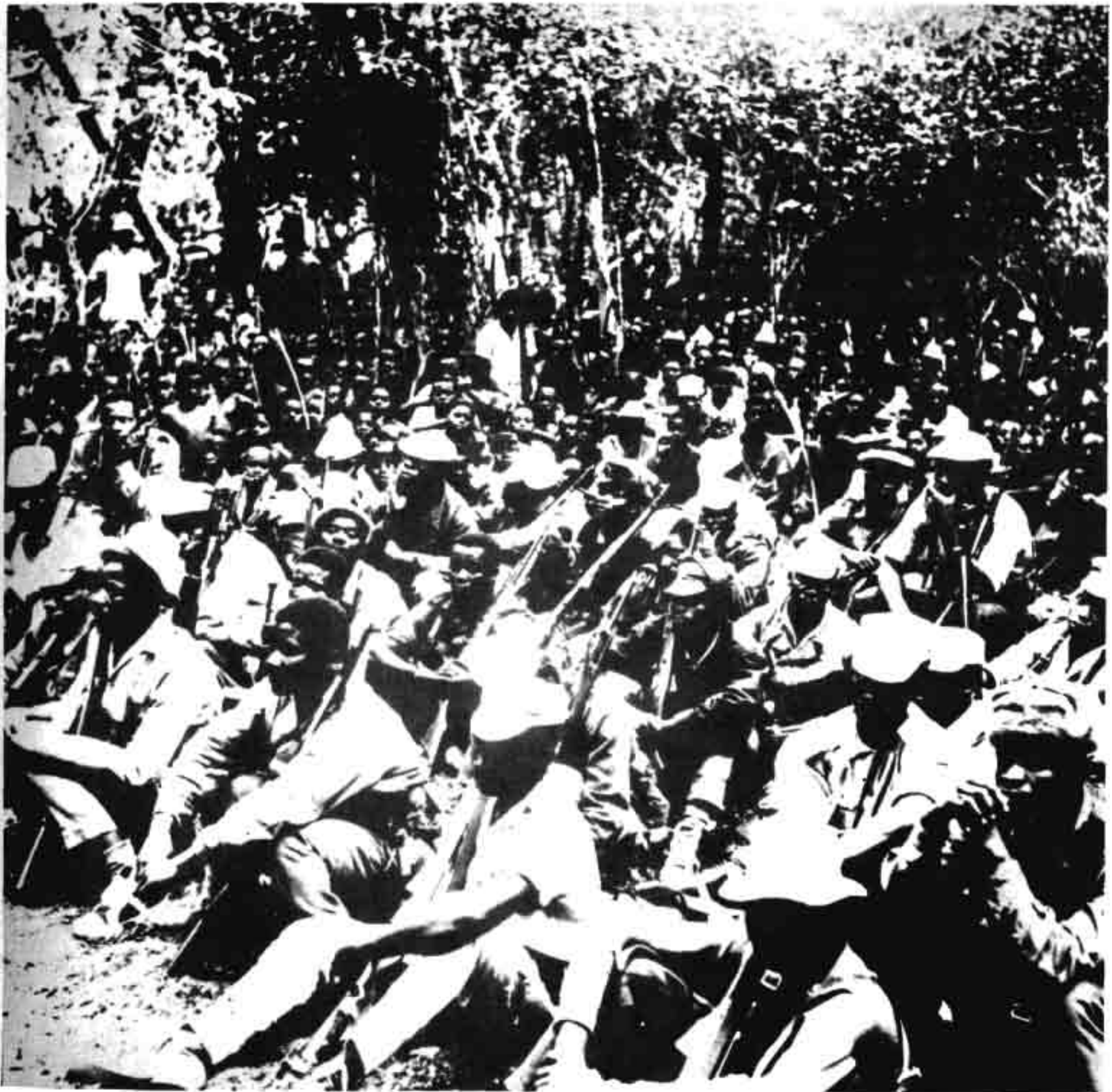


SECHABA

official organ
african national congress
south africa



SECHABA

Vol 3 No 12 December 1969

49 Rathbone Street London W1A - 4NL
Telegrams & Cables SECHABA LONDON W1
Telephone 580 5303

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| FIGHTING TALK: FRAUD EXPOSED The Coloured People's rejection of apartheid in the recent elections. | 2 |
| PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY S. L. Muller - Minister of Police | 4 |
| THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION - A penetrating analysis of current problems of our revolution in its internal and external aspects. by Joe Matthews. | 5 |
| OFF THE CUFF Sechaba interviews an adviser to the Vietnam Paris Peace talks. | 9 |
| HOSTILE WITNESS - Anti Apartheid's Ten Year Record: An assessment of the achievements of the Anti - Apartheid Movement in Britain. | 11 |
| TREASON TRIAL 1956 Centre page spread of pictures and a poem by Barry Feinberg to mark the anniversary of this highly significant event. | 12 |
| HIGH STAKES AT CABORA BASSA A fullscale analysis of the vast proportions of this scheme which threatens to become a major area of confrontation with white power in Southern Africa. | 14 |
| PRIEST KILLED IN DETENTION ANC statement on the death of Imam Abdullah Haroun. | 19 |
| FIGHTING AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION A reader's view on urban struggle strategy in South Africa. | 20 |
| BOOK REVIEW Resettlements - The New Violence to Africans. Internationale Defence and Aid Pamphlet. | 23 |
| AN APPEAL TO READERS | 24 |

SPECIAL OFFER

NOW AVAILABLE
50 BOUND VOLUMES OF

SECHABA

★ Vol 1 Nos 1 - 12 ★ Vol 2 Nos 1 - 12
ATTRACTIVELY BOUND IN HARD COVERS
Vol 3 in the course of preparation
Price £5 (\$15)

ORDER EARLY TO AVOID DISAPPOINTMENT!
Cheque/postal order should be made payable to:
SECHABA 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A-4NL

FIGHTING TALK

Once again South Africa's oppressed population has given its verdict on apartheid. They don't want it, no matter how it is dressed up, disguised or sugar-coated! This is clear from the first voting by the Coloured population - that is, those who South Africa classifies as neither "white", "Bantu" nor "Asiatic". (Their terms). The vote was for the newly constituted "Coloured People's Representative Council" - an apartheid institution carefully race-segregated, said by the government to be a step towards "giving them rights in their own areas." The result shows, overwhelmingly, that the Coloured people don't want the government's mess of pottage.

There is a long background to their decision. Traditionally, before the Afrikaner Nationalist government, the Coloured people occupied a special place in South Africa's racial hierarchy. In the Cape Province, where the majority of them live, they were eligible to vote for Parliamentary candidates - on a common voters roll with the whites - though not to stand as candidates. And some social and civil liberties, denied to the rest of the non-white population, were also open to them - but only in that Province, for peculiar historical reasons. The franchise rights were something of a fraud. Debarred from putting up candidates, and debarred from membership of the main parliamentary parties, constituting a minority of the voters in all wards, the Coloured voters became the step-children of the voting aristocracy. Their votes were sought, often bought, at election times; but their deeds and claims were forgotten, ignored or tossed aside between elections. Even so, that fraud kept alive for many Coloured people the illusion that they were not part of the oppressed non-white majority and that their future lay with the white rulers, - even if they rode towards it in a strictly second-class carriage.

Afrikaner nationalism, in its early days of struggle for power joined in the game of wooing the Coloured electorate. But not for long. As it moved closer towards power, white chauvinism became its dominant creed. Increasingly, in its propaganda, the Coloured people were relegated to the ranks of the other non-whites, destined to be the hewers of wood for the white aristocracy. Thus those coloured people who could be bothered to vote in Parliamentary elections voted solidly against Afrikaner Nationalist candidates; and so roused still further the racialism of the Nationalists.

The first Nationalist government abolished the Coloured people's voting rights, partly for racist reasons, partly to cut away their sizeable vote from the other white party, the United Party. In 1950, it proposed legislation to abolish the common voters roll, and to segregate Coloured voters to a separate voting list which would elect special "Coloured Representatives" to Parliament. The Coloured Representatives would - naturally - all be

FRAUD EXPOSED

white. The law passed in the teeth of fairly bitter opposition from the United Party and anti-Nationalist whites generally. There was little opposition from the Coloured people themselves. Experience of what the franchise would bring them in a white-dominated Parliament had made many apathetic, disillusioned.

The law passed, and the first elections of "Coloured Representatives" were duly held. Again many Coloured voters stayed away out of apathy; many more refused to vote as an act of protest. Even so, the candidates elected were all anti-apartheid – various shades of liberal and progressive. Every pro-apartheid candidate lost heavily. Act 1 in the working out of Nationalist policy had misfired! Instead of destroying Coloured political influence, it had produced a group of strongly anti-government MP's, talking in the name of the Coloured people, a constant thorn in the government's side.

Act 2 – inevitably – was the total abolition of all Coloured voting rights for Parliament. The decision was in conformity with the new Verwoerd philosophy of the apartheid state. The Coloured people – like the "Bantu" – would be given "rights in their own area." Their representatives in Parliament would be abolished. A "Representative Council" would be set up, on which the Coloured people themselves could serve – as in any Bantustan. Its rights would – as in any Bantustan – be strictly limited to communal affairs of minor importance, and subject to strict Government supervision, interference and veto. These are the elections that have just been held. But before the vote, the stage had to be properly set to ensure the right result. First, legislation had to be passed to prevent any progressive, democratic or radical influences "getting at" the Coloured voters. Called "The Prevention of Interference" law, this law made it a criminal offence for any person of one race to interfere in the political affairs, campaigns or elections of any other racial group. Its first target was the African and Indian liberation movements, which were campaigning to persuade the Coloured people that their liberation could only be won in unity with the other oppressed groups; and its second the progressive, multi-racial opposition parties – Liberal and Progressive – who had members amongst the Coloured people, and commanded considerable support for their anti-apartheid platforms. The bar against "interference" wasn't intended to operate against pro-apartheid interference. And in fact it did not. During the campaign leading up to the first elections of the "Representative Council" there was constant interference. Police – white – interfered to harry opposition candidates. Farmers – white – and employers – white – openly threatened their workers and instructed them how to vote. Officials – white – and bureaucrats – white – obstructed opposition candidates, banned their meetings, intimidated. With the stage thus set, the government went

confidently ahead, certain of victory. Facilities and money were placed at the disposal of government sponsored pro-apartheid groups.

Challenged by the election, a number of small groups of Coloured people came together to form an all-Coloured anti-apartheid "Labour Party". Other groups of Coloured people urged everyone to boycott the elections as an act of protest – a form of passive "opting out" which has been advocated by certain radical organisations for so many years that it has almost become a Coloured tradition. In the event, both groups won. **The Government lost!**

Of the 40 elected seats, the Labour Party won 24. Its main pro-apartheid opposition, the Federal Party, 8. Of four pro-apartheid groups contesting, all four party leaders were defeated. The Labour Party's victory was sweeping in the towns. Only in the countryside, where farmers took their workers in to vote, the Federal Party scored some victories.

