia, declared President Kaunda, will defend every inch of its soil. "If Vorster thinks he can depend on his military might, Zambia can depend on the willingness of her people to make sacrifices when called upon." Zambians would defend their country from north, east, south and west. The

Zambian flag would never be pulled down by anyone from outside the country. "Blood has been spilled in the freedom struggle and people would be even more prepared to do the same after tasting the fruits of freedom."

This is an historic challenge by President Kaunda which the entire progressive world supports.

THE ROTTEN ALLIANCE

The "unholy alliance" of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal also came under the devastating scrutiny of President Kaunda. He characterised the position of the Smith rebel regime as that of "spineless rebels depending on Vorster and Salazar to exist."

He went further to disprove the erroneous view that freedom fighters are "terrorists." The White racist regimes and colonialist oppressors everywhere in the world always refer to the freedom fighters as "terrorist" or "communist infiltrators" and so on, as if the countries where they operate do not belong to them. With reference to Southern Africa, President Kaunda firmly rejected the view that freedom fighters are terrorists, and explained that such freedom fighters were "not fighting against established democratic governments but against White oppressors."

For more than three hundred years now, White governments have had a monopoly of political power over the voteless indigenous African communities. They have advanced a hodgepodge of spurious reasons for retaining exclusive White rule. They have invented equally deceitful terms to define their wicked White tyranny and privileged position in society: "White leadership," "Western Christian civilization," "segregation," "trusteeship," "apartheid," "Bantustan homelands," "partnership," etc.

A DYING PHENOMENON

In the history of colonial oppression there has never been such profuse ingenuity in the proliferation of words to conceal wicked rule and the inhumanity of the White man to the Africans.

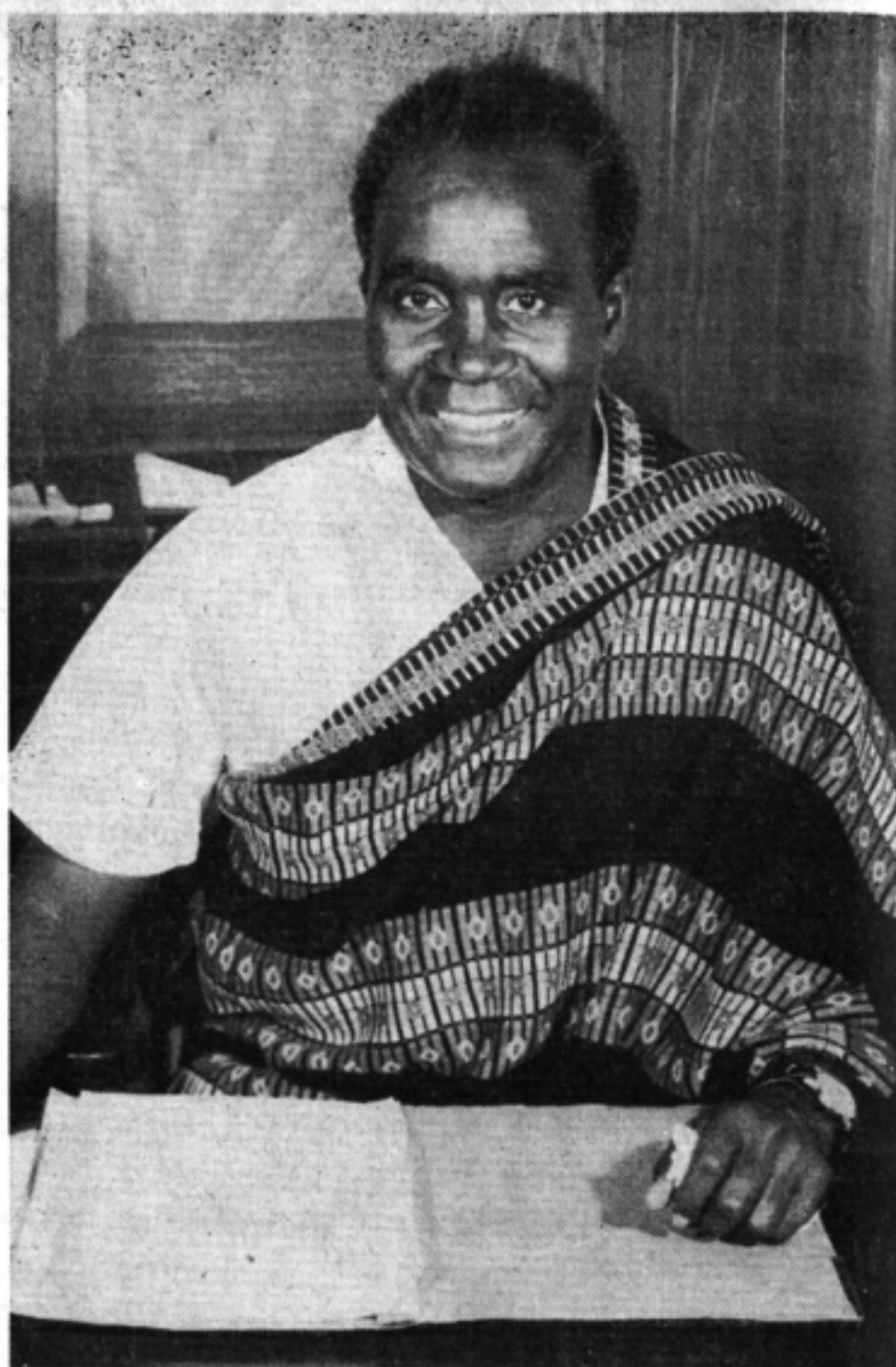
Vorster, of course, will continue to call Freedom-Fighters "terrorists," as that is the only language he understands — *police terror*. But he would do well to ruminate over the words of wisdom uttered by President Kenneth Kaunda at the mass rally at Luanshya. Minority rule is a doomed social phenomenon whether it takes place in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, in the Kingdom of Lesotho, in South West Africa, in South Africa or elsewhere. Minority rule is even more abominable as a system of government when it is based on colour.

