

SECHABABA

official organ
african national congress
of south africa



CONFRONTATION IN

In Southern Africa two major forces stand opposed to each other in ever-growing armed conflict. On the one side are the forces of the status quo, the forces of White supremacy. On the other are the forces of democracy and liberation of the African people. The states of White supremacy are Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa. The democratic forces are represented by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU); the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO); the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO); and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). At a distance from Southern Africa but crucial to the struggle is the revolutionary war in Guinea-Bissau directed and led by the Party of African Independence (PAIGC).

Confrontation

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

The political structures created by white Supremacy in Southern Africa are not identical except in their ultimate purpose and intention. In fact the oppressors deliberately resort to a large variety of political myths and constitutional devices in order to conceal the essential identity of white supremacy and exploitation throughout the region.

Portuguese Colonies

Mozambique and Angola are colonies of Portugal. In the theory of the Portuguese imperialists these countries are part of Portugal. Again in theory there is no racial discrimination in these countries. All Africans who satisfy certain tests can be "assimilated" and acquire the status of "civilised" citizens. It need hardly be said that this whole concept is inherently, viciously anti-African and racist. The "assimilated" Africans who constitute not more than one percent of the 12 million Africans in Mozambique and Angola are in fact treated as inferiors. Inasmuch as Portugal itself is a Fascist state in which the common people have no political rights the "assimilated" Africans enjoy a very doubtful advantage. The majority of the African population are governed under the so-called Estatuto dos Indigenas (Native Statute) which is similar in character to the Native Administration Acts in Rhodesia and South Africa. The white settlers in Angola and Mozambique are by and large a social base acting on behalf of Portugal in relation to the African people. The Fascist dictatorship in Portugal exercised until recently by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar is supported by a party called the National Union. The advent of a successor to Salazar in the person of Dr. Caetano has prompted a spate of false expectations that a more liberal

policy would be adopted in relation to the African people in Angola and Mozambique. The reply of the liberation movements has been to intensify the struggle for freedom. Despite all the fancy theories the twelve million Africans are dominated by imperialist Portugal in the interests of a privileged white minority who profit thereby.

Rhodesia

At the time of writing the Rhodesia tragedy interspersed with scenes of comedy and sheer farce continues to be played out by the white supremacists. Constitutional proposals fly back and forth between Salisbury, London and Pretoria. Should there be Africans in Parliament? Should chiefs be part of the Senate? Should there be a blocking quarter or a blocking third? Two whitemen, Ian Smith and Harold Wilson advised by another whiteman, Vorster, purport thus to settle the destiny of millions of Africans. Rhodesia is a state of white supremacy in which a minority of under 200,000 directs the lives of approximately five million Africans. The Rhodesian theory is that the state represents a partnership between white and African. In terms of the 1961 constitution and later the 1965 constitution there are 65 members of parliament of whom fifty represent Europeans and a maximum of fifteen representing Africans. Political power is in the hands of the Rhodesian Front headed by Ian Smith. The administration, judiciary, army, police are tightly controlled by the white minority. In practice Africans have no political rights and are subjected to all the racist and oppressive measures suffered by other Africans throughout the Southern African region. Partnership turns out on examination to be nothing but naked white supremacy.

Confrontation

SOUTHERN AFRICA

In this issue Sechaba presents a brief but panoramic view of this confrontation whose outcome will have important consequences for the whole of Africa and the world. The resources of white supremacy are formidable. They are well organised, ruthless and utterly without scruple. They have powerful allies among the imperialist states which have vast economic and strategic interests in Southern Africa. Yet this awesome combination is destined to suffer ignominious defeat at the hands of the 35 million Africans and their supporters all over the world. In the not-too-distant future white supremacy in the whole of Southern Africa will be smashed and on its ruins will arise governments representing the interests of the masses of the people.

Southern Africa



The Unholy Trinity - Vorster (South Africa), Caetano (Portugal) and Smith (Rhodesia)

South Africa

The rulers of the Republic of South Africa claim that one of the chief merits of their system of government is that it is blatantly frank. The white supremacists in South Africa scorn hypocritical theories. This is the only country in the world where racialism and white supremacy are openly advocated and embodied in state policy and legislation. An elaborate structure of laws cover every aspect of life in South Africa. The Republican Constitution of 1961 puts all national, provincial and local government firmly in the hands of the white minority. There are no Africans in Parliament, in provincial councils, or in municipal councils. The judiciary and administration are under total European control at all levels. In politics, religion, economics, culture, education and sport no one is allowed to forget for one moment to which racial group he belongs. White monopoly of power is total.

Bantustan Bluff

Of late a system of local government in the Transkei and other so-called "Native Reserves" is being set up accompanied by much fanfare and high-sounding offices and titles. The "Bantustan" system is designed to give the impression that some devolution of power is taking place with Africans gaining a share of political power. The truth is that this is the latest in a series of frauds going back to 1884. Local Councils, Native Conferences, General Councils, Bungas, Urban Advisory Boards, Native Representative Councils, Rural Bantu Authorities, Urban Bantu Authorities, Legislative Councils - All these have come and gone in the history of white oppression of the African majority. As each was introduced the fanfare waxed louder and the bribes for its acceptance was increased. The reality of power did not alter one jot. A former leader of white supremacy, Field Marshal Smuts called one such fraud "offering the

Southern Africa



Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC and O R Tambo of the ANC

Native a bone to chew". This illuminating phrase sums up the present Bantustan bluff in the Transkei and other Reserves. The government of South Africa is firmly committed to maintaining white supremacy by force and forever. Within the white group itself there are some trappings of parliamentary government. The governing party is the National Party and the opposition is the United Party. But both these parties are united on the vital issue of domination and exploitation of the African and other non-white groups in the country.

South West Africa

South Africa governs South West Africa as a colony. The country is a so-called international territory over which South Africa was granted a mandate by the League of Nations. This status of South West Africa has been tactically useful to the oppressed people in their critique of the South African regime before the United Nations and other forums of international opinion. But all this does not alter the fact that the African majority of half-a-million is under ruthless white minority rule. In order to achieve freedom and independence for South West Africa (Namibia) the forces of white supremacy will have to be defeated first.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Dedicated to the destruction of white supremacy and its political structures are the liberation movements of the oppressed people. In each country of Southern Africa the people have made tremendous sacrifices and overcome many obstacles to build their own political parties and movements as an authentic expression of their aspirations for freedom.

MPLA

The representative of the people of Angola is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Founded in 1957 the MPLA is a front of a number of organisations previously active in Angola. From the outset MPLA has been an underground organisation. The movement has a detailed programme for the ending of Portuguese rule and the creation of a progressive, democratic society in Angola. The leader of the Movement is Dr. Antonio Agostinho Neto, a revolutionary and poet whose life is an inspiration to the people of Angola. By profession Neto is a medical practitioner but he has never had much chance to practice his profession except during one of his many periods of imprisonment when he had to serve as the only doctor to the island on which he was detained. On his last arrest by the Portuguese in June 1960 the people tried to rescue him from prison and were brutally massacred. The Portuguese also destroyed the village from which he came. Later Neto escaped from the island of Santa Antao and resumed direct leadership of the Angolan revolution. The armed struggle in Angola is spreading rapidly and as more areas are liberated by the guerillas the MPLA is establishing democratic organs of government and instituting a programme of reforms on the land.

FRELIMO

The Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was founded in 1962. It is also a merger of several movements which agreed on a common programme aimed at ousting the Portuguese imperialists and liberating Mozambique. Since then Frelimo has made spectacular advances in the struggle. The holding of the second congress of Frelimo inside Mozambique last year testifies to the growth in the power and influence of the movement. The Leader of the movement is Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, a sociologist, who first came to public attention when he was expelled from South Africa in 1948 whilst studying at Witwatersrand Uni-

Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA





Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO

versity. Later Mondlane was thrown amongst revolutionary students in Lisbon and Paris. He completed his studies in the United States and worked for five years in the United Nations where he did much to expose conditions in the Portuguese colonies in hearings before the Trusteeship Committee. In 1962 he abandoned teaching to assume leadership of the Mozambique revolution. As in Angola the liberated areas have seen the translation of the political and economic ideas of Frelimo into action. The guerrilla army which launched the struggle on September 25th 1964 has grown to 8,000 men. An elaborate structure of democratic organs of self-government have been set up in the liberated areas; an intensive educational programme has been embarked upon and agricultural changes are bringing in increased production to the peasants who enthusiastically support the revolution.

SWAPO

The struggle in Namibia (South West Africa) is led by the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The organisation was founded by workers in Cape Town with Herman Toivo as its first president. Toivo is now serving a long term of imprisonment in South Africa for revolutionary activities. SWAPO rapidly gained strength when its activities were centred in Namibia in April 1959. The aim of the party is to establish a free, democratic government based on universal suffrage in Namibia. To achieve this Namibia has to achieve total independence from the domination of South Africa. Sam Nujoma has been the President of SWAPO since its re-organisation in January 1960. Under his leadership SWAPO has initiated a massive educational programme for the youth of Namibia; established branches and created a guerilla army whose activity is gaining strength with each passing month.