For the advocates of the boycott it was a triumph; for the Government seeking to show the world that the Coloured people had accepted their "Bantustan", a disaster. There are 1,900,000 Coloured people. Some 600,000 of them were eligible to vote. After all the government exhortation, and all the pressure put on them by officialdom and their bosses, only 251,000 voted. The rest stayed away – in protest or disgust. Their votes too rank as a 'NO!' to apartheid.

But even then the farce was not over. The Representative Council has 60 members – 40 elected, 20 nominated by the Government. The Labour Party won 24 of the 40 elected seats. But the Government has appointed 20 pro-apartheid members to form a pro-apartheid majority. Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party, beaten in his own constituency and leader of the party rejected by the voters, has been nominated to one of the seats. Backed by other nominated failures, he has been made chairman of the Council. Democratic rights "in their own areas" – South African style.

The tale is not yet ended. The Labour Party, now the "minority" at the time of writing, is undecided whether to boycott the whole affair in protest, or to resign **en bloc**. But whatever it decides to do things can never be the same again. The Coloured people have learnt something they will not forget. That is, that even here in this white fortress, the Nationalist Government can propose, but in the end it's the people who decide. They have learnt too what the African National Congress and its allies have been telling them for many years – that they have no future in South Africa with the white ruling caste; they have no future on their own. Their future – their only future, lies in unity and in struggle together with the African and Indian people for equal rights for all South Africans, for liberation from white domination.

PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY



**S.L. MULLER
MINISTER
OF POLICE**

A newly cultivated urbanity sits un- easily on the features of cigar smoking, smooth talking Mr. Muller. Deeply prejudiced and stubbornly intolerant of opposition, Mr. Muller has made his department even more aggressively belligerent than it was before. For his personal delight, he has made Jew-baiting his own special responsibility.

Addressing a Nationalist Party meet- ing in Potchefstroom on August 28,

1968, Mr. S. L. Muller, Minister of Police, appealed to the Jewish com- munity to "put their hands in their own bosom" and use their influence with their young people "to respect authority in South Africa and not disrupt it." Anticipating an unfavour- able reaction to his speech – the first he had made since his appoint- ment as Minister earlier in the month – Mr. Muller stressed that he bore no grudge against the Jewish community. On the contrary (wait for it, here it comes), "some of my best friends are Jews".

In South Africa there was no longer a feeling against the Jewish com- munity – it was less than it had ever been before, said the Minister. All the same, it was time the Jewish community adopted an attitude to- wards the participation of Jewish students in demonstrations and sit- ins. It was also a hard fact that a large percentage of named Commu- nists and convicted saboteurs in re- cent years were Jews, he added. The headline to the report of his speech in Pretoria's Nationalist newspaper "Hoofstad" the next morning was: "Jewish Students Must Beware".

Not unnaturally, there was an out- cry, and Muller was accused of pro- moting anti-Semitism not only by the Jewish Board of Deputies but also by leaders of the United and Progressive parties and other public figures.

Prime Minister Vorster jumped to Muller's defence. The Jewish com- munity should be less hyper-sensitive to criticism expressed in their own interests by a responsible minister, said Vorster.

Muller also got the backing of a for- mer mayor of Brakpan, Mr. Gerald Kalk, who said in an interview with the "Sunday Times": "I agree entirely with the Minister of Police. These children who, as Jews, should be in Israel bashing the Egyptians, should be spanked".

We whites must stick together, you know!

Muller is, like his senior Cabinet colleague Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, a former railwayman. Born in 1917, he went to high school at Beaufort West but had to leave after passing standard 9 because his father could not afford to keep him there. He joined the railways and for the first year earned 4d an hour as an apprentice turner and machinist. After five years he qualified as an artisan and spent a further five years with the S. A. R. at Salt River. In 1944 he resigned, wrote his matric and became articled to a firm of

attorneys in Cape Town. After quali- fying in 1949 he joined a firm of attorneys in Robertson, Cape, rising eventually to the position of senior partner.

Muller entered the Provincial Council in 1956 in the Worcester constituency and became a member of the Execu- tive Committee four years later. The following year he was elected M.P. for Ceres.

In September 1966 Muller became Deputy Minister of Justice, Prisons and Police and in December of the same year substituted Finance and Economic Affairs for the first two portfolios. But it was not until August 1968, when Vorster dropped Dr. Al- bert Hertzog and three other mi- nisters, that Muller obtained full Cabinet rank as Minister of the In- terior and Police.

Though evidently regarded by Vor- ster as a reliable verligte, Muller has so far only given utterance to remarks which by rights should qualify him as a verkrampte. He has repeatedly threatened to impose stricter censorship on the press, both English and Afrikaans, for subverting the morals of "the volk" and for "distorting" facts. He has attacked student demonstrators and the Na- tional Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

For a man with legal training, he shows no respect for the rule of law. In September 1969 he publicly con- victed British detainee Philip Golding of "unlawful activities" before he had even appeared in court either as an accused or as a witness.

He repeatedly praises the police for preserving stability both inside South Africa and on her borders and boasts that South Africa's internal security has become the envy of the world.

He accuses African countries who oppose apartheid of "race hatred such as the world has never known – race hatred based on colour pre- judice which has apparently been condoned by the world because it is the Black man who is exercising it and it is the White man who is suf- fering."

At the close of the Cape congress of the Nationalist Party at Port Elizabeth in September 1969, Muller displayed the new face of South African imperialist ambition:

"South Africa has a calling not to remain small and narrowminded but to become great and to make our influence felt in the world – in the first instance in Africa, to ensure our own safety and not for the sake of being pally with Non-Whites".

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

by Joe Matthews.



The South African Revolution is entering a new stage. The Consultative Conference of the African National Congress held at Morogoro, Tanzania last May reflected this. The documents adopted at the Conference contained much valuable material and will well repay careful study. A number of comrades both at home and abroad have still not grasped the full significance of the ANC conference. Even more regrettable is the fact that the perspectives and decisions of the conference have not been sufficiently explained to the masses of our people. This deficiency must be corrected at once. A big campaign to make the entire liberation movement aware of the current problems of our revolution must be launched at all levels in order to consolidate unity, develop and mobilise the mass movement of the oppressed people and intensify the armed revolution.

False Theories and Pessimism

Confronted by the inevitable difficulties of a complex struggle such as ours, some people have become infected by false theories concerning our revolution. We are on the threshold of a great advance in our struggle for freedom based on mobilisation of the masses at home. The movement has scored some notable successes in the last few years. We have also sustained severe setbacks. A careful balance sheet will show that since Rivonia we have made a steady recovery of our initiative. But some people unable to see events in their totality pick on certain negative features and draw wildly generalised conclusions about the progress of our revolutionary struggle.

In the early part of this decade the ANC and the liberation movement in general had to combat the idea that the struggle in South Africa would be a short one. In those days slogans promising freedom by a particular year were shouted by some irresponsible elements. The ANC pointed out then that the struggle in South Africa would not follow the path by which many African countries achieved independence. We made it clear that negotiations and constitutional advance would not bring about our freedom. We said then that the struggle would be long and difficult. History has proved that those who thought the struggle would be brief were utterly wrong.

As is usual with petit bourgeoisie intellectuals the same elements have now swung to the other extreme. Confronted by a tough and long revolutionary struggle the people who were prattling about a quick victory have become the biggest pessimists. Basing themselves on the great disparity in military strength and resources between ourselves and the enemy they conclude that there is little hope of a change in the situation. This attitude also is quite wrong. The situation in our country is not static but is rapidly developing in many different directions. The period of lull is rapidly coming to a close. The reactionary offensive that has marked the last nine years has now lost impetus.

Faced with a growing armed revolution in Southern Africa the ruling classes in our country are beginning to commit strategic mistakes with far-reaching consequences for the future. Recent divisions within the ruling group reflect differences in the strategy for preserving white supremacy. The contradictions that have always been inherent in the South African social structure

are growing acute. Provided the movement gives clear leadership and puts forward correct strategic and tactical plans and directives as well as selfless organisational work, an upturn in the struggle is inevitable.

A Protracted Struggle

Our movement must be oriented on the perspective of a struggle that will be fairly protracted but will undoubtedly be crowned with success.

The armed revolution in Algeria took about eight years before victory was achieved. In heroic Vietnam the struggle has been going on for decades first against the French and then against the United States. The revolution in Angola began eight years ago and has registered big successes. The struggle in Guinea (Bissau) and in Mozambique have similarly gone on for some time now.

Like all oppressed peoples we would naturally like to get rid of the oppressors and exploiters in the shortest possible time. Should it turn out that the revolution develops faster than expected we should be ready for that. But any serious analysis seems to suggest that our struggle will be a long one.

The ruling oligarchy in our country has been entrenched in power for a long period. Everything has been done to deprive the majority of the people of any element of power. The coercive machinery of the state is virtually entirely manned by members of the privileged white minority. The enemy have at their disposal all the resources of a wealthy and fairly developed modern state. Last but by no means least the enemy has been able to count on the many-sided support of the major imperialist powers.

On the other hand the oppressed people start off the armed struggle with a number of serious disadvantages. The most important of them is the relative absence of military equipment and techniques. The people also have not acquired knowledge of the method of guerrilla warfare in the mass. To correct these weaknesses will be a slow process during the course of developing our armed revolutionary struggle. Why then in spite of the factors mentioned above are we so absolutely certain of victory?

The fundamental and decisive factor to bear in mind is that the national liberation movement is historically and socially a progressive force fighting for a better life for the people. The enemy on the other hand fights under the banner of reaction to protect ill-gotten gains and privileges enjoyed by the minority at the expense of the people. The policy of imperialist and colonialist suppression of the people is retrogressive and doomed to defeat. On no account can the enemy ever gain support from the people for a policy of suppressing them. This is a fundamental and permanent feature of the situation which is often undervalued, precisely because it is so obvious. But in a prolonged armed revolution it is the factor that more and more determines the side which wins.

Powerful social Forces

Very powerful social forces stand fundamentally opposed to the present regime. The national movement of the oppressed Africans, Indians and Coloured stand opposed to the regime. The forces of social change among the workers, peasants and intellectuals stand opposed to the regime. These forces have within them tremendous power when organised. The onset of every new form of struggle has the immediate tendency to temporarily disrupt organisation. This happened in our case also at different times in our history. When the period of non-violent struggle came to an end it found the liberation movement in our country in possession of a stable leadership in command of a relatively well organised mass movement. The adoption of the decision to wage armed struggle for the overthrow of the regime involved a complete change of strategy, tactics, propaganda, organisational machinery and so on. This could not but result in some disruption of organisation to say nothing of the fact that the reaction of the enemy added further difficulties.

The Morogoro conference has laid the basis both in principle and in organisation for a complete remoulding of our movement so as to enable full utilisation of our possibilities in mobilising the masses. It should be noted that in conditions such as obtain in our police-ridden country it is not possible to organise the masses except as part of and in conjunction with the waging of armed struggle.

It is also necessary to get rid of the concept that the masses will be organised by a few people at the top. Our experience teaches that the masses of the people display great organisational initiative themselves. We must make it possible for our numerous activists and supporters to do organisational work in support of the armed struggle. Whilst we begin the struggle in a relatively weak position in so far as military technique and arms supplies are concerned, this is not inevitable or permanent. Step by step, our people must acquire both the techniques of war and the means for fighting such a war.