President Kaunda showed Vorster the way out of the troubled mess in which his Nazi-minded ideology has landed him. In a country in which Black and White live and work side by side, the ideal of establishing a non-racial democracy in which the human worth of every citizen derives from a social ethic that proclaims human brotherhood, human oneness as opposed to human separateness as the only durable foundation, is an ideal worth the trouble to strive for. A contrary approach to adjust human relations will only bring about unnecessary suffering and the loss of life, limb and property — especially on the side of those who refuse to return to the path of sanity.

NOT WEAPONS BUT RIGHT

The African majority is bound to win because its cause is just. It is not weapons, not "military might" as President Kaunda rightly stressed, that will win the historic battles that lie ahead, but the determination of the oppressed people to liberate themselves.

This is a lesson which Vorster and his henchmen should remember, as the Boers never accepted defeat by British imperialism. They continued to fight British colonial rule until they won State power. Our people will also continue to fight White supremacist regimes until just societies based on equa-



President Kaunda

lity and non-racial democracy triumph in the whole of Southern Africa.

Vorster must listen to reason. He must recognise that just as "law and order" broke down under the tyranny of the rebel Smith regime, the few military detachments from South Africa have no chance of doing better. When the tide of revolutionary fury rises in South Africa, where will Vorster and his cohorts hide their criminal heads?

EXPANSIONIST POLICY

Lunatic dreams of expanded Bantustans to include Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, and the expansionist policy of building "a greater South Africa" that swallows up the "independence and sovereignty" of Malawi, ignore the most vital link in this turbulent Southern Africa deadlock: the Black masses demand equal rights now. They want freedom and human dignity and they are already waging guerilla warfare to win their emancipation.

