

SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

**FREE
ANGELA
NOW!**

see story
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MESSAGE TO THE ANC EXTERNAL MISSION

From O.R. Tambo - Acting President

Dear Friends and fellow Countrymen, The opening of a new year is the occasion for the exchange of greetings. From this Southern part of the world of progressive peoples, we send our sincere and brotherly greetings and best wishes to you all, and to your individual families. Through you, we greet all our supporters and fellow-workers for freedom and peace for Southern Africa.

Today, it is ever more important that we continue to hold in our hands the weapon of unity we have in the past wielded with such dramatic results in our External work. It is the weapon with which we have built up a volume of international support for our struggle, and a mountain of international pressure against the Racists, such as cannot but give great satisfaction to our colleagues who languish in South African jails. With that weapon of unity we have stood firm in the face of sustained and powerful enemy attacks on our movement - attacks mounted from different points at different angles with different methods. With that weapon in our hands, we have gone to war, and it inspired the gallants of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the historic battles of Wankie and Sipolilo. They fought and fell, they punished and routed the

imperialist agents, under the banners of the ANC, in the name of a united and suffering people. With that weapon, we shall fight and fall, we shall conquer and be free.

It is a weapon the enemy has sought to take from the oppressed people. The colour bars and job reservations, the Bantustans the Coloured and Indian Councils, the group areas and ethnic groupings, the Fort Hares and Turfloops, the Matanzima's, Bandas and Houphouet-Boignes - all these are a grab at the weapon of unity. "Hold fast on it!" Chief Lutuli cries from the grave. "Hold it fast!" It is not yours, it belongs to a suffering people, to posterity; it is the key to freedom. "Hold it!" That is the call from Mini, Saloojee, Florence, Solwandle, and others; from Mercy Tshabala, from Paul Petersen and Patrick Molaa; from Nelson, Walter, Goldberg, Mlangeni, Billy, Govan, Motsoaledi, Dorothy, Bram, Ramotse and millions of our people. AND WE SHALL HOLD IT. We, who are free to eat and sleep at will, to write to speak, to travel as we please; we, who are free to make or break revolution, let us use our comparative freedom, not to perpetuate the misery of those who suffer, nor give indirect aid to the enemy they fight by withholding our own contribution.

DANGER THREATENS

We have an unequalled capacity for rallying to the banners of the ANC and consolidating our ranks when danger threatens. And danger **does** threaten: The campaign to break Africa's resistance to apartheid and her support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa has scored significant successes. Vorster, Klopper, Helen Suzman and lesser agents of colonialism, have turned Africa into a veritable hunting ground for stooges and indigenous agents of racism. Mrs. Suzman deserves special mention: This sweet bird from the blood-stained South flew into Zambia and sang a singularly sweet song:

'I am opposed to apartheid
I am opposed to the isolation of South Africa;
I am opposed to violence;
I am opposed to guerillas;
I am opposed to the Lusaka Manifesto;
I am opposed to the decision of the World Council of Churches;
I know the Africans can do nothing to cause political change in South Africa;
I am in favour of change.
Clearly in favour of change but determined to prevent change.'

Some African leaders have been offering their services as Bantu Commissioners in the political power structure of the racist regime. Encouraged by France, they see themselves sitting at a table with the racists, talking about the 'Bantu', after the fashion of all Bantu Commissioners – the 'Bantu' who are not credited with the ability to talk for themselves.

A dialogue over the heads of the South African oppressed and over their leaders will never take place, unless it is a dialogue where a black Chief sells his people into slavery as some black Chiefs did centuries ago. But we refused to be sold then, we refuse to be sold now. 'No sale in the South!', we say to our brothers. 'No more Bantu Commissioners either – we have enough and to spare!'

But what Vorster's African campaign amounts to is a counter-offensive to isolate our people and our movement from the solidarity forces we have built, and which have placed South Africa in relative isolation.

A recognition of this danger among others, welds us into the united force we have been.

Secondly, our militants are active both in and outside South Africa. The progress of our underground activities confirms the irrevocable commitment of our members to the cause of freedom, and to the armed struggle as an essential pre-condition for the achievement of that cause. In their work, our organisers are inspired to no end by the fighting mood of the oppressed masses themselves.

FAITH IN ARMED STRUGGLE

The enemy's own creations: The Transkei so-called Parliament, the Coloured Legislative Council the Zulu Bantustan, the Urban Bantu Councils – these have become battlegrounds of freedom, where the true representatives of the people are fighting the racists and rejecting their regime. What we see and hear is but the tip of an iceberg of revolutionary resentment against white rule. But although our people are fighting courageously, our own history of political struggle has taught us that they fight in vain who fight without arms. Hence the people's faith in the prospects of the armed struggle which we launched in Zimbabwe, and for which white children and white women in South Africa are being prepared. Let them prepare hard and fast – they do not have long to wait.

In the meantime, the Black people of racist South Africa must recognise that freedom for South Africa, no less than for them as the most exploited will come only when they rise as a solid Black mass – rising from under the heel of the oppressor and storming across colour barriers to the citadels of political and economic power. Then only shall the noble principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter see the light of day, and turn South Africa into a happy home not only for Black people – at last, but for all people.

Let us therefore be explicit. Power to the people means, in fact, Power to the Black people – the gagged millions who cannot set their foot in the Cape Town Parliament where Ban-

tustans and Coloured Councils are made; the most ruthlessly exploited, the tortured victims of racial hatred and humiliation. Let the Blacks seize, by force, what is theirs by right of birth, and use it for the benefit of all, including those from whom it has been taken. And who are the Blacks in South Africa? They are the people known, and treated, as 'kaffirs', coolies and hotnots', together with those South Africans whose total political identity with the Africans oppressed makes them Black in all but the accident of skin colour. Where this identity is not merely reformist but is revolutionary, there, in my view, you have a Black man. This type of Black man in South Africa is rare today. But he will grow in numerical strength as we drive our point deeper and deeper with the Spear of the Nation.


There may be some controversy over the views I have expressed, any such controversy will be welcome if it springs from differences of honest opinion on how best to exploit the revolutionary potential of the masses of the people and employ it in the destruction of a monster that has been terrorising them for centuries. What seems clear in my own mind is that the Black man is a vital and decisive factor in the survival or demise of Fascist South Africa – indeed as vital and decisive as his cheap labour is to the economic might of the Fascist State.

What does all this mean for those of us who for the time being operate outside South Africa? As I see it, it means we must work together, hand in hand, to build and consolidate power at the mass base, which, in the South African context, is Black. As members of the ANC External Mission – by which I understand the political militants and activists who are together outside South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC – as mature members of this External Mission of our movement, let us go out to the world, and back to the urban and rural areas of our common Homeland, as one man, with one voice and one cause, which is,

**POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA!
MAATLA! MAYIHLOME.**

BLUEPRINT FOR ACTION

THE PO



Did
Polaroid
shoot
every
South
African
black?

POLAROID CASE

by C. de Crespigny

On January 13th this year, the Polaroid corporation of Boston announced that it would no longer do any business with the South African Government. The full significance of this decision must be seen against the background of the superbly conducted campaign responsible for it.

This campaign is not only important in its own right. It is important as a blueprint to anti-apartheid campaigners everywhere – in every country which maintains or permits trading links with South Africa.

This campaign was a victory for workers' action, a victory for black solidarity, and a victory for the work of the American Committee on Africa which has consistently opposed the presence of U. S. business in South Africa.

How the Workers Opened Fire

The opening shots in the battle were fired last autumn when a group called the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement brought out into the open the question of the corporation's involvement in South Africa. Posters and leaflets were produced, carrying this message: 'Polaroid imprisons blacks in just sixty seconds.' This referred to the fact that Polaroid products were being used to produce the passes through which South Africa maintains its system of direction of labour and 'endorsement' of blacks out of their homes to desolate rural areas. In the US context, Polaroid is a well-known 'liberal' company. It makes a point of employing blacks and of having its executives sit on local community boards. As the African Research Board put it, Polaroid 'claims to be a "pace setter in the field of human relations" yet it has been reinforcing and legitimising a system of inhumanity in South Africa for more than thirty years.'

On October 6th last year, Edwin Land, president of the corporation declared that Polaroid had not sold its equipment to the South African government, but only to its local distributor Frank & Hirsch. In addition the corporation claimed that Frank and Hirsch were unique in South Africa in adopting a full equal advancement policy for Africans. First to deny this was the director of Frank und Hirsch,

Mr. O. J. Berman. He said, 'I do not know where they could have obtained such a statement. We are governed by the laws of the country. Would they allow the existence of such a policy? It is not possible.'