Unite all Progressive Forces

In the resistance war it is now practical to achieve complete co-ordination and unity of the national liberation and progressive forces under the leadership of the ANC. This means that an authoritative organ for prosecuting the revolution is now being built with the full support of all those forces opposed to the continued existence of the present Fascist regime. No organisation outside the united Front built around the ANC and its allies exists which is capable of leading the struggle. All reformists and opportunist groupings which at one time existed in our country have disintegrated both ideologically and organisationally. This is an extremely favourable factor for conducting the revolutionary war.

We have said that the resources of the South African regimes are great relative to ours at the moment. But this must not be exaggerated. South Africa is not a world power and the privileged minority is numerically small. In the long run this weakness of the enemy will tell very much.

A vital factor making for our inevitable victory is that our struggle has the support of friends all over the world. Firstly we have direct allies in the millions who support the armed struggle in our neighbouring countries of Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique. In particular the alliance with ZAPU and the people of Zimbabwe is of great importance to our prospects of victory.

As the struggle develops in our country it will reach a level which will oblige neighbouring countries to increase their support to our people. At the moment some of our neighbours who sympathise with our case are hesitating and wavering under the threats of the Fascists. A time will come when the level of the struggle in South Africa will enable our neighbours to come out in their true colours of genuine supporters of the oppressed people in our country. At that stage any government that did not support the armed struggle of our people would be overthrown by the masses in the neighbouring countries who know full well the evils of Apartheid and Fascism.

In other African countries we have to take the long view. Some countries like Malawi are taking a direction hostile to our struggle and collaborating with our enemies. Others take up political and economic positions of which we as the representatives of the South African people, disapprove. It will not be possible for these countries to take up positions which we in the ANC dislike, the moment the struggle in our country reaches what might be called the "critical point". Our immediate task is to work hard to achieve the requisite level of armed struggle in our country. But there is no doubt that in the long run the independent African states will form a major part of support for our struggle.

Further afield are the Afro-Asian states, the Latin American countries, the Socialist states which already play a vital role in isolating Apartheid and its allies internationally. This international support will eventually be translated into massive direct resistance to our armed struggle. Hence it is important constantly to develop our international work as an aid not only now but in the future.



To sum up then, our struggle for liberation is likely to be a prolonged one and we must base our actions and planning with that as our orientation. This does not mean we have all the time in the world. It is necessary to work hard and selflessly to achieve the overthrow of the disastrous Apartheid regime as fast as possible. But we consider that the struggle will be long and we must get our people and our friends and supporters to understand the implications of this perspective.

On the other hand our victory is absolutely certain. Both historically and in practical terms the conditions now exist which were not there ten years ago for a successful revolutionary war in our country.

An Arsenal of Fiendish Laws

The basic character of the regime in our country has not changed. The Fascist regime has now been in power in South Africa for twenty-one years. This has caused some people to compare the longevity of the regime with those of Spain and Portugal. There are important differences. For one thing the Spanish and Portuguese Fascist regimes are ruling respectively Spaniards and Portuguese. The small white privileged minority has imposed Fascism on what is really a huge colonially oppressed people. Such a regime can no longer be tolerated in a resurgent Africa. The empires of Spain and Portugal in Africa are similarly headed for collapse.

During this whole period of Fascist rule the reactionary offensive and terror directed against the people has steadily grown. The arsenal of fiendish laws becomes larger. Reprisals and torture of freedom fighters claim a growing list of victims. Thousands of the finest people in our country are imprisoned in the goals of the oppressors. The notorious pass laws are ever more stringently applied. Military preparations have reached a level at which they now play a significant role in the economy.

The grim picture of national oppression and exploitation is in no way modified by the so-called "homelands" policy or by the much vaunted economic "boom" about which we hear so much. **South Africa is a Fascist state with no redeeming features.** Such a regime must be overthrown and all our efforts must be concentrated on just that.

The talk of an economic boom has arisen from the swift development that have taken place in the industrial sector of the economy. It should be stressed that the chief motive force of this development has been precisely low wages, tough labour laws, absence of social security, no trade unions, no political rights, exploitation of the vast majority of the people, especially

the African people. To turn round and ask the oppressed people to congratulate the regime for an economic progress brought about through their misery and from which they do not benefit is the sheerest gall and impudence on the part of the regime and its servitors.

South Africa Remains a Backward Country

An economy based on this primitive exploitation of the bulk of the people coupled with a ruthless policy designed to deprive them of skills contains a fundamental weakness. Further progress and economic growth require an end to the colour bars in industry, education and politics. Apartheid has now become a major barrier to the growth of the economy and to its integration with its natural hinterland in the rest of the African continent.

The general tendency is to compare the economic position of South Africa with that of other African states and this makes it appear as if the economy is strong. In fact by international standards South Africa is a backward country. Of course, to the apologists of the regime "South Africa" means the White people, who, enjoy a high standard of living at the expense of the non-white people. But if one has regard to the economic indices that distinguish backward from advanced countries it will be seen that South Africa is way behind. In terms of per capita income; health services; education; housing; transport; cultural and recreational facilities, the country is backward.

The overthrow of Apartheid has now become an essential element in any policy of continued economic growth and progress of the country.

One positive factor in the economic developments of the last few years has been the tempestuous growth of the working class. Economic laws are operating to expand the working class and especially the industrial working class. Sooner or later this mighty force will make itself felt and rock the regime to its foundations.

The armed struggle cannot be developed without a clear attitude to the land question which affects the bulk of the South African oppressed people. The people in the Reserves, on European farms and on the huge plantations must know that in fighting they are aiming at the seizing of the land from those who illegally and unjustifiably control it today. What economic policies will be followed in liberated areas will depend on the concrete conditions obtaining then, and on the need to sustain the struggle and develop it further. In the initial period we

must expect the position to be untidy and according to armchair revolutionaries, even chaotic. But there is no possibility of developing guerilla struggle without making it very clear that the liberation movement is calling on the people to fight for the land and to drive off the farms and plantations all those who have ruthlessly exploited the people. The land barons must be driven off the land which must be taken over by those who actually work.

A great Revolutionary Potential

The revolutionary potential of the rural masses is very great. It is only under conditions of armed struggle that it becomes possible to organise those on the European farms. The urban proletariat is destined to be the vanguard of the struggle in our country not only by reason of its advanced social and organisational role but also because of its numerical strength. The revolution in our country cannot succeed unless the working class is mobilised and exercises hegemony over the revolution in practice and in fact. No other class exists in our country that can exercise the role of leader and organiser of the revolution. The middle class and petit bourgeoisie elements among the oppressed people are too weak to play the role of vanguard. So that in our country the vanguard role of the working class is not only a matter of preference, it is an actual necessity as it is the only class that can exercise hegemony in the revolution and in its consolidation after the victory of the revolution. This truth about our country ought to be grasped firmly and put into practice in our policies. We have to admit that the consequences of this have not yet been fully grasped by all sectors of the national movement although there is a general, unguided and almost unconscious movement in that direction.

Our struggle would make much faster progress if the theoretical and practical implications of working class leadership of our national movement were understood. Often this issue is unjustifiably confused with another. Our movement is organised under the banner of the African National Congress which leads the national democratic revolution. **The liberation of the African people is the main content of the democratic revolution.** But in order to succeed and in order that the revolution should be carried through to the end it is essential that the working class of our country which has and continues to bear the brunt of the struggle must have hegemony of the whole liberation movement. What this means and how it is organisationally reflected requires the attention of all sectors of the movement.

The Fraud of Reform

There is no possibility of securing changes in our country except through revolution. Faced with temporary difficulties, some people especially outside our own movement, are beginning to toy with all manner of reformist theories. These find currency in the realm of Bantustan politics. Some intellectuals have decided to participate in politics as supporters of "separate development". In the Transkei and elsewhere some people, for selfish reasons, are endeavouring to justify government policy. The Bantustans have now been established in the Northerns Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Ciskei and Transkei. We have just had elections for the Coloured Representative Council. The Indian Council has also been set up. Does all this suggest that we are now in a period of retreat in which reform comes to the fore as a tactic?

The reformist experiments are a cruel farce. The whole of Africa is virtually free from foreign rule. Independent states have sprung up on the borders of and within the Republic of South Africa. In the still colonial territories the people are waging heroic guerilla struggles for their freedom. South Africa is no exception to the developments taking place in the rest of Africa.

Reformism in our country historically failed in a very long period to lead our people to freedom. On the contrary the most sustained reformist policies led to the Fascism and terror we

experience today. There is not one single fact to justify any expectation that reform could even lead to any amelioration of our conditions. Our history and experience have taught us very harsh lessons. One of the most vital is that without building an army, arming our people and conducting revolutionary struggle we will remain an oppressed and exploited people. The only correct path for the oppressed national groups and their democratic supporters among the whites is armed revolutionary struggle. This is not altered by the problems and difficulties that confront us in developing the revolution.

Utilising all Available Talents

Our movement has the experience and resources to make the changes and efforts needed to carry out our revolution. The decisions of Morogoro lay the basis for utilising all the talents of our people for the tasks that lie ahead. New elements need to be brought into leading positions at every level in order to reinforce and provide necessary renewal of our movement. It is necessary to enable all our people to be mobilised for the revolutionary struggle. Up to now we have not done nearly enough positive mobilisation of the masses of our people. They have been mobilised in a negative sort of way by the enemy. The enemy press and radio have been very busy telling the people about the guerilla struggles in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. They have conducted vicious propaganda campaigns against our movement and its leaders. They have sent information officers all over the rural areas telling the people to "co-operate" with the government in crushing the guerilla movement. This is telling the people about the revolution and making them curious about it. But this is a negative mobilisation conducted by our enemies against our interests.

We have to see that the voice of the movement itself reaches the masses by all means possible. The people have to be drawn into the manifold tasks of the revolution. Our theory of revolution must become the possession of all our people.

For a new Society

The African National Congress has undertaken the responsibility of organising not only the African people but all national groups in the struggle for the overthrow of the Fascist regime. This means that organisational forms have to be built by the ANC for this purpose. This will facilitate not only the revolutionary struggle but will project the ANC as the alternative to the present regime of white supremacy. We do not just want change. **Our national liberation movement desires to remake society in a new and just way.** Our programme, the Freedom Charter, offers the way out of the present crisis brought about by Apartheid.

A big campaign must be waged at all levels of our movement to bring about understanding of our policies, strategy and tactics. On the basis of a profound understanding it is possible to build a strong, united and disciplined movement with a leadership that enjoys the unqualified support and confidence of the people. This cannot be achieved by administrative means but only on the basis of people who consciously understand what they are fighting for and how they will achieve victory.

Our people have great experience of politics and have participated consistently in struggle for many decades. They have built organisations in which they have confidence. Thousands of our colleagues who languish in the goals of the enemy place their hopes on the movement. Whilst it is true that we need a big expansion of propaganda and ideological work, basically the people of South Africa are looking for a movement that can provide practical and effective methods of struggle against the Apartheid regime. We are convinced that faithful application of the decisions of the Morogoro conference will lead to the successful beginning and prosecution of armed revolution in our country.

OFF THE CUFF

A Sechaba Interview

Mr. Vo Anh Minh, adviser to the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation to the Paris Peace talks recently held a Press Conference in London under the chairmanship of Lord Brockway of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. A Sechaba representative was present and was accorded the opportunity to ask Mr. Minh some questions of special interest to readers of our journal.