President Kaunda has flung the gauntlet and Vorster must measure up to the challenge: the non-racial democracy of Zambia is stronger than the embattled laager of apartheid within which Vorster's regime imprisons millions. This is a challenge backed by the entire international community which has proclaimed the right of all men to self-determination and freedom from colonial bondage.

If Vorster does not make amends in time, he is doomed to the same fate that inexorably overtook his former unlamented master, Adolf Hitler. The die is cast. There is no turning back.

OUR FIGHT IS AGAINST APARTHEID, NOT BOTSWANA

An appeal to the Government of Botswana and the OAU to secure the release of imprisoned South African Freedom Fighters who inadvertently entered Botswana on their way to South Africa

We are compelled to bring to the notice of our readers the situation that the African National Congress of South Africa faces in the war zone.

We have consistently avoided regarding the independent African Republic of Botswana as forming part of the hostile territory to be traversed by our militants on their way to war in South Africa. We have exercised a great deal of patience and understanding of the difficulties that Botswana has to face vis-a-vis the fascist Vorster regime.

We wish to begin by emphasising a point that might be self-evident although it is often forgotten. We are fighting for the emancipation of the oppressed people of South Africa. We cannot and shall not abandon our position as freedom-fighters, and furthermore we shall not abdicate our duty to meet and repel fascist violence by revolutionary armed struggle. To achieve our objectives, we shall not stop carrying arms to be used against the enemy of both the indigenous African people of South Africa and of Botswana.

As Rhodesia is part of the enemy territory through which our militants pass, we shall fight there on our way to South Africa whatever the frightened armchair critics say of our valiantly fought battles.

Seven of the ZAPU/ANC militants have been sentenced to death in Rhodesia. Another seven have had a token portion of their heavy sentences set aside in Botswana.

Seventeen of our freedom-fighters arrested in Botswana have appealed against the severity of the sentences imposed on them. It must be remembered that these men were on their way to South Africa to fight the enemy. They strayed across the Botswana border in their efforts to reach home. When they noticed that certain "security police" were hunting for them, they immediately prepared an ambush. The "security police" were caught in that ambush and their lives were saved by the fact that they identified themselves as Botswana police. *Our men then surrendered their weapons, ammunition, personal effects etc.*

When they had done this, our militants were placed under arrest and maltreated by the very police whose lives they had spared moments earlier. *This is a bitter lesson.* It raises very sharply the question: how long must we accept this type of treatment?

Africa and the world must realise the difficulties that our militants have to face on their way to the battlefield. Human tolerance and restraint have their own limitations under trying circumstances. All we know is that our enemies are the White minority racist regimes of Vorster, Smith and Salazar. We shall fight them wherever we meet their fascist forces. Those who stand in our way must not expect us to abandon our tasks and duties. Towards the realization of those national tasks, we request the release of all Freedom-Fighters imprisoned in Botswana.

The following is an extract from a report sent to us: —

"Seven Freedom-Fighters appealed to the High Court sitting in Gaborone against sentences passed by the Subordinate Court in Francistown. They had pleaded guilty to various

counts of possessing and importing a variety of automatic and semi-automatic weapons and ammunition into Botswana without authorization. Chief Justice Laurence Weston modified their sentences slightly in their favour.

"The first appellant, James E. April (27) of Cape Town, maintained that his sentence of 18 months in prison and a fine of £ 25 or 6 months in default was too severe. He asked for leniency because he co-operated with Police and at no time tried to deny or hide his guilt. He assured the Court that he bore no ill-feeling towards Botswana and intended no harm to anyone in the country.

"The Court upheld the sentence in the main but set aside his fine of £ 25 or 6 months in default, on the basis that while the violations were serious and received a heavy sentence, the Magistrate should have taken into account the fact that the accused pleaded guilty.

"The second appeal was by six South Africans who had received sentences of 3 years in prison and £ 25 fine or 6 months in default. The appellants were:

Donald Sebekwa (23), Alphas Matlapa (23), Castro Dolo (50), Jackson Mayibuye (27), John Dube (28), Petrus Zulu (46).