Next Step Forward

The Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement, on October 8th, presented the corporation with the following demands:

1. That Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa. We believe that all American companies doing business there reinforce that racist system.
2. That Polaroid announce its position on apartheid publicly in the US and South Africa, simultaneously. That Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to the recognised African liberation movements. At this stage Polaroid was obliged to admit that its equipment was being used in the manufacture of passbooks. Land said that sales of the identification system involved would stop immediately.

Birth of the Boycott.

Despite management's admission of the facts about the ID system, it refused to meet the PRW or recognise its demands (above).

Accordingly, on October 27th, the PRW called for a worldwide boycott of Polaroid products by all right-thinking people until Polaroid discontinue all sales in South Africa. The impact made by this appeal, reinforced by pressure from the Africa Research Group and the American Committee on Africa (whose director writing to Land, quoted the decision of Britain's building magnate Neil Wates to refuse to have any truck with the SA regime) made Polaroid management agree to send two black and two white representatives of the company out to investigate conditions in South Africa on the spot.

At this stage, addressing the joint employee-management

Polaroid makes incredible wallet-size photos like this...



"for Whites only" on the sunny beaches of South Africa

What Dr. Land was really saying then was that (a) workers must not be allowed to influence management decisions (if they see their power, they will make more demands); (b) that he did not want to put other companies into an embarrassing position by supplying the thin end of a wedge against apartheid.

The boycott appeal made a startling impact. It went right to the heart of the matter as far as US Blacks were concerned. Said the PRW in material addressed to Brothers and Sisters: 'We demand that we no longer be used as tools to enslave our brothers and incur corporation profits.' The boycott also appealed to the wide number of white Americans with a keen social conscience. Said one white Polaroid employee. 'This issue came up and hit a sensitive spot here. And just when I thought 'civil rights' was dead!'

Has Polaroid Gone Far Enough

The Polaroid decision of January 13th was threefold: to do no more business with the South African Government; to require its distributors in South Africa to 'improve dramatically the salaries and other benefits of their non-white employees'; to use some of its profits to promote an ambitious scheme to educate the country's non-whites. How practical is this threefold decision in fact?

The decision not to do business direct but only through distributors is to some degree evasive; a step to avoid being forced out of South Africa altogether - though the

committee studying the South African issue, Dr. Lands made a highly significant statement. 'I know one thing,' he said. 'If we, this moment cut off all our business in South Africa, then the newspapers will be full of a vast Polaroid revolutionary movement ... We would have a series of new demands, and there is no doubt that management would not meet them ... The world is watching us right now. Other companies are saying that 'if Polaroid can't make the grade, none of us can.'

Law and Order?

or incredible passbook I.D. photos like this...

We call for a boycott of Polaroid because of its support of the racist apartheid system of South Africa. Polaroid sells its "I.D.-2" system to the South African government to make the notorious pass-book pictures. "Polaroid imprisons Black people in just 60 seconds"



- A. Labour Bureau, Efflux and Index Control and Registration. Arbeidsbureau, 'Instruom- en Instruomheer en Registrasie. (For official use only.) (Alleenlik vir amptelike gebruik.)
- B. Employer's name, address and signature. Werkgever se naam, adres en handtekening.
- C. Union Tax. Unie-belasting. (For official use only.) (Alleenlik vir amptelike gebruik.)
- D. Bantu Authorities Tax. Bantoe-Owerhedebelasting. (For official use only.) (Alleenlik vir amptelike gebruik.)
- E. Additional particulars (including concessions in respect of curfew, Native law and custom, etc.) Bykomende gegewens (insluitende vergunnings t.o.v. sandklok, Naturello-reg en gewoonte, ens.) (For official use only.) (Alleenlik vir amptelike gebruik.)

CP.8404-1952-1,000,000. 1.

Boycott

Support the black revolutionary workers at Polaroid.



Polaroid

Until all sales to South Africa are discontinued.

South African Government circles described it as timid submission to pressure and also spoke of interference in South Africa's race and labour policies.

As regards the second point, a spokesman for the distributors said they would comply with the corporation's instructions 'as far as they could do so within the law'. (This meant for example that non-whites would not be put in positions of authority over whites).

As regards the third point, it is hard to see how it could possibly be implemented given the Government's rigorous and exclusive control over African education.

So the victory is not a final one, perhaps. Yet there are strong grounds for considering it a very vital one. If Polaroid's distributors are unable or unwilling to enforce equality, if the Government suppresses the education

scheme - if the distributors are found to be supplying the Government with material used in the suppression of the African people, then can there be any grounds for Polaroid to avoid immediate withdrawal from all its links with South Africa? We can see none.

Sechaba warmly extends its greetings to the Brothers and Sisters in the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement in their outstandingly effective campaign against racist exploitation. We hope that its message will be understood by other workers, other black brothers and all people of goodwill. The Polaroid case will be noticed by other companies, whose workers too will note the effectiveness of grass-roots militant activities against involvement in apartheid. Already in South Africa there are murmurs about the possible effects on giant companies ... such as Ford ... such as General Motors ...

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ANC UNDERGROUND LEAFLET CIRCULATED IN SOUTH AFRICA

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA!

You have eyes and ears. When you look and when you listen to what is happening all over you suddenly realise that you have been left behind. You are alone. Every oppressed person you have heard about is free or is fighting everyday by all means. But the ones you admire best are those who are fighting with guns in hand. The African National Congress is going to put guns into your hands. You are going to have the pleasure of hitting back at last. You will avenge the massacres of Bullhoek, of Witzishoek, of Sharpeville. Some of your comrades, your own South African freedom fighters, have already tasted battle and put the enemy into flight in Rhodesia.

You have hearts, and in your heart of hearts every one of our YOUTH – every African, Coloured and Indian Youth knows that one day he must do something about this hateful injustice, this blatant race discrimination, this brutal oppression and exploitation.

★

You are a student, you want to learn but the White man wants you to be nothing better than a half-baked native. He gives you Bantu Education. And he never will permit you to reach the astronomic heights of the moon and the stars.

★

You are a young worker but the 'White boss' wants you to be nothing more than a hewer of wood for him and a nanny. You want to plough a piece of your own god-given land. He grabs it for himself so that for your living you must depend on the miserable wages he gives you for working on the mines.

★

You love to play sport and you have an ear for music, the

White man's racism hounds you round and denies you even the chance to relax and enjoy yourself.

★

You have a brain. And you know that this kind of nonsense cannot go on for ever.

When you get the weapon in your hands, you know you are going to use it against this cruel enemy.

The enemy knows this and that is why he is arming to the teeth. Yet, you are not frightened. You have heard, every African youngman, every youth, has heard the story of the battle the White man will never forget. You have heard of the disastrous defeat Dingaan gave them.

Using simple weapons King Dingaan, gave his orders to his brave warriors: 'Bulal 'Abathakathi' – Kill the evil men). And they were indeed evil men those slave-owning colonialists who had vowed that there could be no equality between Black and White people neither in church nor in the State. These were the evil men who robbed the Africans of their land.

USING DECEPTION AND SURPRISE

What is important to understand about this battle is that Dingaan fully understood that he was dealing with a desperate and brutal enemy. He therefore devised a plan of action that would meet the situation. You must dismiss immediately the White man's attempt to portray Dingaan as a barbarian for conducting the battle the way he did. Everybody knows what the White colonialists police and soldiers do when they catch you without a weapon in your hand. Dingaan used the well-known military principal of DECEPTION and SURPRISE to crush the enemy. Is it not true the main weapons in the White colonialists arsenal have been tricks, lies and deception?

Didn't the White man wave the bible with one hand and the gun with the other? Doesn't he lie when he says he bought the land from our people? Was he not cheating when he 'bought' cattle with mirrors and European wine? The truth of the matter is that according to African law and custom LAND CANNOT BE BOUGHT OR SOLD. It is the property of the people as a whole.

But there are cowardly politicians of the liberal type who say we must not take up arms and fight for our freedom. They say we can never defeat the 'military might' of White South Africa.

But Dingaan did. He destroyed them using simple weapons. His warriors used knobkerries and assegais.

Cetywayo defeated and utterly disgraced the British at the battle of Isandlwana. In the Cape our people resisted the White colonialist invaders for almost a hundred years in a series of wars. In the Northern Transvaal, Sekhukuni routed the Boers in many a battle. Moshoeshoe in Lesotho was never defeated in battle either by the Boers or by the British.