It is frequently said that the Vietnamese people have broken the myth of United States invincibility and that this has great significance for oppressed people everywhere. Would you like to say how you see the Vietnamese struggle in a world context?

In our fight we have won the sympathy of many peoples in the world. These people see we are fighting for justice. The NLF has enjoyed great prestige in the world. Since the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government this prestige has been enhanced, and as soon as the Provisional Revolutionary Government was announced many countries recognised it and established diplomatic relations with it. Furthermore, though we are fighting first of all for the liberation of our people, we hope thereby to make a humble contribution to the struggle for justice for all people, especially the countries under imperialist domination.

The unprecedented heroism of the Vietnamese people has won the admiration of all progressive mankind, how is it that they have been so courageous?

Our country has been invaded by many foreigners and oppressors. It is because of foreign aggression that our people were forced to lead miserable lives. The only way out was for them to unite to liberate themselves. On the other hand, our nation has a long and rich tradition of struggle. We know how to rely on the people. The people have created many means of fighting and they encourage our fighters. Another important factor is that we worked out the lines of policy of our resistance and got the peoples' support for it. So a good line and policy of resistance has aroused the maximum will to national resistance of the people.

But most important in the great victories we have recorded thus far, is the unity of our population and this is the most important consideration for a people fighting a war.



How did you develop the people's unity?

At the beginning we were weaker than the enemy, so that we had to rely on a strategy of a long struggle. Also we had to rely mainly on our own people and our own efforts. First we united all sections of the nation by political means, and then, with our great determination, we worked out the means for fighting.

How did the military aspect combine with the political and which is predominant at present?

These two aspects have the same importance. In our struggle the political organisation was formed earlier than the military organisation so it was a basis for the military structure. Now, in combat, the military organisations have the duty to help develop the political organisations. That is why it can be said that in a battle you must achieve two objectives – political and military.

I would like to ask you some questions about the beginning of your struggle. It is said that the NLF started with only 100 groups, how did the people respond to them?

As you know the Americans and their puppet troops were very cruel to the people, so our people had no alternative but to rise against the oppressors and their agents, and our first groups received full support from the people.

Where did the NLF get its first arms at the beginning of the struggle?

We started with our bare hands and with sticks. We developed what strength we had, and captured weapons from the enemy. Most of the weapons we have now are captured from the U.S. forces. We also used very old weapons which we converted and used against the enemy. We have always had arms arsenals in the jungle to produce weapons. We have also used bombs dropped by the Americans but did not explode and turned them into mines.

What is the present situation in your country?

The Americans and the Saigon Administration have been saying that we have no more strength, but in fact we have defeated them many times on the battlefield, and we have won one victory after another. Because of this, they are now resorting to a strategy of the defence of the towns and their important bases.

This means that you are able to integrate the peasants more closely into the struggle?

Yes. In our country, an agricultural country, the most important problem is the peasant problem. To liberate the country you must liberate the peasants. To do this, you must give them land and this is one of the main objectives in our struggle.

Does this mean that you expropriate land and redistribute it?

Most of the land in South Vietnam is in the hands of the people of the Saigon Government. The people take this land for the peasants. To defeat the Saigon Government we must distribute their land to the people. The people in the Saigon Government support the United States, serve the U.S. and oppose the people. As for the landlords in the liberated areas, they have the right to keep their land – we do not take it.

This leads me to another aspect, can you tell us something about the character of the NLF?

The National Liberation Front is a front which includes various tendencies, social strata, peasants and workers, students, religious people and businessmen – it is a combined front of all these various classes and sections of the population with different political parties taking part.

OTHER QUESTIONS

Earlier in the press conference other questions were put to Mr. Minh.

Does the Provisional Revolutionary Government envisage elections and under whose auspices will they be called?

The NLF and the PRG advocates that the internal affairs of South Vietnam should be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves without outside interference. The PRG advocates that a Provisional Coalition Government should be established through consultations between the political forces representing various tendencies and political circles in South Vietnam. Our policy is for Peace, Independence and Neutrality, also involving those persons who for political reasons have to live abroad. This Coalition Government will organise elections throughout the country.

Is the de-Americanisation of the forces in South Vietnam likely at present?

I think that the de-Americanisation or the Vietnamisation of the war cannot be realized. The US puts it this way to save its face. The reason they cannot realise the de-Americanisation of the war is that the puppet army cannot defend themselves. That is why they invited the G.I.'s to defend them in the first place. So the puppet army survives because of the presence of the G.I.'s.

As things stand at present, the U.S. doesn't really want to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. It took Nixon 3 months to withdraw 25 000 troops, this shows that he has no desire to settle the problem.

At this stage Lord Brockway interrupted to say that the number of deserters and draft resisters in the U.S. has now risen to ten per cent of the whole of the U.S. forces. He also felt that exactly the same considerations were now operating as those at the end of the French occupation. There were some Vietnamese collaborators and military activity but there had also been a strong anti-war move-

ment in France itself to which Mendes France had responded.

STATEMENT BY MINH

At the beginning of the conference, Mr. Minh made the following statement:

"We have just received a report from Saigon that the United States has just committed fresh crimes against the prisoners in South Vietnam in a prison 8 miles North of Saigon.

That is the Thu Duc prison, where over 1,400 women and children have been jailed. I would like to say a few words about the living conditions in the prisons. There are narrow rooms for the prisoners and the living conditions are terribly hard. As in other prisons throughout South Vietnam the people in Thu Duc prison have been detained without trial.

The prisoners suffer many kinds of savage torture. That is why the prisoners have protested against the authorities for these savage acts. I would like to tell about the recent murder by the Saigon Government of prisoners. On August 16th 1969 the Saigon Administration tortured a woman prisoner Dao Thi Bins; they used savage kind of torture against her. After torture Duo Ng Ngoc Minh, the Director of this prison, ordered his cruel agents to rape her, and thrust an instrument into her vagina, of course she was unconscious. On the same day the United States and the Saigon Administration tried a number of women: Drink Hong Quen, Nguyen Dhican and others. But the United States and the Saigon Government failed to substantiate their charges because they found no ground to try them. And then they put them back into separate cells – and they schemed to use violence to break their spirits, but these women protested by going on a hunger strike. They won the sympathy of their friends in the whole prison. It was a real struggle of the women and children in the Thu Duc prison. Then on August 21st 1969 the cruel agents of the puppet administration met at the prison to repress the women prisoners again. A woman aged 42 was killed. She was arrested on May 25th 1968, as well as a sixteen year old girl. In order to cover their murder, the Saigon administration sent its troops to seize these two dead bodies. But the women prisoners tried to keep these bodies. And in this repression another woman was killed, and they seriously beat another woman – she's now a cripple. Moreover they sent more troops to repress and persecute other prisoners of war. The women prisoners carried out a strong struggle – they united, so the police failed to separate them from each other.

On August 22nd 1969, far from meeting the demands from the prisoners, the United States and the Saigon Administration sent more troops and police to launch another campaign of aggression. In this campaign they killed another woman. In the morning of August 23rd 1969 they tried to transfer the prisoners into separate small prisons so that they could easily repress them, but the prisoners refused to go – they said they would struggle until their demands were met by the Saigon Administration. Hungry dogs were sent to terrorise the women prisoners – 177 women wounded and 4 women were killed. The Administration sent the women to the central prison in Saigon – the biggest prison in South Vietnam. The women are detained without trial – the authorities have no grounds to try them.

As far as we know there are more than 100,000 prisoners detained in South Vietnam. The Green Berets massacre many people. The wife of the man who was recently killed by the Green Berets exposed what is an everyday occurrence. That is why many people who formerly collaborated with the Saigon Administration now join our Revolutionary Provisional Government.



Hostile Witness

ANTI-APARTHEID'S TEN YEAR RECORD

Ethel de Keyser —
Executive Sec, A. A. M.

Dogged determination and confidence in final success must account for such a consistent and continuing record as that of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. Neither South Africa's present upsurge of prosperity nor the bitter disappointment which the Labour Government has been on the issue of South Africa have quelled their voice of protest. Not only has Anti-Apartheid continued to be heard but it now shows the imagination and ingenuity of a seasoned campaigner. South Africa's economic buoyancy may make British businessmen's eyes sparkle but its envoys, in whatever guise they choose, are doomed forever to run the gauntlet of hostile criticism.

Since the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded the white regimes in Southern Africa have consolidated their position. South Africa's policy of imperialist expansion, with ramifications far north of the Zambezi, has made her potential master of Africa and leader of the Southern Hemisphere. In the face of such a danger the liberation struggles of Southern Africa have a crucial significance to Africa and the rest of the world. Realising this, the Anti-Apartheid Movement now links its activities more directly with these struggles and to winning public support for them in Britain. Conferences are held to discuss the issues at stake and demonstrations are organised as a show of solidarity, as well as concrete assistance being given to freedom movements.

In spite of Britain's growing involvement with South Africa, the campaign to persuade Britain and other trading partners to sever relations has not wavered. Annual meetings are held with the national assemblies of both the Labour and Liberal Parties, and good-will tours by South African businessmen are dogged by demonstrators. Added to this, the continued pressure of intensive lobbying of the press and Parliament has made it impossible for the British Government to escape its responsibilities entirely. The arms embargo is still officially honoured in spite of intensive pressure from South Africa.

WATCHDOG OF BRITISH CONSCIENCE

In fact, Anti-Apartheid has become known as the watchdog of the British conscience on South Africa. Appeasement continues, but it is surreptitious, underhand, apologetic. Despite the barrage of propaganda by the South African Information Service South Africa has few moral defendants besides the local fascists. It is the national days of the liberation movements that are celebrated in Trafalgar Square. The representatives of the South African Government live a beleaguered existence behind the close security of South Africa House.

By their perseverance and diligence, the spokesmen of

the Anti-Apartheid Movement have won recognition by the British press and the B. B. C. and the right to be heard on issues concerning South Africa. Where the official South African viewpoint might otherwise have gone unchallenged it is countered and effectively rebuffed.

Mr. Vorster and his Government make no secret of their hatred for Anti-Apartheid. Since the A. A. M. entered the British scene the halcyon days of goodneighbourliness have gone. The annual exchanges of cricket and rugby teams between the two countries belong to the past. Such tours as do take place do so against the background of the real South Africa where racialist policies dominate sport as they do everything else. The pretence that sporting tradition is honoured in South Africa can no longer be made.

Nor is isolation in sport the only price South Africa is finding it must pay for its apartheid policies. In the field of culture touring companies and artists still visit South Africa but not the great names of world theatre and music, nor the great singers and actors and artists. So it has become a cultural backwater because men and women of conscience have heeded the call of the Anti-Apartheid Movement to boycott South Africa.

Constantly seeking out ways of exposing and undermining the vicious system of apartheid, the Anti-Apartheid Movement is making a growing impact within the British trade union movement in a bid to forestall potential immigrants to South Africa. South Africa still depends on Britain for most of its immigrants and priority is given to ways of increasing white immigration. Whatever the Anti-Apartheid Movement can do to counteract this drive to strengthen white supremacy in South Africa is a contribution to its ultimate downfall.