"They entered Botswana at Maitengwe with a number of automatic weapons, hand-grenades, and considerable ammunition. They had received their maximum sentences in the circumstances.

"Their appeal against sentence rested on the fact that they had co-operated with the Police and intended no harm to Botswana. 'We were passing through Botswana to fight apartheid in South Africa,' said one.

"The Chief Justice stated that while he believed that the appellants had no ill-intentions to this country, they had nevertheless committed a serious offence by bringing an arsenal of weapons and hand-grenades into Botswana without authority. He pointed out that the prohibition of these arms is absolute regardless of the intention of the bearer, and must be maintained in the interests of good government.

"The Court did however accept that the appellants co-operated with the Police and pleaded guilty. It accordingly set aside the fine of £ 25 or 6 months in default, while upholding the term of 3 years' imprisonment."

These men are Freedom-Fighters — not criminals. They should be released. Mercenaries who have plagued Africa and the Congo have been granted safe passage to wherever they want to go. The OAU has put its most senior officials and some highly-respected Heads of State to the task of sending the mercenaries out of Africa and rehabilitating the African hangers-on who supported the mercenaries. If all this is possible, would we be asking too much by appealing to the OAU to take positive action to rescue Freedom-Fighters from the dungeons into which they are thrown?

We hope that it is not too late to do something to save these men whose only guilt is their determination to enter South Africa and abolish apartheid by force of arms.

We too want to regain our national independence and should not be stopped in independent Africa on our way to carrying out this sacred duty.

EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA FROM WORLD SOCCER

A call to all
sportsmen to work
for the expulsion
of Apartheid Soccer
from the
International
Federation of
Soccer Associations

by
Chris de Broglio
Executive Member
of the South African
Non-Racial Olympics
Committee (SANROC)

"Since South Africa was suspended by FIFA in 1964 no effort has been made by the White South African Football Association to eliminate racial discrimination from its organization and on the football field.

The suspension of the SAFA was a severe blow and that organization reacted by punishing the non-racial South African Soccer Federation which had led the fight for the suspension of SAFA. The Secretary of the S. A. Soccer Federation, George Singh, was issued with a banning order restricting his activities in sporting organizations, his freedom of travel inside and outside South Africa, and forbidding him from attending gatherings of more than two persons.

The authorities have made every effort to destroy the nonracial body — by refusing the use of municipal sports fields and, lately, by banning matches between the 'Non-White' racial groups (African, Indian and Coloured). In spite of all the harassment, the non-racial Soccer Federation still manages to survive, and organises a National League, both Amateur and Professional.

BRIBES AND 'CONCESSIONS'

Another weapon used by the racist body was to raise a fund of £ 25,000 (mostly from Government sources) to "reorganise" Non-White football. This money was allocated to subservient "Bantu" organizations in an attempt to influence teams to break away from the non-racial body, but so far this has not been very successful.

In April 1967 the South African Government announced certain 'concessions' regarding mixed teams to compete overseas. These 'concessions' have been proved to be meaningless and have been rejected by the "Non-White" sportsmen and by all African Olympic Committees. (*Editor's Note: It was announced that mixed South African teams would be allowed to play overseas — but no change whatsoever was made to the rigid separation at home. The 'concession' was announced strategically shortly before the Olympic Committee considered the question of South Africa's re-entry into the Games.*)

However, it is interesting to note that even these meaningless concessions could not be applied to football, and the Prime Minister warned the White Football Association against changing its policy even outside South Africa. It is obvious that the racials are not prepared to contemplate a mixed football team for competition outside South Africa because then the problem of mixed trials would arise and any such team would have to play together inside South Africa for training purposes.



George Singh, founder of the non-racial Soccer Federation of South Africa. The regime imposed severe restrictions on him as a result of his work in the service of soccer in South Africa.