In modern times, we have seen how our brothers in Algeria defeated the French by fighting guerilla warfare. And in far away Vietnam a small nation is dealing devastating blows on one of the most powerful countries in the world – America.

History has shown that provided a people is UNITED and DETERMINED to win its freedom nothing can stop them. But like Dingaan, it will be necessary to use clever plans of battle to defeat the enemy. We must use surprise. We must use deception. We must hit and hit hard when and where he least expects. We must use the tactics of guerilla warfare. Dingaan used simple weapons against him. You too can use simple weapons to attack and rout him and take his gun. That is an important lesson of guerilla warfare.

GO AHEAD

By tradition the younger generation in our society never takes the initiative in anything without first of all getting the go-ahead from the seniors or leaders. The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS today gives you the right to go-ahead. You have the green light. Many times, some of our youth come to the leaders and say: 'we would like to burn down the pass office, can we go-ahead?' The ANC says 'burn, baby burn!'

You have said you have no money to carry out organisational work. But there is a bank not far from you. You guys, you must take it. That is our gold. You have whispered that you know where you can steal a gun or two. Steal it man!

You are complaining that you cannot organise because there are spies and informers everywhere. You even know some of them. Why do you allow them to have a good time by betraying the nation?

No one must ask where are the leaders. Some are in Robben Island and others are abroad organising material support. But when the hour strikes they will be with you in the battle field. Yes, Thabo, yes you there Nomsa, you Abdul, you Boitjie - you too are leaders. You are no longer wearing the boy's pants. Daddy's trousers fit you. **The fight needs young men and women like you.**

Yes, we have seen enough of the enemy's brutality. The spirit of some of our youth like Vuyisile Mini who was hanged, like Babla Saloojee who was murdered by the police stands as a challenge to our youth.

IN OUR HEART OF HEARTS WE KNOW THAT OUR TURN TO GO FORWARD AND SACRIFICE HAS COME. IT HAS COME!

In 1912, our people met in Bloemfontein to build unity, they formed the African National Congress. The ANC went along the long road of peaceful struggle. The ANC was schooling the masses through practical though peaceful struggle - preparing for the day that must come - the day when we make it a gun for a gun. In Vietnam they have been fighting for 30 years. It might well be that our period of armed struggle will be shorter.

The ANC has been tried and tested and proved to be the unyielding leader of our people.

Nelson Mandela and other leaders are in Robben Island waiting for you to come and open the doors. Oliver Tambo is organising from outside waiting for you to stand up tall and receive a gun and FIGHT.

Yes, this violence of the White oppressors will be met by our revolutionary violence. If we fight guerilla warfare we cannot go wrong.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

We must do three things.

1. From inside our country we must mobilise the masses. Not in the old way. Tell them about our heroes, about the bravery of our warriors of old and of our present day freedom fighters who have fought so well in the North in Rhodesia.
2. From outside material help and the guns you need will be organised. The ANC promises today to place the GUN in your hands.
3. Everyone must know that a war means that you **MUST KILL. THE HOUR HAS COME! YOUTH, YOU ARE THE HOPE OF OUR LONG-SUFFERING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. GET READY FOR BATTLE.**

COLOURED LABOUR PARTY CALLS FOR BOYCOTT

The Coloured Labour Party is to call on the two million Coloured People to take part in a series of boycotts to back up its demands for full citizenship rights.

The Party, which is the official opposition in the Coloured Representative Council set up in 1969 when Coloured voting rights to Parliament were withdrawn, proposed a five-day bread boycott from January 29, the day Parliament reconvened. At its congress in Durban the party also called for a boycott by all Coloureds of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the South African Republic on May 31. Mr. Sonny Leon, the leader of the party, said: 'We are embarking on an intensive programme to tell the world that, in spite of the establishment of the Coloured Representative Council and of what whites tell the world, we will not accept the status of second-class citizens.'

The actions of the Labour Party are awaited with intense interest. The party was founded only a few years ago and is one of the few political organisations operating legally among non-whites. Thus far its activity has been limited to mobilizing support in the election of candidates to the stooge Coloured Council but its stance has at times been open hostility to Government policies. If the party enters the field of extra-election politics on a principled anti-apartheid platform it can expect massive support. Even the moderate and cautious steps they have taken thus far have gained them widespread backing, if they show even greater determination in building a mass movement there may well be an intensification of open struggle against the racist Government.

In an impassioned plea for world wide support for the release of Angela Davis, JOSEPH NORTH, representing a group of U.S. journalists told the Seventh Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists, held in Cuba in January

ANGELA DAVIS IS BEING FRAMED!

I have the Sacred duty of speaking to you on behalf of North Americans trying to summon the world to help them win the freedom of Angela Davis. Cuba is the most fitting place in the world to do so for racism has been eliminated here forever. I wish to place the case in its historic setting.

The United States of America is approaching its 200th birthday as a nation, and there is much in its tradition that merits mankind's scrutiny. The present day would be 'Gendarme of the World' began as a bourgeois democracy with a Declaration of Independence, and a Bill of Rights which the people wrested from the big landowners and merchants of the time. These documents were greatly affected by the fathers of the French Revolution, and the 'Rights of Man' was presented as the basis of our liberties. But those rights did not include the black man who was brought in 1619 to our shores in chains to be impressed into slavery.

The black American shed rivers of blood on that continent which he began to build at gun's point. His contribution ranks as the greatest of all components of our population in building the tremendous wealth that is North America's.

No one has earned the right to the title 'American' more than the children of Crispus Attucks, the black man who was the first of the North American people shot in resisting the soldiers of King George III. The black man relentlessly continued his quest for freedom through the decades. Uprising, like that of Denmark Vasey, Nat Turner, and several hundred others, were drowned in the blood of the martyrs. History required the Civil War of 1861 to free the nation from the death grip of the big plantation owners. The Black soldiers fought valiantly in that war, turning the tide of battle which went against the North the first two years.

The tradition of heroism was death-

less. Nobody who knows American history can ever forget the labours of Sojourner Truth, and of Harriet Tubman and other black women who led thousands of slaves through the forests of the south up to the north to freedom, before the Civil War.

The black American freed of chattel slavery found a brief respite from their agony during the Reconstruction Days that lasted from 1865 to 1876. Then the Northern bankers formed a coalition with the defeated southern landowners, the promised agrarian reform never got started, and from that time on the Negro was systematically robbed of his rights, as an American citizen, and as a human being. This continued through the years, with varying developments until this past decade, when the black Americans cried 'Enough'. They are daily facing police shotgun, bludgeonings, brutal years in prison as they fight indomitably, everywhere for total liberation, using every weapon at hand, organization, picketlines, demonstrations, ballot, education, propaganda, everything, to win their goal - freedom. The young, denied their heritage by schools that systematically hide from them the glorious deeds of their fathers, began in recent years to discover their identity. Classes in black history were demanded in many schools and colleges and won in many places, but not enough.

Angela Davis the Target

In the course of this fight a brilliant, valiant woman was struck by the lightnings of politics. These social lightnings do not hit by chance. They are conspiracies of the ruling class. They strike those in the vanguard of man's struggles. And this time, in the year of 1970, Angela Davis was the target.

All through the years our peoples'

struggles, black and white, were marked with such figures as the Haymarket Martyrs, who died fighting to achieve the 8 hour day and beginning the tradition of May Day; in the early years of this century the world became acquainted with such names as Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, workingmen who faced the gallows, but world pressure saved their lives; Tom Mooney, workingman leader, framed on charges of throwing a bomb. World pressure of men of all races, black and white, got him free. Then came Sacco and Vanzetti.

World protest did not mount to sufficient heights to free them, the poor shoemaker and the poor fish peddler, great men of valor who refused to say die even when the shadows of the gallows fell on them. Then came the nine Scottsboro Negro boys. We were able to save them from the southern bourbons. Your reporter here had the honor of initiating the case, having been the first to receive word that nine Negro boys were taken off a freight train at Paint Rock, Alabama, and charged with rape. In our South that word knells like a funeral bell; countless Negroes have innocently gone to their death, by lynching, by burning at the stake, by every horror imaginable. World protest, black and white, won their freedom. The years passed and the deathless Rosenbergs were framed up on espionage charges and sent to their deaths in the electric chair, refusing to use the telephone which President Eisenhower installed in the death chamber in case they changed their minds at the last moment of life. They went to their death proudly, immortal. Now the ruling class has seized Angela Davis, and you must believe me and the Americans at this Congress, that they mean to kill her in the gas chamber of California.

Her Crime

You know what her crime is? She is black, a black woman, beautiful and brilliant and brave, rising in 1970 in the tradition of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, a tribune of her people.