CONFINED TO A FLAT

A 45 year old bookseller Mr. Abdul Kholik Docrat, of Durban, a Congressite of long standing, has been confined to his tiny one-roomed flat in Durban for 22 hours a day on weekdays and all day at weekends and holidays. Mr. Docrat will be put out of business by the ban. He will not be allowed to have visitors nor has he any garden or passage in which to exercise or relax. His home consists of a 12 ft square office with walls lined with books, getting light from a 12 ft by 4 ft closed porch where he sleeps. He has the use of a kitchenette and bathroom on the premises.

Mr. Docrat was banned five years ago under the Suppression of Communism Act. This banning order is due to lapse on October 31st this year.

No reasons were given for any of the bans.

TREASON TRIAL 1956

When a nation comes to look back on its past it is events like the Treason Trial that are seen as exclamation marks in its unfolding history.

On December 5, 1956, one hundred and fifty six leaders of all races were dragged out of their homes in the dawn hours of morning to be flown by military aircraft to Johannesburg on a charge of High Treason. The arrests shocked the country and large crowds of demonstrators flocked to the Court – a barn-like Drill Hall of the military. They blocked the streets in an unprecedented show of solidarity with the leaders on trial. On the 2nd day of the trial massed police launched an unprovoked attack on the crowd, shooting wildly and injuring 27 people. Pandemonium broke out in the court itself as officials and police panicked as the sound of firing rose above the roar of the crowd.



Millions of words



Four years of demonstrations





A DAY AT THE TREASON TRIAL (20 December, 1956)

By Barry Feinberg

Ten feet tall
a cage replete
strip floors thrust up steel tubes
stretching new wire
walling in one hundred and fiftysix
or thereabouts
constables highbooted and holstered
hound round the edge

facing the fence
raised by brown high boards
sentence makers peer down
pens at ready
flanked by whirring fans
four blade props
beating at heat

far back
on ochre slatted folding chairs
the anxious and curious cramped
crane forward sweating
the caged
chameleon like
by sudden won permission
show shirtsleeves simultaneously

Outside
a sea of heads
lays siege singing
slogans chanted
hardly heard by prosecutors
though to those tuned in
a steady hum inspiring

breaching the swelling tide
a buffer of uniformed youths
remniscent in their fixed eye focus
of not long ago oaths
babbled in black forests
and echoed in vast stadiums

the gleam of gun slung
stock slid between hip and elbow

uncertain fingers fiddle
blunt barrels strum
a curse at kaffir ocean
bitter conscious of kin
safe in shade inside

At the gavel
quiet wedges quickly in
fans now focal points
as if for takeoff
piled papers flutter weakly
quiet continues
the buzz of blades
hogs the hall
the shots shock in
pneumatic like
but crisper
vibrationless
not loud
not as imagined or in movies
the idea of it
harsher
one's heartbeat
louder

two hundred temples pounding then
twin screams O GOD! O GOD!
a pause then

SHOOTING THEM DOWN!
THEY'RE SHOOTING THEM
DOWN! then

another burst and one more then
knuckles blaze on drumming doors
no exit knocked aside
spilling out near dehydrated
swallowed up by sun dazzle
sam browns hustle
with half an eye
outnumbered
turning past a soup delivery
tepid buckets in tow
a wall slammed sharp against the
street

astride it
some
greys billowing
others
arse carrying khaki
most
stump necked
swollen mastoid propped
edging veld- burn hair
bellows in rugby raucous
masseters mad with bite
eyes cracked against the sun
ears taut in rein
SKIET DIE DONDEERS!
SHOOT THE BUGGERS!
saliva spraying
foreheads crimson
veins starting
SKIET HULLE! SKIET HULLE DOOD!
SHOOT THEM! SHOOT THEM DEAD!

we peering
between tight strung tartan socks
see burning black macadam loom
hazed and bubbling
crisscrossed with tram path silver
no spinning tyres treading
instead
strewn about
cloth hats handbags
torn banners standing by leaders
even an umbrella
and
shattered among broken brick crumble
here and there
a face
kissing tar to tar
nose askew
shoulder bundled over jaw
elbows winged
hands palm up
fingers curling not quite clenched.

HIGH STAKES AT CABORA BASSA

Projecting an investment of £ 150 million and the introduction of one million white settlers the Cabora Bassa Dam project threatens to become a major centre of white power in Southern Africa. Our correspondent discusses its strategic significance to the liberation struggle and how the scheme will focus all the strands of imperialist-liberation confrontation on the region.



The massive solidarity actions of the Swedish people and especially of the Swedish youth and students in support of the Southern African freedom struggle are now reverberating throughout the Zambezi Valley and beyond. By forcing the giant Swedish electro-manufacturing combine ASEA to withdraw from the South African-led international construction and financial consortium ZAMCO, these Swedish actions have dealt a serious blow to the Pretoria-Lisbon grand design to construct the Cabora Bassa dam and hydroelectric complex in the strategic Tete province of Mozambique.

This project was scheduled to represent the first stage of a larger plan to decisively insulate Mozambique not only from the onslaughts of the African liberation movement but within a tightly closed Southern African economic and political system under the perpetual rule of a white colonialist dictatorship and based on the power of apartheid South Africa. The South African press has described these Swedish actions as a serious "setback" and a "body blow" to the Cabora Bassa scheme and are now reporting the feverish activities of ZAMCO consortium to find suitable and acceptable substitutes for the Swedish ASEA, with hints that some of Britain's foremost monopoly suppliers of electricity-generating plant are likely to fill the breach. These feverish activities are dictated by the apparent requirement that engineering work at Cabora Bassa should start immediately, i.e. before the November-April rains put the Zambezi in spate.

The strategic conceptions which underlie the Cabora Bassa scheme are fully revealed in its location, its size and extended scope, its cost and in the nature of the international constructions and financial ramifications and interests of the ZAMCO consortium. Above all, the extensive consultations and the co-operation and agreements reached between the regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia during the preparatory work on the scheme reveals its critical importance to all these countries at a time of mounting warfare by the African people in support of their freedom struggle. Thus, this scheme signifies, in a sense, the determination of the colonial and apartheid authorities in Southern Africa to persist to the end in maintaining their stranglehold over the region, to make no compromise and seek no accommodation with the liberatory forces, and to sustain this posture by embroiling more deeply the interests of international capital and Western imperialism in safeguarding white colonial power in the region.

For this reason alone Sweden's solidarity actions hold an importance and a significance for Southern Africa's oppressed people which can neither be exaggerated nor be over-stressed.

Tete province stands at the strategic conjunction of three territories which adjoin Mozambique — Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi. Through it flows the Zambesi River across northern Mozambique to the Indian ocean 300 miles away. The river enters Mozambique at a height of 1,000 feet above sea level and drops to 400 feet in Tete; Cabora Bassa is located at the point where the river enters a 60 mile long gorge with steep cliffs on either side and the scene of spectacular waterfalls and tumbling rapids.

This will be the location of a hydroelectric project having a capacity output of 17,000 m kwh annually — the largest in Africa, doubling the capacity of Kariba on the Zambian-Rhodesian border and 70 per cent greater than Aswan in the United Arab Republic. But this is to be only the start: the harnessing of the Zambesi at Cabora Bassa will provide for the construction of subsidiary dams both upstream and downstream and thus additional electricity generating capacity which in the aggregate will enable the power output from Mozambique to reach a massive 45,000 m kwh a year. The first phase of the Cabora Bassa which involves the construction of the main dam and the generating plant is scheduled to be completed at a cost of \$360 million (£150 million) by 1974. This too would include the erection of the beginnings of Southern Africa-wide grid system, and in particular of transmission lines

running through Mozambique to the Transvaal and ending near Pretoria.

LEAPING OVER BORDERS

Thus in terms of electric power planning, the project is considerable by any international standard, and certainly out of balance in terms of the present or potential state of electricity demand within Mozambique.

But the fundamental logic of the size of the project lies in the unification and centralisation of electricity and power supply for a vaster region, across boundaries, and further remove, the increased economic integration and mutual dependence of the economies within what is called the "zone of influence" of Cabora Bassa.

According to Portuguese sources this zone has a radius of almost 1,200 miles which means that territories like Kenya and the Congo to the north, Angola and Namibia to the West and the Cape to the south could ultimately be hooked-up into an integrated power-using region. This certainly is a scale of operation, and hence of intention and ambition which is dictated by wider and extra-economic considerations; otherwise, the economic viability of the project would be suspect, and no body of international financiers could have been enticed into providing the capital resources necessary. However, with South Africa centrally concerned with Cabora Bassa and the higher stakes generally involved, viability has been for the moment assured; hence the pressure to commence engineering works by November this year.

Generating electricity is by no means the sole content of the project as such, although this carries with it the pretensions of making Cabora Bassa the power-house of southern Africa as a whole. Over the past nine years, the Portuguese Ministry of Overseas Affairs, employing the services of South African and other foreign experts, has been surveying the entire region of the lower Zambesi, covering an area of 85,000 square miles and almost one-quarter of Mozambique.

The work on the survey was expedited in 1964 as a result of the opening up of military operations by the major Mozambique liberation organisations then newly united under FRELIMO.

ONE MILLION WHITE IMMIGRANTS

The plans produced by the survey conceived of Cabora Bassa as the keystone to a grand inter-locking system of all-embracing development, involving the setting up of factories, the opening of mines, of large agricultural estates and farms, of making the Zambesi navigable up to the

ocean, of constructing a major port at the mouth of the river, of a railway and road network into Rhodesia and Malawi, apart from Mozambique itself, and above all of settling some one million white immigrants in the region by the turn of the century. The dam was scheduled to irrigate 3,700,000 acres on which major internationally demanded farm products would be produced. The cheapness of power and the abundance of water will enable a steel industry to develop up to a capacity of 5 million tons. The survey revealed the considerable variety and quantum of minerals awaiting exploitation.

A 12 mile seam of coking coal was revealed and there was said to exist a 200 million ton deposit of titanium magnetites, containing "significant" amounts of vanadium. The survey estimated the presence of deposits of vast amounts of copper, flourspar, manganese, nickel, chromium and asbestos. And the survey gives priority to the exploitation of the magnetite deposits.

Despite the official Portuguese sponsorship of the survey work, the main inspiration behind the recommendations, which finally emerged, was South African. The magazine *News Check* revealed in September, 1966 the close involvement of the influential Dr. van Eck of South Africa with the Cabora Bassa project. He apparently made frequent visits to Lisbon during the final phases of survey. Dr. van Eck is one of South Africa's principal economic architects and decision-makers, and his thinking has had considerable influence in the development of the apartheid economy. Now, from his vantage position as head of the state-run Industrial Development Corporation, van Eck is reported to have conceived of Cabora Bassa as more than a source of cheap power for South Africa's developing needs. As this magazine puts it, "van Eck's reasoning begins to make meaning on a far wider scale . . . it implies a closely knit southern Africa, and it implies too a signal contribution of a outward looking Republic to all the African countries clustered in the south."