SIDE-STEPPING

We therefore see that Frank Braun, President of the S. A. Olympic Committee, announced on 27 August 1967: — "If South Africa is allowed to compete in the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico, we shall *probably* send an all Non-White soccer team."

This manoeuvre on the part of the South African racials must be rejected by all true sportsmen. If it is accepted, it will mean that purely all-White soccer teams will be able to take part in International matches with friendly 'White' countries such as Britain, France, Portugal, Spain etc. In the periods between the Olympic Games, the Non-Whites will be forgotten.

The acceptance by FIFA of the manoeuvre will only serve to reinforce racialism at home, which must be totally eliminated.

EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA

Members of FIFA should move a resolution at the next Congress for the final expulsion of the racist South African Football Association, and should study the possibility of granting full membership to the non-racial Federation, which will abide by the rules of FIFA.

We call on all sportsmen, soccer-men in particular and their fan clubs, to urge their respective soccer organizations to move firmly in this matter."

LEGALISED MURDER

Dr W. E. G. Butler, medical practitioner of Empangeni in Natal, South Africa, speaking at a meeting of the Zululand Public Bodies Association, had this to say: — "I don't want to give you a false impression but as you sit here, a group of responsible people permitting a situation to exist that does exist in Empangeni, you are individually and collectively responsible for the death or the relative murder of a certain proportion of children who are admitted to that hospital.

"You are responsible because you do not make enough fuss about it. I am responsible, you are responsible, we are all responsible. There is no European hospital in the world that would tolerate the situation that exists in Empangeni today. It is indescribably bad.

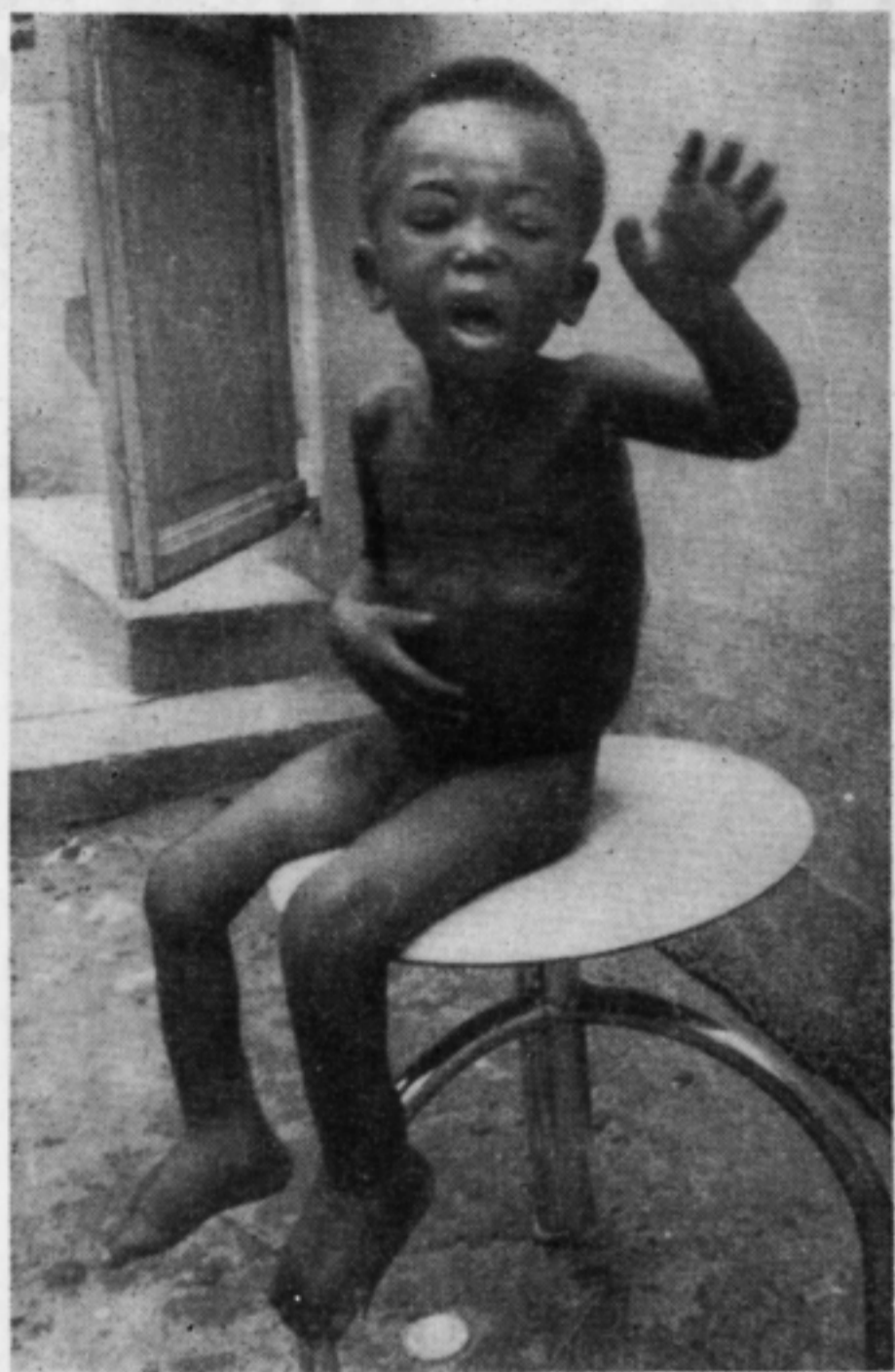
"Some children go into the hospital not suffering from any disease, yet within three or four days sometimes one in four of the admissions die of a disease which they have contracted there. They die because they lie in beds right next to others with desperate diseases. A fit healthy child with a broken arm can be dead within twenty-four hours from a virulent gastro-enteritis spread to him from three of four other children lying in that bed. It is an indescribable shame."