She was awarded a professorship in the University of California to teach philosophy. She won the support overwhelmingly of the students and faculty. This enraged the racists there. They sent her threats of death. After the murders of such heroes as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, and countless others, unknown and known the black people and their white allies determined to safeguard the precious life of Angela.

She had worked her way through a torrent of various ideas swirling across the USA today, anarchism, go-it-aloneism and much else and she decided that the valiant Communist Party of

the USA was the instrument through which freedom could be won for black America, as well as for all who suffer the ravages of imperialism. Thousands, increasingly, today see socialism as the reply to imperialism. Bodyguards had to accompany Angela day and night. Her compatriots Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and many others died at assassin's hands. She purchased guns for her safety. One of her guards was 17 year old Jonathan Jackson.

Meanwhile another case was agitating the West and the nation. That was the Soledad Three, a tragedy occurring in the state prison at Soledad, California. A prison guard, brutal as the system, shot and killed three black prisoners. This is common in the US prison system today. The guard was found dead later that day. Three innocent black prisoners, chosen because they were militants, were charged with murder. They are known as the Soledad Three. One of the three was the brother of Angela's guard.

A trial was held and the 17 year old guard of Angela, brother to one of those innocently charged, passed guns to the defendants and an effort was made to escape, taking the judge as hostage to guarantee their lives. The police opened fire, killed the judge, young Jonathan and two others.

Angela, who was far from the scene, in another state, was charged with murder and conspiracy to murder under the laws of California. These laws say that the person who purchases guns that are later used by the others, suffers the same penalty.

Angela today is in a California state prison threatened with death in the gas chamber - Governor Regan's way of putting crusaders for freedom to death.

She has been framed in the classic way the American ruling class rigged evidence to kill many valiant working-class and other freedom champions. Actually what we see here is the blood lust of a decaying and desperate imperialism seeking to wreck the same havoc on its people as it does on the brave, indomitable people of Vietnam. Angela Davis is under triple jeopardy-one in being a woman under capitalism hence suffering discrimination because of her sex: two in being a black woman, thus suffering the repressions of racism. Third, with being a revolutionist, a Communist, one of the countless Americans who battle today to end the criminal war in Vietnam, to end racism, to end hunger. She represents the rebellious youth, black and white of campus and workshop! But above all she represents the unity of black and white, the indomitable combination that can sweep imperialism aside and build a new world. Black and white unity, the unity of all races, for peace and plenty.



Cover drawing and photo above from Neues Deutschland - GDR

System as Brutal as South Africa

All this is involved in her case. Her fate is the fate of 25,000,000 black Americans. Angela Davis is a challenge to the system in which imperialism profits mightily in dollars - by keeping the black second and third-class citizens paying them much less for the same labour whites do in a class and race oppression, brutal as South Africa is brutal, brutal as the bombings in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as they were in Korea a few years ago.

These are some of the main facts in the case.

Never has America been roused so early in a classic case of capitalist justice as in this one.

Millions already, in the first weeks of the process, have spoken out. Black and white, religious and radical, young and old. Such diverse groupings as the Young Women's Association, the clergy in the black community, the Black Panthers already under murderous fire, Union leaders in many trade unions have acted. But this is only a trickle compared to the Niagra of protest that must arise in order to free Angela. One million names already collected on her behalf must become 100 million. We urge a

resolution from here, then mass meetings everywhere, marches, demonstrations of all varieties, special editions and massive flood of cables, resolutions and letters of protest to Governor Ronald Regan, Sacramento, California, USA. Copies should be sent to all newspapers possible. We of North America here are greatly thankful to the International Organisation of Journalists in giving us the floor to sound the alarm on behalf of this dauntless daughter of America's great black people. Her cause is the cause of black, white unity which is the *sine qua non* of freedom for all in the USA! We must have black-white unity to win.

Her cause is the cause of the growing numbers of Americans seeking socialism; workers, youths, black and white.

Her cause is the cause of all dark peoples and their sons languishing in the dungeons as in Cameroon facing death for seeking complete liberty in the colonial and semi-colonial world, as well as in the heartland of imperialism, the Puerto Ricans the Chicanos, the American Indians. Her cause is the cause of all who would end the bestial aggression in Vietnam!

Her cause is your cause, my cause, the cause of all decent humanity.

Almost fifty years ago at the age of thirteen, a young African left his village in Nyasaland and walked the 100 miles to Johannesburg without a penny in his pocket.

Leaving Nyasaland in order to find work and education, he was to return forty years later under very different circumstances and lead his people to freedom from colonial domination and economic exploitation. This man is Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda – the President of Malawi. After leaving Nyasaland he worked on the Rand Goldfields for eight years, studying at night school most of the time. Then he obtained a scholarship to study in the U. S. A. and went on to qualify as a medical practitioner. Dr. Banda then went to Glasgow to continue his studies after which he set up a practice in London.

It was from his surgery in London that he joined the opposition against the British Government's decision to form a Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. When Federation was declared in 1953 he left Britain and went to Ghana in order to be nearer his home country to which he finally returned in 1958 as Secretary General of the Nyasaland Congress Party.

A year later Congress was banned and Dr. Banda was imprisoned for over a year in S. Rhodesia along with a number of his followers. He was released from prison in 1960.

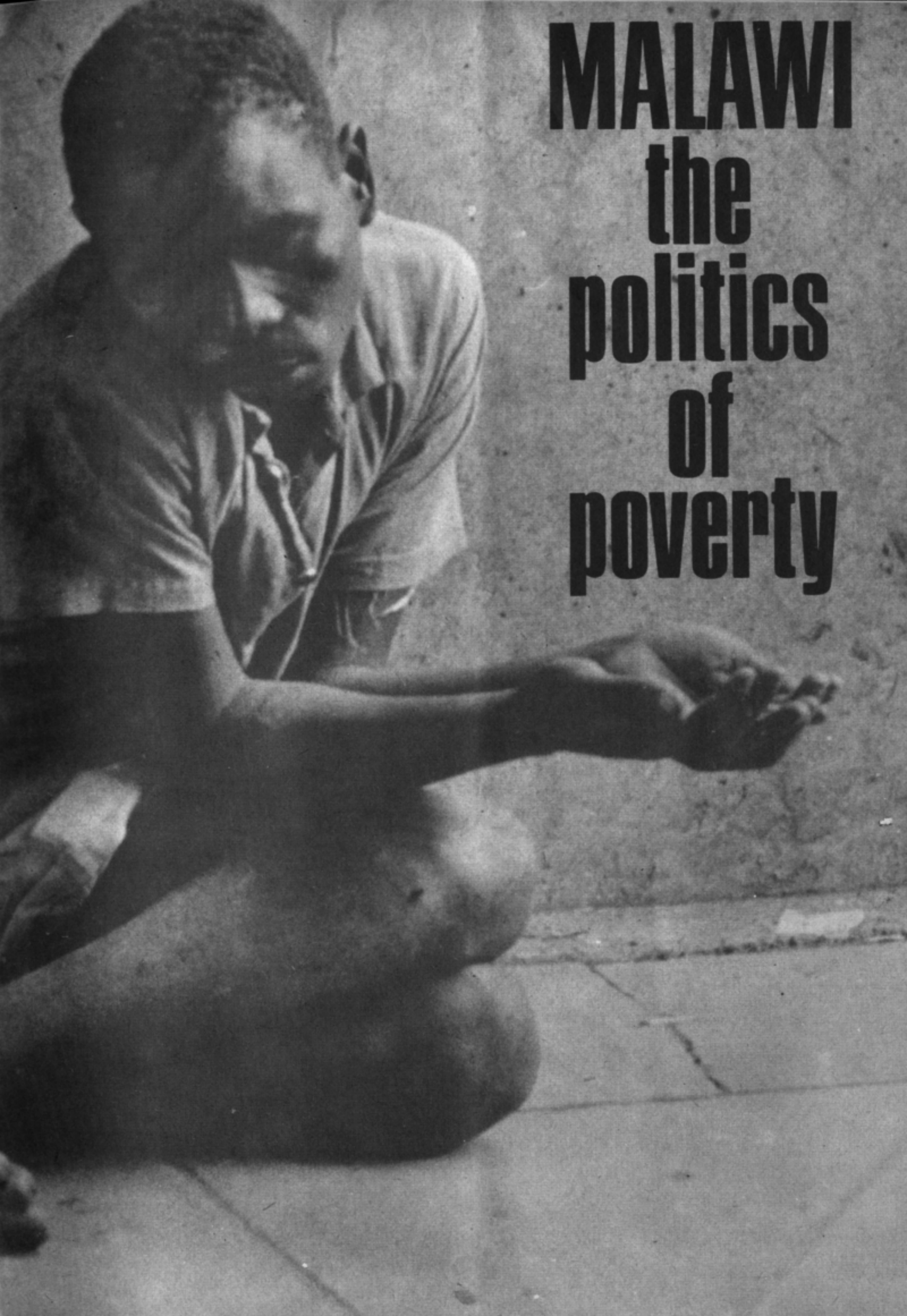
Continuing his struggle against Federal Government, Nyasaland finally won independence and on 6. July 1964 the independant State of Malawi came into being.