In March 1968 the Portuguese authorities invited tenders from international companies to construct the first phases of the Cabora Bassa scheme. This invitation was based on South Africa's agreement to contribute through its Industrial Development Corporation about £30 million of the estimated cost of £150 million (of this phase) and next, to absorb 1,000 megawatts annually from 1974 (when the first phase will be completed) rising to 1,800 megawatts in 1980 and thereafter. These South African commitments were important for the viability of the scheme and hence an added incentive to international companies to bid for the tender.

The interested companies composed themselves in three consortia, each tendering for the contract. Quite remarkably, South African companies featured in all three consortia - this was interpreted by the London *Financial Times* as indicating that South Africa was "politically safe", (apparently in contrast to Portugal and its colonies), and more so, "that at the first hint of trouble the Vorster government of South Africa is likely to step in to safeguard its own and incidently Portugal's interests".

However, the predominantly South Africa based consortium was awarded the final contract for the sum of £103.4million. This consortium, the Zambezi Consorio Hidra Electrico or ZAMCO was initiated and organised by the powerful Anglo-American Corporation; apart from the South African element, the consortium is substantially composed of major West German and French companies and of course until recently the Swedish ASEA. Anglo-American interest in the consortium is represented by its subsidiary, ITA Limited.

THE ZAMCO CONSORTIUM

Executive Direction and Co-ordination: Anglo-American Corporation.

S. Africa: ITA Limited (Anglo-American); Shaft Sinkers Ltd.; V.P.C. Ltd.; Powerlines Ltd.

W. Germany: Siemens A.G.; AEG-Telefunken A.G.; Brown, Boveri & Cie A.G., Hochstiegl A.G.; J.M. Voith GmbH.

France: Alstom, Paris; CCI; Cogelx-GGEE; Compagnie General d'Enterprises Electriques; Neyrpic (Consultant Engineers); Societe General d'Electricite.

Possible participation from Britain: General Electric Company; English Electric.

FINANCING CABORA BASSA

Export Credits from Banks in:

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| West Germany | £32 million |
| France | £31 million |
| Italy | £20 million |
| South Africa | £12.5 million |

Banks reportedly concerned - France; Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. West Germany: Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau.

From South African Official Sources:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Industrial Development Corporation: | £10 million |
| Escom | £22 million |
| South African Government 4 Year Loan | £16 million |



Interrogation

Pre-Completion Finance Facilities: from a banking syndicate led by Union Acceptance (S. Africa) and involving Anglo-American Corporation and reportedly an American bank.

Portuguese Contribution: Private loans up to £40 million guaranteed by the Portuguese government.

Compared to ZAMCO with its strong West German and French components, the other two competing consortia reflected the strong interest of almost all the major western imperialists countries in Cabora Bassa. The British-Italian consortium tendered a bid for £104 million while the other unsuccessful bidder was composed of United States and French interests.

Apart from the Swedish withdrawal the Cabora Bassa scheme has faced other difficulties. ZAMCO was awarded the tentative contract in September 1968.

Then in Lisbon, the Portuguese authorities began to equivocate. It was not clear whether these hesitations on the part of the new Portuguese leader Caetano (Salazar's successor) was a manoeuvre to secure further concessions from the Vorster regime, or whether the Portuguese were becoming really worried about Africa's emergence as the de facto power in Mozambique's economic development and of course in the territory's security. For a full year, Anglo-American lobbied Caetano. So too did the South African and Rhodesian governments. Finally on September 3rd, Caetano acceded and signed the final contract with ZAMCO. But by then ASEA withdrew, but in doing so ASEA advanced a reason which placed the W. German and French governments in some difficulty and embarrassment. But this relates to the likelihood that the Cabora Bassa scheme could infringe

the UN Security Council resolutions imposing full sanctions against Rhodesia.

SANCTIONS - BUSTING

As noted above Rhodesia is crucially related to the success of the scheme. Apart from the strategic conceptions which underlie the scheme in terms of creating a more cohesive white dominated Southern African economy, negotiations have reached an advanced stage on the specific issues of Rhodesian supplies of manpower, food, cement, and other materials during the construction stage of the scheme. Furthermore, Rhodesia has or is contracting to absorb some of the power output of Cabora Bassa for the period after 1974. And this implies the construction of transmission lines into Rhodesian territory. The fact that these negotiations have reached an advanced stage undoubtedly reflects the confidence of all concerned in the scheme, and in particular of the ZAMCO participating countries that the UN sanctions resolution can be defied with little or no consequence.

This indeed is suggested by the considerable interest which the British GEC/EE companies have been and are still showing in the scheme. But the withdrawal of ASEA on the explicit ground that the scheme possesses sanctions-busting features now imposes on both the governments of France and West Germany an unavoidable obligation to openly declare whether they support or will force their national companies to withdraw from the scheme; in a word, whether they intend to abide by or defy the United Nations. And so as the *Economist* recently pointed out, "ZAMCO must now face the risk that other members of the consortium could trip over the sanctions hurdles". However, it must be anticipated that



... and Reaction.

neither South Africa nor Portugal (and hence ZAMCO) will be easily dissuaded from persisting with their plans for Cabora Bassa. Too much is at stake and Mozambique faces imminent dangers which from the Pretoria-Lisbon point of view dictate the urgent need to commence operations in Cabora Bassa.

FRELIMO SUCCESSES

The main danger is the signal advance of the popular revolution under the leadership of FRELIMO in Mozambique. The adjacent provinces to the east of Tete - Cabo Delgado and Niassa - are apart from a few towns virtually in the hands of FRELIMO's armed forces. In many areas FRELIMO has set up its own systems of revolutionary administration and government.

According to FRELIMO's organ, *Mozambique Revolution*, the past five years of armed struggle has led to the steady isolation and decimation of the Portuguese garrisons in these two provinces; the capital of Niassa is thoroughly blockaded and cannot even get supplies from the air. In Cabo Delgado, as described by FRELIMO, "our forces control all the main roads, thus isolating enemy garrisons . . . today the armed struggle covers over one third of the territory".

Until 1965 the Portuguese military authorities concentrated their military forces along a line from Ncala to Mandiba just below the Tanzanian frontier, convinced that this so-called "defence zone" would be held against the liberation forces then being regrouped and united under FRELIMO.

By the end of 1965 FRELIMO's forces broke this line to virtually occupy the two northern provinces. And it is no coincidence that the breaking of this

Portuguese defensive line took place about the time when South Africa and Portugal expedited their survey and plans for the Cabora Bassa scheme. This certainly became evident by 1967, when FRELIMO's forces entered Tete province, subjecting the Portuguese garrison there to constant attacks and bringing great insecurity to the Province's communication system. This, too was the stage at which the Cabora Bassa plan reached fruition and South Africa decided to send two battalions into Tete province under the pretext of using the terrain as training facilities for the rising number of draftees entering the South African armed forces.

The abandonment of the Ncala-Mandiba line and the appearance of guerilla forces in Tete forced the South African and Portuguese authorities to adopt a new strategic disposition of their main forces and to look at the deeper problem of having to meet a protracted and historic challenge from the African liberation movement. A new defence line was thus conceived to run along the entire length of the lower Zambezi and South Africa's two battalions in Tete, in the vicinity of Cabora Bassa, provided the necessary support to the Portuguese garrisons for this purpose. The significance of this decision also lay in the opening of the ANC-ZAPU front in the upper Zambezi valley in Rhodesia.

The gnawing fear of the Vorster regime was the possibility that Tete would be overrun by the guerilla forces, enabling a FRELIMO link-up with the ANC-ZAPU forces and thus forcing South Africa to defend, in the company of the unreliable Rhodesian and Portuguese garrisons, a extremely wide and difficult front stretching the length of the Zambezi river, and in the midst of a growing hostile local

population. By the end of 1968, South Africa had committed over one-third of its original selective recruitment force in Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola. Although the Portuguese have some 60,000 troops in Mozambique, equipped with NATO-provided Sabre jets and French manufactured helicopters, it is clear that Vorster has little confidence in the fighting capacity or morale of this force.

MORE WHITE FRONTIERSMEN

The South African regime must be aware that no matter what military forces it can pit against the emerging southern African insurrectionary movement, this alone will never be sufficient to meet the challenge to its rule or objective. The example of heroic Vietnam is too rich to be ignored. It is in this respect that South African political thinking has been moving towards creating extra-military supports for its objective to consolidate white colonialist power in Southern Africa. The Cabora Bassa scheme has been shown to fulfil these supports. But the most crucial element of the scheme is undoubtedly the plan to settle some one million white settlers in the lower Zambezi by the end of the century.

There exists a good and sound basis for the importance which South Africa attributes to this white settler element in the Cabora Bassa project. Given the availability of cheap labour and of cheap land, as well as the all-embracing facilities implied in the Cabora Bassa project, the role of the white settler is visualised as considerably more than that of the traditional pioneer. He becomes a frontiersman - gun in hand and prepared to defend his newly acquired privileges. The role of white settlement in South Africa and Rhodesia over the years is



seen as the essential justification for this approach. The white settler, whether he be a European social and economic drop-out or not, brings with him a consciousness and a heritage which is substantially founded on capitalist accumulation, material wealth and exploitation. He, the white settler, will import into Mozambique what he brought to South Africa in the high period of Europe's colonial expansion – the interest of defending the privileges ensuing from the colonial subjection of the local African population. And thus in this conception, a million such defenders not only strengthen the capitalist-imperialist framework in which Mozambique is destined to develop under South Africa's aegis but creates a formidable front of support for apartheid and colonialism against the forces of African liberation. This is what the Cabora Bassa scheme is mainly about. The white settler provides for South Africa and colonialism the long arm of enforcing the policies of apartheid in Mozambique. If taken in conjunction with the Kunene River development scheme in northern Namibia, white settlement emerges as a critical force in South Africa's expansion in southern Africa as a whole.

INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL VERSUS LIBERATION FORCES

Next, as a factor in giving the Cabora Bassa project an extra-economic dimension is the manner in which some of the world's major monopolies have been enticed into acquiring an interest in perpetuating the political status quo in Mozambique. This not only relates to the financing of the Cabora Bassa scheme itself but in the grant of concessions to international corporations for the mining of minerals and the exploitation of Mozambique's natural and labour resources.

A South African mining group has already been granted concessions to mine diamonds, asbestos and manganese ores. The Common Market based Societe des Mineraux and the American Continental Ore Company have been granted concessions to exploit fluorite deposits and other minerals. Gulf Oil of the United States has received extensive rights to explore Mozambique's oil deposits. With the prospective cheap power supply from Cabora Bassa, other international companies based in Britain, West Germany and Japan have shown interest in developing Mozambique's copper, iron and other mine-

ral resources and to provide capital for the creation of a steel industry.

This growing interest and involvement of international capital will in the course of time dictate on interests and a policy on the Western major imperialist countries of safeguarding and enforcing the status quo in Mozambique, and thus assist South Africa in containing the African liberation challenge.

These then are the terms in which Cabora Bassa emerges as a comprehensive economic and political device to ensure white domination and colonialist rule in southern Africa. FRELIMO has dedicated itself to the destruction of this scheme. It has declared the Cabora Bassa dam as being "aimed at further oppression of the people of Mozambique and Southern Africa as a whole . . . it is another device being used by capitalism, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa." The army of Mozambique's liberation has been instructed to harass and destroy all and every phase of the construction that develops in Cabora Bassa, and ultimately to occupy the Tete province.