Shocking? Yes. Unusual? No. Must we add that this is a hospital for Black children? We will not here go into the tragedy of Dr Butler himself, a good man but a victim of the prejudices which surround every White South African. We allude to his reference to "European" hospitals in the world — he overlooks the fact that such differentiation, while not unknown, is not at all common outside South Africa.

Nevertheless, Dr Butler spoke with commendable courage. He risks not only social ostracism from his fellow Whites but also legal approbrium. But what he reveals is common all over South Africa: such facts are usually hidden behind dry statistics in 'learned' papers.

Medical services for non-whites in South Africa are of the most primitive kind, where they exist at all. Hospitals and clinics are few and far between and they are always crowded. Thousands of critically ill people are daily refused admission because there just is no room for them. This, despite the fact that children are put four of five to a cot and adults have to lie under and between beds.

Is it any wonder that half of all African children born die before they reach the age of five, or that the life expectancy for all Africans is thirty-two years?



By far the great majority of deaths are caused by preventable diseases. Children die of such illnesses as tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis, kwashiorkor, measles, diphtheria, etc. Every single one of these is a wholly preventable disease; most are almost never seen in countries with adequate medical services.

Yet White South Africa blissfully and carelessly goes on talking of "the land of sunshine," happiness and wealth. But the average White neither sees nor hears or is interested in the problems of the African majority. From the cradle to the grave Whites are surrounded by a constant stream of propaganda, education and attitudes which look upon their non-white countrymen as sub-human. Most South African Whites are extraordinarily callous regarding the problems of Africans, Indians and Coloureds, even on the purely 'social welfare' level.

We think that Dr Butler's plea to the Zululand Association is praiseworthy, but we doubt if it will achieve anything. So long as State machinery is loaded against non-whites, individuals can do little to change conditions. The State machinery must first be destroyed and replaced by a democratic system in which non-whites play the key role. Only after this is achieved can real changes come about in South Africa. This is the task that the African National Congress has set itself, and we will fulfil it in the only way now possible — by armed struggle.