Less than 100 years ago Portuguese and Arab slave-raiders operating from Zanzibar ran a flourishing export of slaves from the area that is now Malawi. If independence is viewed from this socio-historic perspective, then Malawi has certainly come a long way in terms of emancipation. But, viewed in the context of the fact that (as Dr. Banda himself admits) Malawi barely has sufficient funds with which to administer the Government of the country (let alone develop it) then Independence is merely a word – oft quoted, but quite misleading. In reality Malawi is today at the mercy of the Western powers for financial and other aid. Without this aid the country's economy would grind to a standstill overnight.

South Africa's Presence

It is this lack of independence economically which is primarily the cause of S. Africa's presence in Malawi today, a presence not entirely restricted to development or motivated by humanism. A military attache has been appointed by the S. A. Government on a resident basis in Malawi and under cover of being employed as 'skilled personnell' Special Branch agents are known to be operating in Malawi. The South African Government has also provided Malawi with the specialised services of a Director of Information (formerly a high ranking official in the South African Ministry of External Affairs). The Director of Information is responsible for the censorship and dissemination of all news and information concerning Malawi. Malawi's censorship procedures have thus become startlingly similar to those of S. Africa and as a result Malawi is considered to be something of a nightmare by journalists. Scorning resolutions passed by the Organisation of African Unity for the severing of ties with S. Africa, Dr. Banda has welcomed loans of over £10 million from the S. A. Government. Of this amount, £6.4 m has been spent on the re-





MALAWI
the
politics
of
poverty

cently completed railway linking Malawi with the Mozambique port of Nacala thus providing a valuable sea outlet for this landlocked country's exports and also relieving congestion on the existing Malawi-Beira rail line. The Nacala rail link has also provided Dr. Banda with an excuse for supporting S. Africa's call for the protection of the Cape sea-route against the so-called Red menace.

South African and Portuguese Loans

£4.7 m of the S. African loan has been used in the construction of a new capital site at Lilongwe 200 miles North of the existing capital. An Afrikaans Nationalist newspaper in Johannesburg recently reported that an airport which is also under construction at the new capital would be used by the South African Air Force as a base from which counter-guerilla attacks would be launched into Tanzania and Zambia where anti-S. A. Government guerillas are based.

Another major loan which Malawi hopes to receive soon is from the Portuguese government who have promised a loan of £25 m for the construction of a road linking Malawi's Southern region with Tete Province in Mozambique near the Cabora Bassa site.

The need for improved road and rail communications has been explained by Dr. Banda as being the means whereby he hopes to develop his country's agricultural potential more fully by providing adequate export facilities. Rejecting popular mobilization as a basis for national development, Dr. Banda has encouraged foreign investments in Malawi by capitalist interests – most notable of these being the powerful Lonrho (London-Rhodesia) Group who have long been active in Malawi ever since colonial times and who are now preparing to mine the substantial bauxite (used in the manufacture of aluminium) deposits which have been found on Mount Mlanje not far from Blantyre, the country's commercial centre.

A senior member of Lonrho is employed by Dr. Banda's cabinet in an advisory capacity providing a splendid example of neo-colonialism in Africa today.

With a population of over 4 million (according to a 1966 census), Malawi is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa. Malawi's population is about that of neighbouring Zambia which is four times as large in area and which has an economy many times larger than Malawi's. Malawi also has the lowest income per capita in the whole of Africa with only 5% of the indigenous population being in any form of regular employment.

With a 95% unemployment rate, its overpopulation and underdevelopment, Malawi has relied to a large extent on the export of labour to the S. African goldmines as its main source of income. It is estimated that there are approximately 100,000 Malawians in S. Africa at present. Since Malawians are prepared to work for far less than their S. African counter-parts, wages for African miners in S. A. are kept at rock bottom. In turn, the Malawi Government has been able to reap considerable benefit in the form of foreign exchange revenues and taxes on mineworkers wages.

Banda Lives in Fear.

Although living in constant fear of assassination, Dr. Banda has managed to keep a tight grip on the Presidency and the administration and he holds the Life Chairmanship of the sole political party – the Malawi Congress Party. His grip was threatened in October 1967 when a group of armed insurgents attempted to overthrow the government and assassinate Dr. Banda. Of the 26 members in the raiding party 15 were killed (including a former Minister of Home Affairs) by government troops a few miles from their objective. The attempted attack was the sequel to an earlier struggle when members of Banda's cabinet fled from Malawi into exile in Tanzania and Zambia. Six hun-

A Wenela aircraft disembarks its cargo of Mineworkers returning from S. A. to Malawi





Malawi woman dying of malnutrition

dred followers of Harry Chipembere (one of the exiled Ministers) also went into exile in Tanzania (where they still are despite pleas from Dr. Banda to return and give themselves up).

Violence erupted again in early 1969 continuing until early last year during which 28 persons were murdered with axes. After the first few killings the Rhodesian and South African press announced that they were ritual-murders. Since then, 12 men including the former Minister of education were arrested early last year and are still in custody after eight months without trial. The Ministry of Information has imposed a news-ban on all news concerning the affair. The murders seem to be a form of urban political terrorism reflecting the unrest and dissatisfaction among the urban population.

The hostility of the vast majority of the people of Malawi is evident, but the voices of dissent have been effectively silenced by the detention laws as harsh as those a little further South. Recently, several leading expatriate members of the judiciary have resigned because of what they consider to be unjust legislation and because of Dr. Banda's aggressive attitude to the judiciary. In turn, Dr. Banda has said - 'I'm in charge here, not the judges'.

In implementing his authoritarian views he has given power to the newly formed 'Traditional Courts' comprised of tribal chiefs to impose the death sentence on offenders. This means that persons without any legal training whatsoever will be able to carry out the functions normally reserved for the High Court.

Although Dr. Banda has been adamant in his refusal to allow Frelimo to operate from Malawi against Portuguese army units in Mozambique, he has allowed several thousand Mozambican refugees to settle in Malawi where they have fled in order to escape death in the free-fire zones

which the Portuguese Army has created in various parts of Mozambique in their war against the Mozambique Liberation Front.

Malawi as a Bantustan

The paradoxical nature of events in Malawi during the years since independence make it difficult to speculate as to what the future will yield but it is obvious that even with its gross national product advancing at a steady rate since independence, it will be very many years before this tiny country's huge problems of poverty, ignorance and disease are effectively overcome. Despite increased aid from various organisations such as the Church, United Nations, Oxfam etc., these problems grow daily. The population-explosion continues even though Malawi still has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

The average life expectancy of a Malawian woman is only 40 years. Many of these women are forced to walk up to 20 miles a day in search of water which is carried back to villages in huge containers on their heads - in this way and others, the women literally work themselves to death, thus adding to the heavy toll taken by Malaria, Bilharzia, and malnutrition.

Villages are marked by the absence of men-folk who migrate to Rhodesia to find work or who enlist with Wenela (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) as contract miners to work under pitiful conditions in South Africa. Migration causes serious disruption of family life and the traditional social fabric.

Only massive doses of aid Banda thinks will help these 'wretched of the earth'. But by turning to South Africa Banda is shackling his people to permanent Bantustan status.

I WAS DRAFTED INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY

BY David Osborne

The White regime of Southern Africa is under siege. In the last eight years the hostility of world opinion has increased, the anger of the oppressed along with the menacing presence of guerrillas on its Northern borders.

The Government response has been to increase oppression at home, to expand its police and defence forces. With the success of the N. L. F. of Vietnam as a discomfiting precedent, they try even more desperately to rally the whites to the defence of white supremacy by intensifying propaganda, stifling dissent and by promoting their insane racial and political theories over the radio, in the churches, schools and army.

They draw upon all avail manpower; conscription is now compulsory for all white males over the age of seventeen, and there is talk of starting military training for women. 23 000 white South Africans undergo some form of military training annually. I was amongst some 10 000 conscripted to the South African Defence Force in 1966, my number was 61022562. I was drafted first to Potchefstroom, then to an officers course from which I was dismissed and then sent to Walvis Bay.