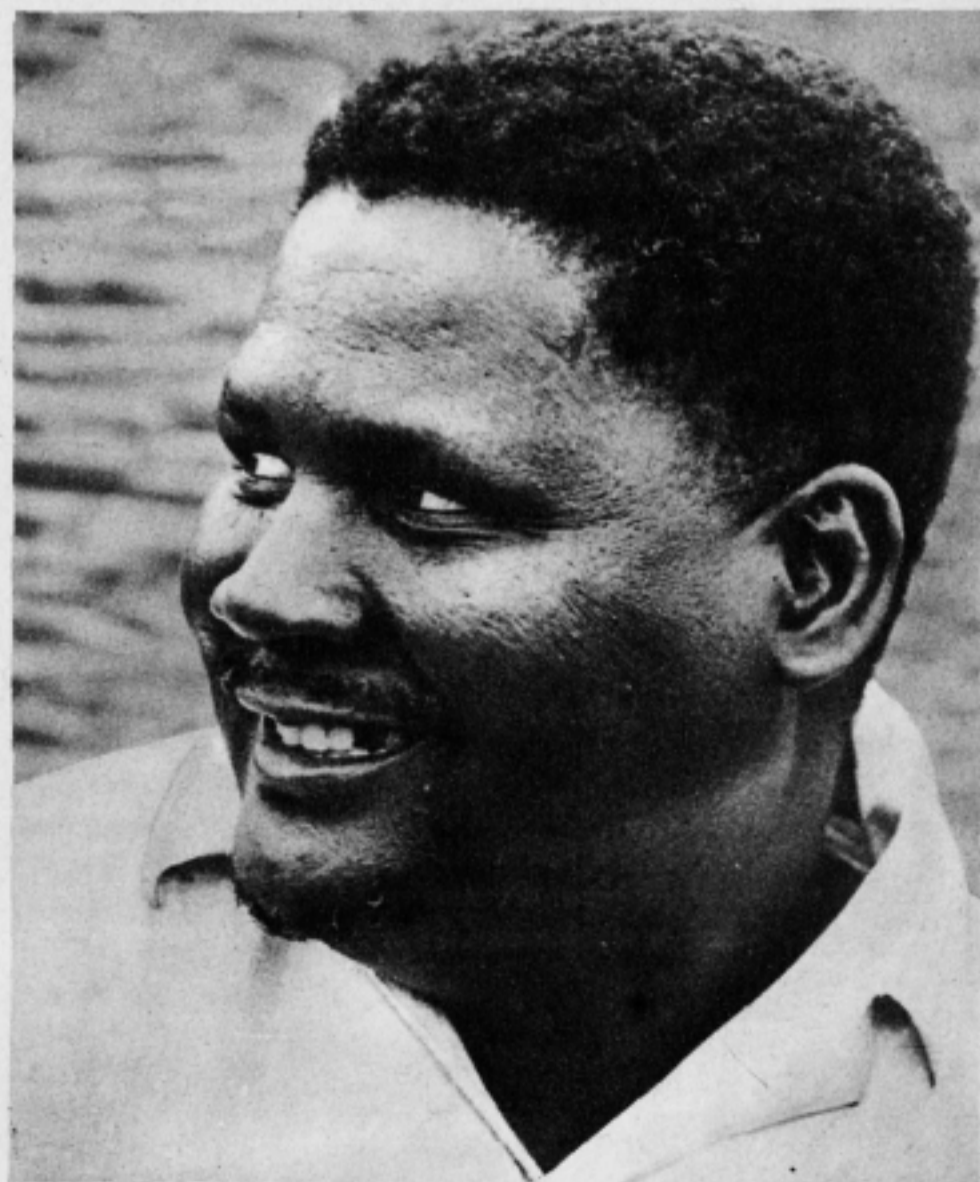
ZAPU

Zimbabwe has a long history of struggle. From the wars of resistance of the nineteenth century the struggle for freedom has never ceased. For many years the struggle was led by the African National Congress of Rhodesia. As the conflict with white rule sharpened especially in the fifties the movement was banned and re-appeared under the name of the National Democratic Party. When that was declared illegal the Zimbabwe African People's Union was formed which was also proscribed. To-day ZAPU leads the armed struggle against the notorious Ian Smith regime. The aim of ZAPU is to overthrow the white minority regime and create an independent Republic of Zimbabwe based on majority rule. The leader of the movement Chibwechitedza Joshua Nkomo is held in detention at a remote corner of Zimbabwe called Gonakudzingwa. There are reports about his treatment which are giving cause for great alarm among progressives all over the world. Nkomo as leader of the trade union movement and later of the ANC, NDP, and ZAPU has come to embody the best aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. An important development in the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe and South Africa is the alliance between ZAPU and the ANC. The joint forces of ZAPU-ANC have after little more than a year of intensified struggle scored major political successes in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

ANC

The African National Congress is inseparable from the history of the African nation in South Africa. It is the sole mouthpiece of the people of South Africa. Formed primarily to weld the various groups into a single African nation the ANC fought an unending fight against the most vicious system of racial oppression and exploitation.

Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU



From 1912 to 1960 the ANC operated openly in South Africa. But from 1953 the government step by step made its activities impossible. First in the rural areas meetings of more than ten persons were banned by proclamation in 1953, then followed bans in Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland in 1958 and finally in 1960 the whole organisation was proscribed. In 1961 the ANC decided to prepare for armed struggle against Apartheid. The armed forces of the ANC known as Umkhonto WeSizwe (Spear of the Nation) are jointly active with those of ZAPU in Zimbabwe. The South African underground is engaged in massive activity in preparation for launching of the armed struggle in South Africa itself.

Many outstanding leaders of the ANC are held at the Robben Island prison and other gaols in South Africa. They include Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others. Since the death of Chief A.J. Lutuli, the leadership of the struggle has been placed in the hands of Oliver Tambo. For the past quarter of a century Tambo has been in the forefront of the struggle. From his days as a student radical this sensitive, brilliant scientist and lawyer has been at the centre of the stormy and complex politics of South Africa.

The ANC is not only the national movement of the African people. It is also the leader of a united front consisting of national movements of the Indian and Coloured oppressed

people, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Congress. In the popular front are also progressive and working class movements such as the Congress of Trade Unions, European democrats, Communists, women, youth and student organisations. The ANC has built the first army of our people since we were defeated eighty years ago. This is its chief merit and is proof of our inevitable victory in the struggle for a new democratic state in the Republic of South Africa.

PAIGC

Away from Southern Africa but very important for the struggle there is the PAIGC led by Amilcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau. Over two-thirds of the 13,944 square miles of Guinea-Bissau have been liberated by the guerilla army of PAIGC. The struggle there holds down thousands of Portuguese troops who would otherwise be used to keep down the people in Southern Africa. The magnificent job done by PAIGC is therefore crucial to the outcome of the revolutionary wars in our region.

The liberation movements are the authentic voice of the people of Southern Africa and are the only genuine expression of the will of the people.

THE EXPLOITERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE EXPLOITERS

The structure of white supremacy erected in Southern Africa exist to ensure that the exploitation of our wealth and labour shall continue as long as possible. Who are the exploiters who benefit from our oppression?

The mining magnates, industrialists and large land owners are the chief exploiters of our people. White supremacy, racialism and discrimination serve their interests.

THE MINING OCTOPUS

Almost every economic activity in Southern Africa is directly or indirectly connected with the giant mining octopus that extends throughout the region. With the Anglo-American Corporation at their head the great mining houses engage in a complex interlocking activity which spans the whole range of life. In this activity political boundaries and conditions in different countries are either irrelevant or are brushed aside if they interfere with business. Humanists in Zambia; Socialists in Tanzania; non-racialists in Botswana; Liberals in Lesotho; Realists in the Congo; Fascists in Angola, S.A., Mozambique and Rhodesia; the mining houses stick firmly to the aim of extracting the maximum profits without compunction.

The activities in which these giants engage are impressive. Mining, industry, power, farming, insurance and finance, newspapers, trading, labour recruitment — there is no activity in which their ubiquitous hand will not be found. Sitting on the boards of directors of most of these com-

panies are names which recur monotonously everywhere. The biggest name is undoubtedly that of Harry Frederick Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

Directly or indirectly through subsidiaries the Anglo-American Corporation owns diamonds in South Africa, South West Africa, Botswana, Congo(K), Tanzania; Copper is exploited in South West Africa, Congo(Kinshasa), South Africa, Botswana, Rhodesia, Zambia; Iron is mined in South Africa and Swaziland; Coal in South Africa and Rhodesia; Gold in South Africa; Uranium in South Africa and Congo (Kinshasa); Manganese in South Africa, Congo (Kinshasa).

LABOUR RECRUITED ANYWHERE

Labour to work these mines is recruited wherever it can be found. Thus on the mines of South Africa will be found workers from Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana, and South Africa. The same pattern is observable in other areas such as the Katanga. The areas from which labour is recruited are artificially kept poor and underdeveloped so as to compel people under stress of economic necessity to "voluntarily" sign the labour contracts with such recruiting organisations as Anglo-Collieries Recruiting Organisation (Pty) Ltd or Hansens Native Labour Organisation (Pty) Ltd.

The exports and imports of these vast interests come via ports such as Lourenco Marques in Mozambique, Benguela in Angola, Durban or Cape Town in South Africa. If there



CONGO
 Union Miniere
 Tanganyika
 Consolidated
 Anglo-American

ANGOLA
 Benguela Rail

S.W.A.
 Tsumeb Corp
 Cons. Diamonds
 Anglo-American

BOTSWANA
 Kalahari Inv.
 Roan Selection
 Anglo-American

LESOTHO
 Rio Tinto Zinc
 Basuto. Diamonds



MOZAMBIQUE
 Anglo-Collieries
 Recruit. Org.
 Hansens Native
 Labour Org.
 Central Invest.

ZAMBIA
 Roan Selection
 Inchanga Copper
 Anglo-American

RHODESIA
 Rho.Anglo-Am.
 Rho.Acceptanc.
 Wankie Colliery
 Rho.Cop.Refine.
 British-SA Co.

SWAZILAND
 Sw.Rift Explor.
 Sw.Iron Ore Dev.

SOUTH AFRICAN MINING INVESTMENTS
 (Centre - Johannesburg)
 Anglo-American Corporation
 De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd
 Rand Selection Corporation Ltd
 Engelhardt Industries (S.A.)



are no railways to transport goods, the mining houses quickly build one. This happened recently when a big iron ore deposit was found in Swaziland. A railway was built to export the ore through Lourenco Marques. The important Benguela railway which is owned by Tanganyika Concessions carries copper and other minerals from Zambia and the Congo to Benguela Port in Angola. These ports earn huge harbour fees in the process and depend on these for their prosperity.

EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA

The Anglo-American and other mining houses in Southern Africa naturally co-operate very closely in the exploitation of Africa. No competition between them is allowed to interfere with the basic aim of maintaining the wealth which flows into their coffers at the expense of our people. Tanganyika Concessions is directly linked with Anglo-American Corporation as well as with Union Miniere Du Haut Katanga - the mineral giant in the Congo. The links criss-cross from one company to the other covering hundreds of apparently separate activities in different countries. It is estimated that the capital assets of these companies exceeds \$ 5000 million. This is probably a gross under-estimate. Compared with the power of the great mining, industrial and farming empires the governments of Vorster, Ian Smith and Caetano are seen for what they are - puppets and marionettes dancing to the tune of monopoly capital.

The business empires of Southern Africa are themselves only part of empires as great if not greater in the United States, Britain, Belgium, West Germany, Japan and France. International imperialism has more invested in Southern Africa than in the rest of Africa put together. In South Africa alone British investments total over 2,800 million dollars. They will do everything to hang on to their ill-gotten gains.

THE WORKING AND LABOURING PEOPLE

The wealth of Southern Africa belongs to those who labour and work to produce it and not to the monopolies. Step by step, trained in the harsh conditions of wage slavery,

the working and labouring people of our region have become conscious of their interests and rights. In the face of incredible obstacles they have built associations and organisations to lead the fight against exploitation and oppression.

Among the most exploited workers are the migrant workers on the mines of South Africa. (See FACTS IN BLACK AND WHITE elsewhere in this issue) 500,000 of these migrant workers constitute the bed rock of the fortunes that the mining magnates make. The real wages of these workers, bearing in mind the falls in the real value of money, are no higher than they were over fifty years ago. The wages per shift of African mine workers have increased from about 2/6 in 1936 to about 9/- to-day. In fact with the fall in the value of money the real earnings today are about 3/- per shift. Herded in compounds, exposed to fearful diseases, the mining workers have great revolutionary potential. This has been proved many times in the past and will emerge in the decisive battles of the future. It is not only in mining that migratory workers from South Africa and other countries are to be found.

The 2,140,000 migratory workers in South Africa are to be found in farming and industry as well. The same sort of situation exists in Rhodesia.

When people in Europe drink the wines and eat the fruit from South Africa they do not realise under what conditions the workers produce these items. The workers on the Citrus plantations, the deciduous farms, the wine farms of South Africa suffer vicious exploitation. The same applies to those working on the tobacco plantations of Rhodesia, the sugar, cotton, palm oil, coffee plantations of Angola and Mozambique.

In South Africa there are approximately six million wage earners of whom one fifth are engaged in manufacturing industry and 25 per cent in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Led by their liberation movements and trade union organisations the workers have been the core of every struggle waged against oppression. Over and over again they have gone on strike, demonstrated, suffered imprisonment in the struggle for freedom. To-day they constitute the core of the liberation armies that will eventually put the arrogant bosses in the mining, industrial and farming combines in their proper place.

THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING

LAW AND ORDER, STABILITY AND CIVILISED STANDARDS

White supremacy and oppression of the Africans in Southern Africa have powerful friends and supporters in the imperialist states of the world. They operate at many levels. There are lobbies in various parliaments; societies have been established whose purpose is to whitewash our oppressors; big business interests invest in Southern Africa, trade with and give technical assistance to our enemies. Glossy magazines paint a Southern Africa of happiness, holidays and sunshine. As for the African people, if they do appear at all, it is as gay rickshaws dressed in picturesque regalia. The slogans of the international lobby are

law and order, stability and civilised standards. These translated into ordinary language mean that everything must be done to maintain white supremacy in Southern Africa in order to ensure that the supplies of minerals and other raw materials continue ceaselessly to feed big business in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The low wages, repression, disease, ignorance, starvation of 35 million Africans means nothing to these gentlemen who mouth moral precepts in defence of oppression. An important weapon in the hands of the pro-racist lobbies is that of anti-communism. The Africans in Southern Africa fought



People in London march in support of the struggle against apartheid. The people of the world condemn S.A. fascism.

for hundreds of years in defence of their lands. They were defeated. To-day when they resume the struggle for the return of their birthright they are called "communists", "agitators" and "terrorists".

THEY WILL LOSE ALL

The trading partners of South Africa in Britain, the United States, West Germany, Japan, Belgium, and France bear a heavy responsibility for the continued oppression and misery of our people. The international monopolies such as ICI, Lever Brothers, General Motors, Ford, Standard Oil, Barclays Bank and many others back white supremacy. In this way they are trying to save all. In fact they will lose all.

The policies of the governments in the countries which trade with South Africa are cut to suit the monopolies. At the United Nations the representatives of these countries all stand up to express their "abhorrence of racialism and Apartheid". But they vote against any attempt to take action against white supremacy in Southern Africa.

As the struggle becomes sharper and the liberation forces gain ground we can expect the propaganda machines to move into full gear to discredit the liberation movements and their leaders. Horror stories of what "terrorists" are doing will suddenly flood the newspapers. The favourite "Nuns have been raped" canards will be used to mobilise world opinion against the just struggle of the people against white supremacy and exploitation. Learned works by academics on the "atavistic" instincts of the African

people will start topping the best-seller lists. All this is the inevitable reaction of the decay and degeneration of imperialism to the growing struggles of the people for liberation.

THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE

The international solidarity movement against racialism for freedom in Southern Africa is growing. Its potential is unlimited.

The African states that have achieved independence consider that it is in their own interests to give full support to those still struggling to free themselves in the South. Despite their own weaknesses many African states have done their best to help the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. The intrigues of neo-colonialism in Malawi, Lesotho and other states have caused their governments to take the path of betrayal of the liberation struggle. But there is no denying the fact that the people of Africa will continue to do all they can to give full assistance to the liberation movements. The African states have taken the lead at the United Nations and other international forums to isolate the white supremacists in politics, sports, culture and economics. They have taken various steps in their own countries to indicate opposition to the regimes of white supremacy. They have supplied liberation movements with the means to prosecute the struggle.

Apart from the African states are those in Asia and Latin America which have supported the initiatives of the Africans

against white supremacy. Among these should be mentioned such countries as Cuba, India, the U.A.R. and other Middle-Eastern countries, and the West Indies.

The Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Norway and Finland have also taken up progressive stands against white supremacy and given much material and moral assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

In the citadels of imperialism numerous progressive organisations such as trade unions, universities, churches, humanitarian movements, and anti-racist societies have mobilised large sections of the population to support the liberation movements and oppose the pro-Apartheid policies of their governments.

Last but by no means least there are the Socialist countries

and in particular the Soviet Union. If it were not for the existence of the Soviet Union the imperialists would ride roughshod over us as they did in the nineteenth century when our lands were taken from us. The events in the Middle-East last year and the attempts to dismember the biggest African state – Nigeria, show to what extent the liberation movements rely on the support of the Socialist States. Both the U.A.R. and Nigeria are vital supporters of the struggle in Southern Africa. Any instability there hampers our struggle. Thus directly and indirectly the Soviet Union fulfils its obligations to the liberation movements in Africa.

The international solidarity movement against White supremacy is a powerful support of the independent efforts of our people to free themselves.

WHITE SUPREMACY AND ITS INSTRUMENTS OF TERROR



Police in armoured trucks guard railway bridge in S.A.



S.A. Police and dogs operating against our guerillas.

The system of white supremacy in Southern Africa or anywhere else for that matter would not last a single day were it not for the instruments of coercion and terror built to protect it against the wrath of the people.

The armies and police forces of white supremacy in Southern Africa number something like 225,000 men including reservists. They have 1,000 aircraft with about 400 in reserve. The armies and police are well-equipped with modern weapons and transport thanks to the support of NATO and the imperialist powers generally. And in case political conditions in the countries of supply should create difficulties, a huge armaments industry is being built in South Africa with the help of Belgium, France, Italy and other countries.

Not even the slightest opposition to white supremacy is

tolerated in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Rhodesia, or South West Africa. To watch over and punish dissidents the Special branch in Rhodesia and South Africa and the PIDE in the so-called Portuguese territories have been created. Using a paraphernalia of laws and practices with virtually identical provisions the security police arrest, detain, restrict, torture, interrogate, infiltrate, imprison.

Assisting the security police in their awful work of terrorising the masses of the people is an administrative machine consisting of commissioners, magistrates, judges, and government-appointed headmen and chiefs. Having originally destroyed our hereditary chiefs and social institutions the white supremacists now pose as defenders of African tribal heritage as an instrument for preserving white supremacy. It is this whole machinery of terror against which the revo-



A Frelimo meeting of guerrillas and people in one of the liberated zones in Mozambique.

lutionary armies are ranged. The destruction of the armies, police forces and administrative machine of white supremacy is a condition of total victory.

THE PEOPLE WILL WIN!

White supremacy is based exclusively and ultimately on force against the people. It is devoid of any moral or creative impulse. Hence the white supremacists boast of their huge armies and equipment as the decisive factor in the struggle.

The people have taken to arms because, among others, arms are a very important factor in the struggle between the privileged white minority and the oppressed peoples.

But arms are not the decisive factor by any means. The decisive factor in a struggle for liberation is the support of the people. A fundamental fact here is that thirty-five million people are oppressed by a tiny minority. The time has come for this situation to be put to an end.

The guerilla armies are growing. The people are being armed. The organisations are improving their performance and efficiency. Strategy and tactics are being perfected; unity and co-operation are being built on solid foundations.

As more and more areas are liberated the democratic programmes of the political organisations are put into practice creating bases of increased support. The war is going to be a prolonged war of attrition. But it will end in the total defeat of white supremacy and its supporters.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on the South African Police State

"BLACK SPOT" REMOVALS

51,123 Africans were removed from "Black Spots" up to the end of 1963. 21,813 Africans were removed between 1963 and 1967. The African people who have been removed have, for the most part, been settled for generations in their homes, sometimes on land held under freehold title registered in the Deeds Office. They are now being uprooted and forced to live where the Government says they must live. The people are given no real choice about whether they wish to move at all or where they wish to live. Those who raise objections or refuse to move are eventually prosecuted. They have to give up their homes, their land, their familiar surroundings and whatever means they may have of supplementing their meagre incomes through subsistence farming or employment near by. All who owned less than 20 morgen of land before the removal are moved to closer settlements which often lack the barest essentials of existence viz. water, latrines, houses, shop, schools and clinics.