Undoubtedly what is now urgently required internationally, and especially in W. Europe is an extension of the successful Swedish people's campaign, to mount attacks on the combines which have agreed to join in the Cabora Bassa construction, to press the governments concerned to stop this great conspiracy to bring Mozambique under the permanent subjugation of South Africa and Portugal's rule, and to force their national companies to follow the examples of ASEA of Sweden. The European solidarity movement with African freedom has a central role in campaigning against the migration of peoples to southern Africa, to bring an end to capital investment and the flow of productive resources in support of apartheid and Portuguese colonialism. There is no doubt that the plot at Cabora Bassa can be thwarted and ultimately destroyed through the combined power of the Mozambiquen peoples' struggle, and the active support and solidarity of Europe's workers and other progressive forces.



PRIEST KILLED IN DETENTION

The African National Congress of South Africa calls the attention of the world to the reported death of the Cape Town Moslem religious leader **Imam Hadja Abdullah Haroun** while held in detention by the Security Police in terms of the notorious Terrorism Act.

Imam Haroun, the editor of the Cape Town newspaper **MOSLEM NEWS**, was arrested in Cape Town on 28 May this year. He was 41 years old and in good health at time of his arrest. According to a statement made in the House of Assembly in Cape Town on 10 June by the Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, no charge up till then had been preferred against anyone in connection with Mr. Haroun's detention. Nor could the Minister say whether criminal proceedings were contemplated. "This would depend on evidence which came to light in the investigations."

The Minister said Mr. Haroun's family were not allowed to visit him; nor was he visited daily by a magistrate; nor was he permitted to get in touch with attorneys. The Minister said Mr. Haroun had not made any request for reading matter.

The Minister, in reply to a question, said Mr. Haroun had been detained in terms of sections of the Terrorism Act empowering the arrest without warrant by a senior commissioned police officer of any person believed to be a terrorist or to be withholding from the police information about terrorism or any offences under the act.

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

The definition of "terrorism" in the Act is so wide that almost anybody could be brought within its ambit. Anyone who as much as "embarrasses the administration of the affairs of state" is assumed, in terms of the Act, to have done so with the intention of endangering law and order.

Unless he can prove that this was not his intention he can, on conviction, be sentenced to death.

Mr. Haroun was never brought before any court or charged with any offence. But as a political prisoner held incommunicado by the Security Police he was no doubt "interrogated" — a process which in South Africa can involve the most sadistic and brutal forms of torture.

Mr. Haroun is the fifth political prisoner this year to die while held in detention by South Africa's Security Police. Since detention without trial was introduced in South Africa in 1963, a total of at least 14 political prisoners have "died or committed suicide" while held in detention in solitary confinement.

Imam Haroun was detained at the same time as about 40 or 50 other South Africans in connection with alleged underground activities. About 30 of them, including Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who is serving a term of life imprisonment on Robben Island, and Miss. Shanti Naidoo, daughter of Mahatma Gandhi's adopted son, the late Mr. Narainsamy Naidoo, and sister of Youth leader Indris Naidoo, who is serving 10 years on Robben Island, will, according to a political

statement, be charged with promoting the aims of the African National Congress.

A SILENT PRESS

In terms of a law establishing the so-called Bureau of State Security (BOSS), passed during the last session of the South African Parliament, it is an offence to possess or publish any information relating to any matter affecting the security of the State. The South African press, therefore, has no power to ventilate grievances against the police, or the prisons, and may not, without the permission of the police themselves, even refer to a prisoner's arrest, let alone his death.

The Government is also able, in terms of this law, to withhold any information concerning security matters from both Parliament and the courts.

Thus no South African has any protection or redress against any violation of his person or his liberty at the hands of the Security Police.

The world must come to the aid of those countless numbers in South Africa who are at the mercy of the pitiless police of the Vorster regime. The African National Congress of South Africa demands that these political murders which are taking place in South Africa's jails under the protection of the law must cease.

The world must call a halt to Vorster's assassins before further lives are lost.

LONDON MEMORIAL SERVICE

In London where the daughter of the late Imam Haroun is now resident, a special Memorial Service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. Canon Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund paid his personal tribute to Imam Haroun referring to him as a man of great courage. "You will not ask me to divulge when or how I met the Imam," said Canon Collins. "He was simple, straightforward, full of humour and deeply faithful to his beliefs. Men like Abdullah Haroun will save the world from itself." Canon Collins revealed that on the 58th day of his detention the Imam had managed to get a message out of prison. It read, "Sorry, I left my typewriter behind... I will give my life, but never will I divulge out the things I know..."

The First Secretary of the Jordanian Embassy, Mr. M. Kilani also paid his respects to Imam Haroun and said "He has been tortured to death in prison because he believed in the brotherhood and equality of man. As a leader of the Muslim faith, Imam Haroun believed in freedom and justice for all men regardless of colour and creed. Only a few hours after he had observed the Prophet's birthday, the Imam was taken away to his martyrdom in prison." Mr. Kilani said that the Forces of Evil and Darkness would never kill Imam Haroun's high ideals, and that he had joined the martyrs of modern history.

Also in attendance at the service were the First Secretary of the Embassy of the U.A.R., and an official of the Hungarian Embassy. A large number of South African political exiles were present.

A Reader's View...

FIGHTING AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION



Discussing various forms of struggle the writer argues that since South African cities have always been storm centres of resistance, urban struggle tactics can be readily integrated into a guerrilla strategy.



It is now nine years since the African National Congress consciously and deliberately set its course on the organisation of its forces for revolutionary war. While violent confrontations with Government authority had taken place before that date, these were largely local struggles – as in the case of the Pondo Revolt – they were not the result of an all embracing policy decision on a national level. A number of these violent local struggles arose out of primarily political campaigns and as a spontaneous response of the people to particularly savage repression by the police or to some special local situation. Violence, as a means, on a national scale, was first put forward in 1960.

Since then, there have been numerous acts of sabotage followed by the highly significant actions of our guerrilla forces. The immediate perspective is for the increase of guerrilla action both in Zimbabwe and within South Africa itself and the entry of the centuries-old struggle for national liberation upon its most severe though final stage.

Since it is guerrilla warfare that is now on the agenda, attention is naturally turned to the countryside and the prospects of support among the rural people. But what is to be said of the people in the towns? We ought not to allow our preoccupation with guerrilla warfare as usually understood to leave us without a sufficiently purposeful strategy in the large cities of South Africa.

WHITES OUTNUMBERED

It has long been recognised that one of South Africa's distinguishing features in the continent of Africa is the large urban African population of proletarians who are oppressed both as workers and by colour. This large and tough mass of ill-housed, undernourished and harrassed townsmen has been growing rapidly in recent years as the industrial boom has unfolded. There are now huge industrial complexes in all the major cities and extensive Black Towns have grown up to keep them going. The extent of this process can be seen from the figures of the manufacturing, mining and building industries where there are now 1,249,000 Africans, 202,000 Coloured people, 61,000 Indians, in comparison with 367,000 whites. Our people are forced to live in segregated suburbs, providing a constant reminder to White Authority that it is sitting on a powder keg.

Despite the migratory labour system and Government efforts to keep Africans constantly on the move, the White population is now outnumbered in all the major cities. In Johannesburg 64% of the population is Non-White, in Cape Town 62%, in Durban 71% and even in that notorious civil service city Pretoria, Whites are now in the minority. More and more these cities take on a now familiar pattern: a commercial city centre, an industrial complex, the luxurious white suburbs and the crammed crude housing schemes where the everpresent police patrols watch over the lives of Non-Whites. There, the white army of occupation is most evident not only because of numbers but also because there is not the slightest effort to disguise the naked force which alone keeps the existing authority in its seat of power. It is also in these townships that everyone is aware of the almost total inability of the Government to create a machine of stooge bodies from among the oppressed to implement its hostile alien rule.

A MILITARY TYPE WHITE PRESENCE

It would be true to say as a generality, that with the exception of some rural areas, the Government has been unable to find any method of indirect rule and is obliged to use its own white personnel to carry out and supervise the daily policing of a none too cooperative population.

It was the final recognition that a **military-type presence** of this kind could never be abolished by political persuasion or pressure that brought organised violence to the fore as the weapon of the African National Congress. This is not to say that we were pacifists formerly, for the essential character of all our previous actions was not, in the first instance, based only



on a moral appeal but were rather designed to raise protest to higher levels of militancy preparing the masses for the next stage. The revolutionary outlook was ever present, seeking for forms of struggle which would best mobilize the masses into sharper confrontation with a totally unacceptable regime. Yet when the transition to overt and organised violence took place it became very evident that there was a distinct and fundamental difference between these tactics and the previous ones.

Mass protest action is based on a number of considerations; the mobilization of public pressure on the state, the withdrawal of cooperation, mass disobedience (as in the Defiance Campaign), and the attack on the ruling group politically and ideologically. In contemporary political science it is called 'civilian defence'. Violence, or military action, however, is based on a different approach. It rests on the belief that the most effective way of defeating the enemy is by inflicting heavy destruction on his armies, military equipment, transport system, factories and cities. Its objective is to win power directly.

OTHER FORMS IN SUPPORT

From the time that the ANC embarked on **armed struggle as the primary strategy of our revolution**, some commentators have asked whether we have abandoned entirely other forms. The answer must be in the negative. Not only have recent actions in many capitals of the world shown that 'civilian defence' methods can be very effective (especially where they combine various techniques), but our own long traditions of mass action are rich with valuable experience. We have had strikes, active boycotts (especially important were the bus boycotts which turned into daily demonstrations of peoples power), demonstrations, go-slow, pass burning and numerous other actions (in which violence also featured) which were carried out in the most dangerous conditions, and which from time to time brought confusion to the Government and even temporarily immobilised its repressive machine. It may be said that in some of these actions we expected too much from the methods used. It would seem that sometimes we were too speculative in our thinking, saying "If everyone did so-and-so then we will succeed", instead of relying on more substantial evidence of our capacity. We perhaps also failed to take into sufficient consideration that under so repressive a regime it was difficult to coordinate national actions embracing such far-flung regions in order to develop the kind of unanimity of mind and common purpose sufficient to challenge the Government. This does not mean however that the methods of 'civilian defence' were wrong or that they ought to be abandoned.

Confirmation of this view is to be obtained by a study of techniques of struggle used in other countries where an essentially

foreign force (and in South Africa the army and police is foreign to us) tried to maintain a grip over a whole country. In Nazi occupied Europe for instance, the occupying army and administration was harassed not only by commando units from abroad, supported by sabotage groups operating within the country, but also significant was a persisting and many sided civilian resistance from the population as a whole. On the whole, the Germans were regarded with hostility as an unassimilable foreign body and was treated accordingly. In consequence, any and every opportunity was seized to strike a blow against his presence. The parallel with our own situation is obvious. Everywhere the police and army stalks as an oppressor bent on imposing the authority of an alien Government, forcing compliance to laws which do not have our consent, about which we were not consulted, and which are specifically designed for our oppression. Parliament in South Africa is alien rule. We want none of it and we resent the imposition of its authority upon us.