The increase of conscription has made the Defence Force a powerful tool for manipulating attitudes throughout the country – its official function is to teach both techniques of combat and to educate conscriptees into the virtues of good citizenship and to instil in them feelings of patriotism.

AN OFFENCE TO BEFRIEND AN AFRICAN

The Government claims that a Parliamentary clause guarantees the politi-

cal neutrality of the South African defence force; let us hope that no one believes this lie. In 1968 a circular issued to conscriptees stated that it was a punishable offence for any member of the Defence Force to befriend or have amicable social relations with Bantu people – with the Government continually extending the length of time conscriptees are subjected to training programmes (it is now nine month uninterrupted, followed by ten years discontinuous training) this threat has far-reaching implications. This rule, because it falls under the heading 'classified information', can never be discussed or published in South Africa.

All men promoted to Officers are expected to be vehicles for the promotion of Christian Nationalism; all those falling outside this category will remain in positions of minimal influence. I myself and a colleague associated with me were dismissed from the Officers training course when it became apparent that other members of the same course were becoming interested in our ideas.

Almost all lectures are concluded by a supposedly casual discussions of political issues, headlines etc; the range includes any fact or event that can be distorted or cited to either detract from South African critics or to support its own creeds. The historical and statistical nonsense the Government uses to defend its race theories and politics are too well known to be repeated here; more important is the army's persistent efforts to promote a vicious and sinister climate of racial intolerance.

Whenever Africans are mentioned, and this is frequently in the context of

the Congo, Nigeria, Blood River, murder, rape, and witchcraft, they are identified with everything evil in the human race and every attempt is made to discredit African causes. A refrain repeated often in lectures was 'we are not allowed to refer to him as a kaffir any more, but whatever we call him, we all know that he will always be inferior, more beast than man'.

BREAK UP PROTESTS

In 1969 bands of racist ruffians, while serving their nine months, were encouraged by their officers to disrupt legal and peaceful protest – they were

(1) given time off camp duties

(2) allowed to wear civilian clothes

(3) ignored by the police when assaulting and molesting the protestors.

Before they entered the army, these people were totally without interest in political events; provided their status quo was not directly threatened they were totally absorbed in a world of sport, alcohol, sex and comics. They have been taught by the army to regard any manifestation of dissent with suspicion and hatred.

Much of our training in the first three months at Potchefstroom was in the hands of a nineteen year old Corporal (Bombardeer). He was an energetic and tireless fanatic, ambitious and more than most army personnel. He was promoted to Sergeant when I was there and I have no doubt that he will rise quickly through the ranks. He lectured on the F. M. rifle; with relish he asked the class to imagine an African idling beneath a tree – he went to great lengths to make the image as grotesque as possible – stinking, greasy, slimy, lazy, treacherous, bestial etc. – he was beside himself to excite his audience with the details of shooting this man, making the victim's death as gory and agonising as possible.

This Corporal and many others always invoked racist notions when they got angry, 'You're not fit to be called a white man, you're worse than an African, worse than those pagan animals – when they rape your women and kill your parents you'll be sorry'. An African to these people was not a person; he was described as 'onmenslik' (not like a human). A constant refrain of this Corporal and amongst the conscriptees was 'the only good native is a dead one.'

A LECTURE ON CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

Towards the end of our training we were given a lecture on our responsibilities as citizens by an officer representing the police force. He introduced his lecture with the following words - 'Unfortunately the days have passed when one could simply beat up (donner) a non-white in the street, as a citizen you no longer have this right but you must learn to co-operate with the police force which has been specially trained to deal with them'. As an example he repeated the following anecdote - an African house servant asked her white madam to translate a sentence on socialism from a daily newspaper. The police were promptly summoned - he said 'we have ways of getting information'. Any non-white showing any degree of political intelligence was likely to be dangerous, but the police could handle them.

Other civic duties were to encourage women to join pistol clubs and to give active support to police reservists. Many conscriptees from Johannesburg talked frequently about their activities as police reservists. Their weekend sport was apparently to accompany their policemen friends on pass and beerhall raids, when they could, under police protection, assault Africans resisting arrest or attempting to escape these brutal raids.

'Uitrusting' is a word used to describe a soldier's equipment - and it is used in a sermon - 'Once we have uitrusting no soldier or enemy will withstand us. South Africa has a duty towards God to defend and maintain its racial systems. And yet another sermon - 'Black Africa and the world tower over us, we are like David confronting Goliath, the black peril, the evils of socialism, the ungodly communists; we have only ten little stones compared to mighty armies but with the help of God we will vanquish our enemies.'

Typical refrains amongst the conscriptees were:

'war is a terrible thing. I wouldn't be able to kill a white man easily but I would kill a native without thinking.' 'You can't quote Jesus as saying that a black person was a man, therefore one need feel no christian obligation towards him.'

'I once donned an ou that put a lighted cigarette out in an African's hand. That's not right, not for a white man, no white man, should do that sort of thing. I bet that the Germans wouldn't have even stubbed a cigarette out in a Jew's hand.'



Army brainwashing squad

Whenever the conscriptees didn't like anything they complained that they were being treated like Africans, that is they had to carry passes, they were not allowed into many areas of the town, they were made to work hard, abused, ordered about and paid virtually nothing. They had to live in barracks, had no privileges and few freedoms - just like Africans in fact, yet they insisted that Africans are quite happy living under similar conditions.

In our first camp the Dominee circulated Anticom, the Potchefstroom right-wing newspaper, which claims that the Roman Catholic church is conspiring to take control of South Africa and that there is overwhelming evidence of the intellectual inferiority of the non-whites. In a lecture he argued that the Beatles were communist inspired; on another occasion he suggested that the influx of drugs into South Africa was part of a conspiracy by Ho Chin Minh to undermine the morale of South African youth.

One last sermon - 'Those people who do not take our parades, our national anthems, our institutions, our flag and our national ceremonies seriously are

sinners. They are evil, they betray us to our enemies and expose us to all the evils of the world which surrounds us.'

RIOT CONTROL

A course in internal security taught the following method of riot control: first, by means of a megaphone a meeting is declared unlawful, then orders to disperse are repeated three times, then at the officers discretion the troops are ordered to fire until the crowd has dispersed. The conscriptees spoke of their rifles as weapons to murder Africans. Sharpeville was remembered with pride, - they spoke with sickening monotony and enthusiasm about their eagerness to be able to shoot into a crowd of Africans. Every year 23,000 South African youth undergo military training of one form or another. These are the people that Mr. Heath thinks of supplying with weapons and which international business interests sponsor. They are helping to maintain this brutal white enclave in a position of power, sharing with them responsibility for this cruel and insane system.

U.S. INTEREST IN SOUTH AFRICA GROWING?



'The United States is unalterably opposed to apartheid!

Oh come on Richard ... not as 'unalterably opposed' as you are to Cuba, or China, or the Black Panther Party, or socialism, or racial equality, or young people, or students, or ...

A recent report, printed below, issued by the U. S. Information Service indicates increasing diplomatic activity on South Africa. The report urges more contact with white South Africa by Americans and even encourages Africans (presumably African States) to keep the doors of dialogue open. Support is promised for those in South Africa who are 'seeking an equitable solution'.

The U. S. notion of what is equitable is not ours since it patently does not include the liberation of Black South Africa. (Their so-called 'strong sentiments' against apartheid sound pretty hollow in the light of the killings of Black people in America.) We therefore reject their interference in our country with contempt. The Black majority in South Africa has problems enough without the added intervention of U. S. imperialism.

We shall achieve the equitable in South Africa without the aid of international dialogues which only give respectability to Vorster. Only armed and militant action inside South Africa can do the job now.

We publish the U. S. report below.

'Washington - Two U. S. officials, speaking before a Congressional Subcommittee, have voiced continued American support for 'those seeking an equitable solution to the problem' of apartheid in Southern Africa. Yesterday Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs David. D. Newsom and his deputy, W. Beverly Carter, Junior, appeared before the African Affairs Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, which has been holding a series of hearings entitled 'The United States and Africa in the 1970's'. During the past month, the two officials have visited South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and Malawi together, and Mr. Carter went on alone to Kenya and Uganda.

In their joint statement, read by Mr. Newsom, the officials said the South African Government gave them every facility and 'placed no restrictions on our movements or on the people with whom we wished to talk ...