Facilities for health and hygiene are minimal. They may be, and often are, remote from employment opportunities, and if there is any transport to the original places of work this is both inadequate and costly.

1,000 GROUP AREAS

Up to May 1967, 1,000 group areas in 291 different parts of the country had been proclaimed. The proclamation of group areas in 102 other centres was under consideration at that time.

In Cape Town alone, out of a total Coloured population of 417,881 (1960 census) 21,755 families had been affected by group area proclamations by 1967. Market research estimates

5.8 persons per family. Assuming 5 persons per family this makes an approximate figure of 108,755 persons affected. In the Transvaal, out of a total Coloured population of 119,700, 85 % have been affected i.e. 101,745 people.

ENDORSED OUT

86,186 African people were endorsed out of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, the Witwatersrand, Pietermaritzburg, Durban (excluding women), Bloemfontein and Pretoria in 1965 alone.

9,377 people were removed under police surveillance to their respective "homelands" from Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban during the 6 months between November 1967 and April 1968.

203,500 African people from White urban areas had been resettled in centres in the "homelands" by February 1968.

Since 1966 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has refused to give the numbers of endorsed people in answer to Parliamentary questions.

ENFORCED SEPARATION

As a result of endorsement out of urban areas of people who are unable to establish domiciliary proof, of youths who have been to school in rural areas, of women who are widowed, divorced or deserted, of old people who are no longer able to work, of people who have been living and working in an urban area but who have in some manner infringed the Pass Laws, families are broken up, husbands separated from wives, wives from husbands, children from parents, old people from their children.

DISPLACED PERSONS

Some of these people may have a familiar homeland to return to and some family member to welcome them, but very many become displaced persons who help to swell the populations of the resettlement villages with which they are totally unfamiliar, where they are neither known, not wanted and where they are severed from their families.

49,299 African women and children had been resettled in 24 resettlement villages by February, 1967. This figure includes women, children under 16 and males under 18 only. No figures were given for men.

Conditions vary, and with the passage of time and by dint of the efforts of the inhabitants, these villages become more established, but there is no guarantee that once moved the people will not be moved again. They are denied any security of tenure, they are denied the right to choose their way of life, their traditional way of life is forcibly altered, and they are removed from their long-established homes.

Work opportunities are rarely available in the vicinity. Such opportunities as lie at hand are usually seasonal or agricultural labour. The men must leave their families and go far afield to the White areas as contract workers on one year contracts. The old, women and children make up the population of most of these resettlement villages.

NO FUTURE

Women who are breadwinners are actually prevented by regulation from taking employment as contract workers in most White urban areas. Normal family life is impossible.

There is no future for the people who live in these rural settlements.

There is no future for the children who grow up in them.

Hundreds of thousands of South African citizens have been and are being summarily uprooted, moved from their homes, resettled. They are given no choice, nor is there any consultation. No consideration is shown for their aspirations and security and for the suffering caused. Scant provision is made for any of their needs, material or spiritual or for their means of livelihood. Their family life is being disrupted, and the migrant labour policy ensures that this phenomenon can only increase. Their rights, their needs and their human dignity are disregarded.

(Taken from the text of a petition by the Citizens' Action Committee, to the President of the Republic of South Africa).

INCREASE ORDER

Dear Friends,

Please increase our regular subscription to one hundred copies every issue. We are beginning to distribute it on a mass basis-possibly by the beginning of next year we can double or triple this amount. Please remember to bill us.

We can also use additional promotional material and political literature of the A.N.C. If posters are available they would be very helpful in display. Students for a Democratic Society, The Communist Party Youth Section, and the Black Panther Party will be distributing Sechaba on a wide basis. I will keep you regularly informed of our activity as it develops.

Our complete solidarity with the liberation struggle.

Sincerely,
Mike Davis.

Manager, Progressive Book Shop,
Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Dear sirs,

Being engaged in a research on South Africa, Apartheid and the economic links between the South African regime and the European countries, it would be very helpful for me to get the latest issues of Sechaba, as I find a lot of background information in your magazine which I do not find in European papers. Will you therefore please be so kind and send me the 1968 issues of Sechaba?

With many thanks,

Yours truly,
Hartmut Barsnick

Vikar, 6503 Mainz-Kastel, W. Germany.

ENLIGHTEN CANADIANS

Dear sir,

We are Canada's first Books and Crafts store owned and operated by Afro-Canadians and would appreciate any information on how to receive pamphlets etc.

We need material to enlighten the Canadians (Black and White) of the struggle.

Victory to the Black Africans.

Leanord O. Johnston.

Third World Books and Crafts,
Toronto, Canada.

DESERVE SUPPORT

Dear sir,

I would very much like to become a subscriber to Sechaba, which I regard as a very worthy and good cause and deserves as much support as possible. I am afraid that I can only donate 2/6 at the moment to the cost of printing, as I am a student. But whenever I can send some more, I shall most certainly do so. I will also try my utmost to get other people to buy this magazine. Racial discrimination, segregation and apartheid have always interested me: may the Southern African people soon free themselves from oppression!

Yours sincerely,
T.D. Roderick.

Matthewstown, Penrhiwgeiber, Glam.

TRADE UNION SUPPORT

Dear sir,

In response to your request for a contribution towards the printing and publishing costs of Sechaba, Federal Council decided to contribute £ A25. Hoping this will be of some assistance to your journal.

C.H. Fitzgibbon,
General Secretary.

Waterside Workers Federation of
Australia.

DONATIONS

Dear sir,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 25th. October. The material you enclosed will be of much use to me in my work. I enclose a donation which I hope will be of use in your work.

Yours sincerely,
Miss M. Hakin.

Valley Rd., Hayfield, Stockport,
Cheshire.

Dear comrades,

Please accept small contribution to Sechaba, with all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
G. Ingleby. Barkston, Grantham.

Dear sir,

Please send me copies of Sechaba for one year at the above address. I enclose a check for subscription and a small donation to your funds.

Yours fraternally,
Priscilla A. Noad.

33, Thornhill Crescent, London W.1.

DEATH TO FASCISM

Dear sir,

Although this is not yet the time for self congratulation, I have always found Sechaba informative and very stimulating. In fact, all democrats should strive to keep the magazine in circulation until Herrenvolkism is liquidated from Southern Africa.

Resounding victories to the People's Armies in Southern Africa and Death to Fascism everywhere.

Your comrade in arms,
C.P. Moyo.

13, Frederick Gdns., Brighton. Sussex.

ON TARGET

Dear friend,

I thank you for your letter. I have now received the latest Sechaba. It is on target as usual. It is very, very good. What do I think of the latest sell out on 'Fearless?'

Harold Wilson is a real lover of neo-colonialism in Africa. To put it more openly he loves South African gold, mined at servile wages, which helps his precious economy.

This hardly helps him to become a partisan of democracy. His actions on Fearless and more recently, such as the insult of 'consulting' Joshua Nkomo in Smith's police state and a trip to try to trick and browbeat and corrupt governments of African states (who will hold out I hope) while Smith boastfully hoists his new flag, - all this shows Wilson and his minions at their most disgusting. I wish your Freedom Fighters more power, may they strike harder and harder at the enemy.

Yours sincerely,
Lionel Holley.

Twerton, Bath, Somerset.

THE BODY SNATCHERS

WHY NO PUBLICITY FOR BARNARD'S THIRD TRANSPLANT?

Dr. Christian Barnard basked in the glory of the first heart transplant he performed. The international acclaim accorded him was as heady as wine, and Dr. Barnard became quite light-headed. He flew to all parts of the world, made speeches on a whole host of subjects medical, pronounced his opinions on a whole host of subjects non-medical, became a confidant of statesmen, dined with dignitaries, and danced with actresses. Both he and his wife were showered with gifts and invitations.

The vulgarity of it all shocked the conservative leaders of the medical fraternity. They tried to point out that it was a team achievement, in which others, notably Dr. Botha the immunologist, deserved at least as much credit as Dr. Barnard. But nobody paid any heed to them. Dr. Barnard went on to the triumph of the second heart transplant in a blaze of publicity accorded to none of the other surgeons in other parts of the world who also undertook transplant operations. Without doubt Dr. Barnard enjoyed the publicity. He said: "I am quite sure that it has stimulated a terrific amount of public interest. After all, the doctors depend on the public to provide the money to do these experiments."

SUSPICIOUS TRANSPLANT

But following the third heart transplant recently performed by Dr. Barnard, his attitude suddenly changed. He accused the Press of "sensation-seeking" – the very Press he so assiduously sought out, not so long ago. There was a time when he said that in the "perhaps tragic human drama of a heart transplant, the donor's name should be disclosed". He now says that will seek legislation to prohibit the disclosure of the donor's identity. What has brought about this sudden change?

Without doubt the suspicious circumstances surrounding the third heart transplant operation have brought about the change of front. So long as White South Africa could cash in on the publicity to boost its tarnished image, it was all right. But the latest transplant operation was so completely devoid of humanity towards the donor and her family, so totally illegal, that it has created a storm even within the citadel of apartheid. Let us recount the bare facts.

First, the legal position at present obtaining in South Africa. According to the Post-Mortem Examinations and Removal of Human Tissues Act, no organs for transplant may be removed from a dead donor without the specific consent of the next of kin, unless the donor has willed such organs for scientific or therapeutic purposes. In the case of a pauper, the Anatomy Act stipulates that if no relative can be found, the body may be used for scientific purposes, including transplants, but a period of 24 hours must elapse after death, before such experimentation can be under-

taken. The law is quite clear. But what actually happened, in the case of Miss Evelyn Jacobs, the latest donor?

CASE OF MISS JACOBS

Miss Jacobs suffered a brain haemorrhage; and was rushed to hospital in an ambulance, with her name and address clearly pinned to her clothing. Mysteriously, this identification tag disappeared. Her common law husband arrived at the hospital to inquire about her, and was told she was not there. The next day, he went back with a friend, and was offered tea and biscuits by the white doctors, a thing unheard of in racist South Africa. He declined the tea, but could not find his wife. He was later asked to identify his wife, which he did, but refused to take possession of the body, because it had been mutilated in the course of the heart removal. Miss Jacobs' mother, living in Johannesburg, was understandably angry . . . especially as the mutilation of the body after death is contrary to the family's religious beliefs.

In the meantime, Dr. Barnard, in a huff, denied that Miss Jacobs was the donor, and went on to say that he would never reveal the identity of the donor. A strange but necessary change-about, in view of the illegal nature of the operation. When it could no more be disguised that Miss Jacobs was in fact the donor, the Attorney-General of the Cape came to Dr. Barnard's rescue, by saying publicly that he was "satisfied" that there had been no "irregularities" in connection with the operation. But facts speak for themselves. Miss Jacobs' brother has announced that he is studying the possibility of taking legal action.

SINISTER IMPLICATIONS

In the context of fascist, racist South Africa, the sinister implications of this case are obvious. Black men and women have been known to disappear without trace. There are already laws whereby persons may be detained without trial, without the police having to notify anyone of their whereabouts. If the law were amended making it illegal for anyone to publicise the names of the donors in transplant operations, the doctors would have *carte blanche* to do what they pleased. Doctors are not supermen. The case of Miss Jacobs has proven that they will go to extremes in pursuit of their experiments.

Who is to keep tabs on doctors who surreptitiously remove organs without bothering to find the family? Who is to know if the person was actually dead, before the organ was removed? In racist South Africa, black lives are cheap, and blacks only sub-human in the eyes of many whites, and in the eyes of the law. Hitler started a trend in pseudo-scientific experiments. It would seem that this is to be extended under his admirer, Vorster.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and comment
from apartheid South Africa

SUPER- FLUOUS

If you go to Ilinge in the Eastern Cape and walk along the earth tracks that run between its single-roomed corrugated-iron structures, you will see people – old people, women, children – but you will never see a youth or a man.

For this reason, I refer you to general circular issued by the Department of Bantu Administration on December 12th, 1967, which reads as follows:

'It is accepted Government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labour there.

'As soon as they become, for some reason or other, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labour market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory of the national unit where they fit in ethnically if they were not born or bred in the homeland.

'The Bantu in the European areas who are normally regarded as non-productive and as such have to be resettled in the homelands, are conveniently classified as follows:

'The aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children and also families who do not qualify under the provisions of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act Nr. 25 of 1945 for family accommodation in the European urban areas. 'Bantu on European farms who become superfluous as a result of age, disability or the application of chapter

1V of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936, or Bantu squatters from mission stations and black spots which are being cleared up.

'Professional Bantu such as doctors, attorneys, agents, traders, industrialists, etc.

'Such persons are not regarded as essential for the European labour market, and as such they must also be settled in the homelands in so far as they are not essential for serving their compatriots in the European areas . . .'

THEORY & PRACTICE

That's certainly a remarkable document with some remarkable expressions in it ('superfluous as a result of age, disability . . .', 'black spots which are being cleared up . . .', etc.) – but even more remarkable is the way it's being implemented.

The South African Government has a problem here. Having removed these **superfluous people** from the 'European areas', they can't just dump them in the veld of the 'homeland' or even of 'the territory of the national unit where they fit in ethnically'. Epidemics might break out. News of mass deaths from starvation might find its way into the world outside and cause 'unfavourable publicity'.

What's the solution, then? The one that's being attempted at the present time is the creation of a rash of what are called 'resettlement townships' –

such as Ilinge. I know of two others in the Eastern Cape, another – some distance from Pretoria and one in northern Natal – and I believe there are others.

DESTITUTE

What hope can there be for the people who live in these drab, concentration camp-like settlements – the old people without sons, the women without husbands, the children without fathers? The barest possible hope of survival. In Ilinge, for instance, 80% of the inhabitants are destitute – and the Government is obliged to issue them subsistence rations (consisting almost wholly of bulk carbohydrates) if life is to be sustained.

In some resettlement townships, 'projects' have been set up – on which African women work all day hoeing, digging, filling in ravines in order to earn R5 (approximately £ 2.10.0.) per month to try to clothe their children and supplement their pathetic rations.

TALK ABOUT APARTHEID

Suddenly all the Whites are not only practising apartheid in the usual way – they're also talking about it interminably. It used to be just the SABRA boys who did this (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs – an organisation which supports Government policy –Ed.) – now the field is widening.

Nationalist politician, Theo Gerdener, Natal Provincial Administrator, recently stated that in order to make apartheid work, Whites, must undergo a 'change of heart' and be prepared to make sacrifices. Listing White 'illusions', he mentioned, amongst others, the idea that the status quo can be maintained by force, the expectation that the world will come to accept South Africa and separate development as it now stands and the presumption that non-whites have accepted separate development and are happy in their acceptance.

AFRIKANER CAPITAL

Gerdener received considerable support from the Nationalist Press. One of the reasons for new life being breathed into these stale old discussions is the replacement of Verwoerd, 'the mad professor' by the ruthlessly cynical Vorster, whose policy of trying to buy over independent African states is being greeted with shrill cries of horror by his more *verkrampte* (conservative) supporters. At the same time a new generation of so-called *verligte* (enlightened) Afrikaners is involved up to its neck in the ramifications of capitalism and is putting on the pressure for apartheid to give way when and where this suits its economic interests. The African population of the White areas meanwhile, despite the deportation of 'superfluous' elements (see above) grows and grows . . . and grows.

FEAR OF ORGANIZED AFRICANS

Can the Government gloss over all this . . . and just keep talking about separate development from time to time? Answer: No it can't. And one of the main reasons for its own realisation of this has been the successful initiation of the guerilla struggle – and the sympathy with which freedom



fighters have been greeted by the African population of Zimbabwe. The Government wants to keep South African Africans tribal, under the influence of reactionary chiefs and, above all to prevent the development of working class consciousness through making African labour mobile and transient. They're shutting an awful lot of stable doors – their trouble is the stables are empty!

WHITE WORKERS

Further outbreaks of the apartheid debate:– An economist, Dr. Arthur Norval recently proposed that 5,000 White men be phased out of the mining industry and replaced by Africans. (This would save the gold mining industry 30 million rand a year – no prizes offered for guessing



how!) Though Dr. Norval declared that displaced White miners would be able to find 'just as good if not better jobs' in industry, his statement was deplored by the Mine Workers' Union (White). Its general secretary said 'If mining is no longer to be a White occupation, then it is a matter of time before the principle of job reservation is made a farce. Everything will become subject to the "economic welfare" of the country. The whole concept of separate development must and will miscarry.'

The latest figures show that less than a quarter of the 2,234,000 people employed in the nation's five major categories are White. 'The choice is clear to most,' said the President of TUCSA: 'Either we bow to an ideology and freeze economic expansion, or we allow the natural growth of the labour

force, irrespective of colour'. This illustrates the split in the South African White trade unions between 'the rate for the job' and 'job reservation'. Newscheck, the weekly magazine, remarked that these choices recap Verwoerd's statement of South Africa's prospects: rich and integrated or poor but separate. South Africa's Whites however are not prepared to make any such choice. As usual, they are engaged in their only speculation – how to have their cake and eat it. But their rulers are getting worried . . .

NEWSPAPER DEBATE

Suppose I could say a few words about the uproar which raged over the Argus Company's proposed takeover of South African Associated Newspapers. The Argus publications (most of South Africa's evening papers plus the Sunday Express) are more profitable than SAAN'S papers – and peddle a dead right-wing United Party line. The SAAN'S *Sunday Times* isn't much better politically and its *Rand Daily Mail's* outspoken criticism of the Government has been largely due to as courageous editor, Laurence Gardar (at the time of writing, on trial because of that courage). The Government is apparently terribly concerned about the monopoly – to them, all the English papers are anathema. Myself, the only reason I can find for their worry is that they had some pro-Nat purchaser in mind for SAAN. Can't say I've noticed any Africans getting hot under the collar about this issue.

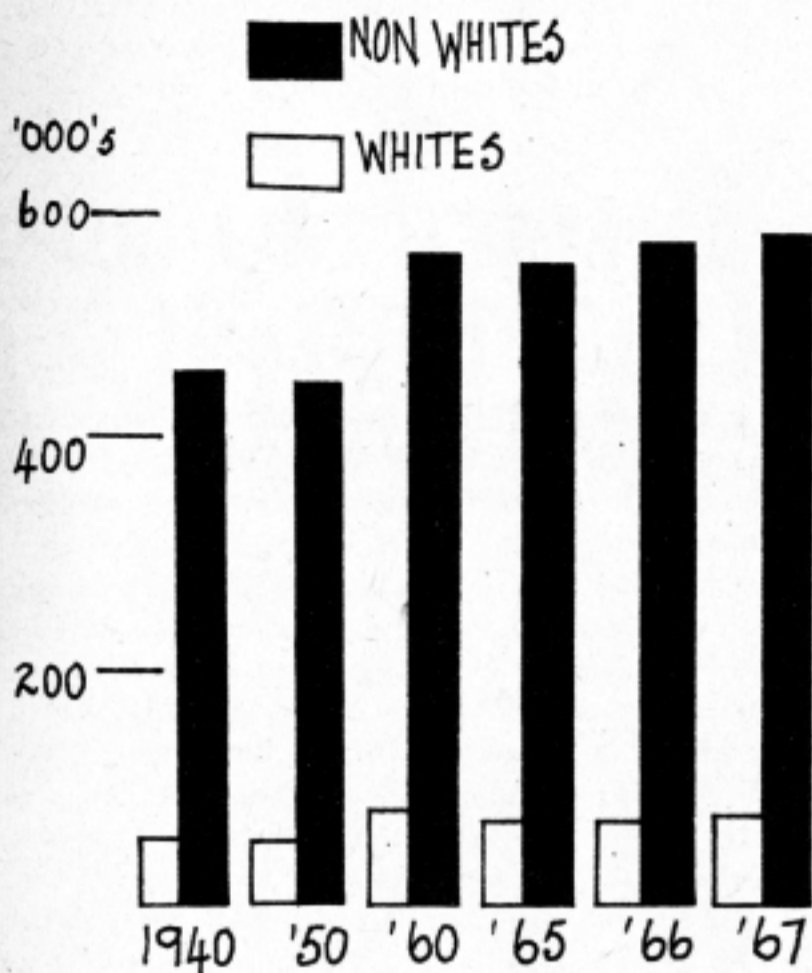
STUDENTS ATTACKED

The Government's campaign against students is intensifying every day and I predict that this will be a major issue in the coming year. Students are constantly interrogated and deprived of travel documents at the White universities. Meanwhile at Fort Hare, seven students disappeared without trace towards the end of last year. Now they are reported to be in detention.