WITHHOLDING COMPLIANCE

That our people will increasingly withhold their compliance to the laws created by the White minority regime is a natural process, and the ground for stiffening resistance has been laid in our previous campaigning and grows with our reconstruction. Such non-compliance can of course take many forms. For instance we learn that in Denmark and Norway the Nazi forces were faced with stubborn daily manifestations of resistance over the smallest issues and there was the most reluctant and desultory performance of duties by Government employees and the local population as a whole. As a result, in its cumulative effect this non-compliance caused dislocation to the occupying power and harassed his administrative machine a great deal. Furthermore, particularly in Denmark, this kind of many-sided, sullen resistance formed a valuable background for the acts of violence that were carried out by the sabotage units, while these acts in turn reinforced and gave encouragement to the civilian population.

Writers on the resistance in Norway say that 'civilian defence' and resistance there did not succeed in changing the fundamental outlook of the occupying power, but when it was carried out on a mass scale, did make the Quisling regime's task extremely difficult, forcing the Germans to deploy substantial resources to the policing of the country. In Denmark the outbreak of sabotage in 1943 precipitated a deep crisis and actually brought about the downfall of the collaborationist Danish Government.

In a discussion of these events Captain Sir Basil Liddel Hart, a British expert in military sciences has written: "If I were the military governor of a country, I would be baffled both by

a policy of total non-cooperation, and by go-slow tactics — especially by the latter, unless, of course, I would induce fairly large numbers of people to inform. In such a position, I would take very drastic action to intimidate people and deter them from resistance. But it might well prove necessary to bring in one's own officials, military and civil, which would place an enormous strain on one's resources; and even that does not work very effectively against polite acquiescence combined with go-slows etc. I do not think there are many means of repression that can be applied effectively against such resistance."

A SYMPHONY OF BATTLE

South Africans in the liberation struggle cannot be so sanguine as to believe that non-cooperation can be as effective in South Africa as Liddel-Hart seems to suggest, but the point is well taken. We are aware of the importance of civilian resistance as a necessary complement to the armed struggle and that at some point the two may coalesce.

Furthermore, as the scope of armed confrontation spreads and the enemy is engaged over an ever expanding area in the countryside, the role of the urban people may well become crucial. With civilian resistance assuming violent forms. 'Civilian defence' is usually most effective where the population is most dense, and where there is a close contiguity between oppressor and oppressed. This is the situation in our cities at present, and even now our urban people are developing ever new forms of passive and active resistance to authority. Whether it be the technique of "work on without collaboration", go-slows, strikes, or "cold" urban sabotage, we can expect that in time a vast army of factory workers, teachers, students and others will join the symphony of battle as it unfolds. That their struggle will harmonise with that of the guerrillas operating in the countryside and later in the cities, is clear from the fundamental similarities to be found in guerrilla warfare and certain techniques of 'civilian defence'. Adam Roberts, a political scientist at the London School of Economics, writes:

"In the inequality of weapons, civilian defence most closely resembles guerrilla warfare. Both — — — methods of resistance involve a broad struggle at many different points, instead of more formal military fronts; both methods are highly political, depending for their success on a considerable degree of motivation in the civilian population and tending to obscure the distinction between combatants and civilians; both methods present peculiarly difficult problems of organisation and leadership and both tend to involve protracted struggles rather than short, decisive confrontations. The multiplicity of actions involved in both guerrilla and non-violent struggle makes the advance formulation of strategy in these areas more, not less, important, as control of operations by a direct chain of command is so difficult." All this is relevant to our struggle, and one can do no better than quote Liddel Hart to put the whole matter into perspective.

"Guerrilla war is a kind of war waged by the few but dependent on the support of the many. Although in itself the most individual form of action, it can only operate effectively, and attain its end, when collectively backed by the sympathy of the masses. That is why it tends to be most effective if it blends an appeal to national resistance or desire for independence with an appeal to social and economic discontent, thus becoming revolutionary in a wider sense."

(Footnote: The quotations in this article are derived from *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence*, edited by Adam Roberts).

We regret that the article "Wankie Encounter" and some regular features have had to be held over due to pressure on space.

BOOK REVIEW

Imagine, if you can, a community on the edge of a South African city. It is an established community, and the younger people have been born there. The men work in local industry, the women in domestic work in 'white' homes, the children are at a local school. One Friday night, the children are sent home from school with a message — the whole town is to be ready for 'removal' on Monday morning. No official notice, no time to see one's employer, say good-bye to one's friends, let alone argue with officialdom. Just a message sent through a child.

On Monday come the lorries. The place is surrounded by armed police. Those who dare question are told that this is a "voluntary" removal — they may stay behind if they wish. But if they do, they will be prosecuted for occupying State land illegally. There is some mention of 180-day detention. Those who still resist, as their household goods are piled high upon the lorries, are handcuffed, and bundled off with the rest of them, the children full of terrified bewilderment, the adults full of a fury that they are at present helpless to express.

The lorries drive out of the township, away from the city, far through the open veld. At last they stop. Emptiness. This is their new 'homeland.' A few tents, no buildings, no proper water supply . . . and there they are left, dumped with a few bags of maize each, and the Ministry of Bantu Administration's good wishes for a prosperous future.

VAST EMPTINESS

The International Defence and Aid Fund's new pamphlet is a description of the mass deportation of hundreds of thousands of South Africans from their homes, and their so-called resettlement in the dry and dusty veld, where there is no work, no sanitation, no school, little shelter, and often enough no water but what is brought by the water cart. It is a tale of deportations of whole populations, men, women and children, such as those to which Hitler accustomed Europe a generation ago, such as have few other parallels in all history.

The South African government talks of removing no fewer than 3.8 million Africans — and that is only the start. Its lunatic dream is to remove every one of the 13 million black South Africans from 'white' South Africa, herd them into the miserable eighth of the country set aside as 'Bantu Homelands', and let them out again only as 'migrant' labour, recruited as contract labour to work in white industry, and live as temporary sojourners only in hostels outside white towns. — much as mine labourers live today, and it is no accident that these are among the lowest paid of all South Africa's exploited workers.

It sounds like a megalomaniac's dream. Pay no attention, say the white industrialists, who don't particularly enjoy finding their trained machine operators endorsed without warning out of their area — it won't work, it can't work. South Africa's economy is booming, and the Government won't sacrifice the boom. But the mad project is in fact going ahead, while white South Africa sticks its head firmly in the sand.

RESETTLEMENT - THE NEW VIOLENCE TO AFRICANS

International Defence and Aid pamphlet, price 3/6d

HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE SUPERFLUOUS

The people now being moved fall mainly into three categories. The first are residents of so-called 'black spots', African residential areas enclosed by 'white' areas. By the end of September 1968 the authorities were reported to have moved 83,619 people from 119 such 'black-spots', and a further 280 areas were scheduled for evacuation. The second category is that of so-called 'undesirables,' the marked men, political suspects and offenders, former political prisoners, and their families. And the third, and in the end possibly the most significant category, is that of what the government is pleased to call 'unproductive' Africans - the unemployed, children, sick and disabled, and the old. Various described as 'Superfluous' (to what?), and 'not economically active', these people are being thrown upon the rubbish heap because they are not making profits for the white man.

Officials make no bones about it. As the Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration and Development put it in the House of Assembly in June 1968:

"Must these people who are not employed or who are pensioners or who are living on charity or who are loafers be allowed to live in accommodation here. (i.e. in the urban areas) which the tax-payer of South Africa has to provide and subsidise?"

Or, as Mr. Froneman, Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, argued:

"We resettle many elderly people. If they do nothing in the white homeland, they may as well do nothing in the Bantu homeland . . . There are many Bantu children who do nothing. They simply stay with their mother or with their grandmother or whoever it may be. They do not work at all . . ."

A SYSTEM OF CAGES

South African government officials don't bother any more to disguise their purpose for the black man, his role as

slave, as work-object, without feeling, or voice. His place is in a cage, the vast concentration camp of the reserves, until he is needed, then he is to be brought out and put in another cage, workers' hostel on the edge of an industrial area, until he is needed no more, and can be sent back to the first cage . . .

"When it comes to peace and order and lack of tension," Mr. Vorster declared blandly in February this year," then there is hardly any country which can be compared with South Africa.

Hardly any country, indeed.

The miracle is, that the spirit of the people has not been broken. They continue to resist, though the authorities make sure that there is seldom anyone near to report their resistance. But the pamphlet tells the story of the Bakubung people, who were ordered to leave their village near Rustenburg in the Transvaal, that had been their home for 74 years. Their school was demolished, by way of inducement to leave. They still refused. In November 1967, 88 people were charged and sentenced for occupying State land without permission. Still they refused to move. Their sentences were suspended on appeal, on condition they consented to go. Still the Bakubung sat tight, more were prosecuted in 1968, and a new deadline for evacuation was set for December 31st. On 12th January 1969, 200 more were rounded up, and thrown into police cells at Rustenburg . . .

Here, then, is the moral for revolutionaries in this little pamphlet - the stubborn courage of people who know that the full might of the law and the police is pitted against them, yet still resist. By depriving such people of any stake in society as it is, the Government is in the end blindly ensuring its own destruction, for it is creating a larger and larger reservoir of men and women with **nothing to lose**. History, as this pamphlet shows, moves by painful processes.

R. A.



Limehill . . .

impossible to get work or grow food

JOIN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM!

FORWARD TO 1970!

With this issue of Sechaba we enter the fourth year of publication of our journal. We can look back with pride on our achievements. Beginning with a small circulation of 5,000 we have progressively stepped up our printing order to 20,000 with a circulation throughout the world. Many of our readers have commented that the content of our journal has steadily improved and we have proof of this in the fact that Sechaba is now on order by many leading libraries as an authentic source of information on South Africa and on the struggles of the liberation movement.

We are however, far from satisfied with our achievements. In order to make an even bigger impact on the democratic forces of the world we must increase our circulation greatly, and we must aim at a higher standard of production.

These tasks are now in hand and will be pursued with even greater vigour in the New Year. But we can only reach our target with the active assistance of our members and of our ever growing number of supporters.

SECHABA NEEDS YOU.

- To sell our journal at meetings, demonstrations and on the campuses;
- To visit bookshops and interest them in stocking the journal;
- To win new subscribers;
- To keep us in touch with anti-apartheid struggles in your area.

ABOVE ALL WE NEED FUNDS.

- To meet the ever-increasing publishing costs;
- To promote sales;
- To improve our organisational machinery to meet the new demands on us.

WILL YOU BE AN AGENT FOR SECHABA?

Please drop a line to our circulation and finance department:

SECHABA: 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A-4NL
(Tel: 580-5303)

All cheques/Postal Orders should be made payable to: SECHABA and crossed.

M.P. NAICKER

Director of Publicity & Information.

African National Congress of South Africa.

FAMILIES LIVING IN OIL DRUMS

Four African families with 16 children among them, are living in an "oil drum laager" in the middle of the destroyed shanty town near Nancefield Cemetery in Soweto. They claimed they were left there when other families were rehoused either in Soweto or in the homelands after the squalid shantytown was pulled down last month. The families are those of Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Mati, with four children; Mrs. Queenie Makhanyi, who has six children; Mrs. Colleen Shabangu, with four children; and Mr. and Mrs. E. Dube, who have two children.