'In our conversations in South Africa, particularly with Government leaders, we explained the strong sentiments in our own country against the apartheid system and against what appears to the world to be disrespect for the rule of law in South Africa. We had very full and frank discussions. We found among the white leaders a conviction as to the correctness of their approach toward separate development and strong determination to maintain security control. There was little meeting of minds'.

In their joint statement, Mr. Newsom and Mr. Carter said they left South Africa 'with the conviction that no matter how strongly one may feel against the system, we should not penalize those who are seeking to change it by throwing a curtain around them and their country. We recommend more, not less, communication with the peoples of South Africa, both by Africans and by Americans.'

The two officials were convinced that the problem of Southern Africa would be with the world 'for some time to come'.

'Those seeking an equitable solution to the problem deserve' they said, 'our support if a more violent result, tragic for all, is ultimately to be avoided.'

Indian Anti-Apartheid Movement steps up activity

A strengthened Anti Apartheid Movement is making significant gains in India. Members of the Movement met a visiting British Parliamentary delegation in Calcutta and handed over a memorandum to them protesting against proposed arms sales to South Africa.

The memorandum pointed out that there was widespread strong sentiment in India against the inhuman policies of apartheid. It was felt that the British Government was acting as an accomplice of the South African racist regime in perpetuating their tyranny by selling arms directly or indirectly on one pretext or another.

The memorandum requested the British Parliamentary delegation to take

note of the prevailing sentiment among freedom loving people all over the world and asked the British Government to desist from making any arms sales to racist South Africa, to enforce the U. N. resolutions against South Africa and to break all diplomatic, trade and all other relations with apartheid South Africa.

According to the Movement's President Mr. Z. J. Odondi, the leader of the British Parliamentary delegation told the deputation that Britain did not want the isolation of South Africa and was in favour of maintaining its trade links. Arms sales would be an essentially trading venture. Besides, Britain placed more importance on her national trading interests than on the Commonwealth.

FRENCH C.G.T. PROTEST

The Federal Bureau of the CGT reaffirms its solidarity with the workers and the people of Africa in their struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The recent visit of President Kaunda in the name of the OAU to the French government has again placed this question forcefully before French public opinion. This initiative by African governments which has the full support of the African trade union movement enables us to bring this important problem into the open.

The CGT which gives its permanent active support to the trade union of South Africa and the other countries fighting against racialism and colonialism in Rhodesia and in the countries under Portuguese domination registers as a positive act the first declarations of the French Government. The CGT with other trade unions and democratic organisations will increase its protest so that France will respect the decisions of the UN Security Council on the embargo and in consequence stop all deliveries of arms to Portugal and the racist South Africans.

It considers that the involvement of French business in South Africa and Mozambique for the construction of

the Cabora-Bassa dam is one of the neo-colonialist aspects of the economic policy of the French monopolies which contributes to the perpetuation of foreign domination in the face of the national liberation movements of Southern Africa. The CGT asks the government for a complete change of its policy on these countries by implementing the resolution of the UN and UNESCO and in the interests of France whose authority and prestige is gravely compromised, especially in the African continent as the recent OAU resolution has confirmed. The present government policy helps the racists of South Africa to maintain their apartheid policy in regard to more than 14 million Africans; it supports Portuguese colonial domination over millions of Africans in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

The CGT, supporting the appeal launched by the last session of the General Council of the F. S. M. asks its unions, the federations, the departmental unions to protest to the French government and to show their solidarity with African unions that are struggling courageously for national liberation and social liberation of the workers and the peoples of their countries.

Tennis courts wrecked in demo

MELBOURNE, Anti-apartheid demonstrators dug up sections of three of the turfed centre courts at Kooyong Stadium in protest against participation of two South African girls in the Victoria Tennis Championships. Slogans such as 'Smash apartheid,' 'Smash racism,' were painted around the back drops of the courts, and oil, petrol and paint poured over the courts themselves.

The South African girls, Laura Rousow and Brenda Kirk were to compete in the championships but the secretary of the Victorian Lawn Tennis Association, Mr. Alex Aitcheson said he did not know whether the courts could be repaired in time.

In Sydney demonstrators booed and jeered the two girls during the New South Wales titles.

They threatened to dig up the Centre court at White City, but armed guards were patrolling the areas with German shepherd dogs.

CONVICT LABOUR- NOT SLAVERY

**The following letter and editorial comment
was published in the Cape Times on 2/12/70.
From Mr. Stefan M. J. Komornicki (Elgin)**

'A friend has drawn my attention to an advertisement in the CAPE TIMES on October 6. On page 15, a person identified by name, address and a telephone number, offers a farm for sale. After listing all the assets of the said farm, he concludes: price includes winery sheds and 10 convicts. Well, well. And in my naivete I have thought that slavery was abolished in the Cape as far back as 1834. Once such an attraction as slave labour is introduced as an inducement to attract the buyers of farms in the Western Cape, there is nothing to stop the return trek of farming tycoons from Transvaal to the land of ancestors in Stellenbosch and Paarl.

This is a paradise – here on earth – immediate. A million here, a million there, and we are back in the nineteenth century surrounded by contented slaves and their happy families. We could then ask Parliament for the abolition of apartheid and our image would be shining and pure in the eyes of world opinion. Why not?

Editor's Footnote: Mr. T. J. Mostert, the Paarl estate agent who is the agent for the farm, said that the 10 convicts referred to a type of quota system which applied to the use of convict labour by farmers in Paarl district. The farmers of the area used convict labour for their operations in many cases. Each farm was given an allocation, which meant that a farmer was assured of having labour on his property. In the case of the farm advertised for sale, it meant that the buyer could be sure of having 10 men available on contract with the local prison, where the men were serving their sentences.

It had nothing to do with slavery, and was a common practice in the area, where convicts were employed usefully in agricultural duties.

A HOME

A barren tract of wind-swept veld on the brink of a valley at Chalumna, 32 miles south of East London, is to become the home of hundreds of Border Africans – by order of the Government. But it's a home without houses. The Africans are being given small bell tents to live in – one to a family – until they can build themselves something better, and they are being left to build new homes. Neither materials, tools, nor assistance is being provided by the state. The Government is moving about 100 families to the site from Macleantown 24 miles north of East London.

When I visited Chalumna about 30 families – nearly 200 men, women and children – had already arrived.

The site looked as if it had been hit by a hurricane. Between the dull brown tents flapping in the wind were piles of old timber, rusty sheets of corrugated iron, and poles – all that remains of their old humble homes in Maclean-



WITHOUT HOUSES

town which they were compelled to demolish. The materials were trucked to Chalumna by the Government with the people and their few personal possessions.

A few tin shanties little bigger than the tents have already been knocked together. Most of the men are away at work, but a lucky few have been able to get leave and are building huts and moulding mud bricks to put up sturdier structures.

They are praying that rain will hold off until they have finished. Mr. Hilton Witbooi, a married man with seven children who is a R9.50 a week labourer at an East London factory, is on sick leave and has been able to put up a tin shack for his family in two weeks. The Biyo family has also built enough of a shack to allow a few to sleep in it. But until now the father, mother, 10 children and grand-

mother have had to spend the chilly nights crammed into their solitary canvas home.

The first arrivals came to Chalumna nearly three weeks ago. The site then was bare veld except for a dismal grey four-classroom school and two concrete reservoirs for collecting rainwater.

The Chalumna site is only a short distance from the main road to Peddie, but the new 'settlers' are still isolated. There is a police station and store 10 minutes' walk away, but the only regular transport to East London, where most of the men work, is a railways bus once a day in each direction. Its schedule does not allow the men to go to work and return the same day. They could not afford the 53 cent single fare anyway. Instead, most share a taxi to East London on Monday mornings - 70 cents each - and return on Friday evenings.

P. F.

Resettlement



A Reminder for the International Year Against Racism RACE and GENETICS

In an address at the graduation ceremony of the University College Western Cape, Professor F. du Toit van Zyl, Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University of Stellenbosh, warned the Coloured community against marrying across the race barrier – an 'irresponsible' act that could only destroy the Coloured nation.

'I hope that because I am of another race you will not regard me as being impertinent when I refer to one of your most difficult problems. As a doctor I feel I am in a position to be able to speak about it.

I want to speak to you about irresponsible parenthood. I have no doubt that this is one of the biggest – if not the biggest – threat to the development and progress of you as a nation with its own distinctive qualities. When a people discover that the responsibilities of parenthood are being ignored it must go back to the origin of those genetic qualities, which became its heritage in the dawn of its development and which, together with the cultural evolution it has undergone for thousands of years, be-

came the foundation of its philosophy of life.

GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

If you were to discover that a large group of your nation was busy developing an inferior genetic structure and cultural qualities, it would be time to interfere. No people can afford to gamble with inferior procreation material. You as the future scientific and cultural leaders of your people and the Council for Coloured Affairs have a great responsibility in this regard.

On the other hand I must warn you just as strongly against the irresponsibility of not accepting parenthood where everything points to the fact that you are endowed with genetically transferable characteristics and cultural attributes of intelligence, perseverance and leadership which can take your people to great heights.

You have also an outward task; and that is to combat outside genetic dangers. I refer to the dangers of inter-mixing with genetically-bound here-

dity and cultural characteristics which differ so much from those of your nation that there is the danger of bringing degeneration upon your people. I refer more specifically to inter-mixing with the Bantu.

In this respect I do not want to be misunderstood. The Bantu have wonderful characteristics, but their genetic composition and cultural evolution is so different from that of the Coloured people that a mixing of the two cannot in this respect be advantageous for the Coloured man or woman. In this connection I can explain my assertions by referring to three disease conditions.

(1) Primary Cancer of the liver occurs 10 times more often in the Bantu than in the Coloured or European people. As far as we know this type of cancer is a genetically-bound disease.

(2) The Rhesus factor: When the blood of the mother is of the so-called Rhesus-negative group and the blood of her unborn child is of the Rhesus-positive group – like that of the father – a process which destroys the blood and could result in the death of the baby occurs. Here we have a genetically-bound hereditary factor which was brought into Europe from the East and at present affects 15 per cent of Whites.

(3) Schizophrenia occurs twice as often in the Bantu than in the Coloured and treatment with chlorpromazine is far less effective in the Bantu than in the Coloured.

I mention schizophrenia last on purpose because this is a condition which is not only genetically-bound and transferable but one which affects the intellect, the spirit and the whole being of the person.

Similarly one can continue to show how different races differ as regards many characteristics both in the biological and cultural streams, a difference which clearly rests on a hereditary basis.

To those who believe all people are the same and refuse to accept the reality of biology, I must put this question: What should the aspirations of a nation be; to develop an unhealthy or a vigorous nation? Must our aspirations be for mediocrity or for ability and efficiency?

Published in the Cape Times
May 20th, 1968

CONTRIBUTIONS ON THE DISCUSSION ARTICLE in the December issue- IS ECONOMIC GROWTH DISINTEGRATING APARTHEID?

1.
Comrade,
Having read through the thesis, the impressions that came to mind was that the article failed to establish the need to fight in arms for our liberation. The mild form in which apartheid has been represented tends to lead one to the notion as to what degrees of comfort the whites and blacks should enjoy. Surely this impression is an anti-thesis to the whole objectivity of our struggle. This sad theme that presents itself is due to the articles emphasis on the urban population. But this is not a static population because most of our people are migrant workers. What about those that stay behind in the infertile and unproductive Reserves? The particular emphasis on how economic exploitation has made the toiling masses bear intolerable sufferings and the scant regard it has for our social welfare does not feature in the article.

'SECHABA' carries the message of our fight in South Africa. It represents our aspirations and yearnings. The passiveness in which this thesis has presented itself does not conform to the need for armed struggle in Southern Africa. It lacks the spirit of fight and revolutionary fervour.-that is our need.

The article serves only an academic purpose that could be published elsewhere for individuals in search of an intellectual analysis of the South African scene. It would not serve the general reader with purposeful news. A good thing that arises from the article is the emphasis on the misuse of the terms 'Apartheid' and 'White Supremacy' We have now some knowledge as to how the terms differ. This is the opinion of an ordinary reader who pleads ignorance in the field of economics.

2.

Dear Comrade,
In my view the article is highly commendable for its scholastic value in the field of economics. In fact in this respect I have no basis for criticism. With due respect to the author, I must say the article as I see it, as a South African, does not convey the idea of the evils of Apartheid. It would have been indeed appealing if the reader could readily get the signal of the harmful effects of segregation; rather than leaving the reader to speculate as to what conclusion he should make of the policy of apartheid.

Being an article written with intellectual fervour it certainly lacks the dynamism which is current on such an abhorrent topic as 'White supremacy' and 'Apartheid'.

Indeed I must express my shortcomings being a student of science rather than of the arts, I certainly may not be in the position to make a true criticism, but I wanted to express my views in any event.

3.

Comrade,
The thesis does bring to our notice how far 'South African Racists' can and would go to make sure that they can rule us Blacks. A strong economy is essential to reach such a goal, however, there are certain shortcomings which the author of the thesis does not touch on. History has shown that exploitation in any form never succeeds. When relating economy and 'Apartheid' or 'White Supremacy' one has to consider South Africa's internal politics and also its neighbours and the other countries of the world. When 'South Africa's Racists' fail in implementing 'Actual Apartheid' they will sacrifice it to 'White Supremacy' which however has again some loopholes.

South Africa's economy depends largely on U. K., U. S. A., West Germany, Italy, France and Japan to mention a few. The present condemnation of

South Africa's Apartheid policy by countries throughout the world makes it evident that drastic changes are sure to take place in the near future. With increasing pressure there most probably will be a great withdrawal of private capital which will affect the economy and have repercussions.

For 'White Supremacy' to be really practical means the opening of more skilled and semi-skilled jobs to the Blacks however, as facts show, the Bantu Education policy is meant to make the African an inferior being meant for unskilled jobs. How long will it take the racists to educate the Blacks to a level where they can do the skilled jobs? In this aspect time will catch up and by then 'White Supremacy' would have failed.

Although the economy prospers the Africans' wages in reality does not increase so that he can meet the high standards of living. If 'white Supremacy' is to survive, then the Government just has to educate the African to do the skilled jobs. An educated but exploited people would in the long run realise that they are being exploited and there will be many such cases as the Durban Dock Workers strikes. (In this case it was the uneducated who struck.)

Furthermore, 'White supremacy' means that the white will always be master of the Black. However, are there enough masters to look after the servants?

Another aspect is that in the event of a major economic crisis in South Africa or the rest of the world, there would eventually be large scale retrenchment of African workers for whom there won't be any work. This could be disastrous especially when the retrenched belong to the educated class. However, this is only an assumption and would only be practical over a very long period.

Furthermore what would be the effect on South Africa's economy when fighting on the Rhodesian and Portuguese frontiers gets intensified?

The slow growth of industrialisation in the reserves is either due to shortage of skilled African labour or shortage of whites to maintain 'White supremacy' there.

The denial of trade union rights in fact, may be an undermining factor for how long can a people stay exploited? Being a medical student, it has been difficult to get the crux of the thesis, therefore I have opted to comment rather than criticise.

BOOK REVIEW

THE PRICE OF MY SOUL

by Bernadette Devlin
Pan Books 6 sh

With tension in Northern Ireland still at breaking point, 'The Price of My Soul' by Bernadette Devlin (Pan 6/-) has immense topicality. From this fresh and candid account of her childhood and events leading up to her election to Westminster and the Battle of Bogside, she emerges as much more than just another student rebel. Here is a dedicated, extremely clear-minded and skilful political leader who, at the age of 22 can write:

'If you're aware of what's going on around you, and get caught up in problems which are so blatant, you can't just worry about your own concerns. So I expect always to be involved in action. As a Member of Parliament, however, I can only see I have a choice of ways to lose: either by doing nothing, accepting the system, becoming part of the Establishment, and losing whatever is left of my integrity; or by keeping my integrity and losing my public, for whom I haven't done miracles, freed the people, produced civil rights, or lived up to the image of St. Bernadette.'

M. T.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE BARREL OF A GUN :

Political Power in Africa and the Coup d'etat.

by Ruth First.

Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

84 sh.

COLONIALISMO PORTOGHESE E LOTTA DI LIBERAZIONE NEL MOZAMBICO :

by Luisa Passerini

Einaudi Serie Politica 20.

Lire 1500

IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY: WAR RESISTERS IN PRISON:

by Willard Gaylin M. D.

Grosset's Universal Library

\$ 1.95

THE POLITICS OF INDEPENDENT KENYA:

by Cherry Gertzel

Heinemann

35 sh

THE MAGHREB IN THE MODERN WORLD:

by Samir Amin

Penguin Africa Library

9 sh.



An album of exhibition photographs showing life under apartheid and depicting the struggle of the South African people for their liberation under the banner of the African National Congress

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A.N.C.-Z.A.P.U. militants at a flag-hoisting ceremony at a guerrilla camp in Africa

THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID !