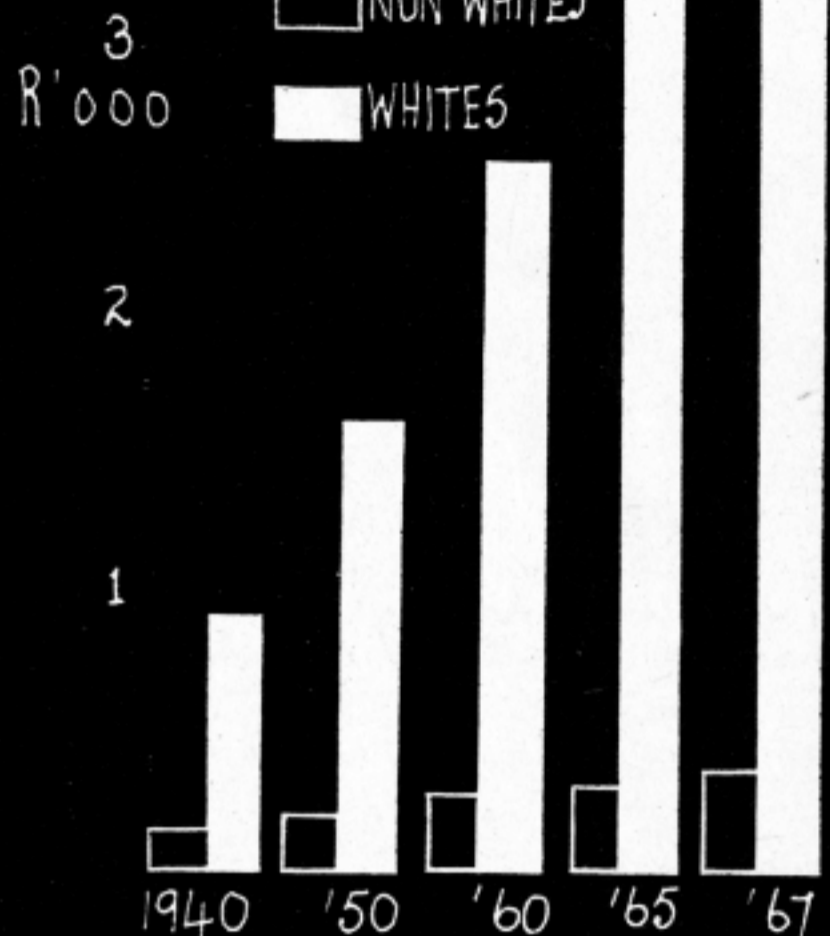
THE FACTS IN

BLACK & WHITE

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT WORK IN MINING.



AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGE & SALARY BILL IN MINING.



2. Inequality in wages in the mining industry

The inhuman system of migratory labour which has been developed to meet the needs of agriculture, mining and manufacturing in South Africa involves the movement of more than two-million non-whites between eight countries on the continent.

The vortex of the system is the gold mining industry, which has evolved probably the most complex labour set-up of any industry in the world.

In October, 1968, the number of migrants in gold mines was about 360,000, more than 60 per cent of whom were drawn from areas outside South Africa.

In terms of wages, they earned in the region of R40-million to R50-million, most of which will be remitted to their home countries.

The total number of persons employed in mines and works in South Africa during 1967 was approximately 659,000 of whom 81,000 were white and 578,000 non-white. Of this total the gold mining sector employed just over 60 per cent

Total annual wages and salaries to all employees in the industry reached R400-million in 1967, of which R278-million was paid out to whites, R122-million to non-whites.

Expressed in terms of monthly salaries, whites in the industry received R285 and non-whites R18. A nine-month contract would therefore be worth between R160 and R180 to the non-white migrant workers. The mining industry obtains its labour requirements through the mine labour organisations, which were established just before World War 1. The spheres of operation include Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi and Rhodesia.

Note:

Another aspect of the migratory labour system is the inhuman practice of separating families. Workers recruited to work on the mines are not allowed to bring their wives and families with them. This forced separation of families creates, quite naturally, all manner of social problems.

VORSTER AND THE CHRISTIANS

John Vorster, we are told, is Prime Minister of Western Christian Civilisation's bastion State in Africa. His Republic is the bulwark of Christianity's survival, against the hordes of heathens and communists that "infect" the continent. His apartheid represents a shining light of Christian values in a world made "decadent" by liberalism and democracy. So we are told. But Mr. Vorster, it seems, can't get along with the Christians. He has been accusing some of them of blasphemy, liberalism and leftism. And he has threatened that if they persist in their present attitudes, the cloth will not protect them from his wrath.

What are these attitudes that set the Christian Prime Minister to abuse Christian priests as though they were dangerous revolutionaries?

They have condemned the vicious, anti-human philosophy of apartheid – the very least, one would have thought, that a Christian who claims to believe that all men are the children of God, should do. One clergyman, the Revd. Wimmer, was quoted in the Rand Daily Mail in September as saying that "The Government, like us, cannot serve two masters, and in serving apartheid, it has rejected God and . . . cannot claim to be Christian."

And 12 leading Churchmen, from the Dutch Reformed Church, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Lutheran churches, have written to the Prime Minister condemning apartheid as "obviously not in accordance with the intention of God as revealed to man in His world."

And a long time they took, coming to **that** conclusion . . . But in South Africa, even if you are a Church Minister, you are taking your courage in both hands when you criticise apartheid. Mr. Vorster rants, and Mr. Vorster threatens – you cannot do a Martin Luther King in South Africa, he tells them. Don't try to play the martyr. Cut it out! he yells hysterically. Cut it out! Martyr? Martin Luther King? Did he choose that example by accident? Is it fanciful to see that as an incitement to some lunatic assassin to rid the Prime Minister of these turbulent priests?

Racist South Africa has a long history of hating those Christians who were not prepared to limit their Christianity to a decent weekly attendance at Church, while the servants prepared the Sunday dinner. Vorster himself refers to the troubles of the voortrekkers with missionaries – their crime was to have fought to end the evil practise of slavery at the Cape. And the voortrekkers never forgave them for it. In recent years, we remember how Father Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Reeves were hounded out of South Africa. Their crime was to have identified themselves with the struggles of the oppressed, and to have had the courage to speak out against apartheid.

Funny, isn't it, that the crusaders of Western Christian civilisation just can't get on with the Christians.



DR. AMERICO BOAVIDA M.P.L.A. MILITANT

Sechaba regrets to announce the death in action of **Comrade Américo Boavida**, Doctor in charge of the M.P.L.A. Medical Assistance Service serving in the 3rd Region of the liberated areas of Angola.

Comrade Boavida, was killed during the course of heavy bombardment by the fascist Portuguese Air Force on M.P.L.A. bases in the region of Muié, Moxico District, on September 25 1968.

Américo Boavida graduated in Medicine in the University of Oporto (Portugal) and specialised in Gynocoology in the University of Barcelona (Spain). Since the launching of the liberation struggle by the Angolan people, he has been a dedicated nationalist militant who gave himself up to the struggle. In 1962, he was one of the founders of the Voluntary Corps for Assistance to Angolan Refugees (C.V.A.A.R.) in Kinshasa, an institution banned by the Adoula government in 1963.

In 1967, comrade Boavida wrote a book entitled "ANGOLA, Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation" which is a major contribution to the denunciation of colonialism in Angola.

It was in June, 1967, that comrade Boavida was actively integrated in the armed struggle of the Angolan people. And from this date he had become for all Angolan fighters, not only the Doctor but beyond, a true comrade.

He was laid to rest on 27th September, 1968 and at his graveside all those present unanimously pledged to pursue the struggle for national liberation and to expel the Portuguese invader. They also pledged to revenge the death of comrade Boavida and all other freedom fighters who had fallen in the field of honour.

Doctor Boavida fell where all Angolans should be, fighting Portuguese colonialism as bravely as he had done. More than ever before, the decision of the M.P.L.A. militants is unyielding. The Portuguese colonialists know that in this historic moment of the struggle which is taking place throughout Angola that their days in Africa are numbered.

The Angolan dead in the field of honour shall never be forgotten. Their memories shall nourish new and decisive victories for the liberation of our beloved Continent.

Sechaba dips its banner in memory of this great son of Africa!

SOUTH AFRICA'S STAKE IN ANGOLA

Since the armed struggle in Southern Africa began gathering momentum, South Africa has shown unusually keen interest in the anti-guerilla operations of Rhodesia and Portugal. Whereas her stake in Rhodesia is widely known, her interest in the Portuguese colonies is less well known and understood.

Examples of this concern are many. Some months ago United Party Leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff issued a policy statement which warned that if the Portuguese troops failed in their operations in Angola and Mozambique, South Africa could be faced with a guerilla war within weeks. He then urged that the Portuguese be given help since "in a sense they are fighting our battles and they are acting as most effective buffers for us." (Sunday Express, 4/8/68). Was the U.P. man exaggerating or was he trying to outflank Vorster?

The fact is that he did not do his homework well. Vorster and Co. have long advocated this line. Since last year, one of Vorster's close associates has been prominent in this respect. In November 1967, Theo Gerdener, the Administrator of Natal, initiated the Mozambique Solidiers' Comfort Fund. Using the same words as Graaff, he said that if Portugal withdrew her 80,000 soldiers South Africa could become involved in a "terrorist" war within weeks.

Strategic Commodity

How does this concern apply to Angola? First of all, Angola is the fascist Republic's next-door neighbour because Namibia (South West Africa) is virtually the fifth province of South Africa. The Republik thus fears that if Angola became free, she herself would be exposed to attack on this flank. For her security South Africa, therefore, supports Portugal against the guerillas. In short, Angola is one of South Africa's strategic buffers.

Secondly, Angola produces a highly strategic commodity: **OIL**. Since the United Nations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement began advocating sanctions against the racist regimes, South Africa's greatest worry has been her vulnerability to an oil embargo. Highly industrialised she cannot do without oil. Frantic searches and prospecting within her borders have proved fruitless. Then, this precious liquid was found in Angola – in fact, in the enclave of Cabinda, separated from main Angola by the Congo River. There, the Gulf Oil Corporation of Texas discovered rich offshore deposits. By 1970, Angola is expected to pump out 150,000 barrels of oil a day! And by 1971 she will be getting 25 % of her foreign-exchange earnings from oil.

Obviously, this oil is a godsend to the Unholy Alliance. As the **U.S. News & World Report** (10/6/68) said, Angola "is the only country with major oil reserves, and in a show-

down with African nationalists this would be vital to the White-ruled nations." It is clearly in Vorster's interests to be on good terms with Caetano.

The third point is related to the previous one. Angola's wealth finances Portugal's anti-guerilla operations in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and, of course, in Angola itself. This, too, is in the Republic's interests. And Angola is a country rich in mineral and other resources!

Since 1960, Angola has been enjoying an economic boom. In the year 1962/63, her exports were valued at 135,440,000 U.S. dollars; and the imports, 112,240,000 dollars; a favourable trade balance of over 20 million dollars. Also in 1962, her Industrial Production Index stood at 100; by 1966 it had soared to 222.

In the industrial sector, Angola has sizeable deposits of diamonds, iron and copper. Plans are afoot to open a tyre factory (U.S. capital), and a motor-car assembly plant. And a whole range of secondary industries is sprouting.

In the agricultural sector, Angola is just as well endowed. She is the fourth biggest coffee-producer in the world, and her fishing industry is said to be the fourth largest in Africa. No wonder then that foreign corporations are tripping over one another in their haste to invest there. These come mostly from Britain, West Germany, U.S.A., Denmark and South Africa.

South Africa's Economic Stake

Two examples clearly show the Republic's economic stake. **Defence and Aid Information Service** (Jan.–June 1967, p. 9) published in London reports that in 1967 a South African manufacturing firm, Bondcrete, Ltd., won a contract for laying a 13-mile pipeline from the Bengo River to Luanda. Moreover, in 1966, South Africa's imports from Angola were worth R3.5 million, whereas her exports were worth R2 million. That is, South Africa got more from Angola than did Angola from her.

"Add this all up, and it is clear that Angola is a land far richer in resources than Portugal itself. It is not difficult to understand why Portugal is making such an effort to hold it." So commented **U.S. News and World Report** (10/6/68).

Now, Portugal's plunder of Angola does not merely fatten her. More importantly, it enables Portugal to fight our brothers in her colonies, and to perpetuate the rule of doddering Don Salazar and the present President Marcello Caetano and their cohorts. And, on the ability of this regime to fight the guerillas depends South Africa's security from attack.

M. P. L. A. Will Win

Can Portugal hang on indefinitely in Angola? The answer is a big NO. This is not just because the cause of our brothers is just and victory certain. Fresh and convincing evidence has come to hand – from the enemy itself.

Earlier this year, a South African journalist, one A.J. Venter, visited Angola and returned with a remarkable story. It was published by **News/Check** (12. 7. 1968), the **Sunday Times** (14. 7. 1968) and the **Sunday Express** (14. 7. 1968). It should be remembered that these publications support White supremacy in Southern Africa and abhor armed struggle – the only means left by which we can attain power and human dignity.

What did Venter discover in Angola? With regard to our comrades-in-arms, he learned from Portuguese officers that their calibre has improved tremendously. "The type of 'terrorist' we get these days knows exactly what he is doing," a Colonel told him. This skill appears in the character of the war itself. Venter describes it as "Thrust by the enemy and swift counter-measures by the Portuguese . . . only the thrusts are becoming more commonplace and more widespread, while Portuguese counter-measures are proving more difficult against a bettertrained, better-equipped and more tenacious enemy." As a result, he says further, "the Angolan war has taken a dramatic turn for the worse."

What liberation movement is responsible for this "dramatic turn" in Portuguese fortunes? Venter was told: M.P.L.A. which he describes as "by far the more effective, efficient and better organised." And, "M.P.L.A. is looked upon by the Portuguese as the deadlier of the two factions. (May the O.A.U. note the admissions of the enemy on the revolutionary war waged by M.P.L.A.).

Portuguese Morale Drops

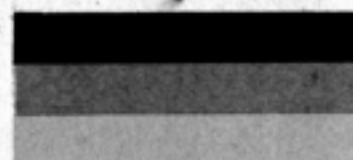
What about the calibre of the 60,000 Portuguese troops? Their morale is not terribly impressive. The biggest problem is that they spend "two years at a stretch without wives or families." One officer frankly remarked that this period is "a long time for a man to be away from home – but they seem to manage even though **their morale drops a little towards the end.**" (our emphasis).

Concerning equipment, Caetano's boys lack "heavy equipment, vehicles and helicopters," and see a role for South Africa in this regard. However, Portugal views the Republic with jealousy and fear. Some officers felt that South Africa might be willing to help but that "it could be Lisbon which was not eager to see South Africa increase its influence in this part of Southern Africa." In other words, the ranks of the Unholy Alliance are not made of solid granite.

Of course, Lisbon's fears are justified. South Africa is itching to fight in Angola, just as she is doing in Rhodesia. She regards it as militarily and economically sensible to fight guerillas outside rather than inside her borders. Being heavily industrialised, she can suffer immense damage from our forces. To prevent this, she would rather fight in Angola to the last Portuguese.

In short, Angola is of vital importance to South Africa. And now, she is beginning to doubt the staying power of Portugal. But Portugal in turn fears its stronger ally. The two countries are imperialist plotters. Such contradictions hasten the downfall of the enemy.

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"OUR STRUGGLE AT HOME AND ABROAD"

Interview with Miguel Murupa
Deputy Secretary for External Affairs of Frelimo



Parallel with the people's war being fought in Southern Africa, goes a continuous campaign to gain international support and sympathy for the freedom movement, and to inhibit aid from the West for the white minority regimes. Just before Christmas, Sechaba talked with Miguel Murupa, Frelimo's Deputy Secretary for External Affairs, who was returning from a mission to the United Nations in New York. Comrade Murupa had presented a petition to the United Nations on behalf of his organization; shown Frelimo's film on the guerilla war to the members of the Committee on Colonialism; and lobbied delegates so successfully that Portugal found herself totally isolated (with South Africa and Brazil) in the most recent vote on Mozambique. The resolution was passed by 96 votes to 3. The NATO countries, including Britain, USA, France, Italy, Greece and Turkey, for the first time abstained rather than vote with Portugal.

Independence Not From UN

"There are those who say that the UN serves no purpose in the struggle for freedom," Comrade Murupa told us. "It is true, our independence will not come from the United Nations; but our struggle should not be on the military front only. We want to tell the world that there are still possibilities of peace, if Portugal wants it. If Portugal does not want it, we go on fighting. We don't want to be accused of loving war and disregarding other means of struggle. Independence will not come through the United Nations – but it is the best centre from which to speak to the world."

FRELIMO feels that a point has been reached in the Mozambican struggle, where it is important to speak to the world. The Frelimo Congress of 1968, held for the first time on Mozambique soil, and attended by foreign observers from East and West, marked a new stage. The fighting, which began in 1964 in one province, is now going on on three fronts (in the provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Tete); large areas of these provinces are now liberated zones, where Frelimo has taken on responsibility for administration, for setting up schools and health services, for reorganizing the agricultural system, and the system of trade to fill the vacuum left by Portuguese withdrawal.

New Democracy

A new democracy is being born in these liberated areas, where laws are being made by elected representatives at local level, and administered by judicial committees elected by the villagers.

This is a period of consolidation in the liberated areas, and of expansion of the war from news bases deeper and deeper in Mozambique; and it is a period of growing interest and sympathy in the outside world. "We want support on a broad basis now", said Comrade Murupa. "We want to concern people not only in our military struggle, but in the great human struggle involved in building a new Mozambique. We have groups of sympathisers not only in the socialist countries, which have supported our revolutionary purpose from the start, but in Europe and America – I have just come from a visit to Canada. We are convinced that we are going to amass support in the West, and that the near future will see more and more organisations supporting our struggle. And little by little, governments will begin to take notice. An effective expression of public support for us in Britain, for instance, Portugal's oldest ally, as they call her would be a real moral shock for Portugal. "Then we need practical support too – we need medical supplies, and school supplies, and agricultural supplies. We hope that the solidarity committees now springing up in so many countries will help to raise money for these, and organise schemes to send us drugs and field hospitals, books and writing materials, seeds and hoes and pesticides."

Helping each other

Sechaba asked Comrade Murupa what effect he felt the launching of guerrilla war in Zimbabwe had on Mozambique. "But Southern Africa cannot be separated – it is all one," he insisted, "Smith and Vorster and the Portuguese all recognise this unity, they fight for each other – so our fighting is one, too. If the African National Congress fight in their area, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union in theirs, and M.P.L.A. in theirs, and P.A.I.G.C. in theirs – we are all helping each other. But our policy is not to commit our troops to fight elsewhere, and not to accept people from outside to fight in Mozambique.

We feel co-operation is very important, for all the freedom movements – but we understand that the best help we can give each other is so pursue the struggle in our own countries. That is why it is very stupid nonsense for the Government of South Africa to be talking about A.N.C. and Frelimo troops massing to invade the Republic – they are just trying to win imperialist support for themselves, with their propaganda.

"We in Mozambique have already felt the effect of the intensification of the struggle in Zimbabwe. In 1965 and 1966 we were fighting against troops from South Africa.

Today, it is much more difficult for South Africa to send her men to Mocambique, because they are being held down in Rhodesia, and they cannot be spared in the Republic itself. This is not a small thing to us. It helps a great deal."

World opinion grows

One aspect of the inter-relationship of Southern Africa, is the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, which, though sited in Mocambique, "benefits South Africa in two ways – one, as shareholder drawing profits, and two, as the biggest user of the hydroelectric power." Cabora Bassa is guarded by Portuguese troops – who in turn are target for Frelimo forces, who are already fighting in the area. So the

war threatens the success of the Scheme, and the fight for freedom in Mocambique makes itself felt in the Republic too.

What of the end of Salazar's regime in Portugal?

Will that too make its effects felt in Africa? "In the short run," said Comrade Murupa, "that is not important. Caetano is weak, and will follow the old policy, because the military wishes it. But in the long run, Portugal has to change, because of our fight. Portugal cannot afford the enormous military expenditure needed to hold three African colonies, all in arms against her. And as world opinion grows in support of our struggle, the holding will become more difficult. So what we have to do is – strengthen our struggle. At home. And abroad."

SECHABA

NEWS ITEM

Shot because coffee was too hot

"There are many under-developed countries or states where it is possible to oppose revolution with the help of white mercenaries." With these words, in a West German television broadcast, a former Congo mercenary from West Germany affirmed his readiness "to begin working as a mercenary at any time provided that money is there." "The mercenary profession has always a future. I mention as an example Africa, Latin America or Asia," the West German said in the telecast in the course of which also a Belgian, a French and a British mercenary "after their return from Africa told their not-always-peaceful stories in the peaceful scene of every-day-life," as the introductory commentary put it.

The West German who had served in the army and then emigrated to South Africa in 1962, reported about his experiences in Congo with the Belgian mercenary Charles Masie whom he described as a "very good soldier, a true dare-devil, and an out-and-out thief."

He described as a "real sensational event" the shooting of an African servant by this Belgian mercenary officer because the coffee served by the African was too hot.

The role of South Africa

The role of the South African racist regime as a recruiting base of white mercenaries was confirmed by all those interrogated on T.V. The tortures and shootings of Africans were depicted by the Belgian mercenary who said many of his comrades from the Congo now possess night clubs and hotels which they bought with the money earned as mercenaries.

"When occupying a country one has the right to take everything that is there. "Yes, it was the South Africans, the white South Africans who pinched most of all," he added. "If I had the opportunity I would immediately return to Africa, to Congo."

Following voluntary engagement in the Korean War in

1950 with the US aggressors, the Belgian mercenary had come to Congo through the intermediary of the Union Minière.

There had been large areas in Congo where everybody had sympathized with the liberation fighters, "of course we had to make a clean sweep, everybody we saw was automatically regarded as an enemy and had to be shot dead."

From Congo to Biafra

"I am a mercenary as another is a turner at Renault or a car-seller at Citroen," the Frenchman who "also likes his job," confessed. Before his activities in Congo and Biafra he "took an active part in political life" fighting for 'French Algeria'.

The British mercenary termed himself a colonialist with tradition. Recruited through an advertisement in a Johannesburg paper, the racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury granted him residence after his return from Congo. His employment with an air company for charter flights in Rhodesia which was to take supplies to Biafra was utilised for underground activities against Nigeria. He said on T.V. that he was disappointed because the British Foreign Office "refuse to give me back my passport because I acted against the interests of the government. I suppose this is a consequence of my activities as a mercenary in Congo. Quite an odd pretext if one considers that we did collaborate with the British Embassy there and that we were supported by it."

– A.D.N. Report

Portugal's War Costs Increase

Portugal's defence expenditure has risen sharply this year to meet the cost of anti-guerilla wars in its African territories, according to official figures released recently. The Government spent about £ 70 million on defence in the first six months of last year.

An increase of 25.5 per cent. over the first half of 1967, this represented 48 per cent. of all budgetary spending for the January-June period of 1968. In 1967 as a whole 43 per cent. of all spending – of 10.2 billion escudos (about £ 149 million) – went on defence.

BOOK REVIEWS

'The Southern African Revolution' Sechaba Publication. 1969.

Price 1/—.

This compendium of interviews with the leaders of the South African revolution exposes the vicious social, political, and economic subjugation of the oppressed African, Indian and Coloured people in our fatherland. It adumbrates the glossy propaganda pictures painted by our oppressors with the keenly etched historical memoirs of our long struggle for freedom.

The history of struggle for freedom and national independence goes back over a period of more than three centuries: at first our forefathers fought against colonial invasion using crude weapons; then followed a period of constitutional struggles in which every possible means of political opposition and resistance was employed to achieve social justice, human dignity and fundamental human rights for our people. All our efforts to bring about change in our fatherland were drowned in blood. To this day, the White exploiting minority maintains itself in power by force, violence and naked aggression.

But a new era has begun. Our people seek their birth-right in the only way open to them — ARMED STRUGGLE.

The many questions raised by this phase in the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa are all answered in this publication by the leaders of the authentic liberation movements in our sub-Continent.

The African National Congress, the vanguard of the entire national liberation movement in South Africa, leads the people together with their allies the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions in such a struggle.

The whole of Southern Africa is ablaze. It is now one vast theatre of war in which the White racist regimes combine their efforts to defend their ill-gotten gains. The oppressors have forged close political links; their espionage and intelligence services interlock and cover wide areas, even including some independent African countries; and their common military strategy has now been put into operation against Frelimo in Mozambique, ZAPU and ANC in Zimbabwe and South Africa; and MPLA in Angola. Throughout this part of Africa, the basic unchanging feature is the fundamental conflict between the exploiting White minority counterposed against the oppressed African majority with powerful Western economic interests supporting the exploiters.

The entire situation in Southern Africa is one in which the expansionist neo-colonial role of South Africa assumes a more brazen imperialist character. Comrade

O. R. Tambo who as President of the ANC leads the entire revolutionary upsurge in our country against White racist dictatorship succinctly epitomises the view of the South African Movement in these words:

"We in the African National Congress do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be long drawn and bloody. But we are confident of the final outcome. As our forces drive deeper into the South, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats."

"The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa!"

Dr. Dadoo, President of the Indian Congress, reinforces the same contention in one of his replies published in this valuable publication:

"Freedom is indivisible. A section of the population cannot be free if the rest is in bondage. In the course of their struggle against unjust laws, and for the redress of their grievances, the Indian people began to realise that no fundamental changes were possible without unity of action between all the oppressed people. And it was this realization that made the younger members of the Indian Congress, in the late 30s and early 40s, set about trying to change the policies of the Congress in order to seek co-operation in the common struggle with the premier national organisation of the African people — the ANC — and with the national organisation of the Coloured people."

"Revolution in Southern Africa" also contains the views of our staunchest ally in battle, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), in an interview with Comrade George Nyandoro, Secretary-General of ZAPU. The alliance of the ANC and ZAPU has shaken the citadel of White racist dictatorship in the South to its very foundations. Some stalwarts of Mkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, have even crossed the Limpopo River into the last bastion and bulwark of imperialist oppression in Southern Africa — the apartheid regime of South Africa.

The views of several other revolutionaries from Mozambique, Angola and South Africa and short biographical profiles of some of them are also included in this booklet. This publication is a worthy addition to the library of all revolutionaries and friends of Southern Africa.

A. K.

Note: Copies are available at all offices of the African National Congress or direct from Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.

CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Extract from an Appeal on the International Conference in Support of the Liberation Movement of the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa held at Khartoum, Sudan, on 18-20 January, 1969.

BY YOUSEF EL SEBAI

Chairman: International Preparatory Committee of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Committee and the World Peace Council.

The continuation of colonialism and racialism, notwithstanding the Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations, is a shameful phenomenon in the present-day world. Portuguese colonialism, with all its primitive characteristics of classical colonialism, the hated policy of apartheid pursued by the South African white regime, the minority fascist rule of Ian Smith in Rhodesia, the obstinacy of the South African government in refusing to end the mandate in South West Africa in defiance of the UN resolution, and the threat to the security and sovereignty of Zambia and Tanzania, have created an explosive situation and constitutes a potential danger to the world at large. The situation has been all the more aggravated by the continued help - military and economic - of the imperialist powers, especially of the US, British and West German imperialists. This is a threat not only to Africa but to world peace.

The need for the elimination of Portuguese colonialism and racism in Southern Africa cannot be considered to be merely the concern of the people of these regions who are living under tyrannical rule. It is the concern of mankind as a whole.

The people of Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe have been carrying on heroic resistance to predatory wars and repression of the Portuguese colonial fascist rulers, who are being supported by the NATO powers. They have been fighting against overwhelming odds and have succeeded in liberating vast regions.

The people of South Africa are waging a heroic battle, in spite of the brutal repression of the Vorster regime. The indomitable spirit of the South African people cannot be crushed by the fascist dictatorial regimes of white minority rulers. The people of Namibia (South West Africa) are struggling for their independence; the people of Zimbabwe have refused to surrender to the blackmail and oppression of Ian Smith and are waging an armed struggle.

In this arduous struggle the people of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa are in need of political, moral and material assistance from the people of the world. The governments and the peoples of the socialist and many Afro-Asian countries have given generous help to these struggles. And the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have always been active in supporting these liberation movements. It is encouraging to note that a number of organisations in the West have also been pressing in their respective countries for the abolition of colonialism and racism. This movement has to be intensified in the interests of freedom and peace.

NOTE: Reports of this Conference will be published in the next and subsequent issues of *Sechaba* Ed.

SECHABA

Vol 3 No 2 February 69

Editor-in-Chief - Alfred Kgokong
Managing Editor - Joe Matthews
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